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# **Landscape Theory: Post-68 Revolutionary Cinema in Japan**

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**LANDSCAPE THEORY: POST-68 REVOLUTIONARY CINEMA IN JAPAN**  
**LA THEORIE DU PAYSAGE : CINEMA REVOLUTIONNAIRE POST-68**  
**AU JAPON**

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Soutenue le 28 septembre 2021

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## Introduction

The main focus of this dissertation is a specific version of *Fukeiron* (landscape theory). The concept of landscape was introduced into Japan from the West along with the translation of the English word, 'landscape' in the process of modernization in the latter half of the 19th century. 'Landscape', discourses of landscape and theories of landscape came to be discussed thereafter in various fields. This dissertation specifically concerns the landscape theory that was introduced around and after 1970, when film critic and anarchist Matsuda Masao, filmmaker Adachi Masao, and script writer Sasaki Mamoru produced the film *Ryakusho Renzokushasatsuma* (A.K.A. Serial Killer, 1969) —a documentary film about an absent protagonist, nineteen-year old Nagayama Norio, who had been convicted of indiscriminate serial pistol killings that had occurred between October 1968 and April 1969 in Tokyo, Kyoto, Hakodate and Nagoya.<sup>1</sup> The film consists exclusively of shots of landscapes that he may have encountered in his wandering from his birth until his arrest. Photographer Nakahira Takuma later joined the discussion. Ultimately, the landscape theory created an enormous controversy.

A new post-war regime had been established under the American occupation without culpability for the war having been thoroughly examined. Problems such as this were brought to light through the Japan-US Security Struggle in 1960. Further in 1968-69, new student-organized movements gained momentum almost to the point of dismantling the existing system. The 1960s thus became a major transitional period after the war. However starting around 1970, the movement's momentum was suppressed by an overwhelming military force, and this marked the arrival of high consumer society. It was in the midst of these historical shifts that landscape theory was initially created, as a theory of film and photography, aiming for a new 'post-1968' theory, rather than succeeding existing artistic and revolutionary thought. This theory located the power-state not in a typical political domain, but rather in the ordinary everyday landscape. By broadly interpreting the traditional concepts of landscape that

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<sup>1</sup> Japanese names will be given in the order conventionally used in Japan, family name first and given name second. For the Japanese film titles, the original Japanese titles are written in romanization, followed by the English titles. Thereafter the English titles are used throughout. Likewise, for the titles of papers and books, the original Japanese titles are written in romanization, followed by the titles in English. Thereafter, the English titles are used throughout. On the other hand, in the footnotes, the romanization of the original Japanese titles is used for papers and books.

covered visible scenery, sights or views of nature, landscape theory called not only visual features but also invisible structures of power 'landscape.' Despite its great potential as a new theory of power-state, as well as a revolutionary theory in the 1970s, criticisms from different realms, including film, photography or politics arose, and return to historical and nationalistic theories of landscape became prominent, and furthermore, due to a series of events—Adachi left Japan to join the Arab Red Army (later the Japanese Red Army) for the Palestinian Revolution in 1974, Matsuda planned to move his living base to Europe but was deported from France, Nakahira suffered memory loss—landscape theory experienced difficulties, and was forced to change its theoretical direction.

A turning point came in 2000 when Adachi, who had been arrested and held in Lebanon since 1997, was deported back to Japan. The unexpected return to Japan of this legendary filmmaker, known for his twenty-five plus year commitment to the Palestinian Revolution, occasioned a reconsideration of his work as a filmmaker and theorist, as well as a reassessment of landscape theory. Around the same time, Matsuda's writings on film and political theory were being re-examined. Additionally, Nakahira returned to making photography, and large-scale retrospective of his work was held. This current of re-evaluation spread internationally, and continues up to the present. In looking back on the course of events with respect to the re-assessment of Adachi and landscape theory, one of the major events was the retrospective *Adachi Masao Zen Eiga Joeikai* (The Screening of the Complete Film Works of Adachi Masao), presented in 2000.<sup>2</sup> The event was planned according to the expected schedule of Adachi's deportation from Lebanon. Matsuda and Wakamatsu Koji initiated the planning, forming a screening committee, and people involved in the Japanese Red Army and the relief movement for Adachi also participated. The content of the results was a literal intersection of cinema and politics. In addition, the film journal *Eiga Geijutsu* (Film Art), for which Arai Haruhiko, a former script writer for Wakamatsu Production, served as editor-in-chief, had a special issue, *Adachi Masao Zero Nen* (Adachi Masao Year

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<sup>2</sup> In addition to the complete film screenings, a series of talks and events was held, with people including those who were involved in Wakamatsu Production, such as Wakamatsu, Sasaki, Arai, Okishima Isao, filmmaker Oshima Nagisa, Suzuki Seijun, Hara Masato, actor Sato Kei and film producer Kuzui Kinshiro, as well as film researchers, critics, filmmakers and musicians who did not directly know Adachi.

Zero) in March 2000. Various discussions, comments, and interviews included in this issue led the way for the subsequent re-evaluation of landscape theory. For instance, in my introductory essay, *Sekai eiga sakka toshiteno Adachi Masao* (Adachi Masao as World Filmmaker), I argued for the contemporary significance of landscape theory through analysis of the film *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, aiming to shed light on Adachi as a filmmaker and his theory in the context of the global history of cinema and movement.

This is written not only as part of co-producer Matsuda Masao's production intention, but also probably as his manifesto for the theory of landscape=power; that even an ordinary landscape cannot escape the intervention of the state, and all landscapes are always creations of state power. That being said, the shots in the film hardly convey feelings of anger or hatred toward the landscape that is reinscribed by the power; absolutely no sense of nostalgia for the disappearing landscape is betrayed, either. In other words, it can be said that, despite holding up a manifesto for landscape=power, the film does not push forward its political aspects, but rather, with this recognition, it only presents to the spectator, the landscape that Nagayama may have seen as a blank image, signifying nothing specific or causal.<sup>3</sup>

The background for the reconsideration of landscape theory was also being prepared. Due to the execution of Nagayama, the 'absent' protagonist of *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, carried out in 1997, there was a resurgence of interest in Nagayama, and Sasaki referred to the film in his interview. Oshima Nagisa also released his first new film in twelve years, *Gohatto* (Taboo) in 1999, and along with a re-evaluation of his work, Matsuda and Sasaki reflected on issues of landscape in Oshima's films.<sup>4</sup> In November 2000,

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<sup>3</sup> Hirasawa Go, "Sekai eiga sakka toshiteno Adachi Masao" [Adachi Masao as World Filmmaker], *Eiga Geijutsu Bessatsu: Adachi Masao Zero-nen* [Film Art Extra Issue on Adachi Masao Year Zero], 50.2, no. 390 (March 2000): 8-9. As I wrote my Bachelor thesis for on Wakamatsu Koji, with cooperation obtained from Wakamatsu and Matsuda, I joined the screening committee for Adachi Masao retrospective and the editing team for this special issue.

<sup>4</sup> For Sasaki, see Sasaki Mamoru, "'Renzoku Shasatsuma' wa ikanishite toraretaka," [How was A.K.A. Serial Killer filmed], in *Bungei Bessatsu Nagayama Norio* [Literary Art Extra Issue on Nagayama Norio] (Tokyo: Kawadeshoboshinsha, 1997), 80-85; "Fukey ga kwaranakereba kakumei nante dekinai" [Revolution is impossible without changes of landscape], *Yuriika Oshima Nagisa 2000* [Eureka, Oshima Nagisa 2000] 32.1, no. 426 (January 2000): 159-171. For Matsuda, see Matsuda Masao, "'Sakki' to 'Iroke' no hazamade," [Between 'Menace' and 'Sensuality'], *Ibid.*, 75-79. Also, an introductory conversation between Oshima and animation director Anno Hideaki for the same issue was "Kokka to Fukey no Genzai," [The present condition of state and landscape], *Ibid.*, 64-74 and 'landscape' is listed as one of the keywords in the section titled, "Oshima Nagisa o miru kiwado," [Keywords for watching Oshima Nagisa], *Ibid.*, 238. On the other hand, for theoretical discussions that succeeded landscape theory by Matsuda, Adachi and others, see Ukai Satoshi and Asada Akira, "Paresuchina kara toku hanarete," [Far from Palestine], *Hihyo Kukan* [Critical Space], no. 24, (January 2000): 156-191; Hirai Gen, *Rojo no Materiariizumu* [Materialism on the Street] (Tokyo: Shakaihiyosha, 1986); Hirai, *Hakaiteki Ongaku* [Destructive Music] (Tokyo: Inpakutoshuppan, 1994). Also, for relations between Palestine and images, film historian Yomota Inuhiko listed Jean-Luc Godard's *Here & Elsewhere*, Adachi et al., *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War*, and an interview with Leila Khaled and Ghassan Kanafani conducted by actress Yamaguchi Yoshiko for a Japanese

Shigenobu Fusako of the Japanese Red Army was arrested in Japan, and in response to this, the journal *Bungei* (Art and Literature) had a special Red Army edition, with the participation of critics and researchers, many of whom had also been involved in the Adachi special issue, and the films of Adachi, as well as the Japanese Red Army were reexamined in terms of their thoughts and movement.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, a large-scale special screening entitled "Underground Archives 1958-1976" was organized in several cities in Japan, and *Underground Film Archives* was compiled as a related publication<sup>6</sup>. In his historical and theoretical review of the late sixties and early seventies, Matsuda recalled landscape theory as follows:

"Landscape theory," which could be called a strange amalgam of film theory and the theory of "tactical thoughts," was launched when the film with this theme "shot only the landscapes of different places Nagayama Norio would have seen," and indeed recorded the absence of he, who "must have fired bullets in order to tear apart the landscape." Initially posited in *Fukei no Shimetsu* (Extinction of Landscape, 1971), it immediately came to dominate the literary world at the time. Oshima Nagisa's film *Tokyo senso sengo hiwa* (The Man Who Left His Will on Film), for which a young Hara Masataka (Masato) took part in writing the screenplay, is also a variation of landscape (theory) cinema. Furthermore, the same is true with *Sekigun- PFLP: Sekai senso sengen* (The Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War), which Adachi Masao and others went all the way to Palestine to film in the summer of '71.<sup>7</sup>

Also in the context of reinvestigating Japanese underground cinema and theory, *Art and Literature* had a special issue centered around the period of the Dziga Vertov group, led by Jean-Luc Godard and Jean-Pierre Gorin. The issue included reprints of basic texts written at the time by Matsuda, Adachi, Oshima, and others, in order to reflect on the group's work, as well as discussions made during the same

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daytime talk show. See Edward Said, ed. and trans. by Yomota, *Paresuchina e Kaeru* [Return to Palestine] (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 1999).

<sup>5</sup> This special issue was an updated version of the Fall 2000 issue of the journal *Bungei* with special feature on the Red Army with additional new essays, including Shigenobu's notes, Adachi's prison diaries describing his deportation, a long interview with Matsuda, a conversation between Ukai and Hirai, as well as my essay focused on *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War*, "'Kagekiha' eiga no keifu," [Genealogy of 'Extremist' Cinema], in *Bungei Bessatsu Sekigun 1969-2001* [Literary Art Extra Issue on Red Army 1969-2001] (Tokyo: Kawadeshoboshinsha, 2001), 190-193.

<sup>6</sup> Adachi, who was detained at a detention center in Japan after his deportation, contributed an essay about his activity at *Nihon Daigaku Geijutsugakubu Eiga Kenkyukai* (Nihon University Art Department Film Study Club) and *VAN Eiga Kagaku Kenkyujo* (VAN Film Research Center) from jail in Tokyo. See, "Subete wa 'VAN Eiga Kagaku Kenkyujo' kara hajimatta: Eiga=Undo ni Kanshite no Dansho" [Everything began at VAN Film Research Center: Fragments on Cinema=Movement], in *Underground Film Archives*, ed. Hirasawa Go (Tokyo: Kawadeshoboshinsha, 2001), 96-99.

<sup>7</sup> Matsuda Masao, "Magazine and book check," *Ibid.*, 128.

period in Japan. It also included an essay on *Here and Elsewhere* by Adachi, who had just been released from prison in the fall of 2001.<sup>8</sup> In addition, interviews with Adachi, which were being conducted immediately after his imprisonment, were published as *Eiga/Kakumei* (Cinema/Revolution), and New Left journal for thought *Jokyo* (Situations) published a special issue, which marked the beginning of a full-scale re-evaluation of Adachi and landscape theory.<sup>9</sup> Internationally, in 2003, the Vienna International Film Festival held a large scale special event for the Art Theatre Guild (ATG)—a production and distribution company for Japanese independent films that had been active between 1960 and 1980. The event was noteworthy as it also marked the beginning of the full-scale reevaluation of Japanese cinema of the 1960s and 1970s. Along with these special events, an international academic symposium was organized, and a catalogue was compiled with the participation of scholars from Europe, North America and Japan. As one of the participants, I introduced the history of the ATG with a focus on its relation to the underground cinema, within which I touched upon landscape theory.

*A.K.A. Serial Killer*, certainly reflected the transformation after the 1967 Haneda struggle, from the increasingly intense street struggles and university struggles which were put down by force after mid-1969, to the turn to armed struggle and post-riot police confrontation urban guerilla warfare. Rather than describing the struggle itself, the film literally and materially took as its theme the structure of State power upholding the emperor system and capital in the featureless landscape of the everyday that needed to be destroyed.<sup>10</sup>

It was planned that this ATG special event would travel to Germany and South Korea. In 2004, a derivative project, an international symposium called "Toward a Political Modernism" was held at the

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<sup>8</sup> Adachi Masao, "Godaru ga Kakanakatta Isho 'Koko to Yoso' o Miru," [Watch Here & Elsewhere: A Will that Godard did not Write], in *Bungei Bessatsu Godaru: Aratanaru Zenbo* [Literary Art Extra Issue on Godard: New Whole Picture], ed. Hirasawa Go (Tokyo: Kawadeshoboshinsha, 2002), 86-93.

<sup>9</sup> Adachi Masao, Interviewee Hirasawa Go, *Eiga/Kakumei* [Cinema/Revolution] (Tokyo:Kawadeshoboshinsha, 2003) and *Jokyo Bessatsu Adachi Masao 'Eiga/Kakumei' o Megutte* [Situations Extra Issue on Adachi Masao: Concerning Cinema/Revolution] 3.4, no. 6 (June 2003). Interestingly, central to these re-evaluations in theory and movement were not those who were related to film, but those who specialize in thoughts and philosophy, or editors and activists. A study group on the seventies was formed mainly by the editor-in-chief for the journal *Gendai Shiso* [Contemporary Thoughts] Ikegami Yoshiko and sociologist Sakai Takashi, for the purpose of investigating possibilities of contemporary thoughts and politics in light of theories after 1968, and discussions on theories from the seventies focusing on landscape theory were conducted. The meeting started in 2003 and continued intermittently for two years, and I made an initial research presentation.

<sup>10</sup> Hirasawa Go, "ATG's Early Years and Underground Cinema," *MINIKOMI*, no.70 (December 2005): 24.

University of Chicago, and *A.K.A. Serial Killer* was screened for the first time outside of Japan. Presentations were given by researchers from various countries, including discussions on landscape theory.<sup>11</sup> Immediately thereafter, a workshop called "Cinema & Revolution: A Screening of Adachi's Work" was organized at New York University<sup>12</sup>, and the organizer of this project, scholar of the history of Japanese thought, Harry Hartoonian, along with critic Sabu Kohso conducted an interview with Adachi, in an attempt to locate him within the context of a global history of thought and movement.<sup>13</sup> Also, film theorist Yuriko Furuhashi presented what turned out to be the first theoretical investigation on landscape theory written in the English-speaking world.<sup>14</sup> Adachi released his first new film in thirty-five years, *Yuheisha* (Prisoner/Terrorist) as well, and comprehensive reviews on Adachi's films and writings were published.<sup>15</sup> In addition, an extensive interview with Matsuda was published, in which he looked back on his own history and thoughts, based on his exchanges with various critics, thinkers and artists from the late 1950s to the early 1970s. There was also a retrospective exhibition of Nakahira in 2003, *Nakahira Takuma: Genten fukki-Yokohama* (Nakahira Takuma: Degree Zero-Yokohama); he also resumed his

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<sup>11</sup> English subtitle for *A.K.A. Serial Killer* was created by Michael Raine, the organizer of the symposium and Japanese film scholar. Also, in addition to my presentation, music scholar Michael Molasky presented a paper on landscape theory, a part of which he later published as *Sengo Nihon no Jazu Bunka-Eiga, Bungaku, Angura* [Postwar Japanese Jazz Culture: Film, Literature, and Underground] (Tokyo: Seidosha, 2005). Although it was pioneering in the sense that an international researcher gave a presentation on landscape theory in Japanese, the focus of his argument was on music, rather than the analysis of *A.K.A. Serial Killer* or landscape theory itself.

<sup>12</sup> At the workshop, a screening of *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War*, and Adachi's video message, as well as presentations by Sakai and myself were held to discuss Adachi and landscape theory in the context not only of the history of movement and the theory of revolution, but also in the context of film theory. Along with the event, related talks and an interview were also translated for a website run by Kohso. See Conversation between Adachi Masao and Sakai Takashi, "Teikoku to Kakumei," [Empire and Revolution], *Toshoshimbun* [The book review press], no. 2620 (1<sup>st</sup> March 2003): 1-3; Conversation between Adachi Masao and Hirasawa Go, "Eiga undo no genzai ni mukete" [For the Present of Cinema=Movement], *Toshoshimbun* [The book review press], no. 2697 (16<sup>th</sup> October 2004): 1-3; A talk among Sakai Takashi, Yabu Shiro and Hirasawa Go, "Suichoku no shiko," [Attaining Vertical Thinking], *Jokyo Bessatsu*, *Ibid.*, 98-115; an excerpt from Matsuda, "Fuukei to shite no toshi" [City as Landscape]; an abbreviated scenario of *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War*. <http://www.bordersphere.com/events/adachi3.htm> [Accessed 31 August, 2020]

<sup>13</sup> Harry Harootunian and Kohso Sabu, "Messages in a Bottle: An Interview with Filmmaker Masao Adachi," *boundary2* 35, no. 3 (Fall 2008): 63-97. The interview also includes my commentary on Adachi.

<sup>14</sup> Furuhashi Yuriko, "Returning to actuality: fūkeiron and the landscape film," *Screen* 48, no. 3 (Autumn 2007): 345-362.

<sup>15</sup> Hirasawa Go, "Adachi Masao no Kikan," [Adachi Masao's Return], in *Yuheisha* [Prisoner/Terrorist], ed. Lindy Pop Studio (Tokyo: Aiikusha, 2007), 62-65. For a new essay on Adachi and his interview, see also Hirasawa Go, "35nen buri no 'Kikan' Adachi Masao no Shiso to Jissen," ['Return' after 35 years Thought and Practice of Adachi Masao] and interview with Adachi Masao, "Gokuchu niwa Tokushu na Jikan to Ninshiki ga Nagareteiru," [In Jail, Unique Time and Recognition are Flowing], *Ronza* (March 2003): 152-165.

activity in earnest then, and his long-out-of-print books were re-printed. On the basis of these, a re-evaluation of Nakahira was also undertaken.<sup>16</sup>

Meanwhile, a re-evaluation of Wakamatsu, centered on his work from the 1960s also began. It was followed by special screenings, international symposia, book publications, as well as the release of a DVD collection of his work, and new perspectives on Wakamatsu's work were introduced.<sup>17</sup> In 2007, he began production on the film *Jitsuroku: Rengo Sekigun* (United Red Army), which was released at the Berlin International Film Festival, along with retrospective screenings the following year.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, *United Red Army* was released in France, and what was the largest special screening event yet was held at Cinémathèque Française. Wakamatsu quickly established international recognition.<sup>19</sup> Also, interest in the relations between Japanese cinema and the political movements of the 1960s – 70's both in Japan and abroad grew, as a large-scale traveling series of Oshima's films took place, starting at the New York Film Festival in 2008—a year that also marked the 40th anniversary of 1968.<sup>20</sup>

Adachi received new acclaim within this global trend, and in 2010, the first complete retrospective of his work was organized for the experimental film program at the Cinémathèque Française,

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<sup>16</sup> Matsuda Masao, Hirasawa Go and Yabu Shiro (interviewees), "Matsuda Masao ga Kataru Sengoshiso no 10nin – Shito suru Kakumei," [Matsuda Masao discusses postwar thoughts through 10 people – Revolution of Personal Struggle], *Gendai no Riron* [Contemporary Theory] vol.8 (Summer 2006): 212-222; vol.9 (Autumn 2006): 213-222; vol.10 (Early Spring 2007): 212-222; vol.11 (Spring 2007): 213-222; vol.12 (Summer 2007): 205-219. Nakahira Takuma, *Naze Shokubutsu Zukan Ka* [Why an Illustrated Botanical Handbook] (Tokyo: Chikumashobo, 2007), and Nakahira Takuma, *Kitarubeki Kotoba no Tameni* [For a Language to Come] (Tokyo: Osiris, 2010) were reprinted. Especially along with the latter, Nakahira's text was translated into English, the publication became an opportunity to introduce his theory worldwide.

<sup>17</sup> See ed. Yomota Inuhiko and Hirasawa Go, *Wakamatsu Koji Hankenryoku no Shozo* [Wakamatsu Koji: Portrait of Anti-Power] (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2007) and Yomota Inuhiko, *Paresuchina Nau* [Palestine Now] (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2006). The Booklets for the DVD-BOX (12 titles in total), which I supervised as general editor, include essays by Kohso, Sakai, myself and others.

<sup>18</sup> For essays on this work and Wakamatsu's films, see ed. Jitsuroku: Rengo Zekkgun Henshu Iinkai, Kakegawa Masayuki, *Wakamatsu Koji, Jitsuroku: Rengo Sekigun Asamasanso eno Dotei* [Wakamatsu Koji, Actual History: United Red Army A Path to Asama-Sanso Incident] (Tokyo: Asahishimbunsha, 2008).

<sup>19</sup> See Wakamatsu Koji, Oshima Nagisa, Jean-Baptiste Thoret and Hirasawa Go, *Koji Wakamatsu: cinéaste de la révolte* (Paris: IMHO, 2010).

<sup>20</sup> For reinvestigation on Adachi's landscape theory and theory of film movement in the context of 1968, see below. Hirasawa Go, "Kitarubeki Hyogen/Hoki no Tameni – Kanosei toshiteno 1968nen," [For Coming Expression/Insurrection: 1968 as Possibility], in *1968nen Bunkaron* [Cultural Theories on 1968] ed. Yomota Inuhiko and Hirasawa Go (Tokyo: Mainichi Shimbunsha, 2009), 280-304. For re-evaluation of Oshima, see below: ed. Yomota Inuhiko and Hirasawa Go, *Oshima Nagisa Chosakushu* [Collected Writings of Oshima Nagisa] (Tokyo: Gendaishichoshinsha, 2008/2009); ed. Stefano Francia di Celle, *Nagisa Oshima*, Torino: Torino International Film Festival, 2009; ed. Quim Cases, *Nagisa Oshima*, Spain: San Sebastian Film Festival Education and Fimoteca Española, 2013.

under the supervision of film programmer Nicole Brenez. Meanwhile Adachi's collected writings on film were translated and published in France and Mexico in 2012.<sup>21</sup> This was particularly important, since, with the exception of Oshima's work, Japanese film theory from the 1960s–70s was largely unknown outside Japan, despite filmmakers and their films often being introduced. Now it received a new global attention.<sup>22</sup>

Landscape theory was centered around the argument that cinema and politics, art and movement, were intertwined in a complex manner. Because of the fact that, despite being a theory of film and art, landscape theory was not an academic theory per se, but rather a practical theory for movement and revolution, its theoretical formulation was not an easy task. Also, due to the use of the extremely common term 'landscape' in its name, 'landscape' or 'landscape theory' as a keyword was often discussed without the initial context, disregarding the crux of the landscape theory Matsuda and others were attempting to present. It is also undeniable that criticism and confusion arose due to the fact that they appropriated the term without referring to the context of landscape or the discourses and theories of landscape built on its historical accumulation and contradictions, and applied it to a political context. Similar problems ensued when landscape theory was reassessed. In Japan, without calling into question precisely what the landscape is, discussions developed assuming that what constitutes landscape theory as a system was given, whereas overseas, the same term 'landscape' was used in the discussion without taking into consideration the conceptual differences between the western notion of landscape, with its long history and the Japanese notion of landscape, which was introduced into Japan in a compressed form through

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<sup>21</sup> Ed. Nicole Brenez and Go Hirasawa, *Le bus de la révolution passera bientôt près de chez toi : Ecrits sur le cinéma, la guérilla et l'avant-garde (1963-2010)*, (Aix-en-Provence: Rouge Profound, 2012); ed. Hirasawa Go, *Masao Adachi* (Mexico city: National Autonomous University of Mexico Press, 2012). In concert with a special event at the Cinémathèque, the documentary, *Il se peut que la beauté ait renforcé notre résolution - Masao Adachi* (2010) was directed by French filmmaker Philippe Grandrieux and produced by Brenez, and similarly, a documentary on Adachi and May Shigenobu, the daughter of Shigenobu Fusako of the Japanese Red Army, *The Anabasis of May and Fusako Shigenobu, Masao Adachi and 27 Years Without Images* (2011), directed by French filmmaker Eric Baudelaire, were also shown, making the event even more expansive, beyond an ordinary re-evaluation in the domain of cinema.

<sup>22</sup> The following collected writings of Oshima are published in France and the U.S. See Nagisa Oshima, trans. Jean-Paul Le Pape, *Ecrits, 1956-1978: Dissolution et Jaillissement*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1980); ed. Annette Michelson, trans. Dawn Lawson, *Cinema, Censorship, and the State: The Writings of Nagisa Oshima, 1956-1978* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992).

Japan's modernization. Sharing the context for the discussion internationally was also difficult due to a lack of translated works: except for partial translations of work by Adachi and Nakahira, none of Matsuda's significant essays were translated.

Given these problems, clarifications and surveys on landscape theory, as well as the introduction of related discussions in history, were carried out through cross-disciplinary approaches, such as academic research books and papers, symposia and workshops, and translations of basic writings, film screenings and exhibitions.<sup>23</sup> Based on these elements, this dissertation re-examines landscape theory by mapping various discourses on landscape theory in Japan in both historical and theoretical frameworks. Chapter One introduces and traces the historical changes of the concept of landscape in Japan from the late nineteenth century to the 1960s, as seen in fields such as geology, cultural theory, philosophy, literature, art, photography, and cinema. The discussion includes introductions to concepts of landscape not directly related to the landscape theory proposed by Matsuda and others, as well as those that had not been discussed in the context of theories of landscape. Chapter Two focuses on landscape theory as proposed by Matsuda. This is carried out by comparing Nakahira's theory of landscape, as well as by

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<sup>23</sup> In Japan, the expanded edition of Matsuda's collected writings on landscape theory, *Fukei no Shimetsu* [Extinction of Landscape] was published by Koshisha in 2013. As an editor of this publication, I was responsible for compiling supplemental material, as well as writing a bibliographical introduction, "*Fukeiron no Genzai*," [Landscape Theory Today]. I also published the following essays on Adachi's films and landscape theory, as well as on the film, *The Man Who Left His Will on Film* around that time. Hirasawa Go, "Eiga no kanosei toshite no Adachi Masao," [Adachi Masao as Possibility of Cinema] *Misuzu* 54.9, no. 609 (October 2012): 6-13, "Fukei, aruiwa Fukeiron o megutte" [Concerning Landscape, or Landscape Theory], booklet included in *Oshima Nagisa DVD-BOX 2: The Man Who Left His Will on Film* (Tokyo: Kinokuniyashoten, 2010), 10-16. Also for research books and exhibition catalogues published overseas, see below ed. Doryun Chong, *Tokyo 1955-1970: A New Avant-Garde* (NY: Modern Museum of Art, NY, 2012); ed. Doryun Chong, Hayashi Michio, Kajiya Kenji, Sumitomo Fumihiko, *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan 1945-1989: Primary Documents* (Duke University Press, 2012); Furuhashi Yuriko, *Cinema of Actuality: Japanese Avant-Garde Filmmaking in the Season of Image Politics* (Duke University Press, 2013); ed. Nakamori Yasufumi, *For a New World to Come: Experiments in Japanese Art and Photography, 1968-1979* (Museum Fine Arts Houston, 2015); ed. Diane Dufour, Matthew S. Witkovsky with Duncan Forbes and Walter Moser, *Provoke: between protest and performance : photography in Japan 1960/1975* (Göttingen: Steidl, 2016); Franz Prichard, *Residual Futures: The Urban Ecologies of Literary and Visual Media of 1960s and 1970s Japan* (New York: Columbia University, 2019), and ed. Hirasawa Go and Kim Jiha, *Adachi Masao* (Gwangju: Asian Culture Center, scheduled for publication in 2021). For symposia and workshops, see "The History of Landscape Theory: Radical Landscapes from 1960s Japan" (New York University, 2012), "Film, Landscape, Politics" (Goldsmith School of University of London, 2014). For special screening, "Landscape/Media – an Investigation into the Revolutionary Horizon, Reloaded" (Corutisane festival, 2014), "Landscape Theory: An encounter between cinema and radical politics in 1960s-70s Japan" (UCLA, 2015), and for art exhibitions, see "Provoke: Photography in Japan between Protest and Performance, 1960-1975" (Albertina Museum, Fotomuseum Winterthur, Le Bal and Chicago Art Institute, 2016); CUT/GASH/SLASH - Adachi Masao—A Militant Theory of Landscape (American University of Beirut, 2019) .

reviewing debates on landscape theory from the critique of landscape theory developed by filmmaker Hara Masataka and critic Tsumura Takashi. In addition, new landscape theories by literary critic Karatani Kojin and others that were developed after those by Matsuda et al. are discussed. In Chapter Three, the theory and practice of Adachi is analyzed, with a focus on two representative landscape theory films, *A.K.A. Serial Killer* and *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War*. This is followed by an examination of *hodoron* (theory of reportage) as the media theory that was a theoretical successor of landscape theory, as well as *joei-tai undo* (the film-screening troop movement) of *Red Army/PFLP*. In Chapter Four the relationship between the work of Wakamatsu and Oshima—with whom Adachi and Matsuda collaborated—and landscape theory is investigated. Further, a comparison with Godard and Dziga Vertov group is conducted, in terms of theory and work. In conclusion, the contemporaneity of landscape theory along its historical, theoretical and global positioning is clarified.

## **Chapter One: Landscape and the Landscape Theory**

The landscape theory was initially proposed by film critic Matsuda Masao in the latter half of 1969, and subsequently developed by filmmaker Adachi Masao, script writer Sasaki Mamoru and photographer Nakahira Takuma, causing an enormous controversy. In this chapter, I review how landscape was conceptualized in the process of the modernization which began after the Meiji Restoration in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and was positioned in various cultural domains, by outlining the genealogies of various concepts of landscape with reference to their historical, theoretical, cultural and political backgrounds. Through these comparisons, the position of the landscape theory proposed by Matsuda and others is highlighted.

### **1. The Birth of Landscape**

In the midst of modernization after the Meiji Restoration, the concept of landscape had been discussed in various forms politically, economically, socially, as well as culturally. The discussions were diverse in content, ranging from *Nihon fukei ron* (Discourse on Japanese Landscape) by Shiga Shigetaka, published in 1894, *Chijinron* (Discourse on the earth-human relation) by Uchimura Kanzo, to a series of travel writings by Yanagita Kunio from the 1920's-30's, *Fudo* by Watsuji Tetsuro, and *Nihon Fukeibiron* (Aesthetics discourse on Japanese landscape) by Uehara Keiji in 1943, encompassing geology, philosophy, ethnology, sociology, as well as urban studies; and cultural theories in literature, art, photography and film. The landscape theory proposed by Matsuda and Adachi in the late 1960's through early 1970's, however, discussed issues that were significantly different from the aforementioned ones developed during the early Meiji to the postwar period. Mediated through the analysis of cinema and images, as well as through the joint production of *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, Matsuda along with others, discovered the structure of power, not within either specific or symbolic political space, but rather within homogenized and mundane quotidian landscapes. As the trends of the movements symbolizing 1968 were gradually declining, they attempted to define horizons for the theory of power, state, or revolutionary being that were prepared for the new era of the seventies. Previous concepts of landscape, discourses and

theories of landscape prior to those of Matsuda and others in their respective contexts, of course, were closely connected to politics and society. However, their arguments basically revolved around perceptible landscapes. The new landscape theory on the other hand thrust invisible as well as visible landscapes into the foreground. By aiming for this inversion of landscape=power, it attempted to reinscribe the concept in the context of theories of movements and revolution.

This discussion originally unfolded when the word "landscape" was used for the first time in an essay titled *Fukei toshite no sei* (Sex as Landscape) published in the December 28, 1969 issue of *Asahi Journal*. Matsuda used the term "landscape" in introducing the work, *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, which was still being filmed. *A.K.A. Serial Killer* is a documentary film consisting solely of shots of the landscape that nineteen-year old Nagayama Norio, the perpetrator of a series of murders that had taken place in Tokyo, Kyoto, Hakodate and Nagoya from October 1968 to April 1969, may have seen while wandering, from his birth until his arrest. In addition to Matsuda, this film was produced by filmmaker Adachi, script writer Sasaki, producer Iwabuchi Susumu, as well as cinematographer Nonomura Masayuki and Yamazaki Yutaka. Shooting began in July 1969 upon Nagayama's arrest, and was completed by the end of 1969. The whole incident had an enormous impact all across Japan, as the young man who was arrested turned out to be one of those young workers who had been lionized as the "golden eggs" of society, and had gone from the poor Tohoku region to the city for work immediately after graduating from junior high school. Referring to this work in which he himself got involved, Matsuda argues as follows:

Together with Adachi Masao and other peers, I walked all over the eastern half of Japan following the path of (gun) serial killer Nagayama Norio, starting from Abashiri, to Sapporo, Hakodate, Tsugaru Plain, Tokyo, Nagoya, Kyoto, Osaka to Kobe, and even further to Hong Kong. Calling it a documentary film, we single-mindedly kept filming the landscape of each region that Nagayama also may have seen with his own eyes. We are now creating a strange work that can only be called an actual landscape film because the landscape itself has been first and foremost perceived as a <power> that we are at war with. Perhaps Nagayama shot bullets to tear apart the landscape. State power would recklessly sever the landscape to clear paths, for instance, for the Tomei Highway. While we are enjoying a pleasant drive on that highway, it is at that very moment that the landscape haunts us, and <power> can seize us. So, whether or not it is a

merciless situation or status quo, we venture to say that it doesn't matter to us. Have we not even transcended the landscape?<sup>24</sup>

At the beginning of the essay above, on the work of Wakamatsu Koji, Matsuda discusses Wakamatsu's *Yuke yuke nidome no shojo* (Go, Go, Second Time Virgin, 1969), which was scripted by Adachi, using the concept of the 'locked room' to analyze the film. The film tells a unique love story about a young couple, set on the rooftop of an apartment building. Comparing it with *Taiji ga mitsuryo suru toki* (The Embryo Hunts in Secret, 1966), Matsuda points out that both are locked-room dramas shot in the closed interior spaces of a single house and a single room. He further argues that, in contrast to *The Embryo Hunts in Secret*, where a literal locked room in an apartment was used, the 'locked room' in *Go, Go Second Time Virgin* was an artificial space constituted by being locked at midnight, which is characterized by the 'locked room' of the rooftop, which, paradoxically, is infinitely open to the sky and linked to the brightly colored urban landscape. He pulled the concept of 'landscape' from the last sequence in which the couple throw themselves off the roof, to step out of this locked room to the outside.

It is only out into the landscape that a young boy can step. There is nothing that the young boy and girl can do but lightly jump over the wire fence, throw themselves into the landscape, and die.<sup>25</sup>

Matsuda indicates that, by pushing the inquiry of the locked room to an extreme, Wakamatsu and Adachi depicted that even the act of 'sex,' which is extremely personal and internal, can be contained by the external 'landscape'. Discovering the concern shared between his argument and *A.K.A. Serial Killer* which was then being filmed, Matsuda suggests that the quotidian landscape was indeed a manifestation

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<sup>24</sup> Matsuda Masao, "Fukey toshiten no Sei - Wakamatsu eiga to misshitsu no yutopia" [Sex as landscape: Wakamatsu films and the utopia of the locked room], *Asahi Janaru* [Asahi Journal] 11, no.52 (28<sup>th</sup> December 1969): 12-17, in *Bara to Mumeisha* [A Rose and the Nameless] (Tokyo: Hagashoten, 1970), 123-124. *Bara to Mumeisha* is Matsuda's second book of film criticism, in which this essay is included, with the revised title "Misshitsu/fukey/kenryoku -Wakamatsu eiga to 'Sei' to 'Kaiho'" [Locked room/landscape/power: Wakamatsu film and 'sex' and 'liberation']. Though the essay attests to the origin of landscape theory, it was not included in *Fukey no Shimetsu* [Extinction of landscape], his third book, compiling essays on landscape. However, it is included as an opening essay in *Zohoban: Fukey no Shimetsu* [Newly expanded edition: Extinction of Landscape] (Tokyo: Koshisha, 2013).

<sup>25</sup> Matsuda, *A Rose and the Nameless*, 125.

of power. Furthermore, in *Fukei toshiteno Toshi* (City as Landscape) published in the April, 1970 issue of *Gendai no Me* (Contemporary Eye), he began to clearly present the theory of landscape as a theory of power. Adachi responded to the theory of landscape through roundtable discussions and interviews, as well as his own essays on films. In response to *Sex as Landscape*, Nakahira immediately embarked on developing his own photographic work and a theory based on the theme of landscape, thereby expanding the discussions beyond the framework of cinema to theories on photography and art. Film Director Oshima Nagisa also selected filmmaker Hara Masataka (Masato), and based on a script co-written with Sasaki, he produced *Tokyo Senso Sengo Hiwa* (The Man Who Left His Will on Film, 1970), which also dealt with the theme of landscape. It was within this series of actions and trends that such terms as landscape and the theory of landscape—which had almost never been discussed after the war—came to prominence in film, photography and art, as well as in journals of various fields, thereby causing large controversies as a keyword for the new era.

## **2. *Nihon Fukei Ron* by Shiga Shigetaka and *Chijinron* by Uchimura Kanzo**

Modernization through the Meiji Restoration started, and new forms of writings on nature, culture, as well as travel writings by authors became popular. In the genealogy of landscape it is Shiga Shigetaka's *Discourse on Japanese Landscape* that first formalized the new writings in the form of essays on landscape theory.<sup>26</sup> *Discourse on Japanese Landscape* was originally issued in the journal *Ajia* (Asia) in 1893, and published as a book in 1894. It became a bestseller, going through fifteen editions in twenty years. Shiga rode on a naval training ship and visited New Zealand, Australia, Hawaii and so forth, for research. Impacted enormously by the colonial rule of the western powers he witnessed, and feeling a sense of crisis as a member of an Asian country of lesser powers, he published *Nanyo Jiji* (Current events in the South Sea Islands), immediately after returning home. In 1888 he co-founded Seikyosha (the

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<sup>26</sup> Of course, prior to this, the theme of landscape can be found in essays, including *Makuranososhi* [The Pillow Book] by Sei Shonagon, Essays in *Tsurezuregusa* [Idleness] by Yoshida Kenko in the Heian Period, as well as *Oku no Hosomichi* [The Narrow Road to the Deep North] by Matsuo Basho in the Edo period, as well as in the tradition of *Sansui-ga* (landscape paintings) in the domain of visual art. Here, however, I would like to focus on the post-Meiji period, in which the concept of landscape had become established through the process of modernization.

Society for Political Education) with Miyake Setsurei and others and published its journal *Nihonjin* (Japanese) to advocate conservatism based on national essence (*kokusui hozonshugi*). The journal featured contents to address the sovereignty of the nation and the idea of *fukoku kyohei* (enrich the country, strengthen the armed forces). It aimed for a uniquely Japanese modernization, one not based on exclusionism, but on a scientific understanding of Japan and the world in terms of geographical conditions, and the establishment of constitutionalism, rather than the *Hanbatsu Seiji* (clique politics) led by the Satsuma and Choshu domains. These thoughts, along with populism (Heimin Shugi) of Tokutomi Soho, which was promoted during the period of *Jiyu Minken Undo* (The Freedom and People's Rights Movement), became a major trend on both the left and right in the twenties of the Meiji Period.

Under those circumstances, the publication of *Japanese* was suspended due to its stance against the policy of Europeanization promoted by the new government. Shiga subsequently published the journal *Ajia* (Asia) as a successor to *Japanese*. However, when that was also suspended, he resumed publication of *Japanese*. It was through the strategy of directly criticizing politics in *Japanese*, and developing philosophical and cultural discussions in Asia, that *Discourse on Japanese Landscape*, discussing the beauty of the Japanese landscape, was created. In his argument on landscape, Shiga proposes the three concepts of elegance, beauty, and openness. After giving examples of their characteristics, he cites their four bases as follows.

1. There is diversity of climate and ocean currents in Japan
2. There is a great amount of water vapor in Japan
3. There are many volcanic stones in Japan
4. There is intense erosion by flowing water in Japan<sup>27</sup>

Shiga detailed geographical characteristics of Japan, such as: its diverse climate, its ocean currents, its being a long and narrow archipelago extending from north to south, its humidity, its numerous volcanoes, and the severe erosion of land by flowing water. He provided a historical overview of the landscape in Japan, and recommended mountain climbing. As a result, notable and classical

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<sup>27</sup> Shiga Shigetaka, *Nihon Fukeiron* [Discourse on Japanese Landscape](Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 1937), 35.

landscapes or descriptions of nature were thrust to the background, and instead, a powerful, peripheral alpine beauty, characterized by big and tall mountains, stones, rocks, and mountain streams was discovered. Through his discussion, Shiga redefined nature itself as landscape, and elevated it to an aesthetic concept, opening up landscape theory as a new horizon. His writing, however, contained seemingly irreconcilable elements; his discussion of landscape on the one hand introduced scientific viewpoints, and used antiquated literary expression, imitative of classical Chinese, on the other. Shiga argued that the Japanese landscape was the most beautiful in the world, as follows:

However, the Japanese people describe the beauty of the Japanese mountains and rivers not because they exist in their home country, but because they, in fact, hold absolute beauty in comparison to foreign countries.<sup>28</sup>

This new discovery of the Japanese landscape served the attempt to build nationalist spirit and sentiment, and thereby to support culturally the establishment of Japan as a modern nation that could compete with Western countries. Paradoxically, it strove to oppose Western power by introducing a concept of landscape born of Western modernity to indicate the superiority of Japanese beauty. It was eclectic in terms of its aesthetic values; instead of tracing history prior to the Meiji era, with the western notions of the sublime and beauty in mind, notions of elegance, beauty and openness were juxtaposed, while Mt. Fuji was still cited as representative of traditional beauty. Therefore, despite the differences in policies from the existing administration, it had the same ideological bases in nationalism and ethnocentrism, and as Japan was rapidly establishing itself as a modern nation-state through the victory in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, and interest in this book grew enormously, it gradually lost its initial critical ground. Furthermore, Shiga's theory of landscape became institutionalized by being assimilated into the imperialistic discourse of the Meiji government, which advanced into the invasion of Asia under the banner of Pan-Asianism (*koa-ron*). The new discovery of the Japanese landscape through the eyes of

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 28.

the modernity similar to Japan's modernity itself, with various contradictions unresolved, ended up being established in the nationalistic and ethnocentric context, limiting the direction of subsequent debates.<sup>29</sup>

On the other hand, another important book, contemporaneous to *Discourse on Japanese Landscape* was written, called *Chirigaku-ko* (Thoughts on Geography Study), by Uchimura Kanzo. The book discussed Japan and its landscape from a geographical perspective. Uchimura, a geographer and Christian thinker, published it as a book of geography in 1894, and renamed it *Chijinron* (Discourse on the earth-human relation) when the book was reprinted in 1897. While introducing the aims and history of geography as a new discipline, he analyzed the continents of Asia, Europe, and the United States respectively, which were further examined through categories such as Orient and Japan.

If this is compared to the infinity of space, the fineness of dust would still be large, and if this is compared to the sun—which should not be called large among all the heavenly stars, it is less than one 1.3 millionth. If this is compared with Jupiter, its sister planet, it is like a little bean in proportion to an orange. However, a single point of this small space of dust, an earth of size of a tiny bean, is indeed the place where our life becomes connected. I have my life here for the first time, I am raised here, I comprehend here, I love here, I am loved here, and I die here, leaving my corpse here. The earth that provides life to me, the earth that gives my life, the earth where my remains are entrusted. I will not rest until I have researched this earth.<sup>30</sup>

Since the target of his discussion is the world at large and just including Japan as part of it, and the Japanese landscape is not discussed exclusively, his book is rarely mentioned in the context of the landscape theory. However, it attempted to show the universality of the concept of landscape in terms of the scale of the earth and planets, beyond the geographical framework of the West, the East, Japan, and the nation. By setting aside preconceived notions about Japan and locating its basis in a global context, his analysis crossed domains, including politics, economy, culture, history and religion, as its geopolitical

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<sup>29</sup> A number of writers discussed essays on landscape by Shiga. For a pioneering re-examination after the war, see Irokawa Daikichi, "Toyo no kokuchisha Tenshin —sono shogai no dorama," ed. Irokawa Daikichi, *Nihon no meicho 39 Okakura Tenshin, Shiga Shigetaka* [Masterpieces of Japanese Literature 39: Okakura Tenshin and Shiga Shigetaka](Tokyo: Chuokoronsha, 1970), 5-63. See also: Inose Naoki, "Hyoden Shiga Shigetaka to 'Nihon Fukeiron,'" [A Critical Biography: Shiga Shigetaka and 'The Theory of the Japanese Landscape'] in *Nihon Fukeiron Kaidai* [Bibliographical Introduction to The Theory of the Japanese Landscape](Tokyo: Iizuka Shobo, 1977), 29-123. Omuro Mikio, *Shiga Shigetaka "Nihon Fukei Ron" Seidoku* [An Explication of The Theory of the Japanese Landscape](Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 2013).

<sup>30</sup> Uchimura Kanzo, *Chijinron* [Discourse on the earth-human relation](Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 1942), 11.

conditions.<sup>31</sup> Uchimura, a non-denominational Christian who was known for claiming to be a pacifist during the time of his treason incident and the Russo-Japanese War, and Shiga, a nationalist, were at the opposite ends in terms of thought, politics, and process of conceptualizing landscape. However, they were friends, as a senior and a junior during their school days at Sapporo Nogakko (Sapporo Agricultural College), which was established for the purpose of training engineers to develop Hokkaido. Hokkaido, a subarctic region located at the northern tip of Japan, was the land of the indigenous people called Ainu, but through modernization it had become an active target for development, providing a setting for Uchimura and Shiga to pursue new geography. While in his review of *On the Japanese Landscape*, Uchimura praised Shiga highly, calling him a 'Japanese Ruskin,' (referencing John Ruskin, a British art historian who discussed the history of landscape paintings in *Modern Painters* in the mid-19th century), he was critical of the praising of the landscape in connection to Japanese beauty.

Japan is beautiful, beautiful garden-wise, and beautiful park-wise, but I believe there are other beautiful places. Namely, an image of Monte Rosa seen from Aosta, or a view of Mount Everest glimpsed from Darjeeling. Magnificent beauty is indeed what is lacking in the Japanese landscape. The landscape of our country makes people feel entranced (due to too much detail), and the beauty that elevates people, that is, the beauty that makes people rise above themselves, I believe, cannot be sought in every country. I think Mr. Shiga did not mention this as a result of his literary skills, however, I say this here as a critic, and as patriotism is rising today, the task of the critic to say words from a non-state perspective is also difficult.<sup>32</sup>

Uchimura critiqued Shiga's discussion of Japan's superiority through comparisons between Japanese and European landscapes, but without providing a full justification of his critique. He further challenged Shiga's aesthetic criteria itself, which juxtaposed the sublime with the aesthetic. At a time of rising patriotism, he even called his own statement a "non-state statement" and sharply criticized the nationalist tone of Shiga's argument. The series of historical changes that had taken Western Europe more than a century to undergo took place in the case of Japan's modernization in an extremely condensed

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<sup>31</sup> For studies that reassessed Uchimura in the context of landscape theory, see Uchida Yoshiaki, *Gendaini ikiru Uchimura Kanzo* [Uchimura Kanzo living today](Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 1991), *Fukei no Hakken* [Discovery of Landscape](Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 2001). Uchida argues that Uchimura's theory moved towards establishing a cosmology based on landscape theory beyond the framework of a nation, world or the earth.

<sup>32</sup> *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu 3* [The Complete Works of Uchimura Kanzo vol.3] (Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 1981), 154.

manner and timeframe. This extreme modernization produced significant strains, leading to events such as Imperial Japan's invasion of Asia and its plunge into the Second World War. Viewed based on these aspects of Japan's negative history, Uchimura's geography and discourse of landscape—which had rigorously critiqued them—indicated a theoretical possibility to contest a 'landscape' that had become sequestered and embodied by Imperialism, ethnocentrism, and politics with a capital 'P.'

### 3. Before 'Landscape'

Before Shiga's Theory of Japanese Landscape, and also before the Meiji Restoration, the term 'landscape' existed, and in this sense, it is not that landscape was born for the first time through modernization. Furthermore, historically various terms that are similar to landscape had been used in Japan as well. Augustin Berque, a French geographer who advocated climatology (*fudo-gaku*), described how landscape had been constituted in Japan as follows.

The term "landscape", like its synonyms "sight (kokei)", "scenery (keshiki)" and also "landscape with mountain and river (sansui)", comes from China. Along with these words, a set of aesthetic schemes was introduced from China, and penetrated the thinking of Japanese elite class deeply. These schemes established the Japanese landscape in the Heian period. As in the Chinese maxim "Picturesque landscape", we perceive the landscape through our trained gaze, educated by paintings and poetry, etc. Without such education, what we perceive is merely an environment.<sup>33</sup>

According to Berque, the idea of landscape in Japan, which was introduced from China, where the concept had already been created by the late third century, differed significantly from ideas of landscape in Europe. As for the term 'landscape' in Western languages, the word '*landschap*' developed in Dutch at the end of the 16th century and spread to neighboring countries. It corresponds to 'landscape' in English, '*Landschaft*' in German, and '*paysage*' in French. Words such as 'land' and 'pays,' which represented "land" and "region", are those from which the concept of "landscape" was derived. On the

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<sup>33</sup> Augustin Berque, *Nihon no fukei, seio no keikan, soshite zokei no jidai* [Japanese Landscape, Western Scenery and the Age of the Created Landscape] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1990), 49. For a history of *sansui-ga* (landscape paintings) that had existed much longer than western landscape paintings, see also, Michael Sullivan, *The Birth of Landscape Painting in China* (University of California Press, 1962); Aoki Shigeru, *Shizen o utsusu—Higashi no sansuiga, nishi no fukeiga, suisuiga* [Reflecting Nature: Landscape Paintings in the East, Scenic Paintings and Watercolor Paintings in the West] (Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 1996).

other hand, landscape or *fukei* in Japanese can be divided into two kanji characters, 'wind' (*fu*) and 'scenery' (*kei*). The former represents a dynamic atmosphere in the air, and the latter is associated with an ancient Japanese word, '*keshiki*', which represents the state of nature or people. Both refer to certain environments and conditions, but do not include the specificity of a particular land or region. On the other hand, poems in *Manyoshu*, the oldest collection of Japanese waka poetry, compiled at the end of the Nara period (CE710-794), shows that expressions in which one's feelings are metaphorically entrusted to the changes of seasons can be thought of as something landscape-like that preceded the concept of landscape from China. These pre-landscape expressions, and the concept of landscape from China, together took root over a long period of time, and the western realistic landscape notion was introduced subsequently, in the late 19th century. Berque argues on this history as follows:

Neither 'forest' (*silva*) nor 'mountain' had long been a natural landscape in the same sense that we conceive of today. In other words, they were not landscapes that were granted aesthetic value. In Europe, it was necessary to wait for the arrival of the Romantic aesthetic in the Eighteenth century for a mountain to become a beautiful landscape. In Japan, the aestheticization of the "mountain" took place in two stages. The new one dates back to the introduction of European landscape schemes during the Meiji period. The older one had been established since the Nara period, under the influence of models of literature and painting from China. Of course, at either stage, the new scheme had connections to older elements.<sup>34</sup>

He argues that the introduction of new ideas of landscape from China and the west gave the impetus for the Japanese notion of landscape to be formed, in relation to a pre-landscape, or a *sansui*-like landscape. Completely new concepts of landscape were introduced from China and the west, however: instead of the perception that the idea of landscape was rewritten entirely, it became established rather in the context of traditional landscapes. *Utamakura* (literally "poem pillows") that refer to famous place names used in poetry have long been established as terms that describe landscape beauty, and the above-mentioned *Manyoshu*, *Kokin Wakashu*, and *Shinkokin Wakashu* have been referred to as three representative *waka* (poetry) anthologies in Japan, and classical poets such as Otomo no Yakamochi, Saigyō in the Heian period (794-1185), Minamoto no Mitsusa and the Emperor Gotoba have been

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<sup>34</sup> Berque, *Nihon no fukei, seio no keikan, soshite zokei no jidai*, 90-92.

widely recognized as representative poets who read landscapes. However, *utamakura* do not represent landscapes as they were literally seen. Instead they reflect the emotions and feelings of the poets associated with the landscapes, and were used to indicate stylistic beauty, or as symbols that conceptually express the beauty or mystery of nature, rather than an individual landscape. Though *yamato-e*(英語), *meisho-e*(英語) and *shiki-e*(英語) paintings based on *utamakura* were born under the influence of Sansui-ga or Chinese-style landscape paintings, despite depicting the same landscape, they differed formally from realistic, or perspective landscape paintings.

Meanwhile, in the Edo period (1600-1868), poet Matsuo Basho traveled throughout the nation and published *Oku no Hosomichi* (Narrow Road to the Deep North). In addition, traveler and naturalist Sugae Masumi conducted nationwide fieldwork, and compiled his reports as *Masumi Sugae Yuranki* (Masumi Sugae's travelogue) indicating an attitude towards landscape that suggests a theory, before modernization. On the other hand, *ukiyo-e* (commercially published prints) was invented as a development from *Yamato-e*, and with themes depicting the customs of the same period as its characteristics, many *Meisho-e* or pictures of famous places were drawn. Katsushika Hokusai's *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji* in the late Edo period is known as a representative work. Hokusai is said to have adopted perspective in his picture-making, however, the technique can be seen in some of the True View Paintings from the same period, which were in the line of *Meisho-e*. Though Japan remained isolated from outside countries for a long time in the Edo period, Western landscape paintings and science were introduced through Dutch culture, which was informed through Dejima, the Dutch trading post located in Nagasaki, the only place where trading was possible, and *Dainihon enkai yochi zenzu* (The Coastal Map of Great Japan) was created by Ino Tadataka as well. It could be said that the background of the emergence of this new approach was to defend the land against western countries that were pressuring Japan to open the country. With the arrival of Matthew Perry of the U.S. Navy in 1853, and the following year, the isolation was forcibly lifted, and Western culture started to be introduced into Japan in earnest. The movement to overthrow the Tokugawa shogunate led by the Choshu and Satsuma clans led to the end

of the three hundred year Edo period. The Meiji government was born in 1868, starting the course for modern reform or the so-called Meiji Restoration. During this rapid modernization, the Japanese landscape underwent significant transformations from the Chinese-style or *utamakura*-based landscapes to western landscape paintings and theory.

#### 4. Genealogy of Landscape Theory after Shiga

In the genealogy of Shiga's *Nihon Fukeiron*, a book by Kojima Usui titled *Nihon Sansuiron* (Discourse of Japanese landscape) discussed Japanese landscapes systematically. Kojima climbed the mountains of the Chubu region, the so-called the Japanese Alps, one by one, and in 1905, with the cooperation of British missionary and climber Walter Weston, he co-founded *Sangaku-kai* (Alpine Club, later *Nihon Sangaku-kai* (Japan Alpine Club)) with scientists Tsujimoto Mitsumaru, Takeda Hisayoshi, agricultural chemist Tsujimura Isuke and mountain painter Nakamura Seitaro. He became its first chairman, and published the book along with their journal *Sankei* (Alpine). The view of mountaineers looking down from high mountains—which had been the object of worship and awe—was introduced to the public through their mountain travel literature, mountain paintings and mountain photography, and thus, a new landscape was literally acquired.<sup>35</sup> The phenomenon in Japan was similar to what had happened a century earlier in 18th century Europe, when Alpine landscapes had been discovered and mountaineering gained popularity. In his commentary for the Iwanami Bunko edition of *Discourse on Japanese landscape* published in 1937, Kojima praised Shiga's theory on landscape as pioneering for alpine history. He was influenced by the book, and started to become active as a mountaineer, and thereby he inherited the discovery of alpine beauty in practice and theory.<sup>36</sup> However instead of assuming the human being as subject, who unfairly conquers the unexplored mountains as other, Kojima discussed the importance of the integration between humans and nature through practical climbing experiences. In 1902,

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<sup>35</sup> For Kojima, see the following. Kojima Usui, *Nihon Sansuiron* [Discourse of Japanese landscape] (Kyoto: Ryubunkan, 1905), and ed. Yokohama Bijutsukan [Yokohama Museum of Art], *Kojima Usui Hanga Korekushon: Yama to Bungaku, Soshite Bijutsu* [World of Kojima Usui Collection], (Tokyo: Taishukanshoten, 2007).

<sup>36</sup> Kojima Usui, *Kaisetsu* [Introduction] in Shiga, *Nihon Fukeiron*, 3-17.

in *Yarigatake Exploration Report*, in which he described the climbing of Yarigatake, which was significant in the history of modern mountaineering, he notes as follows in discussing his yearning and love for Yarigatake, as well as for the spirit of mountaineering:

Alas, this evening, when the sun goes down, causing a shift from the real world to the other world, a human figure standing here is pressed by the shadow of one giant towering high over there, which then falls flat to the earth, and here becomes harmonized with it, as if I were part of this world, as if the mountains were part of me.<sup>37</sup>

Kojima differed significantly from Shiga in his inverting the process of seeing and being seen—instead of discovering the landscape based on an assumed subject or on the practice of modern mountain climbing, he assumed a reciprocal relationship with the landscape, positioning himself as part of the landscape.<sup>38</sup> Though he encountered the alpine landscape of Japan through the discovery of modern landscape, he bracketed the notion, viewed nature as it was, and described it.

Another noteworthy book on landscape is *Nihon Fukei Shinron* (New discourse on Japanese landscape) by Ito Gingetsu, published in 1910. The Russo-Japanese War began in 1904, and Japan won a dramatic victory in the Battle of the Sea of Japan the following year. *Kaikoku Nippon* (Maritime Nation Japan,) was published during the heightened period of this war. Ito discussed the beauty of the marine landscape, based on sailing, as opposed to the alpine beauty and climbing and proposed by Shiga and Kojima. It is said that the Russo-Japanese War was the first war in which the lesser power beat the stronger power, but Japan, despite being a newly born modern nation, established sovereignty through successive victories in wars with Qing and Russia. The discovery of the Japanese landscape was further promoted to bolster aggression towards Asia. Subsequently, specialization and fragmentation in approaches to landscape progressed, and landscape was discussed from various viewpoints in books such as *Shinrin Bigaku* (Aesthetics of Forest) by Nijima Yoshinao and Murayama Jozo, discussing the beauty of the forest, *Zoen Gairon* (Introduction to Landscaping) by Tamura Tsuyoshi discussing landscaping in 1918, *Fukei no Kagaku* (Science of Landscape) by Watanabe Toshiro, discussing the beauty of

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<sup>37</sup> Kojima Usui, *Sansui Mujinzo* [Infinite Landscapes] (Kyoto: Ryubunkan, 1906), 114.

<sup>38</sup> For Kojima's view of nature, see Uchida, *Fukei no Hakken*.

landscape geographically in 1924. Also while in 1931, following the Manchurian Incident, Manchuria was established, and the Marco Polo Bridge Incident in 1937 started the Sino-Japanese War leading up to World War II, in 1943, Wakimizu Tetsugoro wrote *Nihon Fukei no Kenkyu Meisho no Shizenkagakuteki Kosatsu* (Studies on the Japanese Landscape: A Natural-Scientific Meditation on Scenic Locations) and discussed from a geographic standpoint the characteristics and beauty of coastal landscapes that were representative of the “beauty of Japan, the land of gods.” In addition, Uehara Keiji wrote *Nihon Fukeibiron* (Aesthetics discourse on Japanese landscape) discussing landscape in the most systematic manner in the pre-war period. Despite differences in disciplinary backgrounds and topics at hand, as well as the level of their commitment to nationalism, these can be pointed out as achievements in the tradition of Shiga's landscape theory.

## 5. Landscape in Photography

Photography was first imported to Japan in 1848. The daguerreotype, invented in 1839 by a photographer, painter Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre (who inherited the foundational techniques for this invention through his partnership with an inventor Joseph Nicéphore Niépce), came to Nagasaki via the Netherlands, Japan's only trading partner, in the form of the silverplate photograph. The collodion process invented thereafter was also imported, and the process was called wet plate photography, which took root due to the simplicity of the negative-positive technique. For this reason, it is said that the history of Japanese photography actually started after wet plate photography was introduced in the mid-1850s. Since the invention of such new photographic techniques roughly coincided with Perry's arrival, Japan was captured as the subject of photography by the service photographer E. Brown who accompanied Perry.<sup>39</sup> Brown documented Japanese people, architecture, and the landscape of the cities where he made stops for the purpose of military research, and those were the first landscape photos taken in Japan. In the wake of the Meiji Restoration, under the influence of *bunmei kaika* (literally, civilization and

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<sup>39</sup> M.C. Perry, *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan* (NY: Dover Publication, 2000).

enlightenment) or the westernization process, photography, which was a state-of-the-art technology in Western Europe, spread throughout Japan, and produced many professional photographers. Self-portraits and portraits of families, once a privilege of the upper class, were now less expensive, and could be owned more easily than paintings. In addition, at the largest port in Japan, commercial photographs capturing Japanese landscapes and culture—called Yokohama Shashin (Yokohama Photography), developed mainly by British photographer Felix Beato and others—became popular souvenirs for foreign residents and tourists from overseas. In addition, when the gelatin plate was invented in 1871, the subjects and expression of photography expanded greatly, and when it took root in Japan around 1890, amateur photographers started to appear, and photography for artistic expression rather than just for commercial purposes was born. This marked a shift from object to be photographed, to subject who takes pictures. These innovations in photographic technology and their historical development in Japan proceeded almost simultaneously with the discovery of landscapes. As the concept of landscape was introduced from Europe and America, in photography, mainly Western photographers took initiative in Japanese landscape photography. Also, during the Sino-Japanese War, as well as in Russo-Japanese War, magazines and newspapers aggressively featured war photographs, and newspapers, in particular, dispatched photographers to local sites, thereby establishing the role of photography in newspapers. Requests from these new media have dramatically improved printing technology, creating fads in picture postcards and photo books. However, while landscape photography was permeating, and interest in the individual landscapes of which pictures were being taken grew, there was almost no discussion to articulate what the landscape captured in photography was.

Early amateur photographs, under the influence of pictorialism, were mainly painterly works, in which the landscape shot with a camera was processed with pigments. This was generally referred to as artistic photography, and spread to the point where a photographers' circle was even formed. In contrast to this current in photography, in 1921, Fukuhara Shinzo, a photographer and business owner, along with others established Shashin Geijutsusha (Photography Art Society), and in the journal *Shashin Geijutsu* (Photography Art), they argued for an expression unique to photography, rather than for photography as

an imitation of painting. In his essay on photography, *Hikari to sono kaicho* (Light and Its Gradations), which was published in his book of photography, he introduced his methodology to literally fix—based on observations of nature in haiku—the moment in nature, by condensing light on photographic paper.

First, if we try to realize light and gradation in the image, when we take a picture, we remove all the lines, shapes, and compositions in the traditional sense from our mind, and discover nature, where light is in harmony with its tone, and we simply try to capture exclusively the nature that gave the impression. In short, this is the harmony of nature and light.<sup>40</sup>

Western music critic Otaguro Motoo and Fukuhara's younger brother Michikusa of the group photographed landscapes of everyday street corners. It can be said that following these new art photography movements, the landscape in photography became an object of theoretical and practical investigation. On the other hand, around 1920, the completion of a railway network throughout the country created a major tourism boom. Various publishing media introduced local tourist sites with photographs, serving to establish postcard-like landscapes. However, in the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake occurred and devastated Tokyo. In the process of Tokyo's major transformation into an entirely new city through subsequent redevelopment, new journals of photography were launched, including *Asahi Camera*. *Neue Fotografie* of Germany, which was translated into Japanese as *Shinko Shashin*, as well as Russian Constructivism were introduced, and new discussions, including photography as machine-age aesthetic, started to unfold. In 1932, photographers Kimura Ihei, Nojima Yasuzo, Nakayama Iwata and photography critic Ina Nobuo published the Coterie journal *Koga*, and the movement for new practice and theory accelerated in earnest. Ina made the declaration, "Return to Photography," a scathingly critique of existing art photography.

Cut off [relations with] "art photography". Destroy every concept of existing "art". Destroy idols completely! And recognize, unmistakably, the unique "mechanism" of photography! The aesthetics of photography as a new art: these two premises must be the foundation upon which the photographic arts are established.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Fukuhara Shinzo, *Fukuhara Shinzo Shashin Gashu: Hikari to sono Kaicho* [Photography Book of Fukuhara Shinzo Light and its Gradation] (Tokyo: Shashingeijutsusha, 1923), 1.

<sup>41</sup> Ina Nobuo, *Ina Nobuo Shashinronshu: Shashin ni Kaere* [Photography Book of Ina Nobuo: Return to Photography] (Nikon Salon Books, 2005), 24.

Looking back on the history of photography, Ina sought photographic expression unto itself, characterized by its mechanical aspects. While partly praising art photographs that focused on the effects of light, he criticized them as being merely imitations of Impressionist paintings. He instead presented the concept of photographic art. Ina did not present it simply as photographic theory, aesthetics or artistic theory. Rather, he developed a theory that the content and form had to correspond with each other, mediated by human beings—social beings—that stand behind the camera.

Photographic art, though its history is young, and its tradition short, should never be subordinate to other art genres. Conversely, in a society with large industrial and technological aspects like today's, photography is the most suitable art for recording, reporting, interpreting and criticizing social life and nature. However, we must not forget that "a person with a camera" is a social being. Only when he becomes separated from society will photographic art follow the path of decline as any other art, abandoning its brilliant qualification as a "modern chronicler," and seeking again meaningless aesthetic trends.<sup>42</sup>

Based on this new theory of photography, Kimura published in the same initial issue everyday landscapes of people living in downtown Tokyo, *Kojochi Fukei* (Factory Landscape), *Mado* (*Apato no*) (Window [of the Apartment]), and *Yomise* (Night Stalls). Unlike conventional photographic expressions, in his photographs he linked the landscape to society and class. As photojournalism received worldwide interest, in 1933 Nihon Kobo (Japanese Studio) was founded, centering around Natori Yonosuke, who had returned from Germany, and Kimura and Ina joined the group. The group proposed the concept of news report photos (*hodo shashin*), which gradually took root within Japan through the launch of *NIPPON*, a graphic magazine for foreign publicity. However, under information controls that had been strengthened due to the start of the Sino-Japanese War, organizations were restructured into a system for the support of Imperial rule (*Yokusan taisei*), and the group distanced itself from its initial philosophy of news photography, and took on a role producing propaganda for national defense.

It was under these circumstances that Domon Ken, who had been actively working as a news photographer since his student days, published the essay, *Taigai Senden Zasshiron* (On Foreign

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 35.

Propaganda Magazine) in 1943, criticizing the decadence of news photography, which had been relegated to being an ostentatious and intimidating propaganda media arm.

As for magazines created and published in Tokyo, Japan—which is the center of politics, economics, and culture in the Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere—we only need the ones that have formats and content sufficient to be truly representative of Japan. The editorial policy must also be changed from the conventional greedy "propaganda" to the robust "news report."<sup>43</sup>

However, such a genuine proposal resulted in a ban on magazines, and the resignation of Domon from the association. The question of landscape in photography, proposed in the changing context from photographic art to art photography, and to news report photography, was swept away by nationalism and the wartime regime, similar to what was seen in other cultural discourses on landscape, until the arrival of new expressions that came out of the postwar ruins.

## 6. Landscape in Film

Although cinema was invented as a visual art following photography, it was introduced to Japan at almost the same time as Shiga's publication on landscape. The prehistory of cinema was based on the performance of *utsushi-e*, a moving picture projected on a screen, which was an adaptation of a magic lantern imported from the Netherlands in the early 19th century, which gradually took root in as popular entertainment in Japan. In 1896, the Kinetoscope and the Vitacope were introduced to Japan, a few years after their invention, and cinema as a new media took its place when the Lumière brothers' cinematograph was released to the public in February 1897. Film shooting was also conducted in Japan for the first time in early 1897 by Constant Girel, a projectionist and technician dispatched to Japan by the Lumière company. With the cooperation of businessman Inabata Katsutaro, who was responsible for its import, Girel filmed the daily life and customs of Japan, such as family dining, parties, and cityscapes. He also documented special events such as plays, swordsmanship, and festivals. In October 1898, Gabriel Veyre, who had also been dispatched by the Lumière company, succeeded the position of Girel, documenting

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<sup>43</sup> Domon Ken, "Taigai Senden Zasshiron," *Nihon Hyoron* [Japanese Criticism] (September 1943): 65.

landscapes of all over Japan. Between these two, there was a man named Shibata Tsuneyoshi, who filmed the landscape of Tokyo at the request of Lumière.<sup>44</sup> Partly because the scientific equipment had been imported from Europe, as had happened in photography, the initial landscape of Japan was filmed from the perspective of the western gaze. Inaugural filming in Japan by Japanese was conducted in the fall of 1897 when the Konishi Photo Shop purchased a projector cum camera. The young engineer Asano Shiro filmed landscapes at tourist sites such as Nihonbashi and Asakusa, as well as performances by entertainers. It can be said that while Girel and Veyre pointed their cameras at everyday ordinary landscapes of Japan, Asano in contrast, tried to capture landscape as signs or icons. However, it can also be pointed out that, from the western perspective, daily life in the Far East was itself a spectacle. The methodology of Lumière's dispatching technicians all around the world, and documenting it in films had its basis on a structure of colonial exploitation and expropriation.<sup>45</sup> The discovery of the landscape, in which Japan was filmed, or in early Japanese cinema, therefore was two-fold; through the introduction of the Western concept of landscape, and that of its latest science.

Inabata introduced the cinematograph to Japan, but soon sold the rights to Yokota Einosuke, a promotor who later started the Yokota Shokai. In the midst of various event promoters competing to introduce cinema, in 1903 Yoshizawa Shokai opened the first *Denki-kan*, a dedicated movie theater in Asakusa. When the Russo-Japanese War broke out the following year, and the company sent a team to the battlefield to film, and the footage they shot was screened at the theater. In 1912, four companies—including Yoshizawa Shoten and Yokota Shokai—started The Nippon Katsudo-Shashin Kabushiki Kaisha (Japan Movie Co., Nikkatsu). With film studios in Tokyo and Kyoto, a full-fledged film company was born for first time in Japan. So-called *Shimpa* (modern plays) were shot in Tokyo, and *Jidaigeki*

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<sup>44</sup> For the relationship between the Lumière Company and Japan, as well as early Japanese cinema, see, ed. Yoshida Kiju, Yamaguchi Masao, Kinoshita Naoyuki, *Eiga Denrai- Shinemagurafu <Meiji no Nihon>* [The Introduction of Cinema: Cinematographs and <Meiji Japan>] (Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 1995), ed. Koga Futoshi, Tsuda Makiko, *Hikari no Seitan Ryumieru* [Lumière: The Birth of Light] (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1995), ed. Hasumi Shigehiko, *Ryumieru Gannen – Gaburieru Veru to Eiga no Rekishi* [The First Year of Lumière: Gabriel Veyre and the History of Cinema](Tokyo: Chikumashobo, 1995).

<sup>45</sup> Komatsu Hiroshi, a historian of the early cinema, clearly defined cinematograph as an ideology apparatus. See, "*Shinematogurafu towa Nani de attaka – Ideorogi Sochi toshiteno Eiga*" [What was Cinematograph – Cinema as an Ideology Apparatus] in *Meiji Denrai*, 103-123

(period dramas) were shot in Kyoto. Thus cinema gained popularity. But due to the fact that cinema developed based on a background of theater and history, in the late 1910s, film critic and film director Kaeriyama Norimasa and others launched *Jun Eiga Geki Undo* (Pure Film Movement), advocating for the uniqueness of cinema. *Katsudo Shashin Geki no Sozo to Satsueiho* (Film Creation and Its Shooting Method), published in 1917, was a research book that discussed a new theory of and techniques for filmmaking, ranging from a shift from stage script to film scenario, the use of women actors rather than onnagata or male kabuki actors playing female roles, improvements to film and editing techniques, and the use of subtitles instead of *benshi* (kinema interpreter). The aim was to modernize Japanese cinema in order to compete with European cinema, and the emerging Hollywood cinema. These were important as the initial theories and methodologies in the early period of Japanese cinema, as well as in the pursuit of theories and methodologies unique to cinema that were not imitations of theater. However, given the fact that cinema as a medium of expression was invented by the West, these precepts did not exactly serve as an essential critique of the modern framework.<sup>46</sup> Meanwhile, in 1912, the new medium of cinema surfaced as a social issue when the French film *Zigomar*, based on a crime novel, was banned from cinemas by the Metropolitan Police Department, due to their concern about the impact of the film on youth; discussions of cinema's possibilities and problems ensued. This prompted the necessity of an immediate modernization in which the Japanese film industry would establish the concept of cinema as art, similar to other fields of expression such as literature and fine arts, rather than as degenerate entertainment. In addition, when montage theory, centered on Sergei Eisenstein, was introduced to Japan in the late 1920s, the critique of existing methodologies in Japanese cinema expanded, and thus Western methodologies and theories were included for the progress and development of Japanese cinema.

Under these circumstances, various discussions about film were had, not only in light of art and technology, but also sociology, psychology and philosophy. Discussions on landscape gradually became

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<sup>46</sup> See Aaron Gerow, "Nihon/Eiga/Riron [Japan/Cinema/Theory]" in *Nihon Eiga wa Ikiteiru* [Japanese Cinema is Alive], vol.1, ed. Kurosawa Kiyoshi, Yomota Inuhiko, Yoshimi Shunya and Lee Bongou (Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 2010), 159-199; *Visions of Japanese Modernity: Articulation of Cinema, Nation, and Spectatorship, 1895-1925* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

popular, but landscape in film was almost never brought up in discussions. The genres and methodologies, between fiction and documentary, silent and sound film, and studio versus street filming, differ greatly. However everything that was shot on film can be defined as a landscape, transcending such differences in the context of the visual art of cinema, and hence formulating a question about "landscape in cinema" was quasi-tautological. In order to address the issue of landscape in cinema, what was necessary, in effect, was to discover landscape within the history of cinema. In addition, the fact that the concept of landscape and the introduction of cinema took place almost simultaneously in Japan made it even more difficult to consider this issue.

Under these circumstances, it was pioneer filmmaker Mizoguchi Kenji who diligently explored the expression of landscape in film. Mizoguchi joined Nikkatsu in 1920, making his debut in *Aini Yomigaeru Hi* (The Resurrection of Love, 1923). Though the film was censored due to realistically depicting the poor protagonist's life, he nonetheless continued to create his work with a focus on class conflicts thereafter. While most of his early works do not survive, in *Tokyo Koshinkyoku* (Tokyo March, 1929), a partially surviving example of his work, documentary footage of the street was inserted at the beginning and end. The film is a melodramatic story about the tragic love between an upper-class man and a geisha woman set against the background of modernized urban landscape of Tokyo. Depicting agony and conflict of people living in the city, the film, beyond the framework of the story, highlights issues of class and social inequality through the landscape. These were also visually articulated through contrasts (e.g., a mansion and a shack, a tennis court on top of the cliff and shacks down below). In the same year, Mizoguchi produced *Tokai Kogyogaku* (Metropolitan Symphony) one of the so-called '*Keiko Eiga*' (tendency films), which were born out of a proletarian art movement. The film, which no longer exists, can be called a Japanese version of Walter Ruttmann's *Berlin: Symphony of a City* (1927), a non-narrative film (*Cinéma Pur*) which depicted a day in the city of Berlin in five chapters, and thus, the approach towards urban landscapes in Tokyo March was presumed to have been more radicalized artistically and politically in this film.

One of the major characteristics of Mizoguchi's films is the use of the long take, by using the one-scene-one-shot technique using a crane and a dolly. In order to shoot the flow of the actor's action without depending on camera blocking, he used many long shots instead of close-ups, creating direction filled with tension. This technique became noticeable in *Gion no Shimai* (Sisters of the Gion, 1936)<sup>47</sup>, and characteristically is not seen in his films from the 1920s. It can be said however, that the approach to landscape based on the theory of class, and the long take or one-scene-one-shot technique were not unrelated. There was much debate at that time over techniques such as long take and one-scene-one-shot, however, in the context of landscape theory, what should be referenced is *Eiga Kosei-ron* (Theory of Film Composition) published in 1941 by film critic Sugiyama Heiichi. In his essay Sugiyama structurally analyzes films within four categories: frame, image, cross-cutting, and narrative as an extension of photographic media. In the framework of the first category, he discussed photography and the importance of turning attention to what is being photographed and how it is cropped. Furthermore, in cinema, he argues, a moving picture, such as a landscape seen from a car window for example, a film is not constituted as endless landscape, and it is important that the landscape cut out by a frame is filmed. In the category of image, he argues that montage is only one component in film, and it is important to film nature as it is. He then concludes that film art reflects not only the inside that is cut out by frame, but also the tension of that image/content against the outside of the frame. In addition, in the category of cross-cutting, he discusses the expression of trying to fit all elements such as space and time into a narrow frame regardless of the fixed camera field of view as follows.

As images become abundant not only in quantity but in every sense, the quality of the frame [*waku no seishin*] that tightens around them begins to shine. As Rilke writes, balance can be achieved well when captured by the frame. And time and meaning are filled up. This frame defines the expectations of all spectators. And finally, the camera flows like low running water, while meeting the demands of the spectators that are about to be overcome. Alternatively, the editing is executed like preparing a container to receive what one is overcome with. Movement

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<sup>47</sup> Kishi Matsuo, "Hyoden: Mizoguchi Kenji," [Critical biography of Mizoguchi Kenji], *Kinema Junpo* [The Movie Times], no.80 (1<sup>st</sup> January 1954): 45-47.

and cross-cutting should be understood in this way. Techniques such as these should not exist first as a foundation; first of all, there is an image.<sup>48</sup>

He argued that various techniques were not used in order to compensate for the inconvenience of directing and photographing, these techniques were defined conversely by giving positive values to the concept of frames. He tried to understand film art not from the outside of the frame, but from the inside. While cinema is characteristically considered capable of depicting anything in contrast to the stage in theater, it was deliberately through the constraint of frames that he attempted to discover cinematic possibilities. As one of the characteristic examples of this, he refers to long take:

The image moves, transforms, and what defines it all the way to the end, and what makes the image truly the way it is, is the banal rectangular-shaped frame mentioned earlier. For this reason, I firmly believe that film art can become established by movement alone, without any interruption to the film. Because I understand that the foundation of film art lies in the car window.<sup>49</sup>

Since in those days montage theory was popular, and there were also films which were made by filming a play on a stage in a long take with a fixed camera, techniques such as this were considered characteristically pre-modern, and became objects of criticism.<sup>50</sup> On the other hand, many local film directors, represented by Itami Mansaku, had negative views on the introduction of film theory imported from overseas.<sup>51</sup> In the midst of these circumstances, Sugiyama sought to defend a methodology specific to Japanese cinema, developing his own theory rather than criticizing Japanese cinema through foreign film theories. Although a specific name was not mentioned in this text, he later used the concept of the

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<sup>48</sup> Sugiyama Heiichi, "Eiga Koseiron" [On Film Composition] in *Eiga Bunkaron* [On Film Culture] (Kyoto: Daiichi Geibunsha), 183-184. Sugiyama's study was preceded by aesthetic investigation into film by professor of aesthetics Nakai Masakazu, and theorist Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke, during the proletarian arts movement of the thirties. Sugiyama has the analysis particularly made by Hirabayashi, including the limitation of vision by framing, and the emphasis on perspective by the camera in common. "*Geijutsu no Keishiki toshiteno Shosetu to Eiga* [Novel and Film as Art Forms]" in *Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke Ikoshu* [Collected Writings of Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1932). However, whereas Nakai and Hirabayashi's main focus was to introduce theory of montage, Sugiyama's contribution was significant in terms of its specificities of Japanese film theory.

<sup>49</sup> Sugiyama, "Eiga Koseiron," 185.

<sup>50</sup> As theories of film critics representative of Marxism, see Iwasaki Akira, *Eiga to Genjitsu* [Cinema and Reality] (Tokyo: Shunyodoshoten, 1939).

<sup>51</sup> See Itami Mansaku, "*Tempo toiu koto ni tsuite*," [On the issue of tempo], in *Itami Mansaku Zenshu 2* [The Complete Works of Mansaku Itami 2] (Tokyo: Chikumashobo, 1961), 5-10.

gaze to discuss Mizoguchi's film aesthetics, which are serene and static.<sup>52</sup> Landscape theory was not their main focus, but the attempt was to discuss the discovery of landscape in Japanese cinema through notions of frames, windows, and gaze.

Another theoretical discussion concerning the techniques of Japanese cinema, including the long take was attempted by theorist Imamura Taihei in *Nihon Geijutsu to Eiga* (Japanese Art and Cinema), published in 1941.<sup>53</sup> Imamura analyzed the relations between painting and film in the sections of the same book titled, *Nihon Kaiga to Shashin Geijutsu* (Japanese Painting and Photographic Art), *Zoku Nihon Kaiga to Shashin Geijutsu* (Japanese Painting and Photographic Art Part Two), and *Nihon Geijutsu to Eiga* (Japanese Art and Film). Based on the relationship between modern painting using perspective and traditional Japanese scroll paintings, he juxtaposed montage with long take, pointing out the specificities of time and space in Japanese cinema. Although the issue of landscape was not directly referenced, this was another attempt to examine landscape in cinema through a comparison of modern paintings and scroll paintings.

## 7. Landscape in Documentary Films—Kamei Fumio

The domain of documentary and newsreel films—concurrently with commercial narrative films—grew through the documentation of military services in the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-5, the Antarctic expedition in 1912, and took root through the nation-wide release of documentary footage of the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923. When the sound era began, newsreel films, in partnership with newspaper companies and news agencies, began to flourish, and when the Sino-Japanese War began, immediate news footage was even more in demand. Landscape was an essential element in the genre of documentary and news films, and Kamei Fumio developed it theoretically and politically.<sup>54</sup> In 1929, Kamei went to the

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<sup>52</sup> Sugiyama Heiichi, "Mizoguchi Kenji," *Eiga Hyoron* [Film Review] (August 1951): 38-39.

<sup>53</sup> Imamura Taihei, *Nihongeijutsu to Eiga* [Japanese Art and Cinema] (Tokyo: Sugashoten, 1941).

<sup>54</sup> Concerning Kamei, see Tsuzuki Masaaki, *Tori ni Natta Ningen* [A Man who Became a Bird] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1997), Tsuchimoto Noriaki, "Kamei Fumio 'Shanghai' kara 'Tatakau Heitai' made" [Kamei Fumio From Shanghai to Fighting Soldiers] in *Koza Nihon Eiga 5 Sengo Seiga no Tenkai* [Lecture Japanese Cinema 5: Development of Postwar Cinema] (Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 1987), 322-341. For Prewar Japanese documentary films including Kamei, see Noda Shinkichi, *Nihon Dokyumentari Eiga Zenshi* [Prehistory of the Japanese Documentary Cinema]

Soviet Union to study film. He was influenced by new film theories, focusing on montage theory. In 1933 after returning to Japan he joined PCL (Photo Chemical Laboratory, later Toho), and became responsible for direction for the Production Department (later Cultural Film Department), which handled documentary films. Kamei made his debut with a PR movie for electric power company called *Sugata Naki Sugata* (Invisible Appearance, 1935). He then made documentary film about the voyage of a warship, *Doto o Kette* (Through the Angry Waves, 1936), which was sponsored by the Navy Ministry, and gained him acclaim. A trilogy of feature-length documentary films, *Shanghai*, *Beijing*, and *Nanjing* was produced in 1938 as the recording of the Sino-Japanese War which began in 1937, and Kamei was responsible for *Shanghai* and *Beijing*. The project was brought to him by a former kinema interpreter and war journalist Matsui Suisei. Matsui hoped that, since the war had often been reported in newspapers and stories of hardship and heroism were pervasive, providing commentary on them in motion pictures would attract great interest. At that time the Culture and Film Department had a unique production system in which directors and producers did not go to filming locations, but created the film structure and scenario upon which the filming division conducted on-location filming. The film they brought back was then edited. Kamei, therefore, completed the work in Tokyo, based on footage shot by cinematographer Miki Shigeru and recording engineer Fujii Shinichi.

In 1842 the port of Shanghai was forced to open, following the defeat of the Qing Empire by the United Kingdom in the Opium War. The French and Americans also arrived, and they each governed a concession or foreign enclave. In July 1937, following a military clash at the Marco Polo Bridge, the Japanese army launched an attack on northern China, and then occupied Shanghai in August. The filmmaking team arrived in Shanghai in October, but could not film the battle itself, since the front line had already moved to Nanjing. At the time, cameras and recording equipment were large, making mobility difficult while filming. Traces of intense battles remained everywhere: mountainous terrain with pillboxes, trenches, and sandbags, abandoned urban areas, and countless tombs. Miki and his team aimed

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(Tokyo: Shakaishissha, 1984), Abe Mark Nornes, *Japanese Documentary Film: The Meiji Era Through Hiroshima* (University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

their camera straightforwardly at everything from rural scenes to cityscapes, from former sites of battlefields to people's daily lives. By looking thoroughly at the landscape after the war, rather than filming the battles themselves, they intended to conversely highlight the landscape before the war. Reportedly, when the first undeveloped negatives were delivered from Shanghai in December, and the film print preview was held, there was an austere silence among the personnel viewing them. Far from content that was celebrating the victory, the film depicted a series of dark and grim landscapes, reminiscent of fierce battles and death. Because of this, however, Kamei was convinced of the film's success. Speaking about the film after completing the editing, and also when he spoke about it after the war, he noted the following.

The most important point in the editing was the eyes of Miki-san, who walked around Shanghai in order not to weaken the effect of documentation, and to use the individual materials filmed by the camera's eyes as on-site materials and communicate them directly to the audience. In that case, we avoided our own subjectivity as much as possible. By doing that, I believed that the audience, looking at these materials, could freely play with their own creative imagination.<sup>55</sup>

Rather than losing myself into the battlefield, I wanted to do the editing, so that I could see the war a little more from a bird's-eye view.<sup>56</sup>

As the footage and photographs of the Sino-Japanese War were intended to provoke military fervor, in order to conform to that political goal, there were many restrictions on what could be filmed, so it was rare that local landscapes were represented exactly as they were. Kamei therefore connected the landscapes taken by Miki literally, in the order they were filmed. Since the trilogy—including *Shanghai*—was produced as military-sponsored propaganda, in the film the occupation of Shanghai is praised through narration and subtitles, and scenes of the Naval Air Squadron's heroics, forced interviews with captives, and a local priest cheering the liberation of China by Japan are used dramatically. Thus these films cannot strictly be called anti-war films, however in the crushing reality of the wartime era, the propaganda-like deception was exposed. Kamei did not refer to landscape itself either at that time or after,

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<sup>55</sup> Kamei Fumio, "Shanghai Henshu Koki," [Editor's Afterword for *Shanghai*], *Shin Eiga* [New Cinema] (March 1938): 72.

<sup>56</sup> Kamei Fumio, *Tatakau Eiga* [Fighting Cinema] (Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 1989), 27.

but he did frequently use the word landscape in his production diaries.<sup>57</sup> Despite documenting of war, by eliminating the directions that praise it, the film indicated the possibility of a landscape different than nationalism.<sup>58</sup>

Despite being critical of the war in content, it was a rare newsreel film documenting the Sino-Japanese War, so it had great box-office success. After the film, *Beijing*, which was shot and edited in the same way as *Shanghai*, upon receiving a request, Kamei went on location site to work on a feature-length documentary film about the Battle of Wuhan called *Tatakafu Heitai* (Fighting Soldiers, 1939). The content was similar to *Shanghai*, in which a series of bare landscapes was shown repeatedly. However it was considered negative towards the war, and as soon as the film was completed, it was banned. Kamei was forced to resign, and in 1941 he was jailed for violating the Peace Preservation Law. This incident took place in the film industry at a point when a law had been enacted in 1939 requiring the mandatory preliminary censorship at the production stage of all National Policy Films. As a result, Kamei's approach to landscape remained contained until the end of the war. The print of the film *Fighting Soldiers* went missing after the war, and so its reassessment had to wait until the actual print was found, and the film was rediscovered in the 1970s.

## 8. Literature: Kunikida Doppo, Tokutomi Roka——Landscape of Musashino

A shift in the concept of the landscape took place in literature as well in the Meiji Period. Since

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<sup>57</sup> In a short diary, the word 'landscape' appears more often than the terms, 'scene' and 'scenery,' in a total of five places. "Arrived in Shanghai, shot coastal landscape," "Filmed sceneries of hustle and bustle in Japantown, and mainly landscapes of restoration," "Filming of scenes of reconnaissance officer dispatch and airfield landscapes in battlefield respectively completed," "Chorus of Chinese children with organ. Rural landscape. Simultaneous recording and filming of other landscapes completed." Kamei Fumio, "'Shanghai' Seisaku Nisshi" ['Shanghai' Production Diary], *Kinema Jumbo* [The Movie Times], no.632 (1st January 1938): 340-341.

<sup>58</sup> In the context of landscape in documentary films, the documentation of the movement by *Nihon Puroretaria Eiga Domei* (Japanese Proletarian Cinema Union) from 1929-34 is noteworthy as a pioneer. In addition, *Shanghai* was re-screened during a symposium series called "War and Revolution," organized by Nippon Documentarist Union (NDU) in September, 1971, and was placed as a pioneering work, as a precursor of *A.K.A. Serial Killer* and *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War*. "The stance of staking one's thoughts on editing the actual film without making a concept in advance already begins with *Shanghai*." See, Hiraoka Masaaki, "Senso no Eiga ka Kakumei no Eiga ka"[Cinema for/of War or Cinema for/of Revolution], *Eiga Hihyo* [Film Criticism], no 15(December 1971): 16. During this event, in addition to the screening of two films by NDU, and *Wasurerareta Kogun* (The Forgotten Army, 1963) by Oshima, Matsuda, Oshima and Hiraoka joined the discussion. At a separate venue, Adachi and Takenaka Ro also had a talk titled, "With Arab Guerillas."

ideas of landscape in literature were not necessarily based on what one actually sees for oneself, in this sense it is not easy to discuss it in the context of landscape theory. This, however, needs to be examined, since it was especially through literary expression that different views of landscape were provided and defined at the time. Kunikida joined the journal *Seinen Bungaku* (Literature for Youth) in 1894, and began working as a poet and writer in 1894. He made his debut in 1897 with *Gen Oji* (Uncle Gen). With Tayama Katai and Yanagita Kunio, he co-edited *Jojoshi* (Lyric Poetry), while from September 1896 to March 1897, he sought out Musashino in Tokyo, walking around the area and observing nature. He published *Imano Musashino* (Musashino Now, later renamed *Musashino*), based on the diary he kept at that time, in the journal *Kokumin no Tomo* (Nation's Friend), which became representative of romantic literature. Kunikida, who was living in Shibuya, went to Musashino, on the outskirts of Tokyo, and recorded what he saw straightforwardly based on his new depiction of landscape. Musashino is the western region of Kanto Plain, which extends to Tokyo, Saitama and Kanagawa, and during the Meiji and Taisho eras it was still a vast rural area.

September 7: "Yesterday and today the south wind blows strongly, bringing rain clouds and blowing them away, so it rains on and off. When it stops, sunlight begins shooting through clouds, shining trees in the woods, [...] This is the beginning of autumn in Musashino today. Although the woods still remain green in summer, the sky looks completely different from summer. Rain clouds are carried by the south wind, covering the sky of Musashino and causing frequent rain. But during that fine day, the sun light shines on the trees that are still wet with rain, so they appear to be shining bright. I thought again and again. If I could glimpse the entire Musashino on such a day, it/that would surely be a very beautiful sight.<sup>59</sup>

This method of portraying nature as a landscape objectively, including the changes in climate, the sunlight, and the sound of the wind did not previously exist in Japanese literature. This method was only made possible by recognizing the landscape before your eyes as 'landscape.' Kunikida also noted that what characterizes Musashino is woods rather than forests, deciduous woods that are rich in color, rather than evergreen woods.

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<sup>59</sup> Kunikida Doppo, *Musashino* (Tokyo: Shinchobunko, 2017), 9-10.

It is said that Musashino used to be a place known for the exquisite beauty of the landscape of its endlessly growing grass fields, but Musashino now is [made up of] woods. We can say that the woods is truly a characteristic of Musashino today. It is mainly made up of trees of the oak family, whose leaves completely drop off in winter, and sprout fresh new buds in spring. The changes of the trees occur all at once in the field, which extends tens of kilometers east of the Chichibune. The splendor of the woods, which present various scenes influenced by haze, rain, fog, drizzle, and snow, as well as by the shade of trees, and the leaves changing color throughout the seasons, may not be well understood by people in the western or Tohoku regions. Originally, the Japanese may not have known much about the beauty of deciduous oak woods. Because, speaking of the woods, only pine forests have been accepted in Japanese literature and art, and I have not heard of a work in waka poetry such as 'listening to the sound of rain deep in the oak forest.'<sup>60</sup>

Ideas about the traditional beauty of the Japanese landscape are said to have been formed in western Japan, which is the zone for evergreens, such as pine trees. He in turn contrasted this by discussing a landscape of deciduous broad-leaved woods in eastern Japan. Geographically the region mainly includes the Tokyo area, but Kunikida insisted on the importance of specificities of Musashino.

Where is such a place in Japan except Musashino? Of course, it does not exist in the wilderness of Hokkaido, not even in Nasuno, where else is it? Where is a place where the woods and the field are so well jumbled up, and life and nature exist so closely? This is why there is such a special passage in Musashino.<sup>61</sup>

As mentioned by Kunikida himself, Musashino at that time was no longer the same Musashino as in the past. Rather than an unspoiled wilderness, a landmark-like area of natural beauty, or a city even, Musashino was a plain and faceless landscape where life and nature existed so closely with each other. Thus, Kunikida saw the contradictions of modernization that were concentrated at the border between city and nature, or Tokyo and the rural, that are somewhere in between the two.

It is strange that describing not only Dogenzaka but also Shirokane, that is, somewhere located at one edge of the urban area of Tokyo, or the area where Koshu Kaido, or Ome-do, or Nakahara-do, or Setagaya Kaido leads into the countryside woods of the suburbs, an area that is neither a city nor a post, an area where a sight like a mixture of a kind of life and a kind of nature is present—really wakes up my poetic inspiration. Why do areas like these attract our feelings? I can answer that simply, this way: that is, the sight of the outskirts of a town like this makes people think that somehow they see a microcosm of society. To put it differently, it seems likely that there are a couple of stories that are inspiring for both people in the countryside and people in the city, minor

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 22.

stories, pitiful or funny stories hidden under the eaves. It also seems in particular, that the remnants of big city life and the aftermath of rural life meet here, gently swirling.<sup>62</sup>

Shiga's wrote his first essay on the landscape in 1893-94, and it is unmistakably clear that Musashino, written several years later, shared its philosophical and historical background. Kunikida, however, by discovering the landscape as something that did not exist externally but could rather be found in the relationship between life and nature, attempted to indicate the recognition of a landscape that is neither of the pre-modern nor of the modern. He turned his microscopic view on visual, spatial, and temporal changes, incorporating the naturalist descriptions found in "Rendezvous" by Ivan Turgenev translated by Futabatei Shimei, as well as from poems of William Wordsworth. Kunikida is regarded and positioned as one of the leading authors of Romanticism and Naturalism in the history of modern Japanese literature. With the beginning of the Meiji as a new era, young people who used to be tied to their status and *chien* (bonds among neighbors) migrated from rural areas to cities aiming for success in life. However with the establishment of the modern social system, many young people suffered setbacks, and Kunikida was no exception. It was against the background of the establishment of self in modernity, and its subsequent setback causing a new blockage, that the landscape of Musashino was discovered.

In the literature of the same period, Tokutomi Roka also opened a new horizon for the landscape. In 1889, he joined his older brother, Soho's Minyu-sha, and made his debut in 1898, *Fujoki/Hototogisu* (The Cuckoo). The same year, he recorded his observations and experiences of nature in his diary, without missing a single day from New Year's Day to New Year's Eve, and published his book, *Shizen to Jinsei* (Nature and Life) in 1900. Roka himself wrote in his autobiographical novel *Fuji* that his reason for doing this was Kunikida's suggestion to keep a diary of observations of nature. *Nature and Life* consists of a total of five stories; a short novel, "a biography of the landscape painter Corot," and three prose poems written about the nature he observed. In the chapter titled, *Zokibayashi* (Thicket) he notes, on the nature of Musashino:

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 34-35.

There are a number of hills and valleys before reaching the Tama Stream located in the western suburb of Tokyo, and some of the traffic routes run up and down this hill, winding. The valley is a rice field, and generally a brook is flowing. In rare cases there is a water wheel on the streaming. The hills can be developed and turned into rice fields, but there are many thickets divided by corners here and there. I love those thickets. There are many trees, such as oak, hazel, chestnut, and smoke tree (*haze*). There are few large trees, and many are young trees growing in clusters from stumps.<sup>63</sup>

Roka depicted subtle seasonal and daily changes in Musashino through various colorful expressions. Also, upon the publication of the book, Roka wrote the advertisement himself, expressing his thoughts as follows.

With nature as the master, people as guests, excerpts from old manuscripts, compiling outstanding new works that could be called small articles, short stories, or rhymeless poems, or watercolor paintings, about one-hundred stories in one volume.<sup>64</sup>

As discussed by far, modern landscapes were discovered as an exteriority that had resulted from the establishment of the human as subject. Roka's attempt was to discover landscape by further inverting this relationship i.e. assuming nature as subject, and human as object. Nature of course does not tell anything about itself as a landscape, and it is ultimately the writer, that is, an object, who describes it. However, through this epistemological inversion, the literary method of discussing the landscape as if creating a landscape painting was developed. On the other hand, in the premodern literary tradition Japanese poets and painters used to represent nature and man not as a binary opposition, but as a unified totality. In this sense, it could be said that Roka only returned to the pre-modern view of nature. However, that Roka reached his inversion through the analysis of the two, was, in fact, a significant difference from previous expressions. It was important that immediately after the emergence of landscape theory in the midst of modernization, Roka presented the issue of the subject in landscape through reexamining the individual site of perception in pre-modernity as well. Roka moved to Chitose-mura (Chitose village), on the outskirts of Tokyo, in 1907, the year after returning from his trip to Europe, and he lived a semi-

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<sup>63</sup> Tokutomi Roka, *Shizen to Jinsei* [Nature and Life] (Tokyo: Iwanamibunko, 1986), 64.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 244.

farming life until his death. He lived with the questions he had set himself and faced them in practice, trying to resist the landscape that was becoming a nationalist concept through successive wars.<sup>65</sup>

## 9. Yanagita Kunio and Landscape

In the Taisho (1912-26) and Showa (1926-89) eras after the Meiji era, Yanagita Kunio discussed the landscape anew, not from a nation-based perspective, but from the standpoint of the lives of commoners. Yanagita, the founder of Japanese folklore studies, left his post in the government bureaucracy in 1919, and traveled around the nation, from Tohoku, Tokai, Kinki, Sanyo, Kyushu, Okinawa to the Nanto Islands for about three years while serving as a member of the editorial committee of *Asahi Shimbun*. He experienced the life, religions, and customs of rural, mountain and fishing villages, and described what he saw in *Kainan Shoki* (Notes on the Southern Islands, 1920), *Yukiguni no Haru* (Snow Country's Spring, 1928) and *Shufu-cho* (Notes on Autumn Winds, 1931), and compiled other travelogues written thereafter in *Mame no Ha to Taiyo* (Bean Leaves and the Sun, 1943). He also published books, including *Toshi to Noson* (Cities and Rural Areas, 1929) and *Meiji Taisho Shi Seso Hen* (Meiji Taisho History: Social Conditions, 1931), in which his notes were compiled by theme, and many discussions of landscapes were included. In *Snow Country's Spring*, Yanagita sharply criticized the worship of classic famous places, such as the three most beautiful views of Japan, as "useless constraints."<sup>66</sup> He also pointed out that guide books and postcards mainly in travel literature are harmful, as they stereotype our perception of the landscape, explaining the importance of genuinely seeing the beauty of the landscape in front of his eyes.

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<sup>65</sup> However, discussed by Kunikida and Tokutomi, Musashino became a new famous area, and tourism and redevelopment of this area were promoted. Tokutomi described changes to the landscape as follows. "Tokyo has been closing in on us. [Musashino], twelve kilometers west of Tokyo, is a village that depends on Tokyo. It is natural that the consequence of the tide flowing into a sea of two million people is reverberating in the village. The use of gas in Tokyo has led to a decrease in demand for firewood, and perhaps as a result, the significant part of the thickets in the village was developed into a wheat field. Sawtooth oaks and nara trees on the roadsides were cut down and dug up, and rectangular-shaped rough fields are made one after another. The fact that the thickets characterizing Musashino were brutally cut down makes me feel like having my body stripped of flesh, but that is the act for the sake of life. It is inescapable." Tokutomi Kenjiro (Roka), *Mimizuno tahagoto* [Earthworm's nonsense] (Tokyo:Iwanamishoten, 1938), 18

<sup>66</sup> Yanagita Kunio, *Yanagita Kunio Zenshu 2* [The Complete Works of Yanagita Kunio 2] (Tokyo: Chikumashobo, 1989), p72

Landscapes do not always have the same look as scroll paintings or frames. First of all, the times change this. The seasons we encounter throughout our lives, the color of nimbus clouds, as well as the amount of clouds moving in the sky, and the direction of the wind, all affect their appearances.<sup>67</sup>

Also, concerning travel and travel writing, in the introduction to *Notes on Autumn Winds*, Yanagita argued that the development of the transportation network brought about by modernization had enabled long-distance travel, and made it possible for everyone to see previously inaccessible landscapes. On the other hand, a new problem surfaced—as the business of touring was developed, a 'hollowing out' of landscapes occurred. Striving to discover landscapes that were different than those seen by means of 'products' such as the railroad or the streets that were developed by modernization, Yanagita utilized the convenience of the railroad, but traveled aimlessly. Rather than unilaterally objectifying the landscape that he saw, he attempted to describe the totality—including the lives of the people who inhabited it—as landscape. He also argued that texts written in such a way should be returned not only to the readers, but also to local people in the future.

The purpose of travel had to change with time. My observations may not have been accurate, but in any event, they were in response to this new demand, and as long as they did not misrepresent the facts, they would eventually be recognized by the local people, or remain as a document of a regional community without [other] records.<sup>68</sup>

Through its conceptualization of landscapes, Shiga's *Discourse on Japanese Landscape* pushed the classical view of the landscape into the background. However, it also created new stereotypes, such as the beauty of the Japanese Alps. The subsequent theories of landscape, despite differences in approach—except Roka's theory of literature—basically inherited this structure. Landscape discussed in this aspect was an object to be recognized and objectified, it assumed the existence of a subject who saw and described the landscape. Landscape was an object that is given a proper name of 'landscape' only by the readers-writers who name it as such. Yanagita, on the other hand, did not define the superiority of the

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid., P73

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 193-194.

landscape aesthetically, but described the autonomous beauty that each landscape possesses through traveling across the country. In addition, he placed himself in daily lives of commoners in the regions he visited, and tried to reinterpret the concept of landscape not as something fixed, but as something that was constantly changing depending on the eyes of the people living there. In other words, Yanagita assumed the local people who had created and changed the landscape as an object to be described, as well as a potential subject who reads the landscape. Also, in his discussion of nature in *Bean Leaves and the Sun*, Yanagita specifically argues that what had historically been named landscape, as opposed to so-called 'nature' which is extremely harsh to human beings, is constituted for the first time by human intervention.

The man made some adjustments to this with his own power, and became capable of enjoying the so-called mountain of the benevolent man, and enjoyed the water of the wise man. It seems that there has never been a thing that we call landscape that did not require human negotiation to a certain degree.<sup>69</sup>

Later, as an agent of local popular culture and tradition, Yanagita proposed the concept of commoners (*jomin*), not the people (*kokumin*), and examined it as a whole, culturally and historically. The travel writings that have been referenced so far were the major foundations that would create folklore studies, and Yanagita's landscape should be understood in a similar context. In other words, rather than discussing the landscape as an object conceptually, Yanagita attempted to situate the landscape coexisting with people in the changing times. This is evident from the story titled, *Fukei no Seicho* (Growth of landscape). Thus Yanagita's goal was to redefine landscape—discovered and discussed in various ways after the Meiji Era—as a concept that was not static, but was in constant flux.

#### **10. 'Climate' by Watsuji Tetsuro**

Watsuji Tetsuro was a philosopher, who, with the concept of climate (*fudo*), proposed a theory that was different either from landscape theory or geography. During the turbulent period of modernization Watsuji published studies on Friedrich Nietzsche and Soren Kierkegaard, as well as on

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 542.

Buddhist art and the intellectual and spiritual history of Japan from 1910, with a goal of integrating non-western and western philosophies, or sublating them, and he laid the foundation for ethical studies and Japanese cultural theory in Japan. In 1935, as his response to Martin Heidegger's *Being and Time*, he published *Fudo: Ningengakuteki Kosatsu* (Climates and Cultures: A Philosophical Study)<sup>70</sup>, his meditation on human existence from its spatial as well as temporal aspects. He argued that the climate was not simply a part of the natural environment, but was embedded into the mental structure of human beings, as a means to understand the self. He classified climate into three categories: monsoon (including Japan), desert, and ranch—in order to examine climate in each of those categories vis-a-vis their society, culture, thoughts, and history.

I use our word Fu-do, [.....] as a general term for the natural environment of a given land, its climate, its weather, the geological and productive nature of its soil, its topographic and scenic features. The ancient term for this concept was Sui-do, which might be literally translated as "Water and Earth". Behind these terms lies the ancient view of Nature as man's environment compounded of earth, water, fire, and wind.<sup>71</sup>

He then discussed the need to meditate on the space and time of human existence, not as nature, but from the side of the climate, to further understand its history. The meaning of man could be found not in the individual, but in his involvement with society. Based on the historicity built upon this, he critiqued an anthropocentric view of the subject.

We must accept that it is only through the interpretation of historical and climatic phenomena that we can show that these phenomena are the expression of man's conscious being, that climate is the organ of our self-objectivization and self-discovery, and that the climatic character is the character of subjective human existence. Thus as long as this inquiry is directed to the distinctiveness of distinctive being, it is an existential comprehension; but in so far as it treats this distinctive way of life as the condition of man's conscious being, it is ontological comprehension. Thus a grasp of the distinctive historical and climatic make-up of the human being becomes an ontological existential comprehension.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> *Fudo no Gensho* [Phenomenon of Climate], the first chapter of the book was written in 1929, and after revision, published in the August, 1935 issue of the journal *Bungaku* [Literature], a special issue on naturalism.

<sup>71</sup> Watsuji Tetsuro, *A Climate A Philosophical Study*, ed. Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, trans. Geoffrey Bownas (Printing Bureau, Japanese Government, 1962), 1.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

However, this uniqueness to revise ontology with the concept of climate in order to juxtapose Japanese thought against Western philosophy also embodied an issue wherein praising the Japanese value of *ie* (house) led to the support of the nationalist state under the emperor system.<sup>73</sup> Despite its theoretical incoherence, Watsuji's concept of climate was extremely insightful theoretically and historically, in that it shed new light on discussions of nation, land and race, which were in fact what Watsuji relied on as a framework of his own argument.<sup>74</sup> In addition, a concept of climate much broader in scope than that of landscape was informative in reexamining theories of landscape of the same period which had been assimilated into state nationalism. Also, inspired deeply by Watsuji, Terada Torahiko, a physicist and literary scholar, published *Nihonjin no shizenkan* (The Japanese View of Nature) in the October 1935 issue of the journal *Toyo Shicho*, laying out his own discussion of nature, everyday life and spiritual life, to tackle the philosophical and scientific questioning of Japan as different from the West.<sup>75</sup>

## 11. Yasuda Yojuro—Landscape in Nippon Roman-ha

Yanagita and Watsuji each criticized post-Meiji theories of landscape in their own ways. Literary critic Yasuda Yojuro, on the other hand, denied those theories altogether, from the standpoint of classicism. In 1935, Yasuda launched the journal *Nihon Roman-ha* (The Japan Romantic School) with Kamei Katsuichiro and others, and the following year he made his debut as a critic with *Nihon no Hashi* (The Japanese Bridge). Influenced by German Romanticism, Yasuda advocated a critique of modernity and a return to Japanese classical beauty. His literary thought, which differed from so-called *Kokokushikan* (Emperor-centered view of history) or nationalism, had a great influence on war-time Japan. In 1943, he published *Fukei to Rekishi* (Landscape and History), which included his studies on

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<sup>73</sup> Marxist philosopher Tosaka Jun sharply criticized the nationalistic aspects of Watsuji's argument. See "Watsuji Hakase, Fudo, Nihon," [Dr. Watsuji, Climate and Japan], in *Sekai no ikkan to shite no nihon* [Japan as part of the world] (Tokyo: Hakuyosha, 1937), 227-245.

<sup>74</sup> For a book which succeeded Watsuji's notion of climate and discussed its contemporary possibility, see, Augustin Berque, *Le sauvage et l'artifice : les japonais devant la nature* (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), *Écoumène : introduction à l'étude des milieux humains* (Paris: Belin, 2000).

<sup>75</sup> This text was included in Terada Torahiko, *Fudo to Bungaku* [Climate and Literature] (Tokyo: Kadokawashoten, 1950).

travelogues and landscapes. Due to his inclusions of mythological stories in his praise of Japanese classical beauty, there are some aspects that are difficult to examine, however, as a landscape theory by Japanese Romantics, the book raised many issues. Yasuda denounced the theory of landscape in Japan after the Meiji Restoration as depraved, and stated his intention in the foreword as "to restore the true national characters of Japan, first we must save our view of the landscape."<sup>76</sup> He argued that the view of the landscape is not something that changes depending on the era, but is historically universal. Yasuda discussed the meaning of landscape and history in Japan dating back to the poets of the Nara and Heian periods.

Thus, this is where "history," according to my idea of landscape, existed. However what is referred to as the history of ideas of landscape is not a kind of chronological list of such and such person's ideas of landscape; furthermore, it is not something like the ideas of landscape of this time period, or that era. When we say history, we take successive traditions of ideas of Japanese landscape into consideration. More specifically, it is the history of *utamakura*.<sup>77</sup>

Yasuda thoroughly criticized modernist theories of landscape that destroyed landscape beauty through the introduction of Western landscapes, as well as Watsuji's theory of climate, while praising *monono aware*, or the empathy towards things read by court culture, poets such as Otomo no Yakamochi, Murasaki Shikibu, and Emperor Go-Toba as *utamakura*-based tradition.

The interpretation of cultural-philosophical theories of landscape—which was created by the joint work between [the act of] replacing the word 'landscape' with 'climate', and trendy mountaineers, under the invocation of the power of words to preach historicity and ethno-nationality—massacred them. They lost the traditional aesthetic of Utamakura, and also lost our country's alpine views. Already it was a blasphemy of history. [...] When thinking of landscape in terms of culture and thought, as is true with thoughts of homeland (*kokyo*), landscape is the womb for the creation of cultural literary thoughts.<sup>78</sup>

Juxtaposing the 'gaze' (*nagame*) derived from the Heian Period against the western concept of landscape, Yasuda argued that traditionally in Japan, there is an aesthetics in which the writer's interior is

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<sup>76</sup> Yasuda Yojuro, *Fukei to Rekishi* [Landscape and History] (Nara: Tenrijihosha, 1943), 3.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 396-397.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

expressed through the depiction of the outside landscape. He then denied the discovery of landscape itself, as well as logical structure of landscape constituted on dichotomies of subject and object, or seeing and being seen, and discussed the theory of Japanese landscape as different from that of the West.

If we see landscape as something that is merely outside of humans, consider it as something that confronts humans and affects the spirit from the outside, and also consider its relation to history simply as a stage for historical incidents, the philosophy of climate and geopolitics are sufficient. However, the idea of landscape that was born in the land of Japan was not such a thing. The landscape of our homeland means a history that is always in our hearts.<sup>79</sup>

Though the beauty of the landscape mentioned above had been denied by modernist landscape since the Meiji era, a return to the Japanese tradition was advocated in the midst of modernization and World War I. However, this return was not just an imperial restorationism, but a renaissance of Japanese culture required by the process of accelerating modernization.<sup>80</sup> Notwithstanding the fact that there are descriptions that are difficult to validate today—including the descriptive confusion of mythology with history, and colonialist discourse—the praise of classical beauty did not in principle necessarily accord with the Emperor-centered view of history, or the with imperialism of the time. By defining the notion of landscape as that which encompasses history, culture, and thought, Yasuda indicated landscape as an ideal separate from real politics. For the Japanese romantics, landscape was not something that was to be perceived as external object or aesthetic term, but a concept or spirit that supported the nation or race, and was integrated with war. Yasuda's argument that “war and culture are not two separate principles but an expression of one principle,”<sup>81</sup> was strongly criticized after the war due to its cultural and philosophical support of expansionist policy of Japan over Asia. In reality, however, Yasuda's idealism made clear the close relationship between landscape, and nation and race, with an angle different from that of modernist theory of landscape.

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 410.

<sup>80</sup> Hashikawa Bunzo, *Nihon Romanha Hihan Josetsu* [The introduction to the criticism of Japan Romantic School] (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1960).

<sup>81</sup> Yasuda, *Fukei to Rekishi*, 400.

## 12. Dazai Osamu and Sakaguchi Ango

If Yasuda discussed the Japanese landscape as an ideal during the war, the literary writer, Dazai Osamu, approached it from an opposite perspective. After his participation as a student in the Communist Party, which was illegal at the time, Dazai gained attention when he published *Gyakko* (Against the Current) in *Nihon Roman-ha* in 1935. Describing the suffering of human beings, including the author himself, Dazai criticized the existing literature and its system, and searched for new forms of literary expression. He wrote the autobiographical novel *Fugaku Hyakkei* (Hundred Views of Mt. Fuji) at a teahouse near Lake Kawaguchi, where he was spending some time in the fall of 1938. In the beginning of the novel he refers to Mt. Fuji, a landscape symbolic of Japan as follows:

The slopes of Hiroshige's Mount Fuji converge at an angle of eighty-five degrees, and those of Bun-cho's at about eighty-four degrees, but if one makes vertical cross sections based on survey maps drawn by the army, one finds that the angle formed by the eastern and western slopes is one hundred twenty-four degrees, and that formed by the northern and southern slopes is one hundred seventeen. And it's not only [Utagawa] Hiroshige and [Tani] Buncho, but most paintings of Mt. Fuji, in fact, depict the slopes meeting at an acute angle, the summit slender, lofty, delicate. Hokusai's renditions even resemble the Eiffel Tower, peaking at nearly thirty degrees. But the real Mt. Fuji is un-mistakably obtuse, with long, leisurely slopes; by no means do one hundred twenty-four degrees east-west and one hundred seventeen north-south make for a very steep mountain. If I were living in India, for example, and were suddenly snatched up and carried off by an eagle and dropped on the beach at Numazu in Japan, I doubt if I'd be very much impressed at the sight of this mountain. Japan's 'Fujiyama' is 'wonderful' [to foreigners] simply because they've heard so much about it and yearned so long to see it; but how much appeal would Mt. Fuji hold for one who has never been exposed to such popular propaganda, for one whose heart is simple and pure and free of preconceptions? It would, perhaps, strike that person as almost forlorn, as mountains go. It's short, really. In relation to the width of its base, quite short. Any mountain with a base that size should be at least one and a half times taller.<sup>82</sup>

Mt. Fuji, Japan's tallest independent mountain, had been an object of worship since ancient times, and had since been described and represented in various forms of expression, including poetry, stories, picture scrolls, and Ukiyo-e paintings. Its role as a symbol of the beauty of the Japanese landscape remained unchanged even after the new concept of landscape was established in modern times, and after the Meiji Restoration, it additionally served as a sign in helping to unify the state and the nation. For instance, Shiga, in his book on landscape, even proposed naming China Fuji, for high mountains, in order

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<sup>82</sup> Dazai Osamu, *Fugaku Hyakkei* [Hundred Views of Mt. Fuji] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1972), 10.

to universally use the name of Fuji. In contrast, Dazai deliberately borrowed the title of Katsushika Hokusai's *Fugaku sanjurokkei* (Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji, 1823-35), a masterpiece series of famous landscape prints, for his book, and described his own daily living and struggles using Mt Fuji only as the background. He criticized the shapes of Mt. Fuji depicted in ukiyo-e paintings as exaggerated, and pointed out that, in order to be mythologized, Mt Fuji has to be even taller than the mountain actually is. Furthermore, Dazai sharply criticized a view from the Misaka Pass, which was considered to be one of the three best views of Mt. Fuji.

Far from being pleased with the view, however, I found myself holding it in contempt. It's too perfect. You have Fuji right in the middle and, lying at its feet, the cold, white expanse of Lake Kawaguchi cradled by hushed, huddling mountains on either side. One look threw me into blushing confusion. It was a wall painting in a public bath. Scenery on a stage. So precisely made to order it was mortifying to behold.<sup>83</sup>

The wall painting at the bathhouse or the backdrop for the play, drawn based on the Three Views of Mt. Fuji, naturally resembles the actual view of the mountain, however, Dazai felt that the image of Mt. Fuji itself, since it took root as commonplace, was mortifying. It could be said that in 1939, during the war, criticizing Mt. Fuji was synonymous with denouncing the Japanese culture or state. Despite such a repressive situation, Dazai's attempt was to dismantle the myth of Mt. Fuji in the form of an autobiographical novel. As one of Dazai's representative novels from the middle period of his career, *Hundred Views of Mt. Fuji* is generally known for its literary expression moving toward his mature style. As was evident in appropriating Hokusai for the title and quoting *Nihon Sansui-ron* by Kojima, *Hundred Views of Mt. Fuji* was no doubt written in the context of landscape theory. His inquiry on landscape continued after that, and after *Ogon Fukei* (Golden Landscape), a story about his reunion with his former maid the same year, Dazai published *Tokyo Hakkei* (Eight Views of Tokyo) in 1941, with the subtitle "Gift to a person with hardships."

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 12.

Eight Views of Tokyo. I had wanted to try such a short story someday, writing slowly, with great care. I had wanted to tell the story of my ten years in Tokyo, with the events of my life tied to the places I had lived at each time. I am thirty-two years old this year. According to Japanese ethics, this was the age when one should already have started to enter into the solidity of middle age. The middle-aged time in life. And sadly enough, when I looked into my own body and spirit, I could not deny that it was happening. You'd better remember this: you have already lost your youth. You have the face of a serious adult. "Eight Views of Tokyo." I would write it as my farewell to adolescence, without prettying it up.<sup>84</sup>

In 1927 the *Tokyo Nichi-Nichi Shimbun* and the *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* publicly sought as a joint project, "New Eight Views of Japan," symbolizing the new era of Showa. The final decisions were made by literary authors, including Izumi Kyoka and Tayama Katai. In response to this, Dazai selected eight views of Tokyo himself, looking back on his ten years of living in Tokyo as a writer.

The spring rains in Totsuka. The twilight in Hongo. Festivals in Kanda. The first snow in Kashiwagi. The fireworks in Hatchobori. The full moon in Shibaura. The cicadas in Amanuma. Lightening in Ginza. The autumn flowers at the mental hospital in Itabashi. The morning mists in Ogikubo. The evening sun in Musashino. The dark flowers of memory scattered and danced, and wouldn't fall into place. Then again, I thought, it would be vulgar to organize everything and force it unreasonably into just eight views. In the meantime, this spring and summer, I came across two more views.<sup>85</sup>

The New Eight views of Japan had been selected to widely promote Japan as a country full of great landscapes, but Dazai's Eight Views of Tokyo, on the other hand, were unique and personal, selected not from an aesthetic perspective, but by looking back on his own struggles and disappointments in life as a writer. Dazai thus demonstrated his resistance to the state-based, or popular trend that had attempted to assimilate landscape into a grand narrative of Japan. It was by describing Mt. Fuji and the eight views of Tokyo very privately that he attempted to recover the concept of landscape back to the individual side. Of course, concepts such as 'individual' or 'subject' were modern constructs, and landscape likewise was no exception. Through the institutionalization of those concepts, the modern state and modern literature were born. It can also be pointed out that Dazai's radical expressions were even part of the institutionalization. However, expressing his practical trial and error process—including his own

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<sup>84</sup> Dazai, Osamu, *Tokyo Hakkei* [Eight Views of Tokyo] (Tokyo: Jitsugyononihonsha, 1948), 8.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

living—in literature was his attempt to dismantle the established notions of the modern, individual, and landscape from within. Dazai, along with Sakaguchi Ango and Oda Sakunosuke, were called the *burai-ha* (Decadent School). He is often praised or criticized based on his biography, due to the unique contents of his writing and his writing style, as well as his personal history, including drug addiction, repeated suicide attempts, and ending with him taking his own life along with his mistress. However, re-examining Dazai in the context of landscape theory reveals a potential different from modernity with a capital 'M', or the subject.

Along with Dazai, Sakaguchi Ango was another writer critiquing literature and landscape during the same period. In 1931 he made his debut with the novel, *Kaze Hakase* (Doctor Wind). He also drew acclaim with his essays on culture and literature, such as *Seishunron* (On Youth, 1942) and *Bungaku no Furusato* (Homeland of Literature, 1943). In *Nihon Bunka Shikan* (Private View on Japanese Culture), he aggressively denied traditional Japanese culture and beauty, even during the war, describing changes of landscape as follows:

And now, we do not even feel sad that the wooden bridge has been replaced by the steel bridge, and that the width of the river has become narrower; furthermore, we think that it is quite natural. But I am not the only one who sees these changes. Many Japanese feel joy, rather than sadness, every time an old building in their hometown is destroyed and Western-style buildings emerge. We need new transportation and also an elevator. More than traditional beauty or intrinsically Japanese forms, we need convenience in our daily lives. The destruction of the temples in Kyoto or the Buddhist statues in Nara wouldn't bother us in the least, but we'd be in real trouble if the streetcars stopped running. The only thing that is important to us is the 'necessity of life'. Even if the ancient culture is destroyed, our life will survive, and as long as our life itself does not die, our uniqueness will remain healthy. For we do not lose our own needs, nor do we lose our desires, according to our necessities.<sup>86</sup>

Refuting the trend in which western cultural figures came to Japan and discovered traditional Japanese beauty on one hand, and lamented its losses on the other, Sakaguchi looked back on how his childhood hometown had been remodeled through the process of modernization. He lamented it back then, but now he thought it should be affirmed, in light of living. Furthermore, looking back on his brief life in

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<sup>86</sup> Sakaguchi Ango, *Darakuron* [Discourse on Decadence] (Tokyo: Shinchosha, 2000), 41-42.

Kyoto, and criticizing the cultural forms and aesthetics found in temples, shrines, as well as other landmarks, Sakaguchi listed the landscapes that he considered beautiful.

Kosuge Prison and a dry ice factory. I had some thoughts about the relation between these two, but I have never had a thought, except that each of them had a strong sense of beauty that made me feel nostalgic. They are completely different from the beauty of Horyuji or Byodoin. Moreover, Horyuji or Byodoin has such a beauty that you must be somehow convinced of, by taking into account ancient times and history. It is not something that moves me directly and bites into my gut. Unless we make up for something that is not enough, you can't be convinced. Kosuge Prison and the dry ice factory impact me more directly, with nothing to be compensated for, and have the power to immediately bring nostalgia to my heart.<sup>87</sup>

He described that he was drawn to a prison glimpsed from a streetcar traveling from the town where he lived at the time to Tokyo, and also to a dry ice factory, as a similar experience. These places, one could say are the extreme opposite of traditional Japanese beauty, or even of the range of what is generally called 'beautiful,' but, with a battleship that he saw on his trip to peninsula added to the list, Sakaguchi argues for them from an anti-aesthetic perspective.

Why are these three things so beautiful? There is absolutely no element here that was fabricated in order to make them beautiful. There is no pillar or steel added from the standpoint of beauty, and no pillar or steel removed because it is not beautiful. Only what was needed was placed where needed. That way, all unnecessary things have been eliminated, and a unique form demanded only out of necessity has been created. It is a form that does not resemble anything else but itself.<sup>88</sup>

Using the concept of "necessity," Sakaguchi regards rational and non-decorative architecture and vehicles such as prison, factory, and battleship, as opposed to traditional beauty, as beauty for himself. He further argues that his literary work should also eliminate frills out of 'necessity.' These, however, did not simply attest to his affirmation of modernism. Sakaguchi rather insisted on being a thorough rationalist against utilitarianism, swaying between tradition and modernity, while benefiting from them, attempting to conversely illuminate what beauty and culture in Japan really were. He continuously argued that new culture and tradition were born out of everyday life.

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 69.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 69-70.

I would not be troubled if both Horyuji and Byodoin burned to the ground. If the need should arise, tear down Horyuji and put in a parking lot. The brilliant culture and traditions of our race never die. The quiet sunset in Musashino is gone, but the sunset falls on the roofs of the barracks, and the sunny days also look cloudy due to dust, and instead of the landscape of the moonlight at night, neon signs are shining. As long as our actual life settles our soul, what would it be if not beautiful?<sup>89</sup>

Musashino, described by Kunikida and Roka, underwent large-scale development in the 1920s, and as a result, a number of private railways started running, and its natural beauty disappeared. Sakaguchi on the other hand argued that barracks and neon signs, produced as unfavorable legacy of modernization, should be called beautiful. Whereas with Mt. Fuji and representative views of Tokyo, Dazai criticized the Japanese landscape from within, Sakaguchi, introducing landscapes that were at opposite ends of traditional beauty, defamiliarizing it to rediscover a new beauty, or beauty itself in the Japanese landscape. It was by Sakaguchi's materialist recognition of landscape that beauty, or landscape different from institution, was discovered. Both Sakaguchi and Dazai tried to re-inscribe the grand narrative of traditional and nationalist landscape even during the war, from the side of everyday life and human existence. Sakaguchi is widely known as a post-war literary author for essays and novels such as *Darakuron* (Discourse on Decadence) and *Hakuchi* (Idiot), published in 1946. It is however important to note that those works were not suddenly created after the war. Rather, under the wartime fascist regime, attempts had been made in literature and thought to resist it, and such resistance continued even during the turbulent postwar period. The war turned Japan into a burned-out field, and the landscape underwent enormous transformation after the major postwar restoration, during which neither the Japanese tradition nor beauty of the landscape had been reviewed. It could be said that Sakaguchi foresaw and discussed the postwar landscape in the prewar period. While landscape apart from nationalism as such was discussed, the Emperor System remained intact even after the war, and with the issue of the Japanese Empire's war responsibility on hold, a new post-war political system was advanced, and as a result, landscape, was significantly reinscribed after the war. Along with the development of capitalism, its relationship to the

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 71.

state, in comparison to that in the prewar times, became further complicated and invisible, making itself even more robust against the background of visible postwar transformation.

### 13. Post-war Landscape—Hanada Kiyoteru

Literary critic, Hanada Kiyoteru wrote a number of essays on literature, theater, and film, leading the postwar avant-garde art movement. He published essays on Dazai and Sakaguchi in which he discusses issues of landscape. In his essay, *Nijusseiki niokeru Geijutsuka no Shukumei* (Artists' Fate in the Twentieth Century), included in his book, *Sakuran no Ronri* (The Logic of Confusion) in 1947. He casts light on content and form in Dazai's writing, which had been created out of the diametrically opposed poles of the causality and necessity found in modern novels, and the teleology and free will in premodern folklore. He argues that Dazai, rather than choosing either western-style modern novels or a Japanese-style premodern folklore, sought the possibilities of different expressions that derived from neither one, and introduced *Hundred Views of Mt. Fuji* as a rare example of sublating this dichotomy.

What I am adhering to is simply that, despite being constantly aware of the conflict between the two, he wrote modern novels with the spirit of folklore, or folklores with the spirit of modern novels. However, very rarely, but I would not say that there is no remarkable work that fuses Japanese things and Western things. *Hundred Views of Mt. Fuji* is one example. In it, neither Picasso nor Ernst is present, but Degas is. It is Hokusai as seen through the eyes of Degas. Degas as seen through the eyes of Hokusai.<sup>90</sup>

Hanada argues that Dazai set the novel, a product of modernization, against the traditional folklore that had existed prior to modernity not to represent the opposition between the two as such, but to express them side by side simultaneously. Clearly, what is referred to as 'tradition' is not one based on a grand narrative or history of the Japanese state, but rather that of popular tales or storytelling that had existed on the periphery, as was discussed by Yanagita. Thus, according to Hanada, *Hundred Views of Mt. Fuji* was an exceptional work that successfully depicted the modern and the premodern. He argued his

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<sup>90</sup> Hanada Kiyoteru, *Hanada Kiyoteru Chosakushu 1* [Collected Writings of Hanada Kiyoteru 1] (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1964), 356. For Hokusai's influence on Degas, as well as influences of Japonisme on Impressionism, see Kobayashi Taichiro, *Hokusai to Doga* [Hokusai and Degas] (Tokyo: Zenkokushobo, 1946).

point through the relationships between French Impressionist painter Edgar Degas and Katsushika Hokusai, or between the painting and ukiyo-e drawn by them, respectively. This comparison holds due to the fact that the landscape of Mt. Fuji—which Hokusai also depicted—occupies the significant position in *Hundred Views of Mt. Fuji*. Dazai, living in modern times, i.e. times after the discovery of landscape, attempted to describe the times before and after the landscape had come into existence simultaneously. Rather than assuming the present i.e. the postwar era as the basis of his thinking, through Dazai's work, Hanada examines postwar times from the perspective of prewar thinking, or the postwar not as a break from, but as continuation of, the prewar period. Hanada separated postwar thought from the discussion of it as freedom from war, or as political or social confusion, and discovered it on its own merits.

Meanwhile, during the same period, Hanada also wrote *Dobutsu, Shokubutsu, Kobutsu*—*Sakaguchi Ango nitsuite* (Animals, Plants, and Minerals: On Sakaguchi Ango) discussing his work and individual creativity as a response to criticism of Sakaguchi by the critic Oi Kosuke. Analyzing *Discourse on Decadence* and *Idiot* using his own unique metaphors, Hanada praises Sakaguchi on one hand, and criticizes his view of art that works of art and life should be integrated.

In other words, I cannot but sincerely agree with Sakaguchi's determination to be a literary author as an artist, but I am quite skeptical of his belief that art equals real life, which is just like that of a moralist. If he thoroughly recognizes his own vulnerabilities by becoming aware of the break between the body and the soul, and not as a judge but rather as an accomplice, tries to be a playwright, with "service for entertainment in mind" with infinite tolerance, I consider that he should inevitably pay attention to the break rather than to the integration of art and real life.<sup>91</sup>

Hanada pointed out that if art and real life are synonymous, then Sakaguchi as a 'decadent' writer should act decadently in real life as well; however, in actuality he is a mere good citizen, and furthermore, an easy unity of art in real life would, on the contrary, divert his attention from problematizing them. He argued that it was rather important to accept differences between the two as they are. Sakaguchi himself did not claim that this unity of art and life was something that should genuinely be understood, either. Rather, he addressed this as criticism towards the literary scholars who had separated art from everyday

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<sup>91</sup> Hanada, *Hanada Kiyoteru Chosakushu* 2, 372.

life excessively, and neglected the relationship between the two. Though Hanada praised Sakaguchi's work, he was critical of the logic that Sakaguchi had employed to sublimate contradictions between art and real life. On the other hand, Sakaguchi focused his attention on the division between the body and the soul, which he referred to as "devil's eyes" or "eyes without thought," and Hanada insisted that this was indeed the eyes of true artists and thinkers.

But the prevalence of erotic art, like the flight of seabirds signaling the arrival of a storm, frequently predicts the approach of a revolution. This is not necessarily because the decadent social conditions are mirrored in those works, but the eyes of the revolutionary writer properly identify the division between the human soul and body, and capture the human body as animal, plant, or mineral, and depict it quite coldly on its own merits, showing no emotion.<sup>92</sup>

Sakaguchi produced a number of works with his realistic eyes to observe the human body as matter, and Hanada argued that Sakaguchi's materialist gaze and observation would foresee a revolution. To depict human beings straightforwardly, as they were, required extreme effort, given the political and social situation, and everyday needs arising not only during the fascist wartime regime, but also under the post-war chaos and challenges. It was under these circumstances that Sakaguchi continued to gaze at Japan from within, and as a result, discover the landscape of the prison and the dry ice factory. Hanada discussed landscapes that Sakaguchi had depicted in contradictory settings between the premodern and the modern by stripping them down to the core, developing further his own theory of avant-garde art and revolution. Ten years later, Hanada, again, discussed Dazai in an essay, *Fukei ni tsuite* (Concerning Landscape), written in the wake of the struggle against the Japan-US Security Treaty. In it, he critically reviewed *Eight Views of Tokyo* in terms of the very relationship between the eight views selected by Dazai, and the landscape.

——With sceneries listed one after another, it almost makes me think that it looks like a Showa version of Kobayashi Kiyochika's ukiyo-e prints, however, those sceneries jumbled together, which seemingly came out of his memory, seem to have been colored with overwhelming sorrow, radiating a kind of unique glow in his inner world. However, even though I have been living in Tokyo for more than a quarter of a century, I am not able to remember any such landscape. Dazai

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 338-339.

Osamu wrote that he wanted to write about landscapes as expressions of his life (*seikatsu*), however, for someone whose life has already been lost, like myself, the landscape is also completely meaningless. I ignored my life. Almost despised it.<sup>93</sup>

Dazai selected eight views from the landscape of Tokyo where he actually lived, through which he described his own life in Tokyo. Hanada argued, in contrast, that despite living in Tokyo for so long, there was no life for him to tell about, and thus landscape through which to express his life likewise did not exist. Recalling a time when he did not bother to look at the view from the vehicle in which he was riding, Hanada further introduced an anecdote that at the end of the war period, when commuting from Kamakura to Tokyo by train, oblivious of the air raid alert, he was left alone in the car, but for the want of nothing better to do, he immersed himself in studying Latin. Despite this story, Hanada chose an ordinary stone wall in Akasaka, where a publisher that he had worked for before and after the war, was located, as the only one example of landscape. He stated that even that landscape was now gone, and returned to Dazai's landscape.

I don't particularly mean to adhere to Dazai Osamu. Due to the circumstances of the story, if I dare say, I cannot help feeling that some sort of security of a person, who is not entirely deprived, is following his expression of "Tokyo life." Therefore, I have no home at all. Furthermore, I have no brothers, either.<sup>94</sup>

Dazai's attempt was to depict both art and life simultaneously from an angle that was different from that of Sakaguchi. By rejecting the unity of life and landscape, Hanada sought to recapture materialistically the landscape in and of itself, rather than as a medium for narratives or art. Landscape was purposely treated as matter rather than being recognized as a composite of various elements. In 1956 a government White Paper declared that it was "no longer the postwar era," and as Japan entered a period of high economic growth, the postwar landscape changed drastically. Furthermore, along with the New Leftist movement, which was established towards the struggle against the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, as an alternative body to the old Communist Party to which Hanada belonged, an oppositional concept of

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<sup>93</sup> Hanada Kiyoteru, *Mohitotsu no Shura* [Another Carnage] (Tokyo: Chikumashobo, 1961), 100.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.

landscape that was different from that of the modern eras such as prewar or postwar was demanded. It was within these contexts and against these background that Hanada praised *Hundred Views of Mt. Fuji* from 1939 immediately after the war, and rejected *Eight Views of Tokyo* from 1941 in the midst of the Anpo struggle. In this transition period, Hanada proposed the potential of landscape-as-materiality, or the materialist concept of landscape.

Although changes in landscape theories that transpired from the era of Japan's modernization through the postwar period were examined, the landscape theory of Matsuda and his associates almost never referred to those previous discussions. This is because most of the existing theories and discourses of landscape were inseparably tied to nationalism, and Matsuda and associates deliberately circumvented the old discussions in an attempt to develop their theory in a completely different context. While not directly discussed by Matsuda and others, arguments made by Uchimura, Kamei, Yanagita and Watsuji, who had tried to resist the landscape and state under Japanese Imperialism—which had remained in place from the Meiji Restoration to the Second World War—had many common characteristics with the new landscape theory. It can be further pointed out that the new landscape theory owed much of its theoretical inheritance to the notion of landscape that Hanada proposed through the literary work of Dazai and Sakaguchi, who had thoroughly rejected Japanese exceptionalism and nationalistic narratives and history during and after the war.

## **Chapter Two: Matsuda Masao's Landscape Theory**

The aim of this chapter is to analyze various texts by Matsuda Masao, the film critic and central ideologue of landscape theory, and theoretical responses to them made by film director Adachi Masao and photographer Nakahira Takuma. First I explore the historical background of how the concept of landscape, or landscape theory developed into an intense debate, and then I examine the process of its decline. The theory of reportage—the theoretical successor to landscape theory—is then described. Finally I discuss the underlying concept for both theories, the notion of cinema=movement, and its implications in a global context.

In 1969, Matsuda published the essay *Fukei toshiteno sei* (Sex as landscape)—which can be called the manifesto for landscape theory—in the December issue of cultural magazine *Asahi Janaru* (Asahi Journal), in which the concept of landscape was initially introduced, whereas his landscape theory was formulated during the production of the film, *A.K.A. Serial Killer* (1969). As will be discussed later, *A.K.A. Serial Killer* is a documentary film consisting exclusively of shots of the landscape that 19-year-old Nagayama Norio—the perpetrator of a series of fatal shootings that took place in Tokyo, Kyoto, Hakodate, and Nagoya between October 1968 and April 1969—may have encountered while wandering through various regions of Japan, from the time of his birth until his arrest. The film was produced collectively by Matsuda, director Adachi, script writer Sasaki Mamoru, producer Iwabuchi Susumu, and cinematographer Nonomura Masayuki and Yamazaki Yutaka. Filming began upon the arrest of Nagayama in July 1969, and was completed by the end of that year. The incident had a nation-wide impact—it was a time in which Japan was undergoing rapid economic growth, and Nagayama was a young migrant worker, embraced as a so-called golden egg (hard-to-come-by young talent), who, had come from the poor Tohoku region to the city upon graduating from junior high school.

This chapter focuses on this text by Matsuda, explaining Matsuda and others' theoretical foundations as represented in *A.K.A. Serial Killer*. In this essay Matsuda defined ordinary quotidian landscapes as 'power.' As the major currents of social movement stemming from 1968 were losing their

momentum, Matsuda employed the concept of 'landscape' to explore theories of power and the State, with an eye toward the 1970s as well as new horizons of revolutionary theory.

## 1. The Origin of Landscape Theory

Matsuda's essay *Sex as landscape*, about Wakamatsu Koji and his work, was written (while the shooting and editing of *A.K.A. Serial Killer* was in progress) for a special feature on *Sei kaiho* (Sexual liberation), published in *Asahi Journal* on December 28, 1969. The concept of the 'locked room' in Wakamatsu's films was the center of his argument. Matsuda himself has repeatedly referred to this essay as his first text on landscape theory, and it has also been cited as such by many others. It is therefore clear that this essay marks the beginning of landscape theory.<sup>95</sup> In the essay, Matsuda discusses landscape as follows:

Meanwhile, together with Adachi Masao and other peers, following the entire path of serial killer Nagayama Norio, we walked all over the eastern half of Japan, starting from Abashiri, to Sapporo, Hakodate, Tsugaru Plain, Tokyo, Nagoya, Kyoto, Osaka to Kobe, and even further to Hong Kong, and, calling it a documentary film, we single-mindedly kept filming the landscape of each region that Nagayama may have also seen with his own eyes; the fact that we are now creating a strange work that can only be called an actual landscape film is solely because the landscape itself has been first and foremost perceived as a power that we are at war with. Perhaps Nagayama shot bullets most likely to tear apart the landscape. State power would recklessly sever the landscape to clear the path, for instance, for the Tomei Highway. While we are enjoying a pleasant drive on that highway, it is at that very moment that the landscape haunts us and power can seize us. So, whether it is 'situation' or a situations without mercy, we venture to say that it doesn't matter to us. Have we not transcended even the landscape?<sup>96</sup>

At the beginning of this essay on the works of Wakamatsu, Matsuda first discusses *Go, Go Second Time Virgin* (1969) directed by Wakamatsu and scripted by Adachi, a unique love drama about a young couple set on the rooftop of an apartment, referencing the concept of the 'locked room' for

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<sup>95</sup> Specifically, I referred to the following texts, in which Matsuda himself compiled details of the debate and its development. Matsuda Masao, "Shishi no ichigeki," [A lion's blow], *Kohyo* (November 1970): 20-29 and "Fukeiron no kitten," [The origin of landscape theory], *Dezain* [Design], no.141, (January 1971): 11-14.

<sup>96</sup> Matsuda Masao, "Fukei toshiten sei," [Sex as landscape] in *Bara to Mumeisha* [A Rose and the Nameless] (Tokyo: Hageshoten, 1970), 123-124. *Bara to Mumeisha* is Matsuda's second book of film criticism. This essay is included with the revised title, "Misshitsu/fukei/kenryoku -Wakamatsu eiga to 'sei' to 'kaiho'," [Locked room/landscape/power: Wakamatsu film and 'sex' and 'liberation']. Though the essay attests the origin of landscape theory, it was not included in *Fukei no shimetsu* [The Extinction of landscape] (Tokyo: Tabatashoten, 1971), his third compilation of essays on landscape. However, it is included as an opening essay in *Zohoban: Fukei no shimetsu* (Newly expanded edition: The Extinction of Landscape) (Tokyo: Koshisha, 2013) republished in 2013.

analysis. By comparing it with *The Embryo Hunts in Secret* (1966), another Wakamatsu-Adachi production and *New Jack and Betty* (1969) directed by Okishima Isao from Wakamatsu Production, both of which are dramas set in the closed indoor spaces of a single house and a single room, Matsuda points out that the locked room in this film is an artificial space constituted by being locked at midnight. Referencing the specificities of this locked room, which is actually open to the infinite sky, and linked to the brilliantly-colored urban landscape, he pulled the concept of 'landscape' from the final sequence, in which the couple throw themselves over the edge and off of the rooftop.

It is only out into the landscape that a young boy can step. There is nothing that the young boy and the girl can do but lightly jump over the wired fence, throw themselves into the landscape and die.<sup>97</sup>

Matsuda argues that Wakamatsu and Adachi, by pushing the inquiry of the locked room to an extreme, indicated that not only the characters' quasi-liberation, but also their extremely personal 'sex' in the indoor space, has been contained by the external 'landscape'. Discovering the concern shared between this concept of landscape and *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, Matsuda suggests that, in both this film and Wakamatsu's films, the quotidian landscape is indeed a manifestation of power, and thus clearly situates landscape theory as a theory of power.

It is important to note that Matsuda's argument marks the beginning of landscape theory, but also presents a critical stance against the political thought of the 1960's, especially against that of Yoshimoto Takaaki, a leading intellectual and poet of post-war Japan, who had introduced 'situation' (*jokyo* or 情況) as a concept representing the new political conditions and movements of the time. As a critical response to 'situations' (*jokyo* or 状況) proposed by Jean-Paul Sartre in *Being and Nothingness* in 1943, Yoshimoto discussed Japanese modernity and the state based on the Emperor system and the family system, as well as the relation between the masses and intellectuals.<sup>98</sup> The discussion of 'situation,'

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid, 123.

<sup>98</sup> In response to Sartre's concept of 'situations' (状況), Yoshimoto reinterpreted it specifically in the context of Japan by replacing the Japanese character '状' (*jojo*) signifying 'state,' 'condition' or 'appearance' with the character '情' implying state or quality grown or occurring natively, as in Japanese words such as *kanjo* (sentiment) or *ninjo* (human sympathy), and proposed the concept of 'situation' (情況). Rather than literally introducing Sartre's political

which had initially been proposed in the early 1960's, was developed in his essay titled "What is situation?" (*Jokyo towa nanika*), published in the general opinion magazine, *Nihon* (Japan) from February to July of 1966. The book compiling Yoshimoto's lectures from 1961 to 1967 was called *Jokyo eno Hatsugen* (Statements for Situation)

Originally, in the real world, 'situation' is designed so that actual reality cannot be touched. Under such circumstances what matters is to determine in advance what level of recognition is to be employed with respect to the assumed actual reality. If a situation is one which I surely and directly experienced, it does not immediately mean it is true, and in that case, the problem is within what kind of overall reality the experience should be placed. On the other hand, if what I can touch is related to world recognition, in which it is only something quite insignificant in advance, what matters is not how I gained knowledge through seemingly truthful literature, but how my judgment and ideals were given the sense of having interacted with the world.<sup>99</sup>

Yoshimoto created a new revolutionary theory that made clear distinctions from the Communist Party, the existing vanguard Left, at a time when the struggle against the 1960 U.S.-Japan Peace Treaty was escalating, and his theory continued to have influence afterwards. As Japan was heading toward a new decade, 1970s, Matsuda called strongly for a shift away from the concept of the 'situation', symbolic of Yoshimoto's thought, toward that of 'landscape.' This background indicates that landscape theory, at its origin, was presented not only as a theory of film and art, but also as a political and philosophical theory.

## 2. Philosophical and Art Historical Background

The relationship between new art movements and thought in 20<sup>th</sup> century Japan has its origin in the 1920s, when Japan underwent enormous social and cultural transformations under the accelerating modernization starting in the Meiji period. Marked by the emergence of the first avant-garde movements on one hand, and the introduction of Socialism on the other, the situation provoked various discussions based on the dichotomies between politics and culture, or revolution and art. However, first with the rise

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concept of situations within the context of European philosophical arguments into Japanese, Yoshimoto attempted to take on the historical and philosophical challenges it had proposed, while shedding light on incongruities caused by Japan's rapid modernization and formation of the state. "If a task for Sartre is to radicalize (existentialize) existing radical language (classical Marxism), the task at least for me, inevitably is to find linguistic thought (autonomy) that can either ascend or descend the structure of strained warps and divergence created between radical language and indigenous language." Yoshimoto Takaaki, *Jiritsu no shisoteki kyoten* [Intellectual Basis for Autonomy], (Tokyo: Tokumashoten, 1966), 87.

<sup>99</sup> Yoshimoto, *Jiritsu no shisoteki kyoten*, 100.

of socialism, most of them ended up being contained by the party's ideology; and later they were suspended as the rise of militarism dismantled the avant-garde party itself. It was after the Second World War, from 1945 onward, that the discussion of the theory and practice of post-war art came to the fore, with such literati as Hanada Kiyoteru and Takiguchi Shuzo aiming to liquidate the agendas that had remained unresolved before and during war time. However, it was not until the loss of authority of the Communist Party, the existing avant-garde left, that the art movements started to become culturally and politically autonomous in the literal sense of the term—domestically through the shift from armed struggle to a peaceful line in *Rokuzenkyo* (the Sixth National Party Congress) in 1955, and globally through the critique of Stalinism in 1956 and the Soviet Union's military intervention in the Hungarian Revolution in 1956.

Among these new currents, literary scholars Takei Akio and Yoshimoto launched their hard line critique, denouncing the previous generations in *Bungakusha no senso sekinin* (Literati's war responsibility) in 1957. The Leftist culturati and intellectuals who had been dismissed as inviolable also became targets of criticism, and the myth of the existing Left as leader—in both the anti-militarism struggle in the pre-war period and anti-U.S. occupation policy struggle with the new Japanese government in the postwar period—was gradually dismantled. In film, directors such as Matsumoto Toshio and Noda Shinkichi proposed a theory aiming to make films independent from politics, and integrate the avant-garde and documentary, which developed into a heated discussion with film directors affiliated with Communist Party. Meanwhile, directors such as Oshima Nagisa and Yoshida Kiju systematically criticized every aspect of the existing Japanese cinema, aggressively confronting the previous generation, including Leftist filmmakers. Meanwhile, in politics, in 1958 a student organization broke off from the Communist Party and began *Bund* (the Japan Revolutionary Communist League). One of their main targets was the struggle against the peace treaty, which aimed to disrupt the revision of the U.S. Japan Security Treaty. In its aggressive opposition to the Communist Party, the new group developed its own theory and practice, coming to be known as the New Left. To part with Communist Party, which had been synonymous with politics and revolutionary movement in post-war Japan, was in itself a revolutionary

event. The independent thought advocated by Yoshimoto thus played a significant role for a new current of movement and thought aimed at fighting against the Security Treaty without aligning with the Communist Party. On the other hand, the labor movements that had been thriving in the fifties, many of which were led by the Communist or Socialist Parties, were unable to play a central role during the *Anpo*, struggle against the U.S. Japan Security Treaty in the sixties, and the New Left movements thereafter were developed mainly by students.

Matsuda joined the Communist Party as a high school student.<sup>100</sup> In 1957 he became an editor, and, through communicating with Hanada and Yoshimoto, as an opposition force within the party he called for *Rokugatsu kodo iinkai* (the June Action Committee) to join the *Anpo* struggle. Thereafter he immediately left the party. In 1962 he participated in the launch of *Jiritsugakko* (the Autonomy School), which was centered around influential poet/philosopher Tanigawa Gan, who, together with Yoshimoto had played a significant role in the philosophical development of the New Left movement. In 1964, Matsuda formed the *Musefu kyosanto* (Anarchist Communist Party) with anarchist Yamaguchi Kenji. In 1965 they formed *Tokyo kodo sensen* (the Tokyo Action Front), and in '67 founded *Reboruto-sha* (Revolt Publishing House), which published the journal *Sekai kakumei undo joho* (World Revolutionary Movement Information), advocating violent revolutionary theory based on direct action and Third Worldism as 'tactical rather than strategic thought.'<sup>101</sup> He looks back on the process of setting forth the new thought, which was distinct from both the vanguardism of the New Left and the Autonomist stance of Yoshimoto as follows:

In retrospect, the seed of the tragedy was already germinated when Yoshimoto Takaaki emphatically declared at the court of lawsuit against Marquis De Sade's *L'Hisorie de Juliette; ou Les Prosperites du Viceon* on January 24 of 1962 'When considering anarchist society or society without the state as utopia, its essential concept I think is not human freedom but its independence.' All days during the sixties, Yoshimoto Taaaki tackled the unprecedentedly difficult journey to establish the essence in itself. And those who aimed for independence sent cheers. Everything changed and nothing changed. In the early 60s, I was compelled to wander

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<sup>100</sup> Matsuda Masao, "'Sagyo Nisshi' shisho," [Personal selections from Work Diaries] in *Samazaama na Sengo (dai san shu)* [Various Postwars (Third Volume)], ed. Sunouchi Kenji and Matsumoto Masatsugu (Tokyo: Nihonkeizaishinbunsha, 1995), 189-222.

<sup>101</sup> Matsuda Masao, "Jijo," [Preface by author], in *Teroru no Kairo*[Circuit of Terror], (Tokyo: Sanichishobo, 1969): 1.

between vanguardism and independent thought. Suspicious of the available choices, content neither with 'autonomy' nor 'vanguard,' I was struggling to pursue a single word of my own that would completely capture this time period.<sup>102</sup>

Derived not from strategic thoughts of the Leftist intellectuals represented by Yoshimoto, but from a new philosophical trend with practical strategies at its origin, the *Zenkyoto* movement began in '65 as a struggle against tuition increases, as well as the struggle for autonomous management of student buildings. The movement gained its momentum as blocks with barricades went up at various universities and high schools, as well as the intensification of street struggles in May '68. Though many members of the New Left sects were also involved, *Zenkyoto* was radically different from those that were based on self-governing associations at universities, and its struggle committee within each university had directly created a network of communication, beyond the boundaries of departments or universities, forming a new anarchism-based movement. The conflict with the existing Left in '68 was not entirely new—in the Leftist Movement in Japan, the roles of the existing Left and the labor movements led by it had already disappeared in the fifties—in comparison to other countries. Furthermore, *Zenkyoto* was novel as a neo-New Left movement, because it had aligned with the New Left, which had begun during the *Anpo* in 1960—although their stance was entirely different. It is thus characteristic of Japan that building coalitions between students and workers was no easy task.

However, the *Zenkyoto* Movement, which grew into a nationwide movement, was successfully suppressed by the police force, and beginning in mid 1969, it gradually lost its momentum. On the other hand, owing to the opening of the Osaka World Expo in 1970, popular interests shifted from political movements to the formation of a highly advanced consumer society. Also because of the so-called *Nihonreto kaizo keikaku* (A Plan for remodeling the Japanese Archipelago), a nationwide development that began in 1972, the entire landscape of Japan was drastically remade. Furthermore, the time of art movements, which had resumed in the fifties, came to a close as a number of well-known avant-garde writers and cultural figures were mobilized for the Osaka Expo and its media campaign. In the midst of this period of regression in politics and movements, landscape theory—which forecast the shift of state

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<sup>102</sup> Matsuda, "Waga rokujunendai no hikari to yami," [Light and darkness of my 60's] in *Teroru no kairo*, 24.

system—was presented as a new critical concept in the seventies. Rather than capital-P-political spaces, symbolized by State, Police, Military and University, landscape theory served as a theoretical framework to perceive structures of power within the seemingly non-threatening, everyday landscape. It also made clear the limits of existing political movements, which aimed for physical confrontations as well as occupation of political space, and was presented as a new theory to perceive and analyze—and ultimately to subvert—the status quo, in which even everyday landscapes were subsumed by power. On the other hand, although ideas of the leftist opposition factions epitomized by Yoshimoto gradually lost their radical edge in the shifting domain of the movement, they still had an enormous influence on the New Left, and on cultural and literary figures. Matsuda therefore proposed landscape theory to call for a shift from 'situation' to 'landscape', introducing the more specific concept of landscape=power, rather than situation, a notion that was ambiguous and vague. Along with this proposal, by critiquing Yoshimoto's autonomy thought itself, which had enormous impact from the late fifties to the sixties, Matsuda attempted to demonstrate the need for a new philosophical horizon

### **3. Film Historical Background**

If one looks back at the history of Japanese cinema, one must recognize an important factor, the development of film as movement, which was closely linked to the formation of landscape theory and *A.K.A. Serial Killer* as its background. Suzuki Seijun, a film director working for the Nikkatsu, which was one of the top five Japanese film production companies and had the longest history, was suddenly laid off in 1968. Suzuki had continuously engaged in experimental film production, and was widely acclaimed as an auteur even though he was a "program picture" director. However, because of the production of *Koroshi no Rakuin* (Branded to Kill, 1967), Nikkatsu relieved Suzuki of his post, then refused to rent out

his film prints for a Suzuki Seijun retrospective of scheduled by the Cine-Club Study Group, and cut off distribution of all of Suzuki's works.<sup>103</sup>

In response to this, a group called *Suzuki Seijun Mondai Kyoto Kaigi* (Joint struggle committee for Suzuki Seijun problem) was formed, with the goals of having his firing reversed and reinstating circulation of his films. Support came from numerous individuals and groups, ranging from filmmakers affiliated with major film companies, independent production companies such as Oshima's *Sozosha* and Wakamatsu's Wakamatsu Production and groups of documentary films such as Ogawa Production, as well as critics, editors, university film groups, and cine-clubs from all regions. So much support for the group arose that it became a political movement in the film industry, which showed some resemblance to the Zenkyoto Movement.<sup>104</sup> In fact, the Seijun Joint Struggle provided an occasion for Matsuda—who, when asked, would occasionally write film criticism—to become seriously engaged in film criticism.<sup>105</sup> Matsuda joined the struggle as chairperson; so did Adachi as representative of Wakamatsu Productions, and Sasaki likewise as representative of *Sozosha*. Thus various people in different positions who later developed landscape theory were involved in this movement.

The current of this new film movement segued into the publication of the second incarnation of the film journal *Eiga Hihyo* (Film Criticism). Matsuda, Adachi and Sasaki, along with music critics Aikura Hisato and Hiraoka Masaaki formed *Hihyo Sensen* (Critical Front) in 1969, in order to develop it in theory and practice. In order to develop film criticism and critiques as political movement they started the journal in October 1970. The journal stopped publication with the September 1973 issue, however the

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<sup>103</sup> Hori Kyusaku, a CEO and President of Nikkatsu corporation, who laid off Suzuki made the following statement: "Suzuki Seijun is a director who makes incomprehensible films. Therefore, his films are not good films, and it is a shame for Nikkatsu to screen them." "Suzuki kantoku no saiban ni kansuru houkoku" [Report regarding Director Suzuki's trial], *Suzuki Seijun mondai kyoto kaigi hokoku* [Suzuki Seijun Joint Struggle League Report], no. 1 (1<sup>st</sup> August 1968): 9.

<sup>104</sup> This can be argued in parallel with the struggle for the reversal of the firing of Henri Langlois of Cinematique Francaise in France, and the anti-Cannes Film Festival action. As a similar incident, which occurred in the context of underground cinema and hippie movement in Japan, the protest against the Film Art Festival organized by Sogetsu Art Center in 1969 can be listed.

<sup>105</sup> Matsuda Masao, "Moshimo anotoki" [What if, then] in *Tamura Tsutomu: Hito to shinario* [Tamura Tsutomu: Man and Scenario], ed. Shinario sakka kyokai shuppan iinkai [Japan writers guild publications committee] (Tokyo: Shinario Sakka Kyokai, 2001): 336-338.

manifesto by Critical Front published in the first issue attests that film production, screening and criticism, that is to say, theory and practice were considered equally important:

We strongly feel that the so-called 'crisis of cinema' has been the most acutely exposed in the domain of criticism. In the midst of the so-called quantitative decline in films, despite the fact that genuine works of filmmakers and the silent support of the audience are instead bringing about an unprecedented quantitative excitement in cinema, the status of criticism, as seen in some film magazines, is currently reaching an alarming circumstance rife with gossipy drivel in the name of 'art' or 'critical review.' If, at this moment, tackling the task of creating criticism as a movement to mediate accurately between creative movements which are competing against one another as swirling currents, and a popular movement, in which a series of searches are amorphously continued is neglected, it is as clear as day that one will regret it for many years to come, and ultimately will allow for the coming of a genuine crisis of cinema. We, with an awareness of being activists herein express that we begin the battle aiming to establish new critical front.<sup>106</sup>

*A.K.A. Serial Killer* became the first film that was presented as a critical practice of the *Hihyo Sensen* mentioned above, as part of the process to prepare for publication of the first *Eiga Hihyo*. Inviting Nonomura and Yamazaki, members of the Film Studies Group of Nihon University Art Department, as cinematographer, and Iwauchi of Wakamatsu Productions for production, Adachi evidently organized the film crew as the extension of the previous cinema movement, and it is out of this movement that landscape theory was born and developed.

#### 4. Theorization of Landscape——"City as Landscape"

After the completion of *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, Matsuda continued to publish texts based on the experience of making the film, accelerating the theorization of landscape theory. Adachi, the director who

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<sup>106</sup> Introduction for the first publication, Second term *Eiga Hihyo* [Film criticism] in October 1970. The editorial group published the magazine urgently, since it was to be the medium by which to discuss critically this new phase of film as movement from the late 60s through the early 70s. The magazine eschewed film stills, publishing only uncompromising criticism and interviews. Numerous revolutionary films from around the world were introduced, and had significant influence politically as well as cinematically until the end of publication in September 1973. As a critical movement young critics and filmmakers were proactively used, and a number of new writers made their debut. Though the editorial system was completely revamped, the reason for being of the second term is that it was intended to continue the theory and practice of *Eiga Hihyo*, which was published in the late fifties. Also, *Eiga Hihyo* was a film magazine published by producer and film director Kumagaya Mitsuyuki (Kasu Sanpei), providing support for Shochiku Nouvelle Vague such as Oshima and Yoshida, as well as new wave in documentary films, including Matsumoto and Hani. Also, what is referred to as 'Art' and 'Criticism' in the main text is Film Arts and Film Criticism respectively, which had been published since the pre-war period. As a historical film magazine there was one called *Kinema Jumbo*, however by the second half of the sixties, film magazines, such as *Kikan Firumu* [Film Quarterly], *Shinema* [Cinema], and *Me* [Eye], which critiqued the existing media and made clear their new political and aesthetic positions were published in succession.

co-produced *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, the script writer Sasaki, and—as a response from outside of those involved with the film production—photographer Nakahira each made their own statements on landscape or landscape theory from their distinct position, launching its theoretical construction, centering around Matsuda. Though *A.K.A. Serial Killer* was screened immediately after its completion, it was not until 1976 that the film was first shown publicly. Because of this delay, during the first half of the year, the theoretical developments were literally focused on writing. Meanwhile, in June, though in a slightly different context than *A.K.A.*, Oshima's *Tokyo senso sengo hiwa* (The Man Who Left His Will on Film, 1970), scripted by Sasaki and Hara Masataka (Masato) was screened, and the discussion on landscape started to take place more extensively. In this section, I would like to review the development of Matsuda's landscape theory, which gained momentum in the early 1970s. By summarizing the theoretical interventions of Adachi and Nakahira, the entire picture of landscape theory at the period will be examined.

*A.K.A. Serial Killer* starts with an intertitle reading, "Last fall, four murders were committed in four cities using the same gun/This spring a nineteen-year-old boy was arrested/He was called a serial killer" and the final reel ends with, "In the fall of 1968, four murders were committed in four cities using the same gun/In the spring of 1969 a nineteen year old boy was arrested/He was called a serial killer." This film is quite extraordinary as it shows only the landscapes that Nagayama may have encountered from the time of his birth until his arrest when he was drifting across Japan. Though the fact that fragments of landscape projected on the screen are showing the footsteps Nagayama had left from his birth until his arrest, it becomes evident through Adachi's narration that the seemingly ubiquitous landscapes are simply projected onscreen as a series of shots or sequences, without articulating the superiority of any one shot over another.

After completing *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, Matsuda published his essay *Fukei toshiteno toshi* (City as landscape) for the journal *Gendai no me* (Contemporary Eye) in April 1970. Since this essay was published in the special issue on urban structure, and the essay, *Sex as landscape* mentioned earlier that was published in the special issue on sex focused on the discourse of the locked room in the films of

Wakamatsu, this can be considered the first essay whose discussion was dominantly about landscape.<sup>107</sup> Analyzing the collapse of the dichotomy between Tokyo and the countryside, or the center and periphery, the regimentation of the entire Japanese Archipelago as a gigantic city, and the homogenization of the landscape, Matsuda pointed out almost all the important definitions for landscape theory, referencing terms such as state power, underclass proletariat, invisible homeland, commune, and guerrilla-revolution.

The essay starts with a strange encounter with a quasi-traditional festival that Matsuda and his peers experienced in Abashiri City, followed by the introduction of a documentary film about Nagayama. Based on the experience of tracing the footsteps of Nagayama for four months, the homogenization of landscape, which was in progress nation-wide, is analyzed. Matsuda further criticizes the statements by cultural figures and journalists, including dramatist Terayama Shuji,<sup>108</sup> who attributed the incident caused by Nagayama to geographical and social factors, including Hokkaido Abashiri City, his place of birth, or the "desolate northern countryside" of Itayanagi of Tsugaru Province in Aomori Prefecture, where Nagayama's entire family had moved when he was five, and discusses the collapse of the dichotomy between Tokyo=city and the countryside, or center and periphery, due to loss of the homeland.

In other words, the uniqueness of local regions had drastically eroded, and what we saw in its place was a homogenized landscape that could be called a copy of the center. The colonial city of Abashiri, the indigenous town of Itayanagi, and furthermore, even the central city of Tokyo looked pretty much the same.<sup>109</sup>

In an episode in which he followed the trajectory of Nagayama and was unable to discover 'homeland', Matsuda referred to a statement that Tanigawa had made in his poem, "Do not go to Tokyo" (Tokyo e yukuna). He points out a theoretical limitation of Tanigawa, who, while critiquing the concentration of power in Tokyo, was himself based in the local region of Kyushu not as intellectual but

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<sup>107</sup> This essay is the opening text of the first edition of *Fukei no shimetsu*.

<sup>108</sup> See Terayama Shuji, *Boku ga senso ni iku toki* [When I go to the war] (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shinbun-sha, 1969); *Kofuku-ron* [On happiness] (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo 1969) among others. On the other hand, Nagayama's criticism of Terayama is compiled in *Han-Terayama Shuji-ron* [On Anti-Shuji Terayama] (Tokyo: JCA Shuppan, 1977).

<sup>109</sup> Matsuda, "Fukei toshiteno toshi", 10.

as 'kosakusha' (operator), and worked with coalminers heading towards the new era of the seventies.<sup>110</sup>

The end of roles played by important thinkers in the sixties, i.e. Yoshimoto in "Sex as Landscape", as well as Tanigawa in "City as Landscape" was thus indicated in order to articulate the position of landscape theory.

In this way it turned out that we were unable to discover the 'homeland' that may have nurtured Nagayama either in Okhotsk or the plain fields of the Tohoku region. Indeed, we did nothing more than seeing a little 'Tokyo'. Even a shanty town called *Irifuku-jutaku* (housing) located at the corner of Itayanagi-cho where Nagayama lived during his grade school years could be situated anywhere in Tokyo. We must therefore confirm that the scheme of Tokyo vs. hometown, which was the basis of what Gan Tanigawa used to advocate, "Do not go to Tokyo, create your hometown" no longer carried any currency at the dead end of the sixties.<sup>111</sup>

In fact, Matsuda presents a paradox that Nagayama's migration to Tokyo was a journey to the origin from the local countryside, which was itself an imitation of Tokyo, thereby concluding that the existing 'homeland' is in the invisible domain. On the other hand considering Nagayama and his urge to aim for an invisible homeland, Matsuda insists that countless numbers of 'lumpen proletariat' were forming a new class in this process of drifting. Matsuda continued to develop his analysis of the underclass proletariat in his many other writings as well. However it was in fact Tanigawa who first found in the unorganized wandering underclass proletariat something positive, in struggles such as the 60's Anti-security treaty struggle or Miike struggle.<sup>112</sup> Inheriting Tanigawa's theory and action principles, Matsuda discovered creative value in the underclass proletariat. Critiquing the establishment of the base, or self-

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<sup>110</sup> Tanigawa Gan, "Tokyo e yukuna," [Don't go to Tokyo] in *Tanigawa Gan Shishu* [Collected Poems of Tanigawa Gan] (Tokyo: Kokubunsha, 1960), 79-81.

<sup>111</sup> Matsuda, "Fuhei toshiten toshi", 12.

<sup>112</sup> "It is no doubt a fact that only among those people who are alienated in the form of discrimination such as farmers and fishermen in remote areas, the drifting proletariat, special outcast group (*tokushuburakumin*), lepers and ethnic Koreans... that is exemplary of Japan. It is upon them that the thought of the dominant class has been projected most aggressively, and therefore with a certain condition, they are closer to individuals exemplary of modern Europe than anybody else, and also have potential to transcend the "individual." However, one will be faced with an agenda of what kind of course one should take to attain the potential, and what guarantees the productivity of the thought. What lies in disregarding these and considering, by confusing the historical order with the logical order by first emancipation from production relations and then after that... is this bottomless bourgeois secularization towards concepts such as production or relation." Tanigawa Gan, "Nihon no nijukozo," [Dual structure of Japan] in *Sento eno Shotai* [Invitation to combat] (Tokyo: Gendaishichosha, 1961), 225. For other theories, see the following. Tanigawa Gan, *Kosakusha Sengen* [Operator's Manifesto] (Tokyo: Chuokoronsha, 1959); Tanigawa Gan, *Kage no ekkyo o megutte* [Concerning shadowy transgressions] (Tokyo: Gendaishichosha, 1963) .

identification in the movement that Tanigawa had advocated, Matsuda, concerning the creation of a new concept of class, succeeded Tanigawa's concept theoretically, further developing it.

Probably for the first time, we are encountering the transitional period in which our underclass proletariat is going to be formed as a class. Occupying the city as wandering being, they slowly began to emerge as the gravediggers of capitalism.<sup>113</sup>

By finding the independence and subjectivity of a new individual in the underclass proletariat, and by organizing them, Tanigawa attempted to move beyond the Communist Party and existing labor movements. In contrast, Matsuda, like Tanigawa, viewed the proletariat as a new emerging class, however instead of finding their 'revolutionariness' as a fixed subject, he tried to discover it within the mobility of 'drifting,' their de-centered subject in its unfolding, as well as in their prematurely organized form itself. Matsuda thus attempted to overcome the limits of the labor movement in Japan, and in order to end it, attempted to construct a new class concept that didn't have its basis in the labor movement. Furthermore, as one entered the seventies, concepts, which were proposed by Yoshimoto and Tanigawa around the *Anpo* Struggle in 1960 and had enormous influences on contemporary thought and movements, such as subjectivity or the independence of an individual, were even contained by the landscape. He pointed out the limit of Tanigawa's revolutionary theory, while at the same time criticizing the theory of subjectivity proposed by Terayama and others, who regarded Nagayama's as a geographically unique narrative.

Furthermore, in discussing the wanderings of Nagayama, which Matsuda himself had traced in spatio-temporal thread, he developed an analysis of the homogenization of the landscape in the Japanese archipelago, and emphasized that, in order to express it, it cannot be "substituted with words such as 'nature,' or 'climate'" but the term "landscape" had to be employed. It is for this reason that extraordinary method of tracing the landscape Nagayama may have encountered was employed in the film.

It may be that space unique to us, who traveled through our unique time, even though it happens to be the same place or the same itinerary, as a matter of fact, should have been different from the trajectory of Norio Nagayama. If a single function could be extracted from both our and

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<sup>113</sup> Matsuda, "Fupei toshiteno toshi", 21.

Nagayama's time and space, it would be indeed the landscape. Like a painted picture, or a large mural at a public bath, it is the flat landscape itself without pretension.<sup>114</sup>

Rather than celebrating what was particular and unique about Nagayama as an individual, and either sympathizing with or criticizing it, what Matsuda attempted to discover—by following his footsteps and confronting the homogenized landscape he saw—was the universality of Nagayama. He went on to quote Régis Debray, who called the city a "comfortable purgatory," against which he counterposed the 'mountain'. He then argued that, since there was no 'mountain' in the transitional period of Japan, where the entire island itself was transforming into a gigantic city, the 'mountain' must be created in the midst of the city. The point made by Masada indicates that even within the context of the loss of geographic dichotomy, the potential of landscape theory can still be proposed as a guerrilla theory and theory of revolution in Japan. And lastly, pointing out that the current situation was a transitional period, during which all of Japan was undergoing a massive transformation, Matsuda argues that a rigorous analysis of power was necessary in order to respond to the systemic shift of the State. Also, with the renewed recognition of power not only as State, but also as a combined assemblage including capitalism, the analysis had to be taken into account as an opportunity to subvert it.

When we consider that Japanese capitalism, which had moved its way up to third place in GNP for the twenty years following the war, dropped an accumulated total of 3 to 5 billion in capital on this island, there is no doubt that ten times more investment in the next twenty years will increasingly facilitate this enormous urbanization. We must therefore possess an ear to detect this aggressive campaign, not as a take-off signal for Japanese imperialism, but as its funeral bell.<sup>115</sup>

It has been pointed out that the advent of Japan's consumer society, which can be called a global experiment of highly advanced capitalism, took place on a large scale when in 1972, Tanaka Kakuei, the prime minister of Japan at the time, put forward a special plan for remodeling the Japanese Archipelago.

<sup>116</sup> However, after re-living the journey of Nagayama's drifting for nineteen years only in four months at

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>116</sup> For a sociological perspective see also: Sakai Takashi, *Jiyuron: Genzaisei no keifugaku* [On Liberty: Genealogy of Actuality] (Tokyo: Seidosha, 2000). In the context of architecture, see Miyauchi Ko, *Enkon no Yutopia* [Utopia of Grudges] (Tokyo: Inoueshoin, 1971) and *Fukei o Ute* [Shoot the landscape] (Tokyo: Sagami Shobo, 1976). For a

an incredible speed in the latter half of 1969, witnessing the landscape that was being rewritten from day to day, Matsuda and his peers quickly foresaw a big change to the system. Rather than an extension of revolutionary theories of the past, the creation of an entirely new conception was sought, and as a result, it was named 'landscape'. Though landscape theory was discussed mainly with an emphasis on power, and as a result Matsuda himself presented his revision of it as state theory, his initial attempt was to interpret power exclusively as an attribute of the state, but to define it rather broadly, including capitalism.

## 5. Development of Landscape Theory

In his subsequent texts Matsuda went on to develop important theoretical issues he had raised in *City as Landscape*. In the May 3, 1970 issue of Asahi Journal, *Naraku no tabino tojo de* (On the journey to the abyss), citing ontological revolutionary theory by thinker and novelist Haniya Yutaka and French literary scholar Shibusawa Tatsuhiko, Matsuda developed a discussion about cultural revolution and the possibility of creating revolution beyond the dichotomy between city and rural, primitive and modern, through his analysis of the free jazz performance of the Yamashita Yosuke Trio, who had also participated in films by Wakamatsu and others. Also, in *Waga retto, waga fukei* (My archipelago, my landscape) published in the June, 1970 issue of the art magazine *Bijutsu Techo* (Art Notes), the reference extended to third world revolutionary theory, by way of the differences between the Japan-made world map and the overseas world map, in connection with *A.K.A Serial Killer*. Furthermore in the June issue of *Gendai no Me* (Contemporary eye) in the same year, Matsuda also published the text *Kagaminokuni no toshi* (City in wonderland), a short essay on the city, which he contributed to accompany the photographic works of Yanagimoto Naomi, a young editor of the magazine *Provoke*. In this essay he again developed the shift from 'situations' to 'landscape' by discussing the manifestation of the impersonal and non-subjective landscape after 1968. In contrast to 'situation' and other previous philosophical and political concepts as abstract, he emphasized the fact that landscape was thoroughly visible.

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viewpoint from labor theory, see Hamamura Ko, "*Haikyo to yutopia: Miyauchi Ko to Varuta Benjamin*" [Ruin and Utopia: Miyauchi Ko and Walter Benjamin] in *Yoseba*, No. 15, (May 2002): 172-193.

And the soldiers were gone and only the landscape remained. When one stops talking with imitation words, not just situation, but even merciless situations disappears, and there emerges the landscape. This is the world that is thoroughly visible. Whether it is closed or open, it is the landscape. No matter what kind of thought is projected, the sky in the Seventies remains blue, and night remains dark.<sup>117</sup>

It is informative that the theorization of landscape theory was developed through the mediation of both film and photography, and landscape is discussed in some of his film reviews as well. Though not in chronological order, Matsuda discussed the New American Cinema, wrote a review on *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969) for the January 1970 issue of *Kinema Junpo* (Cinema Bulletin), as well as *Dochu eigaron josetsu* (Preface to Discourse on Road Movies) among others.<sup>118</sup> Matsuda discovered 'landscape' in different films and stated that the 'protagonist' of *Easy Rider* (1969)—directed by Peter Fonda, a milestone of the road movie genre—was indeed the landscape itself. In *Dochu eiga josetsu* he discussed it as follows: "Though it is strictly my own personal view, the protagonist of *Easy Rider* is neither human beings nor music, but the road itself. Rather than nature and climate of the U.S., the landscape is the protagonist." In this film, scenes of the two protagonists riding their motorcycles are continuously followed, and ordinary scenes of American towns and the vast expanse of nature along the highway continue infinitely. However, 'landscape' for Matsuda is not the appearance of American towns or an image of vast land that even Japanese people are familiar with. Instead, what Matsuda means by landscape is the way the filmed landscape, that is, "the deserts common in cowboy films or the cityscapes of Las Vegas that are often seen in sleek romance films and so on become transformed in an instant, and begin to breathe ominously, like a creature with gigantic iron hands." This is exactly why Matsuda claims

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<sup>117</sup> Matsuda Masao, "Kagami no kuni no shuto," [Capital in wonderland], *Gendai no me* [Contemporary eye] (June 1970): 12-13.

<sup>118</sup> "Joji roi hiru kantoku 'Asuni mukatte ute'," [*Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Hill*, directed by George Roy Hill] and "Dochu eiga josetsu," [Preface to on road movies] in *Hakuchumu o Ute* [Shoot the Daydream] (Tokyo: Tabata Shoten), 8-11. Before this sentence, Matsuda states the following: "Though it is strictly my own personal view, the protagonist of *Easy Rider* is neither human beings nor music, but the road itself. Rather than the nature and climate of the U.S., the landscape is the protagonist. Two motorcycles continue running endlessly, and we are made to watch continuously ordinary landscapes of the vast American Continent, that look as if they were postcards. And it is at this moment where the desert common in cowboy films, or the townscape of Las Vegas, that are often seen in sleek romance films and so on, instantly becomes transformed, and begins to breathe ominously, like a creature with gigantic iron hands."

that the landscape is the main protagonist. Thus, making the common landscape visible, this film was successfully able to shed light on its structure of power.

After all, both the killers and those killed are humans. The landscape remains after the humans are gone. Indeed, is it not a road movie that suggests that the casual landscape itself is actually none other than a space of madness? What a decadent picture this is with no need of humans! <sup>119</sup>

In the essay *Eizo, fukei, gengo* (Image, landscape, language) published in the June, 1970 issue of *Kikan Firumu* (Film Quarterly), Matsuda set forth a critique of discourses on situation mediated by theories of photography, and discussed the relationship between image, language and landscape, analyzing the permeation of power in everyday life. With this analysis of everyday life, he pushed forward a theoretical development of the 'landscape=power' theory. In his discussion of the photography book, *Ikari o hibino kateni* (With agony as daily bread) <sup>120</sup>, photographer Kurihara Tatsuo based on a single photograph taken during the struggle at Tokyo University, Matsuda describes the structure of power that spread like a network in every domain of everyday life as follows:

Meanwhile, especially with no need to look closely, on the steel manhole cover stretching across the foreground of the most impressive snapshot, we see the inscription, "imperial college sewer". Yoshimi Takeuchi stated something like, that the Japanese Emperor system has permeated every tree and blade of grass, indeed at Tokyo 'Imperial' University 'imperial' dwells everywhere, from the very manhole cover to the bathroom doorknob. <sup>121</sup>

As the above is an excerpt from the text by Matsuda himself, published in the April 20, 1969 issue of *Asahi Journal*, it predates landscape theory (as that beginning with *A.K.A. Serial Killer*); this portion was not printed due to a lack of space, so it first appeared when it was printed in *Film Quarterly* in June, 1970. Drawing from the discussion of the literary figure Takeuchi Yoshimi about minute forms of power that dwell in the ordinary landscape of Tokyo University was prophetically argued. <sup>122</sup> When

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid. 12.

<sup>120</sup> Kurihara Tatsuo, *Ikari o hibino kateni* [With agony as daily bread] (Tokyo: Tojusha, 1969).

<sup>121</sup> Matsuda, "Eizo, fukei, gengo," [Image, landscape, language] in *Fukei no shimetsu*, 102.

<sup>122</sup> "Like 'a torso embodying all of Greece', the Emperor system dwells in every tree and every blade of grass. Emperor system exists as our tactile sensation. Art cannot be exempted from it. Not only a torso, but all of art has been absorbed by the Emperor system. It is Japanese art that is struggling to escape from the Emperor system within the Emperor system." Takenuchi Yoshimi, "Kenryoku to geijutsu" [Power and art], *Chuokoron* (April 1955): 127, compiled in *Gendai nihon bungaku taikei 78* [Compilation of contemporary Japanese literatures 78], (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1973), 343.

photographs of struggle are discussed, usually interest tends to be focused on the struggle or its accompanying events, however Matsuda deliberately paid attention to aspects of the ordinary, everyday landscape of the university, which are not directly related. Takeuchi points out that since Japan is entirely under the control of the Emperor system, in this sense, art cannot be exceptional, therefore indicating that art in Japan is struggling to escape from the Emperor system, within the Emperor system. If this formula applies here, one could say that in Japan, under the control of the power of the landscape, even the struggles which counter it, e.g., the struggle at Tokyo University in this photograph, are no exception, struggling to escape from the landscape while within the landscape. Furthermore, in the same text, Takeuchi expresses that the Emperor system is an apparatus in which all of Japan is subsumed.<sup>123</sup> By calling landscape power, Matsuda aimed to make visible this invisible structure of power that extends to the visible landscape. In this sense one could say that Matsuda's landscape is the result of reinterpreting Takeuchi's conception of apparatus as analysis of power.

In an essay *Fukashi no murano iriguchi de* (At the entrance of the invisible village), which was published in the July 1970 issue of the journal *Kozo* (Structure), while discussing a TV documentary about the family of a charcoal burner in a depopulated village, as well as referencing the footsteps of Nagayama, Matsuda sharply pointed out that the inversion of the relationship between rural and city was taking place on television, in its role as new media. Critiquing intellectuals, who tend to pose concepts such as 'life' *seikatsu* (life) or *seikatsusha* (living people) against 'thoughts' or 'politics,' or understand the notion of indigenous in the geographical transition from Tokyo to the rural area—as being one

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<sup>123</sup> "The emperor system is not a single value system, but a complex system; rather than a system, it is a kind of apparatus that cancels out different values. If the Emperor system were a single value system, another value system could be brought in and posed against it. However, if that was the case, without a need to indicate its premodernity again after the war, it would have long since ceased to exist." Takeuchi Yoshimi, "Kenryoku to geijutsu," 339. For a recent philosophical discussion of the concept of apparatus, philosopher Giorgio Agamben and writers' collectives such as Tiquun and the Invisible Committee —based on the concept proposed by Michel Foucault—have tried to newly theorize it. A theoretical comparison between landscape and apparatus is for another occasion. Meanwhile, as a presentation including a comparison between landscape theory and apparatus theory revolving around *A.K.A. Serial Killer* and *Red Army/PFLP Declaration of World War*, see Hirasawa Go and Kohso Sabu, "Landscape/Media-an Investigation into the Revolutionary Horizon, Reloaded" (Courtisane Festival in Ghent: Belgium, 2014).

dimensional, Matsuda relocates this inversion within a commune theory to seek an invisible home beyond the dichotomy of rural and city.

We must eliminate the pointless dichotomy between center and countryside, and further explore the process of forming the underclass proletariat in order to become genuine villagers on our island. What we need is not static, academic analysis or intellectual enlightenment, but rather, together with those who are dynamically wandering like Nagayama Norio, but to embark on a journey to the third village or to our invisible home. An entrance to the village exists within landscape expanding inside our window.<sup>124</sup>

Matsuda also addresses the homogenization of the landscape based on his experience of filming *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, and discovers its latency in ordinary landscape, and precisely because of its ubiquity. He sought the possibility of an alliance with Nagayama and others mediated by the landscape, emphasizing the necessity of the strong mind to carry out the wandering that Nagayama and others had to go through, as a 'spiritual wandering'. Reflecting the then current analysis of landscape=power, since landscape is considered a text of power, Matsuda strove to develop it inversely through rigorous reinterpretation of landscape itself.

I visited an apartment the size of three *tatami* mats in Nakano, Tokyo where Nagayama had last lived, and as I looked out the small window, I recall being struck with somewhat extraordinary trepidation. For there was the ordinary landscape. There were rooftops of rows of houses upon which TV antennas stood, and as it was a residential area, small but green trees were glimpsed. It was, for us, a quite familiar, homogenized cityscape. Just like one outside of my and your window, Nagayama Norio was also seeing this ordinary landscape. And, perhaps for our entire archipelago as well, it is the same homogenized and familiar landscape.<sup>125</sup>

By deliberately using 'landscape', which conjures up the quotidian, yet, as discussed in Chapter One, embodies the historical contradictions of modern Japan after the Meiji Restoration, an attempt was made to subvert the nationalistic connotations of the term. Landscape theory was extremely political and revolutionary, yet, precisely because it pertains to the landscape itself, it spread extensively. However, on the other hand, because of the term 'landscape', it was fraught with ambivalence, which invited fallacies or confusion in its interpretation.

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<sup>124</sup> Matsuda, "Fukashi no murano iriguchide" [At the entrance to invisible village] in *Fukei no shimetsu*, 127.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 119-120.

## 6. Landscape in *The Man Who Left His Will on Film*

Theorization on landscape theory made progress through Matsuda's text written on the occasion of *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, however it was the filming of *The Man Who Left His Will on Film* by Oshima that it showed some additional and new developments. Originally called *Tokyo Fukei Senso* (Tokyo Landscape War) and subtitled, *Eiga de isho o nokoshite shinda otoko no monogatari* (A Story of a man who left his will on film and died), this film is considered as one of the most experimental films in Oshima's filmography. What is referred to *Tokyo senso* (Tokyo War) came from a slogan addressed by *Kyosanshugisha domei sekigunha* (Communist League Red Army Faction). The Red Army Faction upheld a theory of the preliminary stage of armed revolt in which the Red Army Faction itself would take the initiative to lead the insurrection in the preliminary stage of revolution, and lead the entire revolutionary movement. In September, 1969 advocating the Tokyo War and the Osaka War, they attacked police booths and police stations.

Though the slogan of the Red Army Faction was appropriated, the film itself as 'a postwar secret story' of the Tokyo War kept its political ideology at a distance, involving difficult philosophical inquiries. The film was written by Sasaki of *A.K.A. Serial Killer* and Hara. Hara, one of the most anticipated filmmakers at the time, won the grand prize at the Sogetsu Film Art Festival— which was popular as a publicly sponsored exhibition of experimental films—with the film *Okashisa ni irodorareta kanashimi no barado* (Sad ballad colored by humor). The process went such that Oshima first proposed the subject matter as "a man, who left his will on film and died", and Hara put together the first draft, then he and Sasaki co-wrote the script. The idea of leaving a will on film was inspired by the film *Tenchi-suijakusetsu* (Theory of Heavenly Breakdown, 1968) by *Gurupu Pojipoji* (Group Posiposi), which was a high school film study group at Tokyo Metropolitan Takehaya High School. The film actors were all members of the group.<sup>126</sup> Hence, landscape as subject matter was not exclusively attributed to Sasaki, who joined the

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<sup>126</sup> Dissatisfied with *The Man Who Left His Will on Film*, Group Pojipoji made *Tenchi-suijakusetsu Dainisho* [Theory of Heavenly Breakdown Chapter Two] in 1970 as their response to it. They funded it with the reward they received for their appearance in the film. Goto Kazuo, who played the protagonist, later joined the editorial group in the second incarnation of *Eiga Hihyo*. See Goto Kazuo, "Goto Kazuo intabyu," [Interview with Goto Kazuo] and Hara

production of *A.K.A. Serial Killer*. However since *A.K.A. Serial Killer* was not publicly screened, *The Man Who Left His Will on Film* was generally recognized as the representative work of landscape film. In addition, since Oshima's films created a buzz every time he made a film, the debate on landscape or landscape theory began to proliferate.

Matsuda presented an essay called *Dokonidemoaru fukei o megutte* (Concerning ordinary landscape) retitled as *Yutopia no hango* (Anti-utopia) compiled in *Fukei no shimetsu* (Extinction of the Landscape) for the catalogue of *The Man Who Left His Will on Film* published in June, 1970, as well as *Fukei ga jokyo wo nottotta* (Landscape took over situation) in the 6<sup>th</sup> July 1970 issue of *Shukan Dokushojin* (Readers' Weekly).<sup>127</sup> Here Matsuda first presented *fukei eiga* (landscape film) as a genre and developed his discussion of *A.K.A. Serial Killer* based on an analysis of scenes of the landscape in the 'play within a play' in *The Man Who Left His Will on Film*. Also, comparing the approaches to landscape in both films, he critiqued himself, realizing that landscape, which had been discussed as the antithesis of 'situation', albeit being effective as criticism, was too caught up in an idea based on situation theory; in other words, what had been discussed was 'theory' of landscape rather than the landscape itself. He then concluded that the gaze with which underclass proletariats like Nagayama were imbued with should be directed internally, to bring about universality in landscape theory. Matsuda thus discovered potentiality in the "ordinary landscape" or the landscape in itself, rather than the landscape which is grasped as displacement from situation, or in the context of movements and politics. Furthermore, in comparison with the quasi-utopia that is being produced by a society of technology and control, Matsuda defines the ordinary landscape as anti-utopia. Matsuda argues that what inevitably results from confronting power is the landscape, thus redefining landscape theory as revolutionary theory.

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Masato, "Tokyo senso kara Tokyo fukei senso e," [From the "Tokyo war" to the "Tokyo landscape war"], *The Man Who Left His Will On Film*, DVD booklet (Tokyo: Kinokuniya Shoten, 2010), 17-25 and 26-38.

<sup>127</sup> Matsuda Masao, "Fukei ga jokyo o nottotta," [Landscape took over situation], *Shukan Dokushojin* [Reader's Weekly] (6<sup>th</sup> July 1970): 8. The title was changed to "'Fukei' to 'Jokyo'," ('Landscape' and 'situation') at the time of reprinting.

The construction of our philosophical strategy of eternal revolution is entirely dependent upon how we can gaze at quite commonplace, casual, sentimental, dingy things lying around: "ordinary landscape".<sup>128</sup>

Hence, what was at stake was "how one captures the 'ordinary landscape,' and also how one can possibly recapture the self that has been seized by the landscape." While in Matsuda's argument on the locked room in *Sex as landscape* 'sex as interiority' was posed against the 'landscape as exteriority,' here, an even more complex relationship is presented. Instead of a simple dichotomy between external power and the internal self, he recognized the structure of landscape, where inside and outside are tightly intertwined, or they become indistinguishable, and thus concluded that to define landscape in this way would become a new revolutionary moment. It is from this context that Matsuda further introduced the problematic of the subject in the landscape, who not only sees the landscape, but is seen by it, thereby developing the analysis of landscape theory from an epistemological perspective as well.

I would like to add that what is at stake is whether one will be able to become aware of one's being in itself as it is being seen by 'that fellow' in the landscape. It may be that the so-called ordinary circumstance of the landscape, is in fact, not that we see, but that we are seen.<sup>129</sup>

With the introduction of the new landscape film *The Man Who Left His Will on Film* six months after *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, a multilayered definition was brought to the concept of landscape. As described earlier, Matsuda already discussed guerilla theory and revolutionary theory in his second essay *City as landscape*, however it is in this essay that landscape theory has clearly been redefined as a theory of revolution. In fact, while it was presented in the discussion of the actual film, its development was initially not confined to the domain of film theory. However as Matsuda called it "the principal thought from the seventies,"<sup>130</sup> the debate intensified. In the course of such heated discussion as this, Together with Matsuda, Adachi and others involved in the production of *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, photographer Nakahira played a significant role from the early stage of its theoretical development.

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<sup>128</sup> Matsuda, "Yutopia no hango," [Anti-utopia] in *Fukei no shimetsu*, 136.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 137.

<sup>130</sup> Matsuda, "'Fukei' to 'jokyo'," ['Landscape' and 'situation'] in *Fukei no shimetsu*, 140.

## 7. Nakahira Takuma

One of the most significant contributors to landscape theory was photographer Nakahira, who had been known for co-founding the photography journal *Provoked*. It was because of his participation that the discussion of landscape theory extended to areas such as photography, fine arts, design, and architecture, among others. While Matsuda published his essays mainly in film journals, journals of political thought, book review newspapers and news magazines, Nakahira's participation made the art theoretical discussion of landscape theory possible. In addition, it is important to note that Nakahira immediately responded to Matsuda's *Sex as landscape*, in the February 1970 Issue of *Dezain* (Design), a journal of criticism for design, art and photography. In 1969 Nakahira started a column called *Dojidaiteki towa nanika?* (What Is Contemporaneous?) in *Design*. In February 1970, he then published a series of his own photographs titled "Landscape", which documented images including subway platforms, underground malls, passengers on trains, underpasses, buildings under construction, street corners to the beach etc., interspersed with short texts in which he discussed landscape.<sup>131</sup>

To me, the fact is that a man, woman, town or sea – everything exists only as 'landscape'. Unmistakably it is my misfortune. As Matsuda Masao rightly pointed out, a single gunshot or flash of a glittering knife would be enough to tear apart the 'landscape' that is uniformly plastered over by this power. However that will only become possible through our own transformation. It is for the sake of the transformation to come that I now continue to gaze at everything as 'landscape' that stands against me. And I will wait—next comes the fire!<sup>132</sup>

I continue screaming further. Girls, buildings, rails, industrial complex, walls, cars, flowers, fish... etc. However they are fading further and further away, and these names, by losing places over which to hang, begin to float in midair. Again, what remains behind is featureless landscape. At that moment, certainly I myself will also be a tiny constituent in the landscape. But I, who have never witnessed it myself, cannot say it for sure.<sup>133</sup>

Drawing Matsuda's theory of landscape=power closely to his own practice as photographer, Nakahira discusses how he perceives and recognizes, and, how, through the viewfinder, he shoots the landscape that confronts him. Around the same period he also published related works titled, *fukei* (Landscape) and *chika* (underground) in pictorial magazines such as *Asahi Gurafu* (Asahi Graph). In the

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<sup>131</sup> Based on the relationship between Nakahira and Adachi, and since it seems likely that Nakahira attended the preview of *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, presumably this text must have been written after the screening of the film.

<sup>132</sup> Nakahira Takuma, "Fukei 1" [Landscape 1] in *Design* (February 1970): 92.

<sup>133</sup> Nakahira Takuma, "Fukei 2" in *Design* (April 1970): 80.

July 1970 issue of the design magazine, *Gurafikeshon* (Graphication), he wrote a full-fledged theoretical response to landscape theory *Mitsuzukeru hate ni higa..* (Fire at the limits of my perpetual gazing). In it, Nakahira agreed with Matsuda, who defined landscape=power through the discussion of *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, and suggested that Nagayama fired his gun to tear it all apart. Nakahira also argued that the landscape simply appears to be glossy and solid, like plastic, concluding that it is not the landscape that is a part of the city; indeed, the city is none other than a landscape. He also argued that all the recent violence and chaos that had been fomented in the city, as had been pointed out, was nothing unusual, and that the city remained undamaged as a transparent 'landscape'. Nakahira explains the ways in which he confronted this unyielding 'landscape':

And at night the city wipes out all the impurities and acquires almost perfect beauty. At that moment it transforms itself into an invulnerable castle, which is impeccable and seamless. But, because of that, fire must be set to this hostile 'landscape' by my own hand. My entirely personal fire. The ultimate form of passion is fire.<sup>134</sup>

When commissioned to write about urban revolt, Nakahira clearly deemed landscape an object to be set on fire and destroyed. He then continued that the revolt would come to pass when the landscape becomes cracked, the fissures deepen, and it "gets turned inside out completely, like taking off a glove." He further develops his analysis about the relationship between landscape and revolt: for instance, the barricade struggle at the university means "personally possessing university in public domain as landscape that encloses itself, or as an institution through blockade." Or, he proposes that "first begin by regarding the environment or world that encloses themselves as 'landscape' as an opponent; tear it open and destroy it." Nakahira claims that by continuously gazing at the landscape, one must transform oneself into fire and set it ablaze, thus suggesting the possibility of a leap from landscape to personal revolt, and to uprising. For Nakahira, urban revolt as "endless, personal advance to 'landscape'" necessitated not only the theoretical and aesthetic analysis of the landscape, but practical and violent intervention.

In his essay, "*Dojidai de arutowa nanika?*" (What is Contemporaneous?), which was published in *Dezain* (Design) four times during the period between May and August 1969, Nakahira relentlessly

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<sup>134</sup> Nakahira Takuama, "*Mitsuzukeru hateni higa*," in *Gurafikeshon* [Graphication] (June 1970): 10-11.

criticized the spectacle of the movement that had been consumed in the media based on his experience of documenting university barricades and street struggles around 1968. Referencing the battle at the Yasuda Hall, Tokyo University in January 1969, which was the culmination of the university struggles in the sixties, Nakahira argued that the media—including himself—were taking photos from a safe place, i.e. behind the riot police, and however objective those photos may be, they were complicit with state power. It was from this standpoint that Nakahira aggressively questioned the relationship between politics and movement, reinterpreting his own forms of expression ontologically, and negating conventional photography and art.

Thus, based on Matsuda's landscape theory, Nakahira recaptured the concept of landscape as a discourse on expression, and went on to write essays and make statements on various occasions. Whereas Nakahira had previously turned his camera to the daily landscape, evidently a more theoretical approach was taken to landscape. Groups of photos made as 'landscape' and published in the same period in the aforementioned *Design* or *Provoke*, or those that were compiled in his own photography book *Kitarubeki kotoba no tameni* (For a language to come) show no relevance to the spectacle of events that was happening: uninhabited underground paths, street corners at night, stores and factories, were shot and printed with a practical methodology, later described as *are, bure* (rough and blurred), literally, presented materially. However, the ordinary landscape, which is beautiful as well as something to be set on fire and destroyed, is in fact a landscape that paradoxically anticipates the events to come, it is a landscape before the event. In other words, one could read in his photos both the traces of his struggle against landscape, and a crack inscribed in the landscape. In his review of Nakahira's *For a language to come*, critic Taki Koji, a member of *Provoke*, wrote of Nakahira's relation to the landscape as follows:

In other words, it is impossible to grasp the event logically when one is faced with the impulse to lend one's body to the world, remain 'inside' it, recall the landscape, and become part of the landscape oneself.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Taki Koji, *Kotoba no nai shiko* [Thinking without words] (Tokyo: Tabatashoten, 1972), 93. Taki did not get directly involved in discussions of landscape theory, however his philosophical inquiries on gaze centering on photography shared the similar contemporary issues with landscape theory. For a compilation of his publications

It is through this confrontation with the landscape that Nakahira's photography and *A.K.A. Serial Killer* were closely and inevitably connected both in theory and practice. More importantly, Nakahira's landscape theory, while being formulated against the background of theories on image and visual art, was a more personal and autonomous discourse, established through his own viewfinder, and it helped organize Matsuda's complicated conceptualization and ambivalence, as well as his political discussions, which at times were too polemical, and thus clarified the direction of the argument as a theory of revolt-insurrection, or of revolution.

## **8. Landscape Theory according to Adachi Masao and Sasaki Mamoru**

From the middle of 1970 Adachi and Sasaki as well, along with Matsuda and Nakahira, started to discuss landscape theory. Since *A.K.A. Serial Killer* was produced but was not screened publicly, they were initially reluctant to talk about it. However, as interest in landscape theory grew due to the birth of *The Man Who Left His Will on Film* and Nakahira's occasional, though not too frequent participation, they began to be asked for their statements.

Adachi made the first statement on landscape in the round table discussion *Fukei o megutte* (Concerning landscape) published in *Kikan Shashin Eizo* (Photographic Image Quarterly) in November, 1970. In response to the ongoing discussion on landscape theory, this round-table discussion was conducted with artist Akasegawa Genpei, musician Tone Yasunao, stage director Sato Makoto, as well as art critic Nakahara Yusuke as moderator, in addition to Adachi and Nakahira. First the development of landscape and landscape theory was introduced by Nakahara, and next Adachi touched upon how he arrived at the concept of landscape, and came to choose a methodology to film the landscape exclusively through the filming of *A.K.A. Serial Killer*. Adachi first organized Matsuda's theory based on their shared understanding of landscape through the production of *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, and then pointed out the two types of contexts for landscape: one was based on the discussion of a shift from situation theory to

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from the early eighties, see Taki Koji, *Me no Inyu Shikaku no Genshogaku* [Metaphor of the Eyes Phenomenology of Visions] (Tokyo: Seidosha, 1992).

landscape theory, a major development, and the other based on the content that Matsuda tried to demonstrate with the word, 'landscape.' Based on both contexts in comparison to the situation theory, Adachi discusses landscape in terms such as 'concrete' or 'everyday', as in the following:

In fact, if situations is a conceptual problem of ours, then by calling it landscape, we can make all that is tackled within the concept more concrete and realistic; and in the sense that we tackle it in the process of making it more realistic, it is at least clear that landscape, not situations is more concrete and identifiably quotidian.<sup>136</sup>

Due to the fact that this discussion was organized by a photography magazine, naturally, the discussion was centered around photography and images, however, since artists and writers active in different domains were assembled, the content rather pertained to how each made their responses to the issue of landscape. In this sense what they described was not exactly about Matsuda or Nakahira's landscape theory itself, but landscape theory within the broader context of art and politics. In addition, given Adachi's statement that he had not read Matsuda's landscape theory, one could say that providing a theoretical overview was not their initial intent either. Therefore, though not all the relevant points were on the table, in as much as it indicated a broader interest in landscape theory at the time, this round-table discussion was extremely important. Also, in the January 1, 1970 issue of *Nihon Dokusho Shinbun* (Japan Reader's Newspaper), Adachi published the text <*Renzokushasatsuma*> *eno kakuu no shitsumon* (Imaginary Questions to <a serial killer>), in which the Nagayama incident and the shape of its trial were mentioned while Nagayama's trial was about to begin. Discussing what is ordinary and extraordinary, Adachi argues the inevitability of his methodology of filming only the landscape in *A.K.A. Serial Killer*.

In other words, the voluntary speed of committing four murders in Tokyo, Kyoto, Hakodate and Nagoya in two months, and the succession of discontinuous crimes, which were looked upon with wonder by criminology, suits the label of killer, however that is not where the problem lies. What matters, rather, is what became of him during the six-month period leading up to the fifth incident, in which he failed at his attempted crime; the period in which he buried a pistol, which was his only 'accomplice,' rented a room and worked as a bartender. And the question is, after

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<sup>136</sup> Adachi Masao, "Toron-Fukei o megutte," [Discussion: Concerning landscape theory], *Kikan Shashin Eizo* [Photographic Image Quarterly], no.6 (October 1970): 118-134. This round-table discussion was conducted for the photography magazine. Participants included Nakahara Yusuke (art critic), Akasegawa Genpei (artist), Adachi Genpei (filmmaker), Tone Yasunao (musician/composer), Sato Makoto (theater director), and Nakahira Takuma (photographer), who were known for their radical practice and theory in the 60's and 70's. A partial translation of this talk was included in *From Postwar To Postmodern Art in Japan 1945-1989 Primary Documents*, 233-238. This is a version of a translation slightly revised by me.

transforming the unreality of a 'dream' into the everyday that the serial killer made explicit at the time of his wanderings, and the transformation of reality into the non-everyday as a return by the transformation of evil (*ma*) into the everyday—[which was] realized through committing murder in his wandering—on the same level, what happened when he led a life which, for him, in general was unrealistic, the best he could, as everyday in general, which was nothing but non-everyday.<sup>137</sup>

Meanwhile, Sasaki made his first reference to landscape theory in the round-table talk titled, *Oshima shimpoijumu* (Oshima symposium) compiled in *Sekai no eiga sakka 6 Oshima Nagisa* (Filmmakers of the world 6 Oshima Nagisa), which was one of the filmmakers' series, published by *Kinema Junpo*, with Oshima himself as editor. Though its publication date is September, 1970, it was actually sold in July.<sup>138</sup> The round-table talk was conducted by journalist Kawarabata Nei, actor Sato Kei, poet Sekine Hiroshi, film director Jissoji Akio, and film critic Sato Tadao as moderator, all of whom were closely connected to Oshima films. Each of them spoke about Oshima's debut film, *Ai to Kibo no Machi* (A Town of Love and Hope, 1959), and as works from the late 60s were referenced, Sasaki located Oshima's films - from *Kaettekita Yoparai* (Three Resurrected Drunkards, 1968), to *Shinjuku Dorobo Nikki* (Diary of a Shinjuku Thief, 1969), *Shonen* (Boy, 1969) and to *The Man Who Left His Will on Film* in the context of landscape theory, from cartographic perspective, and discussed what power in landscape means, referencing film as a medium in which the landscape must inevitably be shot.

As our time is increasingly becoming one in which we confront the so-called state power, state power is appearing in forms such as the helmet and shield and a fighting uniform, however at the same time, there is something like a landscape that we have been making up on our own.<sup>139</sup>

And while touching upon power in everyday life, stating, "Casually go to the station, casually walk on the street, casually drive a car—all of these become points of contact between us and state power..."<sup>140</sup> and furthermore, in *Boy*, despite the fact that a boy is the protagonist of the film, Sasaki continues his analysis of the landscape that is shown in the background. Though Sasaki's reference to

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<sup>137</sup> Adachi Masao, "Renzoku shasatuma eno kakuu no shitsumon," [Imaginary questions to a 'serial killer'] in *Nihon Dokusho Shimbun* [Japan Reader's Newspaper], no.1578 (1st January 1971): 11.

<sup>138</sup> See "Henshusha kara" [From the editor] in *Sekai no Eigasakka 6 Oshima Nagisa* [Filmmakers of the world 6 Oshima Nagisa], (Tokyo: Kinemajumposha, 1970), 214.

<sup>139</sup> Sasaki Mamoru, "Oshima shimpoijumu," [Discussion: Oshima symposium], Kawarabata Nei, Sasaki, Sato Kei, Jissoji Akio, Sekine Hiroshi and Sato Tadao in *Sekai no Eigasakka 6 Oshima Nagisa*, 130.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 130-131. Also, Sasaki argues that *Diary of a Shinjuku Thief* made a pioneering contribution in the genealogy of landscape theory-based films such as this. Sasaki Mamoru, "Scenario and film as joint production," Tamura Tsutomu and Sasaki, *Kinema Junpo*, no. 547 (1st April 1971): 111.

landscape is very limited, based on the fact that he was involved in the production of *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, and Sozoshu, the details of his statement are valuable, as they are his analysis connecting both. While the conception of landscape theory was centered around Matsuda, who, as a critic, had more opportunities to talk than others, it must be emphasized that landscape theory itself was born as a result of collective discussions around *A.K.A. Serial Killer*.

## 9. Landscape and Uprising

In November 1970 Nakahira and Matsuda held a talk for the magazine *Kikan KEN* (Quarterly magazine KEN). Though subsequently a serialized column called *Fukei* (Landscape), consisting of Matsuda's essay and Nakahira's photographs ran from January through June 1971 in *Eiga Hiho*, this is, in fact, the only text that was published as a talk between them. Though Nakahira's photograph was used for the cover of Matsuda's collected essays on landscape *The Extinction of landscape*, and Matsuda's portrait was also taken by Nakahira, the initial plan for the book had been to combine Nakahira's photographs with Matsuda's texts. It was not realized, however, and as a result, Matsuda published *The Extinction of landscape*, while Nakahira published his photography book *For a language to come*. Although this talk contains arguments that overlap with what has already been discussed here, as it is in a form of conversation, the content is extremely clear. In addition, especially since its philosophical background has been mentioned, it provides many useful insights for understanding the development of landscape theory.

First, discussing themes of this special issue with 'madness' and 'resentment' as important leads, they criticize cultural trends that strive to discover concepts of the pre-modern, such as indigenism, externally through geographical and historical movements. They continue that what needs to be analyzed is not a dichotomy between pre-modern and modern, but the homogenized state of modernity itself, by superimposing spatio-temporal movement in the external world upon a trajectory that is unique to one's interiority, and thereby making a connection to landscape theory. Providing the example of the riot at Shinjuku, they/and juxtaposing uprising and insurrection with revolution, they discussed how the tradition

of popular uprisings that had existed in the middle of Edo Period known as *Hitsuke* (arson) or *Uchikowashi* (destructive urban riot), could be reinterpreted, and transcended. They conclude that it is through the revolt and uprising that the landscape can be made visible.

Remember there was a struggle in the 'Kanda *Quartier Latin*?' Apart from the question of how effective that was tactically, I think the way the street, the air and the people of Shinjuku were harmoniously integrated at a time when the anti-riot law was being used against the Shinjuku Riot, [that] was really the landscape. By making a blow or something, landscape clearly comes to surface. After all, 'struggle in a liberated zone', or 'fire' brings landscape into existence...<sup>141</sup>

The struggle in the *Kanda Quartier Latin* was a street action, in which students occupied the university-dense Ochanomizu area in June 1968. It was named after the demonstration in the Quartier Latin in Paris. The Shinjuku Riot took place on International Anti-War Day, when students and workers occupied Shinjuku Station and surrounding areas, and it was the first time after the war that the anti-riot law had been applied. Both are remembered as historical events of street uprising and street occupation. Nakahira discovers 'landscape' in the streets and people that come to be seen through these events and practices. On the other hand, Matsuda traces the origins of landscape theory to the time of filming *A.K.A. Serial Killer*. Describing the pleasure he experienced while taking a bus trip on the Tomei Highway, he attributed the sense not only to the speed of the car, but to the beautiful scenery, with undulating mountains, valleys and plains. However, he claims that at the same time, his questioning of the very structure that generates this scenery provided an occasion to think about landscape.

A gigantic state power draws a single line with one quick stroke on the map of Japan; it starts to develop roads, and that is how it has shaped the scenery (*keshiki*) as it is now. In fact, by 'harmonizing' natural beauty with artificial beauty, what provided the 'great progress' in the highway administration is the state power (...) Not nature or climate, but indeed an array of sceneries for sightseeing, like picture postcards, which can only be called landscape that I determined myself to think about thoroughly.<sup>142</sup>

Furthermore, Matsuda puts past debates over and the development of landscape theory into perspective. While comparing landscape theory with situation theory using the allegory of Japanese chess

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<sup>141</sup> Matuda Masao, "Soto no hebi ni" [A double-headed snake], Nakahira Takuma and Matsuda Masao, *KEN*, no.2 (October 1970): 151.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, 151-152.

(*shogi*), he argues that landscape theory insists on the continuation of a new struggle in the seventies; however, what was at stake was a radical rethinking of politics and thought itself.

I was only saying no more and no less than, let us fight it out, or think through the seventies from the point to which we have stepped, diagonally and backwards.<sup>143</sup>

As Nakahira comments in the talk that he was surprised that Matsuda, whom he perceived as a revolutionary, had developed a remarkable landscape theory—Matsuda had in fact taken on leadership roles in struggles such as the anti-U.S. Security struggle in 1960, direct and militant actions, as well as violent revolution in theory and practice. Interestingly, however there was some criticism that Matsuda's proposal of landscape theory was politically regressive. For instance, in the above noted talk for

*Photographic Image Quarterly*, Tone indicated the following regarding the word landscape:

Landscape used to be pejorative until recently. [...] Matsuda reversed its meaning and gave the word a positive nuance. But whether it is an 'event piece' or 'pop art,' in the sense that, by putting what is trivial up front, it calls into question its prior experience beyond the consciousness of representation, it may be the same. However, when landscape is addressed, we must say, after all, that it is a time of decadence. Because when Matsuda Masao mentions such a thing as landscape, it obviously means a retreat in the battle.<sup>144</sup>

Such criticism, it can be said, was certainly inevitable, from a politics-centric perspective, or in the context of 'politics' with a capital 'P'. In response Matsuda himself critically and openly examined his own stance at the time, with a focus on theorizing and writing, as well as landscape theory as his task.

If we set the agenda for how to go beyond [forms of protests such as] '*hitsuke*' and '*uchikowashi*', it has become inevitable that we must consider it in an 'indirect' domain, where terms such as 'modern' or 'primitive' are overused. Since in the sixties - not in the fifties - I was on the side of making Molotov cocktails the first time, I think that chatting endlessly about problems in the domain of directionality 'indirectly' is weak. However, it will be of no help if we try this way or that to find what comes ahead of Molotov cocktails as extended patterns of our physical action [...] However, not the domain of directionality, but even in the realm where 'indirect' concepts fly wildly, I have encountered the intractable problem of landscape or landscape theory.<sup>145</sup>

Whereas many of the influential Marxist revolutionary theories from that time no longer hold sway, landscape theory still has potential today is precisely because it kept a critical distance from politics with a capital 'P', as well as from the vanguardism of the time, thereby foreseeing the transition into a new

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 155.

<sup>144</sup> Tone Yasunao, "Toron-Fukei o megutte," 122-123.

<sup>145</sup> Matsuda, "Soto no hebi ni," Nakahira and Matsuda, 157.

system. It also analyzed the subsumption of all aspects of everyday life, including our own existence within that, through a concept of landscape as a multifaceted entity, and from that standpoint it addressed the key question of how one can fight against something that of which one is intrinsically a part. Meanwhile, in the midst of that time, after the peak of *Zenkyoto* and when radical calls for armed struggle and revolutionary war started to be all talk and no real action, Matsuda's choice was to focus on the concept of landscape. It meant that a pursuit of revolution and insurrection during such a transitional period required a creativity and radicalism that differed completely from that of the theories and practices of the past. In the sense that it critiqued and questioned the existing revolutionary concepts, landscape theory was the "primary thought of the seventies," or the post-'68 theory of revolution. At the same time, however, landscape theory, which fully succeeded the potential of what the initial revolution of the '68 embodied, was not a post-'68 thought, but rather can be identified as a thought of 1968.

## **10. Landscape as Revolutionary Theory**

With the defeat of the street struggles and university struggles of 1967–'69 by the thorough crackdown of the state police, some of the radical sects and anarchists decided to shift their direction to armed struggle and underground activities, moving from man-to-man tactical street warfare to urban guerilla warfare. Though the Red Army faction declared the Tokyo war and the Osaka war, they were enormously impacted by mass arrests during the military training at *Daibosatsu Toge* (mountain pass)—which aimed to occupy the Prime Minister's residence in November, 1969. In addition, the movement itself tapered off after finishing International Anti-war Day in October and the Struggle against Prime Minister Sato's visit to the U.S. in November. Discussing the shift of the State system, landscape theory aimed to criticize the politics-oriented revolutionary theory on one hand, while in practice and tactics, it began to act in concert with the military line of the Red Army faction, foreseeing changes to come in movement.

In the December 1970 issue of *Contemporary Eye*, Matsuda published an essay, *Meiro no oku no komyune* (Commune deep inside the maze) in an attempt to develop landscape theory as a theory of

revolution. Debates and counterarguments over landscape theory were offered in the first half of the essay, and by way of his experience of the unequal distribution of food between sect and non-sect groups within the barricades, Matsuda focused his attention on everyday living spaces as a site in which to stage revolution, to demonstrate the need for a new theory of the commune. While he had already addressed this need in *City as Landscape*, *At the entrance of the invisible village* and other texts, in this essay Matsuda argued for the reconstruction of communal experiences based on struggle as everyday practice.

Matsuda then published a text, the third one about Oshima's *The Man Who Left His Will on Film*, titled, *Naze Fukei Senso ka* (Why landscape war?) for the press release for a screening at Cannes International Film Festival Critics Week in May 1970. The text was later reprinted in the No. 7, 1970 issue of the magazine *Eiga Hihyo*, as well as included in Matsuda's book *The Extinction of landscape*. Since the text was written for an overseas audience, and the passing of time after the production of the film was taken into consideration, it serves to clarify the explanation of the everyday as the site of struggle. Matsuda first introduces the status of political movement in Japan centering around the Red Army faction, and then discuss how the landscape occupied a crucial role in this film. He concludes that in the post '68 situations, that is, what is referred to *senjo* (post-war) in *The Man Who Left His Will on Film*, what is at stake is the continuation of the daily struggle of urban guerilla warfare, rather than frenzied street demonstration, and that landscape theory serves as a theoretical support for its tactics.

Metaphorically speaking, 'landscape,' like water in the ocean, exists everywhere in the living spaces of the populace, and comes to be seen as an ordinary place. In some conditions it is a harsh space that grabs one of them by its deadly jaws. However, it has reached such an extreme that the tremendous ruling power beyond the landscape cannot be revealed unless today's Japanese students, before anything else, discover themselves living through the survival in this landscape. (...) In this sense one might say that progressive Japanese youth are gradually shifting away from an extraordinary phase of combat with the goal of utopia as a space of nowhere, toward resisting the ubiquitous space of the landscape, and toward how they can overcome it.<sup>146</sup>

In viewing landscape theory as a theory of revolution, it could be pointed out that—as I discussed earlier—the structural analysis of landscape, which was remarkably prophetic, was borne out of a theoretical and tactical necessity to thoroughly understand landscape as an 'enemy,' and how one must

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<sup>146</sup> Matsuda, "Naze fukei senso ka?" [Why Landscape War?] in *Eiga Hihyo* [Film Criticism], no. X, (July 1971): 40-41; *Fukei no Shimetsu* [The Extinction of Landscape], (Tokyo: Tabatashoten, 1971), 240-244.

fight against it in everyday life. It is also in this context that it becomes clear why Matsuda, around the time of, or in parallel to, landscape theory, actively discussed figures and topics such as Che Guevara, Franz Fanon, Louis Auguste Blanqui, Lev Davidovich Trotsky, Osugi Sakae, Haniya Yutaka, Tsumura Takashi, the Paris Commune, and the International Volunteer Army. Essays on them were included in *The Extinction of landscape*, however, since they were written as theory of revolution or the third world revolutionary theory, landscape theory itself was not exactly the main topic of discussion. It should be said, however, that they are not only political theories, but they all share issues that are closely related to landscape theory. Conversely, in as much as landscape theory is indeed intrinsically connected to those revolutionary theories, they are mutually supportive, and this attests to the fact that the analysis of landscape theory as film theory, image theory or theory of state=power alone constitutes only a partial examination of this rather complex concept. It is thus based on this connection that Matsuda decided to include both landscape theory and revolutionary theory in *The Extinction of landscape*.

In this brief moment of life and death, people of the third world organized themselves as their own military, and also, again affirm themselves as people. In the space in which guerillas are generated, uniforms themselves are enemies. After incorporating a course to abolish their own uniforms beforehand, they transform themselves into soldiers. In other words, the military, together with the state, always exists as a dying target there.<sup>147</sup>

It is however because of his weakness that he was able to have this moment of becoming the first practitioner of the philosophy of the International Volunteer Army, which was ridiculed by those who had claimed to be strong. He was a pioneer. Or, what occurred to him may have been frenzies that only lasted for three days. However, would it be the case that "at the most appropriate moment" he was able to convert himself from a person into a soldier, and after three days, was he then demobilized and returned to a person? I will stake the possibility of revolution that he will become a soldier again at a new, 'appropriate moment' to come.<sup>148</sup>

The former text, *Gerira kukan to wa nani ka?* (What is guerilla space?) was published immediately after *City as landscape*. Discussing the revolutionary theory of Che Guevara, Matsuda asked what guerilla soldiers are in the third world: By grasping the connections between party and guerilla, as well as people and military, not as a one-way line, but rather as a reciprocal mechanism of transformation, he illuminated the problem of institutional power which dwells in the uniform itself as part of everyday

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<sup>147</sup> Matsuda, "Gerira kukan to wa nani ka?" [What is Guerilla Space?"] in *Fukei no shimetsu*, 35.

<sup>148</sup> Matsuda, "Soshikiron o megutte," [Concerning the organization theory] in *Fukei no shimetsu*, 56.

life in the military. Further criticizing the doctrine centering around the official military, which Blanqui would call "troops of oppressed slaves", he exhorted the historical rehabilitation of the militia (*minpei*) as "liberated people's troops" when the military was rather called the vanguard in the course of making the transition to armed struggle line in movement in Japan. Meanwhile, latter text, *Soshikiron o megutte* (Concerning organization theory) was published in the same year as *What is guerilla space?*. Here, the context is rather specific to Japan, and Matsuda starts countering the criticism made about a young man, who, after participating in the Viet Nam War as a member of the International Volunteer Army of Japan, became a drug addict. Mediated by Haniya's revolutionary theory, Matsuda compares Partisan Quintet with the Red Army Faction to discuss tactical possibilities and limitations in the sixties, and propose a new organizational theory towards the seventies.

When one calls 'people equals soldiers', the vanguard exists as an equal sign $\Leftrightarrow$  as a circuit to guarantee the transition. In any circumstances, the vanguard should never substantiate itself, but stand still quietly as a mere sign, no more or no less.<sup>149</sup>

Here, Matsuda insisted on discussing organization theory not in terms of politics, but in terms of tactics, and he thoroughly negating the vanguard revolutionary subject. He strove to discover the possibility of revolution not in the established military forces fighting in extraordinary conditions, but rather in people, who, with their own weaknesses, commit themselves to even a moment as a soldier by crossing back and forth between everyday and non-everyday life. Subsequently in *Commune in the depth of a maze* Matsuda states, "the widely known opposition between the intellectual and popular masses in the sixties should be reinterpreted as intellectual  $\Leftrightarrow$  popular masses." Rather than assuming these oppositions between masses and soldiers, or intellectuals and masses are dichotomies, or prioritizing one over the other, or unilaterally reducing one into the other, a new organization theory was sought in the incessantly de-subjectivizing process of becoming. His claim was that there is no 'correct' revolution by a 'correct' political subject, but that there was the continuous struggle of remaining in the everyday landscape rather than the extraordinary vanguard spectacle. Furthermore, instead of emphasizing the dichotomy between the everyday life of the masses and the extraordinariness of politics and revolution,

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 57.

and embracing the former in the relationship to the latter, he insisted on trying to connect them, proposing that they were on equal footing.

Meanwhile, similar points more in terms of practice are referenced in *Dare kara korosu bekika?* (Who should be killed first?) published in February 1971 in the art magazine *Bijutsutecho*. In this text Matsuda discusses *Seizoku* (*Sex Jack*, 1970) directed by Wakamatsu and scripted by Adachi, which was in fact inspired by actual events of armed struggle, including the hijacking of the Japan Airlines 'Yodo' airplane by the Japanese Red Army Faction. Interestingly however, the film is not the story of a radical group itself, but of solitary terrorism, committed by the protagonist, a young man who was sheltering the radicals.

It is only those who can endure time, in this sense of the term, who can kill people for the first time. The reverse, of course is true, and conceivably, even terrorists can let their will deteriorate and die of old age. What is interesting about Wakamatsu's new film, *Sex Jack*, is that the film was able to depict this dialectic of time in terrorism to some extent. A hit and kill, or killing of a police officer in the street, or the assault on a Stalinist bureaucrat, and finally to the assassination of the prime minister; or the case of the failure of a group of four students, who are immediately arrested after coming out from having kept in hiding for a few years or a few days. They all start with the sharing of that 'time' that they have in common, that is "far more absurd, boring and difficult."<sup>150</sup>

In the discussion of this film Matsuda references Russian writer Boris Savinkov, who wrote about the task of the terrorist, remarking on the time that is spent in boredom, doing something other than holding a bomb and stepping out to the street. That, he argues, is what the film successfully depicted. It is further important to note that the film absolutely negates a narrative in which the young man is enduring this boring time for the sublime purpose of terrorism: the accounts of killing a security guard or bombing the Communist Party Headquarters or assassinating the Prime Minister are told through an article in the newspaper that the young man buys for the students who are hiding. There is no mention of why terrorism was determined at all, and the young man comes back into the room indifferently. Therefore, what is depicted most in the film is the downtime that the students spend in a small, dirty apartment, trying to recruit the young man to join the terrorist group in the name of solidarity with the workers. Rather than a

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<sup>150</sup> Matsuda, "*Darekara korosu bekika?*" [Who should be killed first?] in *Fukei no shimetsu*, 200.

transition from ordinary, everyday life into an extraordinary life, the apocalyptic landscape of neither the ordinary nor the extraordinary continues endlessly.

In addition, it is important to note that the issue of representing time in this way—that is to say, the problematic of a revolution of time rather than a revolution of space— is a task unique to landscape theory. As I repeatedly mention, landscape exists as a complex, assemblage of all elements; it is all-encompassing, subsuming both the vanguard and rear guard, students and workers, all classes, collapsing the dichotomy between the ordinary and the extraordinary. Indeed, the crux of landscape theory lies in the radical theorization of both survival within this dark, forlorn landscape, and tactical analysis of it, as an opportunity to subvert its omnipresence.

## 11. Changes within Landscape Theory

In the course of debates surrounding landscape theory, another main factor that made its understanding difficult was underlying theoretical differences between those who were involved. Also, as I mentioned earlier, despite the fact that screenings of *A.K.A. Serial Killer* were suspended, the discourse concerning the film developed independently nonetheless. The circumstances became further complicated, since *The Man Who Left His Will on Film*—which was screened publicly—ended up being the film considered as representative of landscape theory, however due to difficulty of the film, it was hardly understood. In addition, as too much emphasis was placed on the shift from 'situation' to 'landscape,' there was a great deal of sheer rejection of the film. Hence, it became extremely difficult to further the discussion through theoretical debates. Matsuda himself recalls the developments as follows:

First as I mentioned earlier, in June, 1970, when some of my approaches to landscape theory began to get published, and, with the efforts of Nakahira Takuma were in the process of being reframed as a common theme from the domain of film into a broader discussion among various art genres, the completion of Oshima Nagisa's *The Man Who Left His Will on Film* became, in a sense, an unfortunate incident for landscape theory, which was just in the process of formation. Because, contrary to all the misunderstanding, the idea for the film to be shot as a man's will that ended up consisting of tons of landscape shots was, in fact, the contribution of Hara Masataka, another joint script writer, who was unrelated to either myself or Adachi Masao, or even his collaborator for the script of this film, Sasaki Mamoru. To exaggerate a bit, I cannot resist the feeling that the discussion about landscape theory, transcending borders and generations, has

become universal in its contemporaneity. However, as is already made clear by Hara Masataka, who has criticized my landscape theory, the possibility of debate between Hara and us lies in the fact that we must use the same term, albeit in different contexts; we could also say that this involves the difficulties of this shared task.<sup>151</sup>

Of course, 'landscape as man's will', or the 'post-Tokyo War as illusion' in *The Man Who Left His Will on Film* as subjects themselves represent problematics that are distinctively characteristic of landscape theory, and one could say that the theoretical targets of both Matsuda and Hara almost seem to overlap. However, Hara was highly critical of Matsuda's landscape theory; employing the notion of intersubjectivity proposed by Maurice Merleau-Ponty, he developed his own theory in an attempt to locate the concept of landscape rather ontologically. His seminal essay, *Sekai nai sonzai no fukeiron teki tenbo* (Landscape theory-oriented perspective on being-in-the world) was then published in *Eiga Hihyo* in October 1970.

Thus, since Matsuda has entrusted the 'gaze' to the lower class proletariat, the notion of landscape as construct has entirely been lost, and landscape has instead become synonymous with a painting of Mt. Fuji at a bathhouse. Then, he has climbed up to the height of situations theory, a privileged domain from which only he can look out, and has become overwhelmed by ecstasy and anxiety. What Matsuda refers to as landscape is, in an attempt to shift from a theory of situation to landscape theory, none other than an expression [of the point] where his own sensitivity towards time, situations and restlessness are reified into the landscape.<sup>152</sup>

Here, Hara criticizes Matsuda for his glorification of the proletariat in his essay on Nagayama. The fact that Matsuda included the critique of landscape theory in the inaugural issue of a film journal that he was involved in demonstrates his fairness toward the debate between the two. As was discussed earlier, one could say that this criticism does not seem applicable to Matsuda's argument, as he was attempting to hammer out a concept for a new class through this wandering lower-class proletariat. Referencing generational differences, Hara's argument tends to be rather schematic in articulating the opposition between the old and new generations. On the other hand, it seems undeniable that his

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<sup>151</sup> Matsuda, "Fupei no shimetsu no tameni," in *Fupei no shimetsu*, 281-282

<sup>152</sup> Hara Masataka, *Sekai-nai-sonzai no fukeironteki chobo* [Landscape theory-oriented view of being-in-the-world], *Eiga Hihyo*, no.1, (October 1970): 42-57. The title of this essay was revised to "Fukeironteki chobo," [[Landscape theory-oriented view] when compiled in *Mitai eiga no koto dakeo* [Only about films I want to watch] (Tokyo: Yubunsha, 1977), Hara's first book of collected essays.

misreading is due to Matsuda's rather emphatic critique of 'situation.' After his critique of Matsuda, Hara goes on to scathingly criticize Oshima 's *The Man Who Left His Will on Film*.

Look at Nagayama Norio. He succeeded in shifting the classical origin by accepting his own fictitiousness to its extreme within landscape. Rather than tearing the landscape apart, Nagayama Norio completed it. There is nothing in his origin in which landscape is understood as a hostile power. For him, landscape serves to complete the fictitiousness of his murderous intent. It is in this sense that 'landscape exists everywhere ubiquitously', and his 'gaze,' which strives to accept the fictitious substance to its extreme, at the same time becomes landscape, with its own individual beauty. The landscape depicted in the will left on film in *The Man Who Left His Will on Film* is the landscape that opens up as the fiction of protagonist Motoki Shoichi's fetishism is completed. However he does not understand it. As a result, he shifts the origin based on the cause and effect that, because of such and such reason he filmed this landscape. In any event, wouldn't it be true that the shift of origin in the classical sense and the shift of the origin in the art are initially on a different level?<sup>153</sup>

As a practical response to Oshima and Matsuda, Hara created his own landscape film, *Hatsukunishirasumeramikoto* (First Emperor, 1973). On the other hand, unlike script writer Hara or Sasaki, Oshima never proactively discussed landscape or landscape theory, but rather tried to keep his distance from it. Oshima explains his intentions in the production of this film as follows:

The Red Army screamed, the Osaka War last September, and then the Tokyo War in November. However this was an illusion. Each sect was shouting that they would risk their deaths in the fight, but finally not a single person died, while of course I was also roaming around the vicinity of Haneda Airport holding a camera. *The Man Who Left His Will on Film* is the answer to the question 'how can men die?'. At the same time, it was a requiem, dedicated with thought and emotion, to the peaceful Japan twenty-five years after the Second World War—in which, rather than dying willingly, many young men were just killed—and to the dead who were in their adolescence after war.<sup>154</sup>

Referencing his own *Seishun Zankoku Monogatari* (*Cruel Story of Youth*, 1960), which is closely linked with the Anpo Struggle of 1960, Oshima locates this film ten years after *Cruel Story of Youth*—in other words, after the *Anpo* struggle. The film is a response to the question of how one can bury the 1970s, which paradoxically also answers the question of how one can live in the 70's. Whereas Oshima shared with Matsuda and others the problematic of seeking new thought towards the 70's, it can be said that his attempt was to place the film within the broader contexts of the history of the movement, and post-war

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<sup>153</sup> Hara, *Mitai eiga no koto dakeo*, 99-100.

<sup>154</sup> Oshima Nagisa, "Shisha eno chinkonka," [Requiem for the dead] in *Kaitai to Funshutsu* [Deconstruction and Eruption] (Tokyo: Haga Shoten, 1970), 187.

modern history. In his review of Matsuda's book *The Extinction of Landscape*, reflecting on the production of *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, Oshima discusses the circumstance surrounding landscape theory as a response to criticism of this book from a reader.

In this sense, it was astonishing and also justifying that essays included in *The Extinction of Landscape* kept being written based on the experience of the film that he himself produced. Although there were many people who received Matsuda Masao's <landscape theory> as simply a 'general theory', it was indeed a theory written with his flesh and blood. And yet it is too egotistical that so-called the <landscape film>, Matsuda's recent point of foundation, is not shown in public. I of course have not seen it, either.<sup>155</sup>

Oshima points out that Matsuda's relationship to cinema significantly had shifted as a result of filming *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, and because of this, landscape theory tended to be understood not in the context of film, but rather as a general theory. However Oshima notes, in actuality, landscape theory was deeply rooted in Matsuda's thought and practice in cinema. On the other hand Oshima was critical about the fact that the film remained unreleased to the public. Tamura Tsutomu likewise had an extremely negative response to the film's content, as well as the decision to withhold screenings.<sup>156</sup> Evidently, *A.K.A. Serial Killer*—though Adachi, who was a co-scriptwriter for Sozosha along with Oshima and Sasaki participated in its production—was not necessarily received favorably by other Sozosha members.

Despite its radicalism, because the word 'landscape' was used, landscape theory became widespread; however at the same time, because of the neutrality of the word 'landscape', interpreting the theory was fraught with ambiguity and misunderstanding. Under these circumstances, poet and Provoke member Takahiko Okada conducted a theoretical mapping of various remarks on landscape. In the commentary on *Kitarubeki Kotoba no Tameni* (For a Language to Come), centering on landscapes in the work of poet Rainer Maria Rilke, and *Landscape into Art* by art historian Kenneth Clark, Okada discusses the western concept of landscape and organizes its lineage.

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<sup>155</sup> Oshimaa Nagisa, "Shohyo Matsuda Masao cho, 'Fukey no Shimetsu'," [Book review of Matsuda Masao's 'The Extinction of Landscape'], *Kinema Jumbo*, no.568, (15<sup>th</sup> December 1971): 155.

<sup>156</sup> "The person who became the angriest of all after watching [the film] was Mr. Tamura Tsutomu. He made a genuine and strong critique saying that [we] created a film that it was not necessary to make, and knowing the impossibility of presenting people in the way [that is shown in the film] [we] set something that is initially impossible at its methodic core and made it into a movie. That is unacceptable." Adachi Masao, *Eiga/Kakumei* [Film/Revolution] (Tokyo: Kawadeshoboshinsha), 297-298.

However, in order to return to the subtle character or attraction of landscape which brings about this many subtle issues, I would like to deliberately inquire about the previous state of landscape, and understand its current state. For this, I believe that it is appropriate to focus my discussion on the point at which the concept of landscape became prominent in the transition of landscape paintings.<sup>157</sup>

A theoretical introduction such as this was particularly important at a time when the concept of 'landscape' had not been thoroughly elaborated, in providing theoretical support to Nakahira's practice and landscape theory. However, a seemingly essential attempt to locate landscape in a theoretical and historical lineage had the danger of pushing Matsuda/Nakahira's landscape theory—which derived from outside the framework of the other 'theories' of landscape in the west or Japan, and were meant to remain in that position—back into an existing framework, thrusting the actual core of their novel landscape theory to the background.<sup>158</sup> In fact, discrepancies and gaps that came up due to the use and abuse of the term landscape theory can be found in some of the arguments at the time. For instance *Dento to Bunka* (Tradition and Culture), a journal of thought, had specialists from various fields, including Japanese cultural history, folklore studies, literature, art history and visual arts, discuss histories and concepts of landscape in Japan and the west. A roundtable was held, called *Toshi to fukei*"(City and landscape), which included Nakahira as one of the participants. It was evident that this special issue was published in response to a landscape boom. Though superb as a project to reexamine the so-called theories of landscape, employing multifarious disciplinary perspectives neutralized the discussion, causing one to lose sight of why landscape had become an issue in 1970.<sup>159</sup> On the other hand, the concept of landscape,

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<sup>157</sup> Okada Takahiko "Fukei ni tsuite," [Concerning Landscape] in Nakahira Takuma, *Kitarubeki Kotoba no Tameni* [For a Language to Come] (Tokyo: Fudoshu, 1970), 187.

<sup>158</sup> In his review of *For a Language to Come*, addressing the difficulty of publishing the work of photographer like Nakahira as a photography book, Adachi commented on Okada's argument as follows: "It will be also fortunate for his <work> to have Okada Takahiko authoritatively specify the meaning of 'landscape' with attention paid to both east and west." Adachi Masao, "Yami kara sosei suru <kotoba> e," ["Words' resuscitating from the darkness], *Kozo* [Structure] (January 1970): 132-133.

<sup>159</sup> In his discussion of landscape via visual media, critic Eto Fumio commented on the landscape boom at the time as follows. "Now again, theories of landscape are becoming a popular phenomenon. Most of them are in praise of Japanese beauty prior to [the time of] Shiga Shigetaka, which was denied by his scientific eyes. Even in what had gone through the machine called visual images, by conversely passing through the machine, its aesthetic sense is surviving. Landscape must change now." Eto Fumio, "Fukei o miru me" (The Eyes that See the Landscape), *Dento to Genzai* (Tradition and Now), no.4, (March 1971): 68. In response to this critique, Matsuda refuted as follows: "As far as I know in the <landscape theory> boom since last year, aside from whether the writers stance is hardcore or

which exhibited new potential—through the Osaka Expo, and the subsequent massive state-level "Discover Japan,"<sup>160</sup> campaign, accompanied by urban engineering, urbanism and architectural theories—was again assimilated by the state and capitalism itself. Nakahara noted the uproar, commenting on the limits of landscape theory as follows:

The world that even now spreads across the viewfinder is still far away and beautiful, remaining purely as landscape. That is a fact. However, I think I will stop talking about it as landscape anymore. Landscape has penetrated almost all media to the point that it has become cultural jargon. The word landscape should have been uttered as 'thought' that is rooted in, starts from, and then should be tested against reality. The impact that the term 'landscape' had when it was initially put out into the world by Matsuda Masao and his peers appears to be somewhat weakening. [...] Landscape theory must not lose its substance. To prevent this, perhaps, the spark of the word landscape must be sought after again in other language.<sup>161</sup>

In response to the landscape theory boom, Matsuda also points out that the condition is absolutely contrary to what they intended.

However, what was initially important was an encounter with the landscape, and it should never be for unnecessarily rigorous study. Just like a blind man touching an elephant, in the course of caressing the landscape, people have stepped into a serious maze.<sup>162</sup>

Meanwhile, young critic Tsumura Takashi, who was also writing for *Eiga Hihyo*, wrote a theoretical critique on landscape theory in the review section of *Japan Reader's Newspaper*.

It is of no small significance that Matsuda's 'landscape theory' raised the point that, for modern man as *voyant*, landscape is constituted itself as a text of state power. I would venture to say, however, that the problems he raised were always too clean. The text of the state and its enforcing message to a natural standpoint is extremely diverse and covered with complex 'noise.' Though

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softcore, there was absolutely no one who expressed his/her opinion from the viewpoint of praising Japanese beauty. It is indeed in the special issue of the journal that such a dubious view of the praise of Japanese beauty revived in the name of <landscape theory>." "Fukei" [Landscape] in *Eiga Hihyo* [Film criticism], no.7 (April 1971): 11.

<sup>160</sup> The Osaka World Expo, which was held from March to September 1970 attracted approximately 64,000,000 people from all over Japan the course of about six months. This means that an average of one out of two people in Japan visited Osaka. The event caused a crazed migration of people, prompting individual travel whereas up until then, group tours had been the norm in Japan. In order to retain those individual travel consumers after the Worlds Fair, Japan National Railways teamed up with the Japanese advertising agency Dentsu (even before the World Expo) and created a nation-wide ad campaign called "Discover Japan." With the subtitle "Beautiful Japan and Me" and the tag line "Discover Japan, rediscover yourself," the campaign sought to promote tourism to places of scenic beauty across Japan.

<sup>161</sup> Nakahira Takuma, "Imaji karano Dasshutsu"[Escape from Images], *Design* (February 1971): 16; *Mitsuzukeru Hate ni Hi ga...* [Fire at the Limits of My Perpetual Gazing: Collection of Criticism 1965-1977] (Tokyo: Osiris, 2007), 161.

<sup>162</sup> Matsuda Masao, "Fukei"[Landscape] in *Eiga Hihyo*, no.5 (February 1971): 10.

Matsuda states that what is beyond the landscape is the State, this 'noise' that is in this world, is also the State. What it means is that the State cannot be a simple apparatus of violence; it means the presence of the State as a structure of terror.<sup>163</sup>

However, in another <culture>, or everyday life as cultural residue, it is rather a gaze that becomes a fetish and is consumed like a commodity. In other words, something like <reading ability = commodity> exists against <labor power = commodity>. In this culture of 'ke' (everyday), people believe that cities and landscapes are something <natural>. It is however the gap between this fetishized gaze and the city or landscape, or the noise existing between them that is a hole where the state is hiding itself. Through various urban realities—in particular, through living space and space of journalism—the state splits people apart.<sup>164</sup>

Though these short texts were not originally written with the main purpose of developing a critique of landscape theory, Matsuda received them as basically the first serious critiques of his landscape theory, determined to present the reconstruction from the landscape theory to the theory of State.

Yes, "Landscape is the text of the State power", and according to what Tsumura Takashi discussed elsewhere, "Landscape is a mask where power conceals itself, and points to itself at the same time." (*Eiga Hihyo*, July issue, 1971) When the technological-aesthetic 'mask' is unveiled, we confront the giant iron claws of a dying State. Thus, 'landscape theory' cannot help but be accurately reconstructed as 'State theory'.<sup>165</sup>

Tsumura's critique was that Matsuda's understanding of landscape as equal to State and power was simplistic, arguing that all aspects, even the 'noise' that constitute the landscape are embodiments of State=power, and understanding landscape as total subsumption of everyday life. It was a fair critique, however, that Matsuda's attempt to shift focus to the theory of the State was somewhat hasty. Matsuda had already developed his argument on landscape as apparatus of control and governance, a complex assemblage that encompasses all aspects of everyday life, apparently indicating the contemporaneity and possibility of landscape. In this sense, Tsumura's critique provided a supplementary insight into what Matsuda's 'incomplete' argument could not express. Possibly Matsuda needed to proceed with an even more precise theorization of landscape theory—since, in his discussions of new media theory, even after his critique of landscape theory, Tsumura continuously referred to 'landscape' as a concept crucial in

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<sup>163</sup> Tsumura Takashi, *Rekishino Dakkan* [Recapturing History] (Tokyo: Serika Shobo, 1972), 233-234.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, 235.

<sup>165</sup> Matsuda, *Fukei no shimetsu*, 287

analyzing the structure of power.<sup>166</sup> As critic Takenaka Ro ironically commented, "[Matsuda] easily bowed (pretended to bow) before Tsumura Takashi 's criticism"<sup>167</sup> in the review of *The Extinction of landscape*, Tsumura's criticism could have been taken as a strategic excuse for Matsuda to wrap up the controversy over landscape theory in one form or another. As a result, rather than shifting to State theory as proposed by Matsuda, landscape theory would develop into a theory of reportage, or theory of information media. In his conversation with Nakahira, Adachi discusses the development as follows:

We—Mr. Nakahira, Matsuda Masao and others—discussed landscape theory, the landscape of the situations that endlessly confronts us, as a reflection of our flexibly-structured society. We said that, if we try to act as revolutionary soldiers, we should penetrate into the landscape as into an 'ocean,' and swim in the landscape like 'fish.' Mr. Nakahira talked about the words of life that arise from within the landscape. Matsuda Masao called for a struggle against the landscape of the State, in search of the "extinction of landscape" as a reflection of the State. And, we continued to consider that a theory of information media must be established so that even discussing landscape theory could not be 'episode-ized.' Specifying that 'information' is what we create, and 'news report' is what we struggle to win, we came to consider 'news report' on our landscape.<sup>168</sup>

Matsuda's writings on the theory of reportage as a new media theory were later compiled into the book, *Fukanosei no Media* (Media of Impossibility, 1973). At the same time, realizing that "in the early 70's, I myself now feel strongly about the need to re-evaluate the process of how our feud with landscape theory is both gradually and rapidly sublated into a strategic development of cinema=movement,"<sup>169</sup> Matsuda published his collected essays on cinema/movement, titled *Hakuchumu o Ute* (Shoot the Daydream, 1972). Meanwhile, after putting the theory of reportage into practice in *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War*, Adachi compiled his theoretical essays in the book *Eiga eno Senryaku* (Strategies for Cinema, 1974). Nakahira turned towards his theory of materiality for photographing things themselves, which would lead to his book of collected essays on the theory of photography, *Naze Shokubutsu zukan ka* (Why an Illustrated Book of Plants, 1973).

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<sup>166</sup> For instance, see Tsumura Takashi, "Hiyo=Undo no Kochiku no tameni,"(For the construction of criticism=movement) in *Media no Seiji* [Politics of Media] (Tokyo: Shobunsha, 1974), 114-157.

<sup>167</sup> Takenaka Ro, "*Ken o Okashi yuku Kiten*," (Embark on the Adventure to the Origin), *Tosho Shimibun* [The Book Review Press], no.1141 (11<sup>th</sup> December 1971): 3.

<sup>168</sup> Adachi Masao, "Mediaron eno kaitai puran," [Deconstructing plan toward media theory], Adachi Masao and Nakahira Takuma, *Eiga Hiyo*, no.32 (May 1973): 93.

<sup>169</sup> Matsuda, *Hakuchumu o Ute*, 331.

## 12. Theories of Landscape from the Same Period in Literature, Urban Studies and Architecture

Contemporaneous to Matsuda and others' landscape theory, literary critic Okuno Takeo, discussed landscape in the context of literature. Okuno published *Gendai Bungaku Fudoki* (Regional Gazetteers for Contemporary Literature), which discussed the relationship between climate, landscape and literature in 1968. He also wrote multiple essays on landscape in the literary journal *Subaru* between October 1970 and November 1971. In his serial work *Bungaku ni okeru Genfukei* (Primal Landscapes in Literature), which analyzed creative foundations for literary authors such as Yoshimoto, Sakaguchi Ango, Dazai Osamu, and Muro Saisei, Okuno addressed the concept of primal landscape.

In other words, I would like to define space-time, or the symbolic image of it which adheres to the subconscious, as a space of self-formation during childhood and adolescence. Furthermore, it is intrinsically intertwined with human relations that are deeply based on blood relationships and regional bonds, and unknowingly rules their literature. The "primal landscape" is the womb of literature, and the mother earth for the author. The "primal landscape," though providing a backbone to his literature, is a landscape that is impossible for the author to depict objectively. The author's eyes to the "primal landscape," unlike the eyes of the tourists of course, are warped further towards the inside that can be neither glimpsed nor depicted by the eyes of others. Because the "primal landscape" is not someone else, but none other than himself.<sup>170</sup>

Okuno describes landscape not only in light of visual elements, but also the totality of space and time that physically and mentally surrounds authors, as the primal landscape, and makes clear mainly the relationship between the prewar literature and primal landscape. He further describes landscapes of farming villages and rice fields as archetypes of the primal landscape. While making rural landscapes and rice paddies the prototypes of the primal landscape, he refers back to the origins of Japan such as the Jomon-Yayoi period (ca. 14,000 BCE–300 CE). On the other hand, he mentions the emergence of new landscapes in the present time, stating that he embarked on his investigation of the primal landscape due to the sense of discomfort that he had with postwar literature and contemporary novels.

Reading the works of emerging artists such as Goto Meisei and Kuroi Senji, who have become reputable these days, I feel that [this is] a generation who does not have their own "primal landscapes" in a traditional sense, with neither homeland, as in the past, a local hometown, nor

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<sup>170</sup> Okuno Takeo, *Bungaku ni okeru Genfukei Harappa, Dokutsu no Genso* [The Primal Landscape in Literature: Fantasy of Open Fields and Caves] (Tokyo: Shueisha, 1972), 45.

an invariable space for self-formation in the city, or rather who deny that a "primal landscape" has emerged. Goto Meisei, Kuroi Senji and others anticipate their future, and write with empathy, however, I strongly feel the presence of a generation who grew up in a completely different space of self-formation, without having "primal landscapes" behind their literature. They attest to the fact that artificial housing complexes, new towns, and high-rise condominiums cannot in any way become invariable spaces of self-formation, nor primal landscapes for humans, nor can they become fixed and stable coordinates in which to explore changes in human relationships. In other words, that novels in the traditional sense can no longer be established.<sup>171</sup>

However, rather than suggesting a return to the traditional Japanese landscapes, Okuno criticized both the traditional and the new ones.

Through "Ogura Hyakunin Isshu" *Utamakura* influenced the aesthetics and views on landscapes of common Japanese people. Paintings such as illustrated handscrolls, pictures of famous places, woodcut prints of Hokusai and Hiroshige, *kakiwari* backdrops in Kabuki, and also Chinese landscape paintings, determined the images of the Japanese landscape. The three most beautiful views and scenic places in Japan associated with *utamakura* were designated. People visited those scenic spots, along with shrines and temples, overlaying them with patterns of landscape created in their minds, and became satisfied that they looked exactly like they saw in pictures of famous places or *ukiyo-e* paintings. Or, they might be disappointed that they were not that great, but after being informed of the origins of *makurakotoba* and legends, they become impressed again, and return home. The scene is no different from that of today's tour group. It is just that the number of new scenic spots that are quickly prepared through today's TV dramas or advertisements called "Discover Japan," is increasing. Apparently, the Japanese people cannot appreciate landscapes unless their origins or reputations in history, legend, and literature are included. It may be that they have characters because of which literary and linguistic impressions precede visual impressions.<sup>172</sup>

Okuno examines works of authors who resisted this introduction of Japanese landscapes in literature, including Okuno discussed Tokutomi Roka's *Shizen to Jinsei* (Nature and Life), Kunikida Doppo's *Musashino*, Tayama Katai's *Futon* (The Quilt), Shohei Ooka's *Musashino Fujin* (Mrs. Musashino), as well as ironically, authors who cannot describe landscapes, Abe Kobo and Mishima Yukio. While Okuno shares similar problematics with Matsuda and others in terms of critiquing existing landscapes, their approaches are significantly different; one is to trace the primal landscape through its absence, and the other is inversely to see the landscape without primal landscape as an opportunity for new possibilities. In addition, Okuno's approach of tracing primal landscape as either expression of personal history or spirits was diametrically opposed to Matsuda's understanding of landscape as

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 13-14.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., 198-199.

something not personal, but rather political and class-based.<sup>173</sup> Okuno's view of the landscape as spirit (*seishin*) or interiority (*naimen*) were passed on to literary critic Karatani Kojin, for one.

In the domain of architecture and urban studies, architect Miyauchi Ko, who was involved in the *Zenkyoto* movement as a faculty member of the university following the Anpo Struggle, carried out an analysis of power that is extremely close to landscape theory. In "*Enkon no Yutopia*" (Utopia of Grudges) published in *Kenchiku Nenkan* (Annals of Architecture in Japan) in 1969, Miyauchi discusses the new city and space seen through barricades as follows:

Barricades make invisible cities visible in one fell swoop. It is a violent questioning with respect to the mechanism of the urban control, dragging to the streets the true oppressors of the city, which until now were hidden and invisible. Every corner of this city, this space, this wall, was controlled, and none of it was at our disposal. Things inside the barricades pile/piled up, are stripped of all value and meaning, and are given a single meaning, that is, a clear meaning of protecting the life of the oppressed people, things restore their authenticity. Objects fetishized as commodities revert to mere things.<sup>174</sup>

Miyauchi conceived of barricading, which can be called anti-architectural in the traditional framework of architecture, as a practical moment of making the normally invisible power structure visible in an urban space, and then confronting things themselves. In *Kindai toshi ideorogi jihan* (Ideological critique of modern city) published in *Contemporary Eye*, he proceeds with an analysis of urban space which he sees as moving toward a society of control.

No matter how disorderly its partial and visual forms may appear, a city is covered over with a system of management and an iron chain of order. Cities are not merely moving and expanding arbitrarily. In cities, the will of capital pervades every corner of space. What information supremacists and cybernetics followers have deliberately overlooked, rather than forgotten, is that finer-grained control and feedback of information transforms cities into increasingly oppressive ones. If we can manage to live in today's oppressive city, it must be because there is some gap in

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<sup>173</sup> Matsuda refers to Okuno's argument as follows. "At last, landscape theory spread to a tip of the unshakable literary world; for instance, Takeo Okuno started a serialization of long essays on the journal *Subaru* concerning *Bungaku ni okeru Genfukei* [Primal Landscape in Literature] referencing various resources [...]" Matsuda, *Fukei no Shimetsu*, 283. Based on the fact that *Gendai Bungaku Fudoki* [Regional Gazetteers for Contemporary Literature] was published in 1968, it can be pointed out that Okuno's interest in 'climate' or 'landscape' preceded the landscape theory by Matsuda and others. For theories of urban studies that thereafter developed in the context related to theories of landscape, see Isoda Koichi, *Shiso toshiteno Tokyo* [Tokyo as Thoughts] (Tokyo: Kobunsha, 1978); Maeda Ai, *Toshikukan nonakano Bungaku* [Literature in Urban Space], (Tokyo: Chikumashobo, 1982); *Genkei no Machi* [Mirage City] (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1986).

<sup>174</sup> Miyauchi Ko, *Enkon no Yutopia*, 152.

the system of oppression. It is clear that more sophisticated systems, combined with the application of ideologies to demands on the system will become increasingly oppressive to us.<sup>175</sup>

Miyauchi published an essay in 1970 for the student newspaper at Tokyo University of Science, in which his critique of the university, which subsequently led to him being labelled a dissident instructor and fired, was carried out through his observation of 'landscapes,' such as a new school buildings, the campus, students, and teachers.<sup>176</sup> In the February 24, 1971 issue of *The Japan Reader's Newspaper*, he published the essay *Tobaku toshi* (Gambling city), mentioning landscape theory by Matsuda and others.

There used to be something called "landscape theory." I am not familiar with the details, but I remember that the premise of this strangely resonating theory was to confirm that today's urban landscapes in Japan were all homogenized. I had a fresh impression on the word "landscape" rather than "landscape theory," as a theory, in comparison to concepts such as situations, space, or environment— of which ambiguity cannot be wiped out—that became popular in the sixties. In any event, it is certain that the spatial aspects of today's cities across Japan are endlessly moving toward homogenization.<sup>177</sup>

Although it did not pertain to the content of landscape theory, Miyauchi perceptively pointed out the potential of the word landscape—instead of situations, space, and environment. While calling the city under advanced capitalism 'gamble city,' he discussed the homogenization of urban space. As Miyauchi published his essay *Fukei toshiteno toshi* (City as landscape)—the same title as Matsuda's second essay on landscape theory— in the October 1975 issue of *Gendai Shiso* (Contemporary Thoughts), and furthermore, as he titled his book of his essays, *Fukei o ute* (Shoot the Landscape), a series of Miyauchi's discussions at the time, the shift in his focus from theories of architecture and urban studies, to his resonance with the theory of landscape is reflected.

Architect Hara Hiroshi, founder of RAS, where Miyauchi worked for three years, also published an essay, *Hara Hiroshi niyoru kukan gainenron no tameno soko* (Notes for spatial concept by Hara Hiroshi) in a special issue of the journal SD, also featuring his own work, in the September 1972 issue. The "Notes," consisting of forty-five theses with his comments were based on lectures he had given at the

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<sup>175</sup> Ibid., 213.

<sup>176</sup> Miyauchi Ko, "Fukei— Unga 1970," [Landscapes—Canals 1970], *Fukei o Ute Daigaku 1970-75* [Shoot the Landscape: University 1970-1975] (Tokyo: Sagamishobo, 1976), 3-9.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., 243.

university, and were later edited as an essay, *Kinshitsu kukanron* (On Homogeneous Space) in the August-September 1976 issue of the journal *Shiso* (Thoughts).<sup>178</sup> Though the latter's importance as a theory is evident, these "Notes" were noteworthy in terms of their contemporaneity with landscape theory. While examining the evolution of concepts of space in Europe, Hara critiques functionalism and nationalism in modern architecture, indicating problems of contemporary spatial concepts.

30. We may now share homogenous quality, non-directionality, and, in addition, continuous spatial perception or sense of space in common. If we call this the contemporary concept of space, it may be that the concept of space permeates deep inside our consciousness, and functions not only as a way to simply understand physical space, but also as a <cognitive receptacle> for things.<sup>179</sup>

43. The overall culture that the concept of homogeneous space supports (or, that is supported by it) is characterized by the absence of meanings and their accompanying values. Modernization accompanied by this spatial concept will produce the system that is mentioned in today's advanced capitalism.<sup>180</sup>

Importantly, as similar to landscape theory, Hara saw the homogenization in the ubiquity of this new concept of space as an apparatus of governance over all domains of human activities. Hara participated in a round-table discussion with Nakahira, graphic designers Awazu Kiyoshi, and Kimura Tsunehisa for the November 1970 issue of the journal *Dezain Hihyo* (Design Criticism) (for which he himself served as an editorial board member), during which his theory's specific relevance to landscape theory becomes clear. In response to Nakahira's statement referring to landscape theory and theories of vision, Hara made the following remark on modern architecture, using the concept of "scenes" (*bamen*).

Going back to the topic of architecture, if I explain what 'architecture's entry into modernity' means, it means creating by eliminating <scenes>. Instead of the concept of <scenes>, it introduces an abstract concept such as mobility, and what comes out of it is central to all possibilities. Architects give up the responsibility of representing <scenes>, and uses the idea of "their invisibility" or the fact that "they did not see <scenes>" as a weapon to create.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> It was later published as Hara Hiroshi, *Kukan <Sakujitsu kara Yoso e>* [Space <from Yesterday to Modality>] (Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 1987).

<sup>179</sup> Hara Hiroshi, "Hara Hiroshi niyoru kukan gainenron no tameno soko," [Notes for spatial concept by Hara Hiroshi], *SD*, no.96 (September 1972): 74.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

<sup>181</sup> Hara Hiroshi, "Wareware wa nani ni mukatte jiyu nanoka," [Towards what are we free], Awatsu Kiyoshi, Kimura Tsunehisa, Nakahira Takuma, Hara Hiroshi, *Dezain Hihyo* [Design Criticism], no.12 (November 1970): 33.

Hara's concept of "scenes" seems to refer to space that is established on the basis of the accumulated realities and histories, and his statement that modern architecture is the result of their bracketing and abstraction has some elements of his later Notes. Though Hara's concept of space was more abstract and not as politically loaded as Miyauchi's, it shared with it an exploration of issues that were contemporaneous with landscape theory.<sup>182</sup> Meanwhile, due to the popularity of theories on landscape from the realm of landscape architecture and landscape engineering, against the background of *A Plan for Remodeling the Japanese Archipelago* around the same period<sup>183</sup>, theoretical and historical inquiries on landscape and space from the domain of architecture gradually became marginalized within the overwhelming material presence of State and capitalism.

### 13. After Landscape Theory

Matsuda and others shifted from landscape theory to the theory of reportage and information media in 1971. Along with the decline of the movement, landscape theory was hardly ever discussed thereafter. In turn, literary critic Karatani Kojin, set out to develop arguments that can be referred to as post-landscape theory. He published a series of essays titled *Yanagita Kunio shiron* (Essays on Yanagita Kunio) in the journal *Gekkan Ekonomisuto* (Monthly Economist) in January 1974, in which Karatani discusses Yanagita's notion of landscape, citing his descriptions concerning landscapes in *Meiji Taisho-shi Seso-hen* (A History of Meiji and Taisho: Customs and Manners):

This kind of landscape theory was unprecedented before Yanagita. In particular, Yanagita's insight lies in his view of landscapes as "human creation." It does not mean that humans fabricate or model as they please, but that it is gradually accumulated human practices over generations. What is remarkable about Yanagita's idea is his understanding that not only landscapes, but also the eyes that see them are something created. In short, Yanagita sees the natural environment as one of accumulated culture, i.e. history. To see landscapes as culture, in other words, is to see the culture as landscape. In other words, Yanagita sees culture as "something to create", or like a verb

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<sup>182</sup> For a similar discussion, see Isozaki Arata, "Mienai Toshi," [Invisible City], in *Kukan e* [To Space], (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-Sha, 1971).

<sup>183</sup> For instance, see, Higuchi Tadahiko, *Keikan no Kozo Randsukepu toshiteno Nihon no Kukan* [Structure of Landscapes: Japanese Space as Landscapes] (Tokyo: Gihodoshuppan, 1975); Nakamura Yoshio, *Fukeigaku Nyumon* [Introduction to Landscape Studies] (Tokyo: Chuokoronshinsha, 1982).

form (cultivate). Culture as existence (noun) — that is, things such as cultural properties and famous places—was out of the question for Yanagita.<sup>184</sup>

Karatani argues that the uniqueness of Yanagita's landscape theory lies in his discovery that landscapes are products of human creation, and are as dynamic as culture or history. He further continues that Yanagita's discovery of landscape is synonymous with the discovery of *jomin* (ordinary people) who created the landscapes. In 1975 Karatani published a series of essays on Sakaguchi Ango, *Genjitsu ni tsuite 'Nihon Bunka Shikan ron'*, (Concerning reality: on *A Personal View of Japanese Culture*), *Shizen ni tsuite zoku Nihon Bunka Shikan ron* (Concerning nature: *Personal View of the Japanese Culture* part two) for the May and July 1975 issues of *Bungei*, as well as *Seishin no fukei— Sakaguchi Ango ni okeru hiho no gensen* (Landscape of the mind: Sakaguchi Ango's critical foundation) in the May 1975 issue of *Kokubungaku* (Japanese Literature), in which he continues his discussions on landscape through the work of Ango.

The intensity of landscapes corresponds to his spiritual intensity. His eyes looking upon architecture that has nothing but "necessity" is none other than his spiritual eyes. It is not that such a spirit made landscapes look that way. That is just aesthetic idealism. I must say, what kind of spirit that is detached from the object can exist. Undoubtedly at that time, that is, when he was at Toride around Showa 13, Ango was in the midst of an inner experience in which everything converged into the word 'necessity.' In the midst of it he could not say a word. It was in such times of aphasia that he encountered landscapes.<sup>185</sup>

Karatani pays attention to Ango's spiritual intensity to discover beauty in landscapes that were defined neither aesthetically nor culturally, but based upon the notion of "necessity," i.e. modern rationality. In the earlier part of his analysis of *A Personal View of Japanese Culture*, Karatani, quoting Freud, introduces the concept of the "real," which is something remote and uncanny that pushes one away, or leaves one behind, arguing that landscapes where Ango discovered beauty were what Karatani called "real," or what Kant referred to as thing-in-itself. In the summer and fall 1978 issues of *Kikan Geijutsu* (Art Quarterly), Karatani published *Fukei no hakken: josetsu* (Introduction: discovery of landscape) and *Naimen no hakken* (Discovery of interiority)—in which he examined literature, Japan, and its modernity

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<sup>184</sup> Karatani Kojin, *Yanagita Kunio ron* [Theory of Yanagita Kunio] (Tokyo: Inscript, 2013), 231.

<sup>185</sup> Karatani Kojin, *Sakaguchi Ango to Nakagami Kenji* [Sakaguchi Ango and Nakagami Kenji] (Tokyo: Otashuppan, 1996), 31.

through landscape—which were later compiled in a book *Nihon Kindai Bungaku no Kigen* (Origins of Modern Japanese Literature).<sup>186</sup> In this book, referencing landscape, Karatani discusses "what is literature" through Natsume Soseki's theory of literature.

The same may be said of "*kanbungaku*" (Chinese classical literature). Although Soseki uses the term to differentiate certain practices from those of modern literature, it is itself rooted in the consciousness that produced the category "literature" and has no existence apart from it. Literature makes the objectification of *kanbungaku* possible. In this sense to compare *kanbungaku* and English literature is to ignore the historicity of literature itself— of "literature" as a kind of "landscape". It is to fail to take into account the fact that, through the emergence of "literature" and "landscape", the very structure of our perceptions has been transformed. I would like to propose that the notion of "landscape" developed in Japan sometime during the third decade of the Meiji period. Of course, there were landscapes long before they were "discovered". But "landscapes" as such did not exist prior to the 1890s, and it is only when we think about it in this way that the layers of meaning entailed in the notion of a "discovery of landscape" become apparent.<sup>187</sup>

Referring to Soseki's discomfort with English literature, Karatani addresses the necessity to examine the historicity of origins of 'literature' and 'landscape'. He further discusses "emergence of landscape" through Kunikida Doppo's *Wasure enu Hitobito* (Unforgettable People).

This passage clearly reveals the link between landscape and an introverted, solitary condition. While the narrator can feel a solidarity such that "the boundary between myself and others" disappears in the case of people who are of no consequence to him, he is the very picture of indifference when it comes to those in his immediate surroundings. It is only within the "inner man", who appears to be indifferent to his external surroundings, that landscape is discovered. It is perceived by those who do not look "outside".<sup>188</sup>

In *Unforgettable People*, the story of an unknown literary writer, who talks about "unforgettable people" to a man he meets at an inn along the Tama River, people who would be forgotten under normal circumstances—as it is in fact that he just passed by them—are talked about as "forgettable people".

Karatani finds a fundamental inversion in this work, which sees humans as landscapes, further indicating the role of landscape in modern literature.

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<sup>186</sup> The English translation of *Nihon Kindai Bungaku no Kigen* was published as *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature* by Duke University Press in 1993, and has been translated into different languages. This book tends to be referenced with regard to theories of landscape in Japan. Importantly, however, this book was written based on a historical accumulation of existing theories of landscape, as well as those of literature. Also, a revised new edition, *Teibon Karatani Kojinshu Nihon Kindai Bungaku no Kigen* [Standard Edition: Karatani Kojin: Origins of Modern Japanese Literature] (Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 2004) was published.

<sup>187</sup> Karatani Kojin, *Nihon Kindai Bungaku no Kigen* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1980), 17. All quotations from the book hereafter are based on the English version. Karatani Kojin, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, trans. and ed., Brett de Bary (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993), 18-19.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

It is clear, then, that realism in modern literature established itself within the context of landscape. Both the landscapes and the "ordinary people" (what I have called people-as-landscapes) that realism represents were not "out there" from the start, but had to be discovered as landscapes from which we had become alienated.<sup>189</sup>

Furthermore, Karatani argues that the perception of subject and object as well as realism in literature derives from the landscapes.

Once a landscape has been established, its origins are repressed from memory. It takes on the appearance of an "object" which has been there, outside us, from the start. An "object," however, can only be constituted within a landscape. The same may be said of the "subject" or self. The philosophical standpoint which distinguishes between subject and object came into existence within what I refer to as "landscape." Rather than existing prior to landscape, subject and object emerged from within it.<sup>190</sup>

Furthermore, he argues that the landscape thus discovered during the modernization of Japan as a new concept, became a system as soon as it was born:

The most significant development in the third decade of the Meiji period was rather the consolidation of modern systems and the emergence of "landscape", not so much as a phenomenon contesting such systems, but as itself a system.<sup>191</sup>

It was remarkable that Karatani's theory of landscape, while introducing Freud and Marx, attempted to analyze the notion of landscape from theoretical and historical perspectives, with a focus on Japanese literature. It also shed light on Japan's warped modernity, and reexamined concepts such as State and modernity beyond the framework of theories of literature or those of landscape. While on one hand Karatani's discussion on the discovery of landscape in connection with 'interiority' or 'spirit' contributed significantly to existing theories of landscape, as well as to the history of literature and the modern history of Japan, it, on the other hand ended up diverting from what was at the core of Matsuda and others' landscape theory.<sup>192</sup> Whereas what was at stake for them was to pursue the ambivalent potential of the

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<sup>189</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>192</sup> There are few references with regard to the relations between Matsuda's landscape theory and Karatani's theory of landscape. Photography critic Kuraishi Shino argues on Nakahira comparing landscape theories between them. "I would imagine that a rise of politics=aesthetic-based landscape theory around 1970 led by Matsuda and others should be the basis for the achievements of discourses of the meta-theories of landscape that emerged in the latter half of 1907's represented by Hasumi and Karatani. It was photographer Nakahira Takuma who as one of the protagonists in the midst of this, was not only familiar with the deceptive process of landscape, but also accomplished self-deconstruction=self-realization by wrestling with landscapes." Kuraishi Shino, "*Fukei no*

concept of landscape, while aiming to identify landscapes as manifestations of power and dismantling them, Karatani introduced a framework of landscape=system=modernity for the purpose of tracing the origins of landscape.

[...] no one can describe as if having transcended the confine of landscape. I myself, in writing this essay, do not seek to break away from this "sphere." I seek simply to shed light on its historicity.<sup>193</sup>

Since the conceptualization of 'landscape = system' was originally the premise of Matsuda's landscape theory, landscape was discussed as central in the context of the then new radical movement and theory. As Karatani himself pointed out, the discovery of interiority was not synonymous with simple self-recognition or consciousness of existence, but was rather constituted for the first time in a homogeneous space or civil society.<sup>194</sup> Even though "interiority" was considered identical with "landscape" Karatani's theory of landscape was not necessarily in conflict with landscape theory derived from the context of collective movement, and it can be said in this sense, that both Matsuda and Karatani in part, had a common understanding of landscape. It is important to note however, that the discovery of landscape was discussed within a condition in which high consumer society was being established through the segmentation of groups or collective movements into individuals. Karatani's theory of landscape, albeit based on accumulated discussions by Matsuda and others, headed towards a completely different theoretical horizon, and the subsequent theories of landscape following this context returned to an investigation of landscapes before landscape theory.<sup>195</sup>

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*fukushu*" [Reviewing landscape], 2014. <https://morishitadaisuke.com/風景の復習-倉石信乃/> [Accessed 31 August, 2020]

<sup>193</sup> Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, 34. (I slightly modified the original translation) .

<sup>194</sup> Karatani, *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>195</sup> Though Karatani did not directly refer to Matsuda's landscape theory, he indirectly engaged in polemical debates. In the essay, "Jiritsu to kindaiteki jiga," [Autonomy and Modern Ego], *Jokyo* [Situation] (August 1970): 44-53, critic Kan Takayuki criticized Karatani, who, despite participating in the Anpo Struggle in 1960, thereafter came to deny the movement and turned to theory, along with also his theory of landscape. In response, Karatani refuted Kan's argument in "Jiritsuron no zentei," [Premise of the autonomy theory], *Gendai no Me* [Contemporary Eyes] (November 1970): 74-81, and Kan then further refuted in "Shiso niokeru," <shiyu no kankaku> [<Sense of private ownership> in Thoughts], *Jokyo* (February 1971): 91-102. Karatani also contributed essays on film for *Eiga Geijutsu* around 1970. It is presumed that Karatani was not unaware of this polemical debate, since *Eiga Geijutsu* was a major publication media for critiquing landscape theory by Matsuda. Also, Karatani subsequently used 'landscape' as an important concept. For instance, see Karatani Kojin, "*Murakami Haruki no 'Fuukei'— '1973 nen no*

Meanwhile, following Karatani's theory of landscape, literary and film and literary critic Hasumi Shigehiko discussed landscape in the context of the theory of representation.<sup>196</sup> He published the essay *Kyoiku sochi toshite no fukei* (Landscape as an educational device) in the April 1978 issue of *Tenbo* (Outlook), arguing the difficulty of speaking about landscape itself:

In other words, the landscape functions steadily as an educational apparatus that introduces what is thought to be a sensibility, along with imagination and thought, into a system of "knowledge" distribution, and regulates its exchange and distribution. Education is an incessant activity that divides existence into a system suitable for landscape as apparatus, and makes thought, sensitivity and imagination familiarize themselves to it. It is therefore obvious that the sensibility of being astonished or bored with the landscape will be properly incorporated into the narrative of beauty that the landscape as an apparatus continues telling. Existence does not interpret the landscape. The landscape interprets the existence. What 'landscape educates' means the process by which existence gradually becomes familiar with this deciphering movement by the landscape.<sup>197</sup>

Hasumi, similar to Matsuda and others recognized landscape as an apparatus of subsumption, however, like Karatani, only pointed out its structure and existence. Or, rather it can be said that Hasumi's proposal was that one should do no more than identifying landscape and pointing that out. Hasumi started his career as a film critic by participating in the film journal *Cinema 68*. During the second incarnation of *Eiga Hihyo*, when essays on Godard political films were dominant, Hasumi's criticism focused on a meticulous analysis of representation, and he was known for his essays on Godard's post-Dziga Vertov Group work, as well as more broadly, film criticism devoid of political references after the era of the movement. Hasumi's text and film analysis became a strong critical force at a time when much of the discourses was leaning toward capital 'P' politics, but its significance was lost sight of in the wake of high consumer society, when his theory was consumed more as a commodity.

The mid to late 1970's saw a resurgence of interest in landscape theories in various areas. For instance, in 1977, with the efforts of scientist Shiga Fujio (the son of Shiga Shigetaka), alpinist Yamazaki Yasuji, and critic Inose Naoki, the long-out-of-print *Nihon Fukeiron* (On Japanese Landscape) was

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*pinboru'*," [Landscape of Haruki Murakami—Pinball, 1973], *Kaien* (November and December 1989): 296-307 and 236-251.

<sup>196</sup> For the shift in the discussions of Godard from the Dziga Vertov Group period to after in Japan, see ed. Hirasawa Go, "*Kaidai*" [Bibliographical introduction], in *Bungei Bessatsu Godaru* [Art and Literature Extra Issue: Godard], (Tokyo: Kawadeshobosha, 2002), 85 and 197.

<sup>197</sup> Hasumi Shigehiko, *Hyoso Hihyo Sengen* [Manifesto for Surface Criticism] (Tokyo: Chikumashobo, 1979), 169.

reprinted in its original format, along with the booklet *Nihon Fukeiron Kaidai* (A Bibliographical introduction to 'On Japanese Landscape'), bringing a new appreciation to Shiga's theory of landscape. Agronomist and bureaucrat Katsuhara Fumio's *No no bigaku: Nihon fukeiron josetsu* (Aesthetics of farming: Introduction to the theory of Japanese landscape), a compilation of essays about the history and establishment of landscape in Japan that he had been writing since the mid-1970's, was published in 1979. In the essays he analyzed in detail the history of the landscape of rural areas of Japan, with a focus on Okuno as primal landscape, as well as theories of landscape from the past. These discussions, albeit interesting in historical, cultural, and literary sense, reverted to pre-Matsuda, et al. theories of 'Japanese' landscape. In fact, except in the domains of photography and film, in the landscape theory discussions that followed, there were a very limited number of discussions that referred to Matsuda's landscape theory, with the exception of Kato Norihiro's *Nihon Fukeiron* (Japanese Landscape Theory); Matsuda's landscape theory was again thrust into the background through this characteristically Japanese transition of the notions of landscape and theories of landscape.<sup>198</sup>

#### **14. Theory of Reportage (*Hodoron*)**

In May, 1971 Adachi and Wakamatsu were invited to Director's Week at the Cannes Film Festival for their film *Okasareta Byakui* (Violated Angels, 1967) and *Sex Jack*, together with Oshima for his *Man Who Left His Will on Film* and *Gishiki* (The Ceremony, 1971). On the return trip, they went to Beirut to produce a newsreel film as a 'text' for world revolution which depicted the everyday life of Arab guerillas, *Red Army/PFLP: Declarations of World War*, in collaboration with Shigenobu Fusako, a leader of the Japanese Red Army Faction, who was already in Beirut, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of

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<sup>198</sup> "Speaking of "landscape theory" in my recollection, what immediately comes to mind is actually that of critic Matsuda Masao around 1970, but when I read through some of the claims that are introduced therein, I understand that Matsuda's "landscape," which used to be often used as a counter-term to "situation" in those days, was deliberately employed as a word to indicate the aspect of reality that appears when "situation" are extracted from "the reality in front of us." Norihiro Kato, *Nihon Fukeiron* [Japanese Landscape Theory] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1990), 49.

Palestine (PFLP). It was in this film that they embarked on a theoretical shift from landscape theory to the theory of reportage.

A strategic theory is in our hands: "Propaganda immediately is 'information' and information serves to communicate truth. In addition, the best form of our (PFLP) truth is armed struggle. Therefore, it is armed struggle that is the best form of propaganda." Hence, the newsreel film must be presented as one of the strategic theories to be used in order to take hold of the truth to be communicated, the methods to communicate, and the language of propaganda=armed struggle from reality—and return them back as a language, again to reality, i.e. as an actual form of propaganda. Therefore, propaganda=armed struggle; propaganda = newsreel film. And the strategic theory for the manifesto of the world revolutionary front as newsreel film=propaganda=armed struggle must be lived. Our task is to determine whether our newsreel film can represent the language of truth or not; and given that it is the language of truth, how and where will the language have to be told? How will the manifesto have to be implemented? The fundamental questions of the cinema=movement have to be posed for language itself.<sup>199</sup>

Based on the statement by Ghassan Kanafani, a spokesperson for the PFLP, Adachi discusses the question of what are the 'newsreel films' that he creates. He then goes on to organize a screening movement (*joei undo*) and screening troop movement (*joei tai undo*) to seek new screening venues, rather than holding conventional theatrical screenings. Meanwhile, Matsuda refers to what newsreel film stands for in his essay on the *Red Army/PFLP: Declarations of World War*.

If the operating base for guerillas who hide in the mountainous terrain, where the borders of Lebanon, Syria and Jordan meet Israel, can be assumed as a front line, then it must be appropriate to say that plain, i.e., urban areas can be the so-called homefront for the guerillas. Based on this dichotomy, the composition would take shape in which Arab guerillas always stand at the front line as special strong men, to whom the refugees on the homefront supply aid. However, our newsreel film boldly overturns this common-sense, dichotomous conception: as part of their everyday lives, the masses behind the front line are trained to use guns. The young and old, adults and children, men and women, all study guns indoors and outdoors, day and night, as if it were a study group. At the front line as well, <guns> are repeatedly learned. Even if the frontline and the home front, from the viewpoint of Lenin's theory of organization, are considered to be analogous to the avant-garde and the masses, the circuit that connects the two will never be like some empty words written on a sheet of paper, that is, like a nationwide political newspaper. The front line and the home front communicate only by <guns>. The home front serves as a continuing supply line for the front line, and it's likely that this relationship would suddenly be reversed as needed at a specific time and space. In other words, the home front is also a potential battleground.<sup>200</sup>

While developing new theories of newsreel films and the theory of reportage, Matsuda also provides analysis in the context of landscape theory, such as the circumstances where the dichotomy

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<sup>199</sup> Adachi Masao, *Eiga eno senryaku* [Strategies for cinema] (Tokyo: Shobunsha 1974), 11-12.

<sup>200</sup> Matsuda, "Arabu gerira e mukau kamera ai" [Camera eyes towards Arab guerillas] in *Hakuchumu o ute*, 232.

between the front line and home front can no longer be validated. Matsuda pays attention to the fact that in Palestine, Adachi not only pointed his camera at militaristic spectacle, but also—albeit mediated by 'gun'—the quotidian landscape. This, in a sense, testifies to the fact that the transition in theoretical approach from landscape theory to the theory of reportage did not take place in a clear-cut manner: films that seemed to have acquired new forms of expression—through various cinematic experiments during the period of 'New Wave' and the season of politics that arose in the 60's—were being co-opted by conventional frameworks, such as in Hollywood and Moscow, (or the 'Big Four' film companies in Japan). Furthermore, television, as a new medium of communication, developed robustly, and its utility value, along with that of the existing print media was also being maximized by the State and capitalism. New tactics were required to prepare for the de-territorializing media war, or the information war against the existing mass media—including film and television—and thus the theory of reportage was proposed. As the *Red Army/PFLP* depicts both landscapes of military activities and everyday as equal, the transition from landscape theory to theory of reportage should not be said to mark the introduction of a completely new theoretical proposition, but rather should be reframed as part of the radical development of media theory, which initially had its root in landscape theory. Extending from street to landscape, from landscape to media, the ontological and philosophical horizons of landscape theory led to a more practical theory of reportage, by way of experiences of popular armed struggle in everyday life in Palestine. When, with the arrival of the 70's, media and advertisements became the forefront for State power and capitalism, Matsuda was to further radicalize the confrontation against them as new landscapes.

Contrary to the existing media, convert it into a new form of media, in other words, how is it possible to convert the apparatus of transmission=reception of oppression into the apparatus of transmission=reception of revolt? There is only one answer. It only exists within the act of activating this equal sign <=> set between transmission and reception, from 'codified information' to 'gesture.'<sup>201</sup>

Contrary to the existing media -- media means something urban organized by gestures, in other words, the expression of the popular revolt itself. When violence as something ineffable on the

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<sup>201</sup> Matsuda Masao, "*Media to wa gyakuni media ni,*" in *Fukanosei no media* [Impossibility of media] (Tokyo: Tabata Shoten 1973), 312.

individual level is connected to the network in the city, it will flow into a revolt of the highest level in the existing media, in other words, into a collective level.<sup>202</sup>

Matsuda suggests that, instead of a language that has already become part of the apparatus, what Bertolt Brecht called, *Gestus*, or gesture that still remains un-co-opted, should be organized horizontally as a network, through the appropriation of information media. The subsequent development of his theory of reportage were compiled in *Fukanosei no media* (Media of Impossibility), wherein a fair number of essays on the theory of reportage were written in parallel with landscape theory. Originally an essay, *Media of Impossibility*, which also became the title of the book was published in the June, 1969 issue of Design Criticism, preceding the publication of Matsuda's first essay on landscape theory. In this essay Matsuda introduces the definition of what he refers to as 'direct' or 'immediate' media (*chokusetsusei no media*), which includes *aji-bira* (New Left propaganda handout), *tatekanban* (signboard), graffiti, and speeches in Zenkyoto movement, as opposed to other 'indirect' mass media, such as printing and broadcast for large-scale communication. While the former praises and consumes expressions of the movement in terms of form, he proposes the importance of the notion of '*rigen*' (reverse expression), which is the opposite of '*hyogen*' (expression) as the other side of the same coin, calling for the practice and theory of revolutionary media created by it.

What is needed now is not to discuss an "information revolution" or "consciousness revolution" in terms of 'original or copy', or 'direct or indirect' as in the domain of media theory, but to create "revolutionary information" or "revolutionary consciousness."<sup>203</sup>

In his discussion of the Dziga Vertov Group's *Lotte in Italia* in October 1970, based on the concept of 'news report' proposed by Godard, Matsuda examined his methodology.

Godard's method, by the way, which went beyond the traditional dichotomy of fiction and nonfiction, drama and documentary, and aimed for the fundamental reorganization of the news report by sublating reportage-like methods, was frequent use of <black screen>, which I must say, like Egg of Columbus, was a straightforward method that made everyone dumbfounded, regardless of whether one was a writer, critic or audience.<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> Ibid. , 313

<sup>203</sup> Matsuda Masao, "Fukanosei no media" [Media of impossibility], *Dezain Hihyo*, no.9 (June 1969): 23; *Fukanosei no media*, 57-71.

<sup>204</sup> Matsuda Masao, "*Hodo no mosaku*" [Search for reportage], Ibid., 92. For Godard's concept of news report, see Jean Luc Godard and Alain Jouffroy, "Le guérillero et le savant", *Le Fait public*, no.2 (Janvier, 1969).

Given the fact that Matsuda's argument on Godard's concept of news report led to landscape theory, or otherwise it proceeded in parallel with landscape theory, leading up to the full-fledged development of the theory of reportage, landscape theory and the theory of media are inseparably connected, and they and their development should be reexamined together. Matsuda looks back on the development of the theory of reportage as follows.

Together with Adachi Masao, I established the concept of <news report> (*hodo*) as a key word that opened up our "strategic outlook". With the interpenetration of deskwork and fieldwork, we attempted to shift from <landscape theory> to <theory of reportage>. From the beginning there was no predecessor to rely on. We had no choice but to search for the location of the existence of <reporters> during the transition period, mediated only by the attempts of the Dziga Vertov Group by Godard et al.<sup>205</sup>

Though Matsuda had already discussed media and journalism through his involvement with the movement, it can be said that the conceptualization of reportage or news report was carried out in the process of discussing the Dziga Vertov Group, as well as the *Red Army/PFLP*. Meanwhile, this concept was put into practice when Matsuda became editor-in-chief for the second incarnation of *Eiga Hihyo*.<sup>206</sup>

## 15 Cinema=Movement

During the same period, concurrent with landscape theory and the theory of reportage, Matsuda and Adachi developed the theory of movement films (*undoeigaron*), or theory of "cinema=movement." Reviewing significant events in film history, such as the advent of the New Wave in the late fifties to early sixties, and changes within the major film companies, including their commercial aspects, they intended to advance a new form of cinema based on the movement-based cinematic current, particularly centered on political documentary films in the wake of '68. Looking back on the circumstance of cinema in the seventies, they first proposed the term, 'movement film' (*eiga no undo*) in an essay titled, *Nihon*

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<sup>205</sup> Matsuda, "Atogaki" [Afterwords], in *Fukanosei no media*, 317.

<sup>206</sup> In fact, Matsuda has clearly defined this film journal as a news report weapon. See Matsuda Masao, "Bekko ni susunde issho ni ute" [Move forward separately and shoot together] in *Eiga Hihyo* [Film Criticism], no.14 (November 1971): 12-13. In addition, in a series of discussions on reportage such as this, the development of Tsumura's media theory, made possible through his analysis of Brecht and Vertov Group, was extremely important. See Tsumura Takashi, "Kakumei eno kenri" [Right to Revolution] (Tokyo: Serikashobo, 1971); *Media no Seiji*, Ibid.

*eiga to sekai eiga* (Japanese cinema and world cinema) in the December 14th, 1970 issue of the journal *Shukan Dokushojin* (Reader's Weekly).

Thus, among the 'auteurist films,' we can exclusively praise Oshima Nagisa's *The Man Who Left His Will on Film* only because it mobilized 'young power,' including the use of Hara Masataka, who is only nineteen years old, as the script writer, and sought where a connection with new energy nurtured not by <company films> but only by <auteurist films> lies in the development of the image itself. Undoubtedly here, there is a burgeoning sign of trying to step out from <auteurist films> to <movement films>. I dare to stake the 70's Japanese cinema exclusively on this one point, even though I will be criticized as being sectarian. The times we live peacefully in the domain of the auteurist film is gone. How can the <author> as an individual be engaged in <movement> as a collective? Based on the evaluation criteria set up in this way, meaning of Ogawa Shinsuke and his group, who continue to film "Sanrizuka" even at a time where Zenkyoto Movement is entering a stage of retreat, as well as Wakamatsu Production, who have continued to create only <auteurist films> since the early sixties will be reconsidered.<sup>207</sup>

While important Japanese filmmakers were declining commercially as well as artistically, Matsuda argued that it was only Oshima's *The Man Who Left His Will on Film* that, despite being an auteurist film, seems to have potential of leading to this idea of movement film. Furthermore he claimed that movement films should be understood not only in Japan, but also from the international perspective. The "Critical Front" was being formed, and cinema movement was called for as a critique. The term 'movement film' became official around that time. Matsuda further presented the concept of 'cinema=movement'<sup>208</sup> in his essays on Wakamatsu Production and Ogawa Shinsuke. In addition, with *Eiga Hihyo* as a forum for discussion, Matsuda further tried to theorize the movement film, while actively promoting representative filmmakers of new documentary film movements, including Nihon Documentarist Union, Hoshi Kiichi, Onozawa Naruhiko and others, who strongly criticized older filmmakers and groups.

In other words, cinema=movement means to promote the dismantling of "company films," to sublimate "auteur's films" and fearlessly step forward into "cinema of movement". If the 50's were the age of 'company films', and the 60's were the age of 'auteur films', precisely the 70's must be the age of 'movement films'. Also, as if corresponding to the fact that the auteur became the harbinger of the transitional period from the fifties to the sixties, 'criticism' clearly became aware of its role as harbinger in a new transitional period from the sixties to the seventies, and if the fact that the criticism has actively continued to present issues for the independence of "auteur films"

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<sup>207</sup> Matsuda, *Hakuchumu o Ute*, 84.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

is confirmed, as the publication of *Eiga Hiho* was unmistakably its index, the answer to the question of who should take the initiative in this 70's, i.e. in the decade of 'movement films' is now self-evident. Namely, now is the time for the 'audience' to make an appearance. At last, the hiatus of the established cine-club movement at the end of the 60's is about to be broken. Movements of countless anonymous audiences are swelling and rising like a flood tide by myriad ingenuities. The organization theory in masquerade (*kaso no soshikiron*) -which has been introduced but suspended since the sixties, with an aim to activate the cycle of cinema=movement, by having each part of creation-criticism-distribution at full operation – has now ripened to the stage of realization by the rise of new activists in the distribution part.<sup>209</sup>

Whereas during the 60's, Matsuda—who had been responsible for launching the movement for independent productions, which was a counter to major film companies, and had then rejected auteurist independent filmmakers such as Oshima and Wakamatsu, who he had previously supported—in the 70's now gave significant importance to the role of audience in the screening movement, thereby making a crucially important step towards cinema of movement. It is important to note here, that Matsuda's argument involves the fundamental question of 'who is the author', not only in film but in art. The hierarchy in film production, with director, producer and actors on the top—even more prominent in commercial films—was to be eliminated, and re-acquiring cinema's collective potential or collective creativity was sought. This of course does not mean that film and art should be subordinated to politics. It was rather an attempt to redefine a new possibility for cinema through a collaborative endeavor between the *auteurs*, critics and the audience on equal footing. Clearly, in this sense "cinema=movement" was declared, rather than maintaining clear borders between cinema and movement, and between politics and cinema.

As I mentioned earlier, due to the sudden firing of Suzuki Seijun from Nikkatsu and the studio's refusal of film rentals for his film retrospective scheduled by Cine-club Study Group in 1968, the Suzuki Seijun Joint Struggle Committee was organized. Centering around the Cine-club Study Group, a wide spectrum of movement groups were formed by filmmakers affiliated with major film companies, independent production companies, including Sozoshu and Wakamatsu Production, documentary groups of Ogawa Production and others, critics, student film groups and independent screening organizations in different regions - since the Communist Party-affiliated labor union at Nikkatsu was taking a political

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<sup>209</sup> "*Undo no eiga' notamen*" [For 'cinema of movement'] in *Hakuchumu o ute*, 219-220.

stance against Seijun - their alliance bore the aspects of *Zenkyoto* movement in the film world. Through discussions such as this, Adachi developed his own theory of film movement.

At times by renouncing myself as auteur, the attempt was made to exclusively organize the energy of the movement that is immediately attributed to the work. However, unless the auteur's act, which always betrays the work, is firmly rooted in him/herself consciously as a creative activist for changing reality, I believe that, as far as renunciation goes, the movement can be conceived only within the illusion. It is on this standpoint that we claim the ethical ideal of auteur/activist (*sakka soku undosha*).<sup>210</sup>

In the description of the screening movement for *Closed Vagina* at the Nihon University Film Club, Adachi claims that it is impossible to acquire the substance of the movement simply by renouncing the auteur, and proposes the notion 'auteur/activist', an expression under formation leading to the equation 'cinema=movement'. Rather than either auteur or activist, or art or politics, it is the concept of connecting everything equally—genres of expression, *auteurs*, spectators, culture and revolution—that Matsuda and Adachi created out of a series of struggles they had experienced against capital 'P' politics or vanguardism. The theory cinema=movement was crucial for supporting landscape theory and landscape films, in the sense that it sought a cinematic expression that was collective, anonymous, and de-subjectivizing; and practically and aesthetically—in the sense that it sharply critiqued existing methodologies of cinematic expression—sought new forms and content.

Interestingly, the theory behind new movement films like this unfolded in various forms, as if echoing the swell of anti-establishment movements throughout the world from the late sixties onwards. For instance, the Dziga Vertov Group, formed by Godard and Jean-Pierre Gorin argued that there are three categories in film: imperialistic films, revisionist films and militant films, which were defined respectively as Hollywood and Moscow films, auteur films, and truly revolutionary films.

During the projection of a militant film, the screen is no more than a blackboard, the wall of a school offering concrete analysis of a concrete situation.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> Adachi Masao, "Izaya hajimen" ["We shall begin"], *Suzuki Seijun mondai kyoto kaigi hokoku*, [Suzuki Seijun Joint Struggle League Report], no. 4 (1<sup>st</sup> December 1968): 6-9.

<sup>211</sup> Ed., Alain Bergala, *Jean-Luc Godard par Jean-Luc Godard: Tome 1 1950-1984* (Paris: Cahiers du Cinema, 1998), 344

Fernando Solanas in Argentina and Octavio Getino in Spain defined Hollywood cinema as first cinema, European cinema as second cinema, and third world cinema as third cinema. Using the concept of 'cinema as a gun' they asserted that in Latin America, holding a camera was synonymous with holding a gun, and that cinema did not remain merely cinema, but became a weapon aiming for liberation from American neocolonialism.<sup>212</sup> Meanwhile, Cuban film director Julio Garcia Espinoza contrasted the third cinema against the first and second cinemas of technical and artistic mastery, and declared that an Imperfect Cinema is an anti-establishment, partisan, committed cinema. Likewise, the Bolivian Ukamau group defined the first and second cinema as bourgeois cinema, and third cinema as the people's revolutionary and collective cinema, while Glauber Rocha in Brazil emphasized the aesthetic of hunger in Third World cinema, all of which were defined respectively within a specific local, historical and political context in Latin America.<sup>213</sup>

In addition, Rocha appeared in the Vertov Group's *Wind from the East* (1969) and Godard supported the European screening of *Hour of the Furnaces* (1968) by Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino. In Japan, a movement for screening the works of the Dziga Vertov Group was developed by Oshima's Sozosha, Matsuda, Adachi and Tsumura. For this particular screening, a Japanese dubbed version was created, and in addition to Sozosha-affiliated actors and real activists, Adachi participated as a voice-actor in *Struggle in Italy*. The voiceover narration then established a link to *Red Army/PFLP*.<sup>214</sup> In addition, since the cameraman for Godard's *Jusqu'à la victoire* came to Japan immediately before Adachi

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<sup>212</sup> Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino's "Toward a third cinema" was translated into Japanese for *Eiga Hiho*, and their theory was often introduced by Matsuda and others. Solanas and Getino, "Toward a third cinema" in *Reviewing Histories: Selections from New Latin American Cinema*, ed. Coco Fusco, (NY: Hallwalls Contemporary Arts Center, 1987), 56-81.

<sup>213</sup> Glauber Rocha was introduced to Japan by ATG at the time, and as a representative filmmaker of the Third World Cinema. His texts were also translated into Japanese. Oshima also wrote about his interactions with Rocha, Godard and Gorin in Paris and Venice. See Oshima Nagisa, *Waga Nihon Seishin Kaizo Keikaku* [My plan for reconstructing Japanese spirit], (Tokyo: Sanpo, 1972), 38-43.

<sup>214</sup> *Lotte in Italia* was narrated by female activist and member of *Kurotento* (the Black Tent Theatre) Nakajima Aoi, Adachi, Hasegawa Genkichi cinematographer for Yoshida Kiju's *Erosu purasu gyakusatsu* [*Eros + Massacre*, 1969] and Iwabuchi Sumu of Wakamatsu Production. *British Sounds* and *Pravda* was narrated by Komatsu Hosei of Sozosha, Yoshida Hideko, an actress from the Black Tent theatre— who played a Japanese Korean girl in *Nihonshunkako* (*Sing a Song of Sex*, 1967). *The Red Army/PFLP* was narrated by Toura Rokko of Sozosha and Nakajima, Matsuda and Iwabuchi. Oshima's short film, *Yunbogi no nikki* (*Diary of Yunbogi*, 1965) was narrated by Komatsu.

and his peers entered Lebanon, information relevant to the filming was known to have been exchanged. On the other hand, the second incarnation of *Eiga Hihyo* often introduced the Vertov Group and other Latin-American revolutionary film theories, to supplement discussions in Japan. Examples of actual exchanges could be cited, but more important than the attribution of influences based on direct personal relations, theories, thoughts, or films are the movements of invisible solidarity that superseded these, or, a kind of global simultaneity. Matsuda expresses it as follows:

I, however would like to see a genuine arrangement, in which methodological agonies analogous to those color patches of paints that were slammed too carelessly on the canvas in *Le Vent d'est*, have to pass through when they are finally about to crystallize into a single direction inside Godard himself. If it is in the case of Adachi Masao, Sasaki Mamoru or I, instead of a black screen, 'landscape' will definitely be proposed. However the problem does not lie within a simple dichotomous opposition between a black screen and a landscape. Indeed, what is at stake is [the question], what is the mediation between the two, whose methodological agonies are shared in global simultaneity? <sup>215</sup>

What is remarkable about the vanguard filmmakers of this era is the extremely close proximity between them, because of a strong awareness of the issue of revolution that they shared in common, beyond national, regional and linguistic boundaries. However, similar to the development of landscape theory and the theory of reportage, 'invisible' networks such as this were also forced to retreat in the face of the maturation of the capitalist system. With the return of major film companies and auteurism, films were to be consumed as commodities themselves.

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<sup>215</sup> Matsuda, *Fukanosei no media*, 93

## **Chapter Three A: On Adachi Masao**

In this chapter I will discuss Adachi Masao who co-directed *A.K.A. Serial Killer* and *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War*, both of which were crucially important films in the development of landscape theory. First, I will trace the historical and cultural background relevant to Adachi's artistic and political formation, then, by analyzing *A.K.A. Serial Killer* in light of film theory—as well as referencing the process of its production—landscape theory will be critically examined. This will be followed by an analysis of *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War* based on theoretical developments from landscape theory to the theory of reportage.

### **1. Film Historical Background**

Adachi entered Nihon University's Art Department in 1959, and joined the film study group. *Nihon Daigaku Geijutsu Gakubu Eiga Kenkyukai* (Nihon University Art Department Film Study Club) was established in 1957 and just one year later produced *Kugi to kutsushita no taiwa* (Conversation Between Nail and Socks, 1958). This film was produced collectively, with all members participating equally, regardless of roles such as production, directing/scripting, filming, lighting, assistant director, etc., and thus the hierarchical production style with the director on top was eliminated. Also it was made as a strictly independent production of the Film Study Club, deliberately not seeking a profit through screenings, and eliminating any commercial requirements that might arise. In addition, though the titles 'director' and 'script writer' of the initial film can be ascribed to Hirano Katsumi and Ko (Taniyama) Hiroo, the production was strictly based on a collective effort, and was not attributed to participants' specific names.

The currents of Japanese independent and experimental film which started in the late 1950's can be explored first by categorizing them into three groups: first, student films centering around the Nihon University Film Study Club—with Hirano, Ko, Jonouchi Motoharu, Adachi and Okishima Isao etc., the Tomon Scenario Study Club of Waseda University (Shinaken)—including Yamatoya Atsushi and Tanaka Yozo, the Kyoto University Film Study Club— Tanabe Yasushi and others, and the Kansei Gakuin

University Film Study Club—including Yamano Koichi. The second group is represented by films of Teshigahara Hiroshi, Terayama Shuji, *Jikken kobo* (Experimental Laboratory) of Yamaguchi Katsuhiro, the *Gurafikku Shudan* (Graphic collective) of Otsuji Kiyoji, etc., who were influenced by contemporary avant-garde art discourse, and promoted by critics such as Hanada Kiyoteru and Takiguchi Shuzo. The third group consists of personal films by filmmakers such as Obayashi Nobuhiko and Takabayashi Yoichi, who shot on 8mm and 16mm film. In addition, filmmakers such as Tsuchimoto Noriaki, Ogawa Shinsuke, and Iwasa Hisaya from Iwanami Eiga productions had a connection to *Ao no kai* (Blue Group).

Teshigahara Hiroshi, who belonged to the second group, formed “Cinema 57” with Hani Susumu, Matsuyama Zenzo and others, and they collectively produced *Tokyo 1958* in 1958. This collective—consisting of filmmakers and critics—had been known for organizing independent film screening events, but decided to produce the film in an attempt to get into experimental film festivals abroad. Though that was the only film they produced as a group, it was an exceptional example of exploring the new possibility of producing and screening a film without any commercial basis at the Sogetsu Art Center. The role of Sogetsu Art Center, established in the same year, was particularly noteworthy in the domain of experimentalism in all fields of art, including film, exemplified by its early introduction of John Cage and Fluxus to Japan by Yoko Ono.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, in the fifties, various strains of criticism took shape concerning the theory and practice of postwar art, with a focus on the fine arts. In film, the theoretical and practical developments began to emerge in 1957, the year the magazine *Eiga Hyoron* (Film criticism) was published by Kasu Sanpei, and in 1958, when *Eiga to hihyo no kai* (Film and criticism societies)—in which people like Oshima and Yoshida, who at the time were working as assistant directors, participated—came into being. Furthermore, the magazine *Kiroku Eiga* (Documentary film) was issued by *Kiroku eiga sakka kyokai* (Association of Documentary Filmmakers), led by Noda Shinkichi and Matsumoto Toshio. The theory—aiming for a fusion of avant-garde and documentary—was put into practice with Matsumoto's *Anpo joyaku* (Japan-US Security Treaty, 1959), with *Documentary Film* at the center of the debate. Meanwhile Oshima and Yoshida made their debuts with *Ai to kibo no machi* (A

Town of love and hope, 1959) and *Rokudenashi* (Good for nothing, 1960) respectively. However, the works clashed violently with theory and criticism. This development can be said to have had a big influence on independent filmmakers, but at the same time it is a fact that films such as *Conversation between Nail and Socks* and *Tokyo 1958* preceded them, so rather than a one-way influence, we can say that it is appropriate to understand the work as part of a larger movement, with the late 1950s as its turning point.

1958 was also an important year in terms of the film industry: attendance at the cinema reached over 1.2 billion, the largest attendance in the history of Japanese cinema. In 1960 there was a peak of 548 films produced and shown on 7,457 screens, thanks to the establishment of a network among Japan's six major film companies—including a system for screenings, serial works being produced by the so-called 'great masters,' and the rapid advance of rival independent productions. After that, however—partly due to the emergence of the new medium of television—the number of moviegoers and theaters steadily decreased, and the major companies began to downsize.

Meanwhile, following Oshima and Yoshida several directors made their debuts at Shochiku: Shinoda Masahiro with *Koi no katamichi kippu* (One way ticket for love, 1960), Takahashi Osamu with *Kanojo dake ga shitte iru* (Only she knows, 1960), Tamura Tsutomu with *Akunin shigan* (The Samurai Vagabonds/Desire to be a bad man, 1960), and Morikawa Eitaro with *Bushido Muzan* (The Tragedy of Bushido, 1960). Soon they were called the Shochiku Nouvelle Vague by journalists, as a comparison to French directors who had made their first films at a young age, such as Francois Truffaut, Jean-Luc Godard, Claude Chabrol and Louis Malle. However, as Oshima pointed out, these filmmakers were actually employees of film companies and made films for a living. In this sense it is not accurate to compare them with new wave filmmakers of the world (including France)—it is only because the major film companies wanted to find their way out of a business slump and draw new audiences that they turned to auterism. Examples of this are not limited to Shochiku, but can also be seen in Toho's promotion of Sugawa Eizo and Onchi Hideo.

On the other hand, Nakahira Ko had depicted the lusty rebellion of youth, selecting Ishihara Yujiro for the lead role in *Kurutta Kajitsu* (Crazy fruit, 1956), accelerating the Sun Tribe-boom (*Taiyozoku bumu*), which had been engendered by Yujiro's older brother Ishihara Shintaro's novel *Taiyo no kisetsu* (Season of the sun, 1956). Furthermore, with *Kuchizuke* (Kisses, 1957) Masamura Yasuzo, who had studied at the Centro Sperimentale in Italy, similarly had conceived a new image of youngsters who laid bare their desires and evoked a lot of sympathy. In retrospect, it could be said that it is these films that led the way for the Shochiku Nouvelle Vague. Of course, since the protagonists of the so-called "sun-tribe" films were bourgeois youth, there is a significant class difference from films by Oshima and other similar filmmakers. In addition, this way of appointing young directors was due to various internal struggles among young assistant directors within the film companies, and this is undeniably important in the context of film history and the film industry. However, if we want to strictly review the concept of 'new wave' it seems more appropriate to discuss Adachi and his peers associated with Nihon University Film Study Club, Teshigawara and Obayashi, and the filmmakers surrounding them, since they came from outside the existing Japanese film system.<sup>216</sup>

As the 1960 security treaty approached, The Nihon University Film Study Club documented the struggle constantly. All of the Film Study club members joined the protest as volunteers so that the struggles could be portrayed from the point of view of participants. The resulting work negates the notion of a completed work, and begets instead a methodology in which the presentation of the work is part of the process of the action and struggle. After the *Anpo* struggles, five people, including Jonouchi and Adachi, established VAN *Eiga Kagaku Kenkyujo* (VAN Film Science Research Center) at Ogikubo in Tokyo as a place to both live and produce films together, along with artist Yoshimuras Masunobu's studio of Neo Dada Organizers, which was formed by Yoshimura, Shinohara Ushio, Akasegawa Genpai and a

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<sup>216</sup> See Oshima Nagisa, *Sengo eiga: Hakai to sozo* [Postwar Cinema: Destruction and Creation] (Tokyo: Sanichishobo, 1963); Yoshida Kiju, *Jikohitei no ronri: Sozoryoku ni yoru henshin* [Logic of Self-denial: Metamorphosis through Creativity] (Tokyo: Sanichishobo, 1970); Ishido Toshiro, *Taida eno chohatsu* [A provocation to indolence] (Tokyo: Sanichishobo, 1966); Takahashi Osamu, *Kenran taru Kagee: Ozu Yasujiro* [Brilliant Shadow Picture: Ozu Yasujiro] (Tokyo: Bungeishunju, 1982); Onchi Hideo, *Kinuta Satsueijo to boku no seishun* [Kinuta Film Studio and My Adolescence] (Tokyo: Bungeishunju, 1999).

few others. The VAN Film Science Research Center became a space of communication where not only filmmakers, but people from all modes of expression—including arts, photography, music, theater, and design—could meet, and the joint experiment between VAN and the *Kyosanshugisha domei* (Communist league) i.e. BUND, the new left groups, was conducted. Many Nihon University Film Study Club members also got involved in BUND at Nihon University, and, equating expression with vanguard practice in politics, Jonouchi, Kanbara Hiroshi and his peers began documenting the *Anpo* struggle from the side of the movement early on. The footage of the struggle was screened as *Dokumento 6·15* (Document 6·15, 1961) at the 6/15 memorial assembly hosted by *Zengakuren* (All Students Federation) in '61. While executive board members of BUND called for the cancellation of the assembly based on a policy change, VAN took a stance against the cancellation, attempting to make an artistic intervention against the decision. Adachi reminisced about the day of the assembly and the screening of the film:

As the open assembly moved forward and the memorial speeches continued, finally the film was screened. The excitement of the images temporarily absorbed the atmosphere inside the memorial site, and a chant of "We fight" began in harmony with the brave figures from the student demonstrations. Meanwhile when the leaders of the All Student League repeatedly chanted "We must fight!" at the outdoor site, everyone said, "Right on!" and began to focus. The screening of the film and the sound, which was initially designed to be a call and response session, with two tracks of comments which should be played correspondingly fell apart, and some of the sound went indoors and others went outside the venue, continuing to venomously agitate the students, and when a communist party song was played in a strange chorus, "Bbbbuy Japan Press Weekly!" the students indoors shouted "Nonsense!" and took over the podium, whereas the students who only heard the comments supporting dispersing outdoors shouted "do not disperse!" and rushed inside, forming a line. They all began to shout in unison "All Students League, fight," and "We keep fighting!" The momentum reached a height at which it became unstoppable. The VAN group cheered with excitement "we did it! Let's get out of here!" then quickly collected films and tape recorders, and ran off, dispersing.<sup>217</sup>

Despite the fact that it was a memorial assembly for Kanba, who was killed in front of the Diet during the protest, as well as a memorial of the *Anpo* struggle, rather than showing a 'documentary' film, an inter-media experiment based on the concept of a one-time happening was carried out, wherein scenes reenacting police violence were symbolically inserted in documentary footage, and western paintings

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<sup>217</sup> Adachi Masao, "Subete wa 'VAN eiga kagaku kenkyujo' kara hajimatta," [It all began with the VAN Film Science Research Center] in *Underground Film Archives*, ed. Hirasawa Go (Tokyo: Kawadeshoboshinsha, 2001), 98.

were projected on top of the screen with slides, while objects were dangling from the ceiling, and two different and conflicting soundtracks were played, clashing against each other in the hall. As a result the hall was turned into utter confusion, and the order to disperse was postponed. With happenings such as this, the assembly became a form of collective expression. Even though VAN was accused of being a modernist revisionist group by the BUND leaders, they did accomplish an artistic intervention in politics.<sup>218</sup> Importantly, however what is referred to as art here was not posited in terms of a dichotomy between art and politics, or the juxtaposition of the two, but an attempt at art=politics. It could be said that the practice of art=politics was demonstrated even more clearly at a symbolic space like the *Zengakuren* assembly, rather than at movie theaters or galleries.

Also, born out of such experimental currents as this were the LSD public experiment by Nihon University Film Study Club, a happening event called *Soko Zero* (Zero de conduite), and black mass ceremony. Also in 1963, VAN produced *Sain* (Closed vagina) in which feelings of blockage and stagnation after the defeat of the 1960 *Anpo* struggle were symbolized by an absent vagina, and as a performance happening/screening *Sain no gi* (Ritual for Closed Vagina) in Kyoto the following year. On the initiative of Adachi, Jonouchi, artists Akasegawa, Kazakura Sho, musicians Tone Yasunao and Kosugi Takehisa from *Gurupu Ongaku* (Group Music) and the like participated, and extreme and radical happenings took place at an ‘evening of the ceremony’ wherein a piano in the hall was played with a whip and eventually destroyed, some papers were scattered and set fire, and so on. On the day of the ceremony, one of the film reels was stolen by an avant-garde political group called *Hanzaisha domei* (Criminals league), so the screening itself was impossible. However it was assumed that that incident was part of the event, and the event went on, eventually culminating in one big uproarious brawl, in which the whole audience participated. In the end the commotion got so intense that the venue was surrounded by riot police, and was raided.

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<sup>218</sup> There was a dispute in *Nihon dokusho shimbun* [The Japan Reader’s Newspaper]. One of the writers was Matsuda Masao writing under his penname Hirosawa Mina. See “Dismantling the Convention of the Dark—Critique on 6.15 Document” and “What Should Be Seen?—Again on 6.15 Document” in *Japanese Expanded Cinema and Intermedia: Critical Texts of the 1960s*, ed. Hirasawa Go, Ann-Tasch Adachi and Julian Ross (Berlin: Archive Books, 2020), 97-104.

Meanwhile, just before this event, Akasegawa exhibited a very realistic imitation 1,000 yen note as a work of art, and a police report about a counterfeit yen note had been sent to the Public Prosecutors Office. Other currents of radical movement besides the New Left were also beginning to take place, such as the Independent School and Tokyo Action Front under the leadership of Matsuda Masao and Yamaguchi Kenji, in which Adachi and the others participated. Such attempts to traverse the space between art and politics—whether artistic or political—were faced with a new stage in which there was direct confrontation with the police and the state, and the concept of direct action became a primary focus. Though it could be said that *the Ritual for Closed Vagina* presented ‘chaos’ which went beyond even the framework of art and politics, that in itself made the development of Document 6·15 possible, and was symbolic as it embodied the philosophy of the VAN group as a nexus of communication.

## **2. On Adachi Masao**

After dropping out of Nihon University, Adachi, centering on VAN, got involved in production sites for film and TV, and in 1966 he joined Wakamatsu Production which run by Wakamatsu Koji in order to pursue further experiments in the field of cinema. In the previous year, Wakamatsu had caused a sensation when his film *Kabe no naka no himegoto* (The Secret behind the wall, 1965), despite being a ‘pink film,’ was officially entered in the competition at the Berlin International Film Festival, and he was suddenly thrust into the spotlight as a leader of dissident films. At that time, in order to be submitted to the three major film festivals, Japanese films had to be examined and approved by the Motion Picture Producers Association of Japan, who would then select and recommend films to represent Japan. Since this low-budget pink movie—which had been submitted through a distribution company in Germany—pushed aside the official recommended works and became the representative film of Japan, not just did the film industry react strongly against it, but the controversy grew to the point that the Japanese

government boycotted the film festival and campaigned against the film, calling it a national disgrace.<sup>219</sup>

The so-called 'pink film' began as low-budget soft-core pornography in 1962, and developed into its own genre. With the existing film industry in decline, this new form of independent film production and entertainment achieved commercial success, surpassing the five major film companies' productions. However, due to the explicit sexual content of pink films, they were criticized by the existing film industry, as well as by conscientious *culturati*, even leading to a police intervention and crackdown. Despite the fact that pink films were produced with an disproportionately low budget of 3 million yen, Wakamatsu took advantage of the system of mass-producing and quick shooting, and began producing his films, which reflected political and social situations, under the aegis of the pink film system. Wakamatsu Production is also known for many talented collaborators among its production team. From around the time of *The Secret Behind the Wall*, Yoshizawa Takao and Terashima Mikio from *Gekidan Shinen* (New Drama Theatrical Company), who collaborated with Oshima on the theater movement during their time at Kyoto University and made appearances in Oshima's *Nihon no yoru to kiri* (Night and Fog in Japan, 1960) became the script writers. Also Yamatoya and Sone Chusei, who were to become the core members of script writers collective, *Guryu Hachiro* by Suzuki Seijun, also joined the production team from Nikkatsu. Finally, with Nihon University Film Study Group, including Adachi and Okishima who joined in '66, Wakamatsu production developed into a creative movement whose guerilla style productions spawned a number of radical works which went far beyond the framework of the Pink Film genre. Immediately after his participation in Wakamatsu Production, Adachi produced a number of scripts for Wakamatsu, including numerous masterpieces and controversial films such as *The Embryo Hunts in Secret* depicting a sado-masochistic world enacted by a couple in a locked room, *Nihon boko ankokushi ijosha no chi* (Dark History of Violence in Japan: The Blood of a Pervert, 1967), in which the story of four generations of a family afflicted by 'cursed' blood is overlapped with the Japanese Emperor system, and *Violated Angels*, an improvisational play based on an incident in Chicago in which several nurses

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<sup>219</sup> Roland Domenig, "Shikakerareta Scandal,"[Planned scandal], *Wakamatsu Koji: Hankenryoku no shozo* [Wakamatsu Koji: A portrait of Anti-authority], ed. Yomota Inuhiko and Hirasawa Go (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2007),42-76.

were murdered, featuring Kara Juro, the standard-bearer of the small underground theater movement.

Adachi made his debut as a director with *Datai* (Abortion, 1966) following Yamatoya's directorial debut, *Uragiri no kisetsu* (Season of Betrayal, 1966), in which the fundamental issue of violence is addressed against the background of the Vietnam War. *Abortion* is a parodic sex education film with a gynecologist named Maruki Sadao – a pun on Marquis de Sade, struggles to develop an ultimate contraceptive device for sexual pleasure. From around 1968, when the anti-authority, largely student-organized movement *Zenkyoto* began to expand nationwide, Adachi continued to make films that were intrinsically linked to the movement, including *Sei yugi* (Sex Game, 1968) depicting the sexual and political revolution in a strange relationship between non-political students and female activists; *Jogakusei gerira* (Female Student Guerilla, 1969), a story of high school student activists who conduct guerilla warfare by establishing a military base in the mountains and attempt to destroy their graduation ceremony; or *Funshutsu kigan - 15-sai no baishunfu* (Gushing Prayer: A 15-Year Old Prostitute, 1970), which depicts the decline of the student movement through the life of young prostitute in high school. Adachi continued to produce works such as these that were intrinsically tied to the movement. Importantly, however, the content of these films—as well as his scripts for Wakamatsu films such as *Running Madness Dying in Love*, *Sex Jack* and *Tenshi no kokotsu* (Ecstasy of Angels, 1972) with activists and terrorists as their protagonists—is his critique of the movement. Therefore, Adachi's strategy in film was two-fold: since the pink film genre necessitated portraying sex, Adachi made it possible to create highly politically charged stories even while meeting this requirement; at the same time, he used sexuality to expose the narrowly-defined political authoritarianism and phallocentricism of the existing movement by introducing depictions of sexuality into political narratives.

Meanwhile, while working on pink films, in collaboration with former Nihon University Film Study Club members, Adachi self-produced the film *Gingakei* (*Galaxy*, 1967), an epic conceptual drama, which portrays the death of a protagonist called “M” and the dream of self-liberation. It was also the first film that was screened at *andaagraundo Sasoriza* (Theatre Scorpio) a venue established specifically for underground cinema and theater. Together with his film *Closed Vagina* and *Galaxy* became known as a

representative work of Japanese underground cinema. Also around this period Adachi made a unique cameo appearance as the security officer who conducts the execution in Oshima's *Death By Hanging*, the first ATG film production. He also helped produce trailers for the film, and co-scripted *Three Resurrected Drunkards* and *Diary of a Shinjuku Thief*, with members of Sozosha, thus extending his activities from Wakamatsu Production to Sozosha. It is through this collaboration that Adachi co-produced *A.K.A. Serial Killer* with Matsuda and Sasaki, to propose landscape theory. Also in 1971 Adachi and his peers completed *Red Army-PFLP Declaration of World War*, a newsreel film that was meant to serve as a text for global revolution. The film portrayed the everyday life of Arab guerillas. The red bus screening troupe was formed around the idea of the negation of the conventional film screening, and making manifest that the screening itself is a facet of the movement. The film was also screened in Palestine and Europe, becoming a definitive example of cinema=movement in Japan. Prompted by this work, in 1974 Adachi left Japan to commit himself to Palestinian Revolution.

### **3. Historical Development of *A.K.A. Serial Killer***

*A.K.A. Serial Killer* is a film consisting exclusively of shots of landscapes that may have been encountered by Nagayama Norio, who committed a series of murders between October 1968 and April 1969. In addition to Adachi, the film was co-produced by Matsuda, Sasaki, Iwabuchi, Nonomura and Yamazaki; the music was supervised by music critic Aikura Hisato, and performed by Togashi Masahiko on drums and Takagi Mototeru on saxophone. Shooting started in July 1969 and the film was edited and scored by the end of that year.

The film begins with an intertitle reading: "Last fall four murders were committed in four cities using the same gun. This spring a nineteen year-old boy was arrested. He was called a serial killer." The film ends with the following, almost identical intertitle: "In the fall of 1968 four murders were committed in four cities using the same gun. In the spring of 1969 a nineteen year-old boy was arrested. He was called a serial killer." In between these opening and closing titles, the film intently shows shots of ordinary, banal landscapes that Nagayama may have encountered during his life up to his arrest,

migrating from place to place across Japan. Matsuda discusses Nagayama's footsteps by dividing his nineteen-year drift into three periods: 1-the first fifteen years are the place where he was born and grew up, and how he moved to Tokyo for mass employment; 2-the three and a half years during which he started his life in Tokyo; and finally, the period after which he had acquired a pistol from the U.S. To depict these footsteps, Adachi and Matsuda decided to follow the same footsteps Nagayama had taken for a condensed four-month period based on the diagram below:

The Suburbs of Abashiri City—within Abashiri City—Itayanagi—(Runaway) Hiromae—Aomori—Hakodate—Itayanagi—(Runaway) Yamagata—Fukushima—Itayanagi (Moved to Tokyo for mass employment).  
 Shibuya/Tokyo—(Quit his job/illegal migration) Yokohama—Nagoya—Hong Kong—Yokohama—Koyama—Employed) Utsunomiya—(Thereafter moved from one place to another).  
 Osaka—Moriguchi—Haneda/Tokyo—Kawasaki—Yokosuka—Kawasaki—Yodobashi and Nakano/Tokyo—Ikebukuro—Sugamo—Odawara—Atami—Nagoya—Osaka—Kobe—(Illegal migration) Yokohama—Nerima/Tokyo—Nishiogikubo and Higashi Nakano—Itayanagi—Tokyo—Nagano.  
 Yokosuka—Ikebukuro/Tokyo—(Thereafter moved from one place to another) Shiba—Kyoto—Yokohama—Ikebukuro/Tokyo—Hakodate—Otaru—Sapporo—Hakodate—Nagoya—Yokohama—Shinjuku and Nakano/Tokyo—Yokohama—Harajuku/Tokyo.<sup>220</sup>

Summarizing Nagayama's trajectory, he was born in a 'no address area' (*bangaichi*) in Yobito, Abashiri City, Hokkaido in June, 1949. His father was an apple picker and his mother was a wandering merchant. He was the fourth child in the family, with eight brothers and sisters, including a sister who was two years younger. His father, who was a drifter who took pride in his craftsmanship and was fond of gambling, later disappeared. In addition, Nagayama's older brother got a classmate pregnant and then also disappeared, leaving his mother to raise the child. The rest of the family moved to Abashiri City, and began running a retail store, but an older sister was hospitalized in a mental institution for a long time. Due to their dire economic circumstances, when Nagayama was five, his mother began working outside of the home, and the four children spent the whole winter by themselves. Neighbors, alarmed by the situation, filed a report, and they were taken by their mother in Itayanagi, Aomori. In Itayanagi, Nagayama attended elementary and junior high school. However he repeatedly ran away from home in an

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<sup>220</sup> Matsuda Masao, "Fukey toshiten toshi," [City as Landscape] in *Fukey no shimetsu* [Extinction of the landscape] (Tokyo: Tabatashoten, 1971), 14.

attempt to see his older sister in the mental hospital. When Nagayama was 13, his father was found dead in *Kansai* area.

After graduating from junior high school at the age of 16, Nagayama moved to Tokyo for mass employment, and began working at a fruit shop in Shibuya. However he quit that job soon after, and attempted to leave the country illegally, only to be found on a ship and deported from Hong Kong. Nagayama was taken in by his older brother and worked at a car repair shop, but was arrested for theft and put in a juvenile detention center. After that Nagayama migrated from place to place, drifting from job to job. He also started attending high school evening classes, however he quickly quit, and attempted to leave Japan illegally again, and was again unsuccessful. In October 1968 when he was nineteen years old, he stole a gun from the U.S. military base in Yokosuka, and committed four indiscriminate shootings over the course of a month—on October 11 in Shiba, Tokyo, on October 14 in Kyoto, on October 26 in Hakodate, and on November 5 in Nagoya. Nagayama then returned to Tokyo and rented an apartment in Nakano and worked at bars and a *jazu kissa* (Jazz cafe). He still kept his gun, and in April 1969 he was arrested after breaking into a vocational school in Harajuku.

The Nagayama incident created an enormous impact on postwar Japan for three main reasons. First, it was a series of indiscriminate fatal shootings committed for no specific reason and which took place across multiple regions. Second, Nagayama was an ‘innocent’ minor at the time of his arrest. Thirdly, he was one of the “golden eggs” (*kin no tamago*) who had been embraced during Japan’s period of high economic growth, and had moved to the city immediately after graduating from junior high school, and thus was deeply rooted in urban society in Japan. His crime was therefore not received as having been committed in some remote area by a criminal who was irrelevant to everyone; this ‘hideous’ crime committed by an underclass worker who had supported Japan’s economic growth from below indeed highlighted Japan’s distorted social structure. Furthermore, on July 2, 1969 immediately after his arrest,

Nagayama began writing “prison notes” that were later compiled as *Muchi no namida* (Tears of Ignorance) in March 1973.<sup>221</sup>

Condemning his own poverty and society, Nagayama began to assume Tokyo Detention House as his school, taught himself to read *kanji*, and read books on philosophy, thought, and history, and became a Marxist and lone wolf terrorist. After the publication of his book, he continued to publish novels, poetry books, and books on thought, and attacked nation states and the capitalist system with intense animosity, developing his own form of expression. In addition, Nagayama repeatedly criticized judges, prosecutors and at times his own lawyers, expressing his fierce fight against the nation state, and for this very reason, he was given the death penalty. This decision was later called the 'Nagayama criteria,' and served as a precedent for assigning the death penalty. For Nagayama, the death penalty was executed in 1997. Even ten years after the trial, the Nagayama incident was referenced whenever a major crime is committed by a minor.

#### **4. The Anti-Aesthetic of Vision-Structural Characteristics as Cinema**

The structure of *A.K.A. Serial Killer* basically consists of long shots - living spaces such as houses, schools, stores, factories, construction sites, and urban spaces centering around transportation networks such train stations, main roads, expressways and ports. By incorporating landscapes viewed from different vehicles - trains, cars, ships and bicycles—or landscapes in which we see those vehicles moving, the surroundings are shot in panning, tilt and dolly shots. Moving landscapes continue endlessly. After the opening intertitle, the first sequence begins with a shot of a festival mimicking *daimyo gyoretsu* (the feudal lord’s procession) in Abashiri City, Hokkaido. the feudal lord’s procession was a ritualistic procession conducted by Edo Period feudal lords who governed their regions with many retainers. Historically, Hokkaido was inhabited by native people called *Ainu Moshiri*, so except for a part of the region, Hokkaido was outside the direct governance of the Edo Shogunate government. In addition,

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<sup>221</sup> For a more detailed chronology see below: “Nagayama Norio Kanzen nenpyo,” [The complete chronology of Nagayama Norio] in *Bungei Bessatsu Zohoshinban Nagayama Norio* [Bungei supplement expanded version Nagayama Norio] (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 2013), 248-263.

Abashiri is in the furthest northeast, where the feudal had never been posted. Interestingly, however, since Hokkaido was incorporated into the Japanese state in the process of modernization during Meiji Restoration, a festival mimicking an event in Edo Period was conducted even in Abashiri. As Matsuda pointed out in his *City as Landscape*, a scene of what seemed like a traditional local festival was in fact an image of formerly colonial Hokkaido leaning heavily on its own false history, encapsulating the contradictory strains of modernization embodied in Japan.<sup>222</sup>

Next we see Nagayama's birthplace, an unlabeled plot of land in Yobito, Abashiri City in a long take with a fixed camera, while a group of ten railroad cars travelling in the background are incorporated through editing. While the view of the tenement in Abashiri City where Nagayama and his family moved is captured by a fixed camera, the view of the town is shown in a 360-degree panning shot. A movie theater sign with names of Nikkatsu's big stars such as Ishihara Yujiro located on the right side facing the tenement is shown. A sea port, horses and carts are shown in a tracking shot, and the transition to Itayanagi in Aomori Prefecture is indicated by an image of Abashiri Station, shown with a train departing from it, followed by a long take of the sea viewed from Seikan ferry, crossing from Hokkaido to the main island. Then an image of Shibuya, Tokyo where Nagayama went for 'mass employment', then images of different cities across the nation where he drifted from job to job after quitting his job in Shibuya and attempting to sneak overseas. Then an image of Yokosuka, where Nagayama stole a pistol from a U.S. military housing unit, then a shot of Shiba, then Kyoto, Hakodate, and Nagoya, where he committed a series of indiscriminate murders, and an image of Shinjuku, where he worked as a waiter. Then Nakano, where he rented a small apartment by himself, and finally, the film ends with an image of Harajuku, where Nagayama was arrested for attempted burglary.

The entire landscape chronologically traces the specific places where Nagayama lived, worked, studied and committed crimes. Adachi's narration conveys Nagayama's footsteps, however it is extremely

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<sup>222</sup> In fact, "Fuukei toshite no toshi", Matsuda's second essay on landscape theory, begins by pointing out the irony of the history of *daimyo gyoretsu* parade. Filming started in concert with the regular festival at the Abashiri Shrine on August 15. See: Matsuda Masao, Hirasawa Go and Yabu Shiro (interviewees), "Matsuda Masao ga Kataru Sengoshiso no 10nin – Shito suru Kakumei," [Matsuda Masao discusses postwar thoughts through 10 people – Revolution of Personal Struggle], *Gendai no Riron* [Contemporary Theory], vol.12 (Summer 2007): 205-219.

brief, and is meant only to communicate facts. At the same time, although famous sightseeing locations are not included, based on the narration, specific names of stations, buildings, streets, people, and organizations that appear in the film, it is possible that someone with local knowledge would recognize the locations. As interest in the incident was particularly high, a good deal of information as to what incidents took place in which locations was shared, therefore one could imagine that it would not have been difficult to read a narrative of Nagayama in the film. In addition, since Nagayama was living in lower class urban neighborhoods in day laborers' housing in Kawasaki, Kogane-cho, Nagoya and Ikebukuro, for example, it would also be easy to find a narrative of poverty in the postwar period.

However, the uniqueness of the landscapes is repeatedly denied by the fact that some visually specific and clear signs—such as transportation networks—bullet trains, expressways and stations—or groupings of high-rise buildings reflected in the background, are components of urban space in spite of it. Likewise, rural villages with greenery imply pesticide-covered produce that is controlled as a circulating commodity. Or main roads covered with billboards; they are not local neighborhood or rural villages outside of the city, but rather the film indicates that rural villages have also been subsumed into cities. In other words, no matter how the specific characteristics of the regions or places are filmed, they are all part of a gigantic urban juggernaut. Instead of being landscapes that evoke memories or histories of unique places, for 89 minutes, the film presents them as homogenized landscapes, utterly without particularity.

A series of these landscapes progresses in a steady rhythm, articulated by beautiful color and carefully structured shots, however uneven sequences and edits are occasionally inserted to create discrepancies or estrangement between the sequences. The steady rhythm created by the series of landscapes is cut off, and the uniqueness that had been attributed to landscapes is flattened, as instead the materiality of homogenized landscapes is emphasized. For instance, close-up shots of apple trees or sunflowers are repeatedly superimposed on shots of Nagayama's place in Aomori, his elementary school, or the landscape of Mt. Iwaki. In addition, each of the four crime sites is depicted with a completely different structure: for the first site, the use of mobile camera and a long shot first documents the entire view of the hotel, and then a jerky, telescopic long shot depicts the crime site. For the second site, after

rhythmically documenting the gate of the shrine, its main hall and inside grounds, extreme close-up shots of the approach to the crime site are repeated. For the third crime, a fast motion sequence of a long shot from the passenger seat of a taxi is shown, and as it gets closer it becomes an extreme close-up of the crime site. For the fourth crime, close-ups of hands and faces of taxi drivers and a fast motion sequence of the transition into those taxis from outside continues, and then the use of a long shot with a fixed camera depicts crime site.

Meanwhile similar strategies were used for the film's sound as well. Whereas on the one hand the use of free jazz improvisation allows long stretches of music, on the other hand it also allows for periods of absolute silence, undercutting a sense of consistency. During the sequences of the first and second crimes, drums and saxophone clash aggressively, and then the third and fourth crimes are accompanied by absolute silence. Thus the clash between visuals and music in *A.K.A. Serial Killer* creates a major discrepancy. The music does not serve the film, but instead it articulates itself as sound, and by being independent from the visuals, it paradoxically emphasizes the materiality of landscape i.e. image. Despite the fact that Adachi's superimposition of landscapes is extremely limited as a method, it does propose a methodology of anti-film or anti-technology, which negates narrativity or the integrity of the film as a whole, or artistic maturity; this sets it apart from documentary films, which are based on conventional realism, as well as from formalist experimental films. In this sense it is also important that Adachi tried to negate the *auterist* concept of film as work.

## 5. On Techniques

Adachi's negation of experimentation and *auterism* can also be seen in the collaborative production style he employed. The roles were assigned as follows: Adachi (directing), Sasaki and Matsuda (production), Nonomura and Yamazaki (cinematograph), Iwasbuchi (directing and production assistance). Nonomura and Yamazaki on camera were collaborators and friends who worked on Adachi's film, *Galaxy* produced by the former members of Nihon University Film Study Club. Both had experience working on Oshima films. However instead of using Yamazaki—who had experience as a

main cinematographer—Adachi had Nonomura act as main, while Yamazaki supported him. Iwasbuchi, who was also a graduate of Nihon University, was slightly younger and not a member of Film Study Club, however, was the action leader of *Geijutsu gakubu toso iinkai* (Art Department Struggle Committee), who participated in Wakamatsu Production, and was also in charge of editing for journal *Eiga Hihyo*.

Meanwhile, though Sasaki was a scriptwriter and Matsuda was a critic, they were present for most of the shooting, except for the overseas locations. Sasaki, who was affiliated with Sozosha, may have attended Oshima's film shoots, however in that case it was most likely only in his role as script writer. Matsuda accompanied many film shoots with Wakamatsu Production, worked as an extra, kept shooting notes, and was also one of the main actors in *Death by Hanging*. Yet in this case he was involved strictly as a critic. This methodology, in which participants work in areas different from their area of expertise and get involved in the work on equal footing, beyond such differences, is reminiscent of the collective production method of Film Study Group. Matsuda reminisced on the time of film shooting as follows:<sup>223</sup>

In placing a camera in front of the train station in Itayanagi, (the town) where Nagayama was born, a film director cannot help but use panning shots; he wants to believe that everything has been documented. But, neither Sasaki Mamoru nor I believe so; what is necessary is a landscape for gazing. We just look. So we decided to set the viewpoint of the camera at the height of the cameraman. But since the two cameramen were tall, even when Adachi stretched up, he could not reach the viewfinder. He then brought a beer case from a liquor shop (to stand on), and as he was about to step up to look into it, we pressed him and told him not to use a panning shot at all. That's how that strange image came into being. After a while gradually Adachi also came to understand, but in any event, our understanding was, let's not be arrogant and think that the entire world is perceivable without effort, until we come to realize that something has finally been found out."<sup>224</sup>

Of course, this does not mean that the film does not include the use of panning shots at all. In fact, many of the cityscapes are shot using pans. Nonetheless it is conceivable that the critical counter-proposal against existing cinematic forms and aesthetic methodologies made by Matsuda and Sasaki in the film helped define ensuing camera work and editing methodologies. This episode is emblematic of their

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<sup>223</sup> Since *AKA: Serial Killer* was not distributed at the time, almost no reference by people involved regarding the production or film shooting exists. Interviews with Matsuda and others were therefore ones conducted around 2000.

<sup>224</sup> Matsuda, "Shito suru kakumei," 210

unique production process, in which decisions were made by non-directors Matsuda and Sasaki, and consensus with the director Adachi was reached by trial and error and collective discussions. Adachi himself argues on the discussions with cameramen as follows:

Since wherever you look in Japan it looks entirely beautiful like a postcard, do not film beautiful things as beautiful; do not think to look for dirty places to film. That was the only item to be agreed upon, and they started shooting, conducting technical studies towards filming in their own way [...] They also continued filming landscapes in order to return to the origin and accomplished some results. Through the struggle, the cinematographer became all the more enthusiastic, and even to determine a single shot they asked themselves, "Would Nagayama have looked this way? How we should look at this since we are not Nagayama now?" As much as they repeatedly had discussions with me, they retained their purity.<sup>225</sup>

Rather than filming beautiful things or dirty things, it is clear that they put emphasis on capturing the homogeneity of the landscape. Likewise, Adachi discussed how he ended up arguing with cameramen and editors as to why a series of shots building up beautifully captured images, going from the foreground to stone pavement using a telephoto zoom lens, had to be rejected.

However, as (the shot) is too beautiful, I request that everything be disassembled and made jerky. We had an argument, as Mr. Yamada and his editing assistants protested on technical grounds, saying that that would be simply unsophisticated editing, so would be unacceptable. In other words, in the end, they were feeling nervous, since images that were, in the eyes of cameramen, badly shot, and editing techniques that in the eyes of film editors were bad as well were requested.<sup>226</sup>

Evidently, rather than technical perfection or maturity, possibilities of 'expression' in cinema were sought in each shot and sequence, as well as in the entire work. Meanwhile, scriptwriter Sasaki touched upon Adachi's methodology of filming only landscapes from a slightly more withdrawn stance than Matsuda:

So, if you continue filming Japanese landscapes in that way, you believe that the entire country of Japan is filmed within absurd landscapes. That was Adachi's point of observation. It was Adachi

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<sup>225</sup> Adachi, *Eiga/Kakumei* [Cinema/Revolution] (Tokyo: Kawadeshoboshinsha, 2003), 292-293.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*, 293-294.

who did everything such as cut segmentation and so on. I was just following him from behind (laughs). [...] For instance, I would say something like, why not film that, but he would say, no, that's not necessary.<sup>227</sup>

Sasaki used contemporary incidents in his scripts for his work at Sozosha and his TV productions. Therefore, it is likely that the idea of using Nagayama as material came from him. Furthermore, considering that he was a producer, we cannot take the above statement literally. In other words, it is important that in this case, instead of taking the initiative to tackle current events through his storytelling, Sasaki provided support by taking a stance of “simply following behind,” and that made it possible for Adachi’s directing at the production site to move in a more experimental direction. On the other hand, though the ways that Adachi, Matsuda and Sasaki of Critical Front, who had launched the project, and that of Nonomura, Yamazaki and Iwabuchi became involved in the work were different, it should be emphasized again that this work was created based on collective discussions and through free exchanges of opinions among participants, rather than based on participants’ hierarchical relationships with a director or producer in charge, as it is in conventional film production.

## 6. Everyday and Non-everyday

In the January 1, 1971 issue of *Nihon Dokusho Shimbun* (Japan Reader's Newspaper), Adachi published a text on Nagayama called *Renzoku shasatsuma” eno kakuu no shitsumon* (Imaginary questions for a “serial killer”). As the title suggests, the text consists of a series of imaginary questions that would be posed to Nagayama.<sup>228</sup>

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<sup>227</sup> Sasaki Mamoru, "'Renzoku Shasatsuma' wa ikanishite toraretaka," [How was A.K.A. Serial Killer filmed] in *Bungei Bessatsu Nagayama Norio* [Literary Art Extra Issue on Nagayama Norio], (Tokyo: Kawadeshoboshinsha, 1997), 84.

<sup>228</sup> Nagayama Norio, *Muchi no namida* [Tears of Ignorance] was published in March 1971 and immediately before it, a few chapters were published in a literary journal, *Henkyo* [Frontier] the January issue, 1971. As mentioned earlier, filming of *A.K.A. Serial Killer* started in July 1969, three months after Nagayama’s arrest; since editing was completed by the end of that year, *Henkyo* and *Muchi no namida* were not referenced for producing the film. Meanwhile, in the September 2 issue, 1969 of *Shukan Pureiboi* [Weekly Magazine Playboy] part of “Prison Note” was published, however due to the sensationalized article for the weekly magazine, it was not until the publication of *Henkyo* and *Muchi no namida* that details of Nagayama’s statement became known. The trial started on August 8, 1969, and it is possible that Adachi’s text was written as the trial progressed and “Prison Note” attracted interest.

Though Adachi had discussed his film work and landscape theory in interviews, this text was the first publication on Nagayama himself. After an initial silence, at the start of the trial Nagayama began talking about his transformation into a class-conscious Marxist. Adachi asked why Nagayama began to talk about his crime at the alienated site of the trial, believing that, as previous criminals attested, it would only end up proving the conventionality of evil. In other words, Adachi argued that, regardless of the content, when criminals talk about their own crimes, the only possible outcome is that they will be subsumed by the state. Through the interpretation of *AKA: Serial Killer*, he explores those questions and doubts as his own. In an attempt to relive Nagayama's experiences as thoroughly as possible, Adachi paid particular attention to the period of Nagayama's silence after his failed attempt at the fifth crime. Though the first four crimes took place during a two-month period, and thus could appropriately earn Nagayama the designation "serial killer" in terms of the speed at which these events occurred, Adachi indicated that what was important rather was the subsequent 6-month period in which Nagayama rented an apartment and worked as a bartender, hiding his pistol in Shinjuku, and Nagayama's daily life, which, paradoxically meant 'non-everyday' for Nagayama.

And the question is, after transforming the unreality of a 'dream' into everyday life as the serial killer did at the time of his wanderings, and the transformation of reality into the non-everyday through the transformation of evil [*ma*] into the everyday—[which was] realized through the murders he committed in his wanderings—on the same level, what happened when he led a[n ordinary] life which, for him, in general was unrealistic, the best he could, as everyday in general, which was nothing but non-everyday.<sup>229</sup>

By focusing on Nagayama's everyday or non-everyday, Adachi reversed the conventional notion of 'everyday' vs. 'non-everyday', thereby cancelling their dichotomy. In order to grasp Nagayama's everyday or non-everyday, rather than hypostatizing Nagayama as an object, Adachi discovered a methodology of accumulating landscapes of Japan that Nagayama may have seen, and even though his footsteps were traced, Nagayama's absence becomes an invisible presence articulated in those landscapes. In a dialogue with Nakahira Takuma conducted around the same time as the publication of *Imaginary*

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<sup>229</sup> Adachi Masao, *Eiga eno senryakun* [Strategies for Cinema] (Tokyo: Tabatashoten, 1974), 115.

questions for a “serial killer”, when asked about *A.K.A. Serial Killer* and landscape theory, Adachi made the following statement:

The genesis was that I thought about making a film about Nagayama. But it cannot be possible to make a film about him. If it is “about....” there is nothing but doing something like, sneaking into Tokyo Detention House or becoming Nagayama oneself. At that moment, since the film is about being Nagayama yourself, you draw Nagayama closer to yourself, or conversely, what is included in the process of becoming Nagayama is only filmed as landscapes, so...<sup>230</sup>

As Adachi points out, since, in Japan, defendants who are arrested and jailed are not allowed to be filmed, either in detention houses, prisons or courtrooms, it was difficult to actually document Nagayama with a camera. Furthermore, since the maximum penalty i.e. death penalty was expected to be handed down, it was impossible to document him on film in the future either. Because of this restriction, the film directors, TV producers and journalists who attempted to depict Nagayama tried to fill in the absence of the protagonist with objects that could tell Nagayama’s story and could actually be filmed.<sup>231</sup> What they found interesting was the series of four gun murders and their causal relationships. While pointing out various issues such as the unfortunate family environment of his childhood, or the structure of social and economic discrimination between the Hokkaido or Tohoku region and Tokyo, despite

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<sup>230</sup> Adachi Masao, “‘Sakuhiin’ no kaitai to hakai” [Deconstruction and destruction of ‘works’], Adachi Masao and Nakahira Takuma, *Nihon dokusho shimbun* [Japan Reader’s Newspaper], no.1575, (21<sup>st</sup> December, 1970): 8. The dialogue was printed twice, including in the 14<sup>th</sup> December 1970 issue.

<sup>231</sup> Images of Nagayama that remain are personal photos from his childhood, school photos, photos taken at the time of his arrest by the media, and photos taken within the detention center for public purposes. At the stage of discussion leading up to *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, there was a proposal to compare Nagayama with Mori Shinichi, who migrated to Tokyo for work, and later became a successful enka (traditional style Japanese popular song) singer. See Adachi, *Eiga/Kakumei*, 291. On the other hand, Tahara Soichiro, a director from Tokyo Television produced a documentary called *Dogitsuku ikiyo sengen: Mohitori no Nagayama Norio* (A manifest for living lurid: Another Nagayama Norio, 1970), in which Mikami Kan, who likewise had migrated from the Tohoku region to Tokyo for work, and was working as an underground folk singer, while working days at a factory. Mikami expressed his strong empathy for Nagayama, and declared that he would follow Nagayama through music. Tahara also produced a documentary *Renzoku Shasatsuma to 13 nin no wakamonotachi* (Serial killer and 13 young men, 1969), which documented young people who migrated to Tokyo for work around the same period as Nagayama, and disclosed the fact that most of the young people who migrated to Tokyo for work quit their jobs and then disappeared. In both works Tahara presented the universality rather than the particularity of Nagayama by comparing him with young people of the same generation sharing a similar condition. In this sense, his approach was clearly distinct from approaches taken by other mass media. However, with a sensational method of approaching subjects aggressively, which was characteristic of Tahara’s documentary works, the dichotomy between the individual and society was emphasized, highlighting the otherness of Nagayama and other characters. Similarly, director Shindo Kaneto emphasized the otherness of Nagayama, expressing his complicity and empathy through examining the essential factor of the poverty of Nagayama's family environment. Despite the differences between film and television, both media shared the same issues in their approach to Nagayama.

differences in whether they were empathic, sympathetic or critical, they all tried to sensationalize Nagayama as a particular ‘other’ who had caused these brutal and extraordinary incidents.

In contrast, Adachi took a completely different approach, articulating Nagayama within an ordinary landscape that had been renewed under high economic growth. That way, Adachi not only emphasized universality of the event exclusively with idea that anyone of the so-called “golden eggs” may have become a Nagayama, but also tried to erase the designation, i.e. ‘criminal=Nagayama’ to bring to the surface the anonymity of the events prior to his arrest itself. In addition, according to Adachi, Nagayama’s loquacity at his trial was not meant to express his typicality, but in fact was a process of the maturation of his madness further toward the sixth and seventh incidents, even in prison. In the structure of the landscape, Adachi discovered what Nagayama referred to as the “uniqueness of being eternally evil that can only be known by someone who anticipates bliss beyond the ‘demonic’ pleasure of the death that is approaching you,”<sup>232</sup> and by contrasting typicality with uniqueness, he tried to explore the common ground that is being communicated to him by means of the landscape.

In order to accept the uniqueness of his evil, I have selected images=landscapes communicable of my uniqueness. They made me investigate language as a medium by which to possess the succession of his madness as emerging ‘landscapes’, in order to grasp the status of the unshakable evil that he experienced.<sup>233</sup>

In order to depict Nagayama, Adachi thought it necessary to accept and internalize Nagayama rather than empathizing with him as ‘other’ from the standpoint of an *auteur*. At the same time, in order to approach his uniqueness and paradoxically acquire universality or anonymity, Adachi chose landscapes rather than a proper person or a narrative as his method or concept. Nevertheless, on the other hand, Adachi considered that landscape as language was unnecessary for Nagayama, since he was already in prison, but is only important to the side of cinematographer including Adachi, thereby along with the impossibility of identifying Nagayama, refusing to privilege landscape as a methodology.

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<sup>232</sup> Adachi, *Eiga eno senryaku*, 115.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*, 115.

Language, whichever part is picked, sadly enough, for Nagayama Norio is unnecessary for his new, later madness, and it is only on my side that it remains necessary as an occasion for the madness to continue.<sup>234</sup>

For example, going to the site where Nagayama used to live, I started with his differences from me by asking, what he could have seen or what I can see now, and I was simply filming a “landscape called Nagayama” rather than a landscape based on re-living the experiences of Nagayama.<sup>235</sup>

In addition, in an interview mentioned earlier looking back on those days, Sasaki made a similar but more extreme comment on Nagayama:

Actually, I was not so interested in the incident itself. It is not just about this incident—frankly speaking, I am the type of person who has almost no interest in the incident. [...] In other words, I assume I cannot act like him, or he cannot live like me, and I believe that it will be fine if we recognize in one another that such people are human beings. Having said that, I do not mean either to reject or affirm Nagayama. However, I was more interested in the Japanese landscape...in what form it would be possible to put the presence of Japan into a film, and as one of its materials I thought, this was it.<sup>236</sup>

As I touched upon it earlier, Sasaki produced an enormous amount of scripts based on many of the incidents that took place. Nevertheless, he commented that he had never been interested in the incidents themselves; thus it is clear that he always kept some distance from his subject. Supported by Sasaki’s approach to keep a distance from his subjects, Adachi was able to maintain a critical stance to his relationship with Nagayama, as well as to their own concept of landscape, thereby making connections to theoretical notions such as unrepresentability in film, negation of *auteurism*, the creation of film as a work and refusal of its screening, which I will analyze further later.

## 7. Migration as Post-Class Theory

In the previous section, I discussed the homogeneity of the landscape, but in this section I would like to analyze migration as both action and concept. According to statistics, the turnover of young workers like Nagayama was very high at the time. However, though migrating from job to job like them,

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<sup>234</sup> Ibid., 115.

<sup>235</sup> Adachi, “‘Sakuhin’ no kaitai to hakai”, 8.

<sup>236</sup> Sasaki Mamoru, “‘Ryakusho renzoku shasatsuma’ wa ikani toraretaka”, op.cit., 84.

it is also presumable from his repeated attempts to run away from home and try to leave Japan illegally that, for Nagayama, migration itself was particularly important. In order to trace Nagayama's footsteps, Adachi and his peers physically moved the camera, while simultaneously showing many young migrants—unskilled workers who were working at the same shop, retail store, factory and construction site as Nagayama—onscreen. Those young workers who moved into the city carry out their unstable, everyday labor, repeatedly going back and forth between the store and delivery destination, by bicycle or on foot, carrying products such as newspapers and milk. Furthermore, many students are depicted, going to school or running, and despite the fact that no specific people appear in the film, their images are metaphorically superimposed on Nagayama. The film thus pays special attentions to such migrations, both onscreen and off screen.

As I indicated in Chapter 2, the movement of the young “golden eggs” migrant workers into three major metropolitan areas was a historical event. Due to the freeing up of agricultural land by the occupying army after the war, agricultural land in Japan became privatized and owned by tenant farmers. However when the agricultural communities collapsed, migration to the city was promoted as the next national project. Young people were embraced as an important human resource, responsible for Japan's new economic development, but at the same time were regarded as a cheap, disposable source of labor power. Their numbers grew to approximately 40 million over the course of ten years. Making up approximately 40% of the total population of Japan, this was a tectonic shift, although they remained within the island country of Japan. On the other hand this countrywide project paradoxically created a vast amount of newly de-subjective beings. The modern subject became connected to the possession of land. Labor movements made it possible for workers to organize, having their bases fixed at the production point. Student movements, which were born from a completely different background than labor movements, had their bases in universities. However lower-class laborers like Nagayama migrated endlessly, without specific property or foundation. As they were unable to maintain their affiliations due to their constant migration, it was also impossible for them to organize into existing labor movements, or ally with student movements. However, as the limits of the existing movements were becoming visible,

we could say that, paradoxically, it was this impossibility of organizing that revealed their possibility. Indeed, what was so remarkable was that Adachi and his peers tried to see both the possibility and impossibility of encountering Nagayama through the process of investigating the landscape, and to discover practical and philosophical meanings in these acts of migration.

Meanwhile, the first shot captured by the camera is a movie theater in Itayanagi. The movie theater, signs and posters are single-mindedly documented. Nagayama himself made a comment about his love of cinema, and also left a testimony that he watched a film after committing a crime.<sup>237</sup> However, one should remember that this is not particularly characteristic of Nagayama, rather the fact is that cinema played a significant role as a form of entertainment for the lower proletariat, especially genre films such as action, yakuza and pink films.<sup>238</sup> In fact, the landscape of movie theaters like this serves to indicate that Nagayama as the invisible protagonist, was also a film-goer. Nagayama also made a statement regarding class struggle, presumably influenced by *Battle of Algiers* (1966) by Geo Pontecolbo,<sup>239</sup> a fact makes it possible to speculate that he watched not only popular ‘entertainment’ films but other types of films as well, including art or independent films. Whether he actually watched Adachi or Oshima is unknown, however it is highly likely that he saw pink films by Wakamatsu. In any case, what is important here is not to verify that he actually saw work by Wakamatsu or Adachi, rather to confirm the possibility that an encounter of Adachi and his peers by Nagayama may have taken place, by means of the distribution of film as a reproducible medium distributed to movie theaters across the nation as a ‘base.’ Of course, by ‘base’ we do not mean any specific theaters or any type of fixed space that actually existed in the city, but

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<sup>237</sup> Nagayama testified about the time he moved to Hakodate after Nagoya where the fourth crime was committed as follows: “Then, that may have been a movie, *All Quiet On the Western Front*. There was an all-night screening.” “Trial Record of testimony by the accused at High Court (Excerpt)” in *Bungei Betsatsu Zohoshinban Nagayama Norio*, 183.

<sup>238</sup> In connection with Nagayama, music critic Hirai Gen discusses young store clerks working at a shop run by his parents in the 1960s who would go out to movie theaters together on their day off in terms of class theory. “Atarashii gankyu e – 30 nen me no Ryakusho Renzoku shasatsuma,” [For a new eye – A.K. A. serial killer after thirty years], *Eiga Geijutsu Bessatsu: Adachi Masao Zero-nen* [Film Art Extra Issue on Adachi Masao Year Zero] 50.2, no 390 (March 2001): 176.

<sup>239</sup> Nagayama proposed that every member of the Red Army Faction should become a solitary terrorist and described as follows: “By the way, jumping to another topic, thinking that Algerian Independent Movement was initiated by action taken by terrorists who were from slums like myself, it wasn’t entirely untrue.” Nagayama Norio, *Muchino Namida: Zoho shinban* [Tears of ignorance: Expanded new edition] (Tokyo: Kawadeshoboshinsha, 1990), 445.

rather, a ‘base without a base’, or invisible bases, which come to the surface only at the end of continuing migration. Though movie theaters across the nation, by mainly screening popular commercial films, had the ideological function of further assimilating the leisure time of the exploited workers, it is because of the landscapes of countless ordinary movie theaters where Nagayama might actually have watched films—and indeed, it is because of this ordinariness of the movie theaters—that Adachi tried to indicate the possibility of an invisible coalition with a countless number of ‘Nagayamas’ beyond the bounds of creator and audience, traversing the design of capitalism or the state. By replacing the notion of migration with the concept of ‘journey’ Adachi will later proceed with investigating its philosophical positioning.

## **8. Landscape as Representation**

As Matsuda indicated, new left terminologies of the 60’s, as manifest in the term ‘situation’ were invisible, abstract political concepts. In contrast, landscape theory was a concrete and practical concept, as it calls upon an invisible power permeating the ordinary quotidian ‘landscape’ and to make the power structure visible. In *A.K.A. Serial Killer Nagayama*, the protagonist, is absent, and all specific events are minimized so that only the homogenized landscape Nagayama may have seen is documented. It is through these landscapes without Nagayama, and devoid of events that the emergence of an unnamable, underclass proletariat is implicated. Thus, the issue of the complex and strained relationship between the visible and the invisible is articulated through the mediation of landscapes, thereby calling film as media into question.

Inasmuch as what constitutes a cinema is having images represent or substitute for some types of objects, the premise is that, regardless of whether it is a fiction or a documentary, and regardless of one’s political or philosophical stance, it documents some objects, which are then screened on film. In *A.K.A. Serial Killer* Adachi problematizes this premise, and asks an even more fundamental question: if we film by simply looking at something that is visible, it does not necessarily mean that we actually saw or filmed that thing, so is it possible not to film something visible, or how is it possible to film something *invisible*? As I mentioned earlier, anti-cinematic approaches were taken in terms of shooting techniques, the analysis

of narratives, and a collective production method, and likewise Adachi posed the fundamental question of ‘unrepresentability’ against cinema as a medium of representation, and against image as form. Though this inquiry is, to a large extent, an aesthetic experiment of vanguard art, it should be emphasized that Adachi further elaborated it in the context of the theory cinema=movement, the theory of insurrection and theory of revolution. Or, to put it differently, it could be pointed out that the aesthetic choice was a political one as well, because the ‘unrepresentability’ at stake here relates to violence and the structures of violence.

Since *A.K.A. Serial Killer* follows the footsteps of Nagayama, it is the premise of the film that four homicides have already taken place. The issue of violence therefore is not to be dismissed, however as indicated in my earlier analysis, instead of documenting the events themselves or their traces, Adachi instead documents mundane landscapes without distinguishing the quotidian from extraordinary, thus the crime scenes are simply treated as a part of the landscape. By documenting the scenes of four crimes—which are all both equally as beautiful and as ordinary as the rest of the landscape, Adachi indicates that the incidents did not occur in some extraordinary spaces, nor is some space that might be seen as typically evocative of crime, but rather as a paradox in which the ordinary, everyday landscape embodies violence. One could further say that what the film expresses here is that the everyday landscape is synonymous with violence. Importantly, however, the concept of violence is ambivalent, as it can mean violence associated with Nagayama on the one hand, and the violence of state power on the other. Adachi conceived both kinds of violence in a relationship of competing forces, and through the representation of ordinary landscapes, he visualized the antagonism between the violence of the state power through military and police violence, and the *gewalt*/violence of the peoples’ insurrection. The landscape is thus defined as this shifting field where these forms of violence collide each other, or as a domain that, though existing everywhere, would always have potential of becoming the forefront of struggle.<sup>240</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> In the recent reassessment of *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, Yabu Shiro discusses the landscape in *A.K.A. Serial Killer* clearly as a target to be destroyed in relation to Jean-Luc Godard’s films from the late 1960’s in terms of theory of violence: “I believe that perhaps [Godard] must have seen something that was not filmed. It is so much about agitation, like, look at this, destroy this and stand up against that.” Sakai Takashi and Yabu Shiro, “68nen no

Such a structure can be demonstrated for example in the depiction of Shinjuku Station square near the end of the film. Though the student troupe played a central role in the demonstration, there were also quite a few young people who were ‘participating’ as bystanders. As they were clearly not organized and were not accustomed to confronting riot police, many of them were held back. Still, many of the riots in the late ‘60s would not have been realized without the presence of those bystanders (*yajiuma*). They were a series of miraculous events where unorganized groups came together to spontaneously form a joint struggle on the street level. Instead of showing the riot in Shinjuku Station itself,<sup>241</sup> Adachi and his peers overlapped images of young people hanging around the station in anticipation prior to the riot, with Nagayama, and tried to discover the potentiality of the riot in the landscapes beyond political strategies or tactics.<sup>242</sup> In addition, by contrasting local vigilante groups who are closing stores and streets with riot police crowded in the streets of Shinjuku, they also indicated the ambivalence of the landscape, where the violence of both sides was in conflict together.

As I quoted in the previous chapter, Nakahira used the term ‘landscape’ to mean the circumstances in which the city and people in the Shinjuku riot were all intermingled, whereas Matsuda tried to redefine third world revolutionary theory and violent revolutionary theory in the context of landscape theory. Adachi on the other hand indicated the potentiality of insurrection or revolution not through violence or events themselves but through the landscape, and that by posing the question of ‘unrepresentability’ he presented a methodology of representing violence or the structure of violence. In the February, 1972 issue of *Art Notes*, Adachi published an essay called *Hyogensha no shutai to kodo*

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passion o rire suru” [Relaying the passion of ‘68] in *Bungei Bessatsu Godaru: Aratanaru Zenbo* [Literary Art Extra Issue on Godard: New Whole Picture], ed. Hirasawa Go (Tokyo: Kawadeshoboshinsha, 2002), 146.

<sup>241</sup> On October 21, 1969 when the film was shot, a state of insurrection centering round Shinjuku actually took place, and more than 1,500 people a day were arrested.

<sup>242</sup> For example, Kitano Takeshi, who were working part time at Jazz Bar Village Vanguard around the same period as Nagayama, stated in an interview about Nagayama as follows: “In other words, aside from the Zenkyoto generation, who were thinking seriously, people like myself were jabbing spears at cops or rebelling against the country, but it feels like Nagayama also had an uprising with something. However he was much cooler, like causing a revolt by himself, so I wasn’t thinking that he was a bad guy at all.” “Nagayama Norio wa hitori de hanran o okoshita” [Nagayama Norio caused a one-man uprising] in *Bungei Bessatsu Nagayama Norio*, 76. Kitano testified that Kitano and Nagayama used to work part time at the same Jazz Bar in Shinjuku. Kitano took a daytime shift and Nagayama was in charge of the late shift, so they almost never had conversations. Kitano just had the impression that he was a gloomy guy, and only after the incident did he find out that this person was Nagayama.

(Creator's subject and action) and, looking back at the movement after 1968, he discusses these relations/matters even more explicitly.

Though it started as a campus struggle, the new armed revolutionary front of the masses created some barricades and the <landscape> of the liberated zone. The Zenkyoto movement was able to elevate some of those liberated 'situations' to inner 'situations' of the struggling subject through a solidarity of the fronts that was not simply geographical, but also qualitative. Though an image of prominent subjects struggling against power in battle to tear apart the 'landscape' was glimpsed in a series of events in "Shinjuku" in October 1968, "Todai Yasuda Kodo" in January of '69, "Kamata" in February, "Daibosatsu" in March 1970 to "Airplane Yodo", it has been entirely covered over by the colossal landscape of unshakable and flat Japanese state. Rather than the image of a revolutionary front in Japan in conflict with the nation state as it is, we could indicate that the situations for us is something that has been made as thoroughly invisible as the 'landscape' of the enemy or the state.<sup>243</sup>

While praising leading struggles from the late '60 to early 70's, Adachi's analysis was aimed at the present, which had been entirely overtaken by the landscape of the state. By naming landscape as power, landscape theory made its structure visible. Yet Adachi argues that after going through numerous struggles, the result of even this has been subsumed by the landscape. It is therefore necessary that one must submerge in the landscape of the state and continue an invisible struggle.

As the only breakthrough for subjective development of the 'origin' we keep drifting in search of the fissures of landscape, – everything could emerge only from them -- trying to surface to the moment of confronting landscape through invisible struggle. To challenge the landscape is identical to being invisible in landscape. If one attempts to concretize the invisible front territory again as inner landscape, we will end up reaching the "concretization of dream" that would explode the landscape as state.<sup>244</sup>

Also, the term "concretization of a dream" is taken from words Nakahira used when explaining an urban uprising. While through the trial and error of visibility and invisibility in cinematic representation, Adachi sought the crux of landscape, he went even further to propose the question of visibility and invisibility in the theory and practice of the movement.

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<sup>243</sup> Adachi Masao, "Hyogensha no shutai to kodo," [The Subject and the Action of the Artist], *Bijutsu Techo* [Art Notes] 24, no.352 (February 1972): 118.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*, 119.

## 9. Deconstruction of Cinema, Negation of *Auteurism*

Whereas cinematic representation was thoroughly questioned and challenged in light of landscape i.e. violence, on the other hand, Adachi considered the issue of representation as only a partial component of cinema, and rejected the theory of image and art based on *auteurism*. Through the concept of landscape, all forms and means that are traditionally considered as given—such as work, the author who creates it, the notions of criticism and audience, film screenings, the release and distribution of work, and so on—are rejected/negated, and, by broadly understanding cinema instead as expression, Adachi attempted to transform it into a totally new form. This radical approach was also taken to restore the potential of what cinema initially possessed. Though rejection of cinematic forms or the elimination of cinematic hierarchy through collective production were referred to in the last section, similar attempts were tested in all aspects relating to existing cinema. In the interview with Nakahira cited earlier, Adachi argued for the deconstruction of cinema. First, the prevailing traits—that terms like 'images' or 'media' had been used uncritically or abused as comprehensive concepts lacking in specificity, and then image-centricism—which serves as a concept to transcend the limit of existing cinema or photography—were astutely criticized. Rather than renewing genre-based definitions, Adachi argued that, in order to genuinely aim for the deconstruction of cinema and image, the created work should not be considered a privileged object, but rather its entirety—even including what that is left unexpressed as a work—must be reassessed.

About “expression” (*hyogen*) in its entirety, 20 or 30% of it become externalized, and when it comes to “externalization” (*hyoshutsu*), the remaining 70-80% does not become externalized. If so, the portion of 70-80% that was discarded then determines the meaning of “externalization”. In other words, what defines cinema or photography pertains to 20-30% at best, and in response to this externalizing, we do not say we hide, but rather, since 70-80% is shared in common, and what we are concerned about is just the remaining 20-30%, it seems to me that the external occupies a small portion of (what we are concerned about).<sup>245</sup>

In response to it, while expressing what Adachi calls the portion of 80% with the concept of inexpressible “words” (*kotoba*) in darkness—which cannot be expressed in language—and touching upon

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<sup>245</sup> Adachi, “‘Sakuhin’ no kaitai to hakai”, 8.

the title of his own photography book titled, *For a Language to Come*, Nakahira points out that works can be questioned in terms of larger domains, other than ‘expression’ or ‘words,’ suggesting the limits of a theory of the visual that aims exclusively to analyze what is aesthetically and formally represented.<sup>246</sup> Then, in connection to the discussion of landscape theory, Adachi states that landscape, for him, still remains on the side of language, and in order to deconstruct images, he argues that the landscape need be acquired as ‘words’ of 80%.

I myself can still only feel the landscape as language, however when the work of ‘feeling’ can be recognized as a ‘deconstruction of images,’ I believe that for the first time we will obtain the word ‘landscape’ and we will become able to feel landscape by projecting it towards many other words.<sup>247</sup>

Thus, questioning the framework of what constitutes the existing work, Adachi even tried to redefine cinema and cinematic expression through the concept of landscape. In Chapter Two, the issue of the epistemological subject in the landscape, where the subject who is gazing at the landscape himself/herself is actually being looked at by the landscape, as indicated by Matsuda, was referenced. In response to that idea, Adachi aimed to reject the *auterist* subject by overlapping the epistemology of looking and being looked at with the question of the *auteur* in the work. Adachi’s question was, if the *auteur* who filmed the landscape is actually looked back at by the landscape, who is it that is looked at, and who filmed the landscape. The work that one filmed oneself is limited as a mere part in light of

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<sup>246</sup> Ibid. In his review of *Kitarubeki kotoba notameni* [For a language to come], immediately after the interview with Nakahira, Adachi discussed ‘words [ことば]-language[言葉]’ as follows: “Nakahira tries to discover his own gaze towards the darkness of the thing-in-itself that is passing him. At the same time he discovers the fact that the words [kotoba] spoken by the thing-in-itself that quietly continues gazing at him from deep inside the darkness beyond his gaze that is wide open to try to look at, is looking back at him. It is these moments altogether that are presented as his image works. Buildings in the city at midnight and at dawn, board signs, sidewalks, running cars, apartment houses [...] [Nakahira] follows, describes and documents the moment in which what only exists as ‘language’ can be revived as ‘words’ that are enduring to breath in the darkness that he encounters.” Adachi Masao, “Yami kara sosei suru <kotoba> e,” [‘Words’ resuscitating from the darkness], *Kozo* [Structure] (January 1971): 130-131. However, Adachi also provides the antithesis of Nakahira’s attempt to define “words” [kotoba] in light of movement/from the perspective of activism. “The fact that Nakahira’s own words—which have been repeatedly argued about—are trying to capture works as his own “words,” and the reality where my pain at the time of crowning a photograph = thing as a slice of reality with the word, “landscape,” has to become “my fire”, my question is, would such a reality be coming as “language”?” “Yami kara sosei suru <kotoba> e,” 132.

<sup>247</sup> Adachi Masao, “‘Sakuhin’ no kaitai to hakai: ge” [Deconstruction and destruction of ‘works’ -Second half], Adachi Masao and Nakahira Takuma, *Nihon dokusho shimbun* (Japan Reader’s Newspaper), no.1576, (21<sup>st</sup> December 1970): 8.

expression and the *auteurist* subject in its expression is further negated by the landscape. Hence, he claims that the deconstruction of the image does not simply occur through subjective action by the *auteur*, but rather it is through the recognition that the *auteur* him/herself is subsumed by landscape that this deconstruction happens for the first time.

In addition, Adachi published a text titled *Eigasakka no sakuhin to jissen* (Filmmakers' Work and Practice) discussing the theory of the coming cinema and the theory of cinema movement as mediated by landscape theory in the March 8 and 15, 1971 issues of *Japan Reader's Newspaper*. Referencing *Nihon Kaiho Sensen-Sanrizuka* (The Battle Front for liberation of Japan: Sanrizuka, 1970) directed by Ogawa Shinsuke to discuss the relationship between the Sanrizuka Struggle and the filmmaker, Adachi sums up cinema movements from 1960 onward. *Sanrizuka* is a documentary film about the fight against the construction of the New Narita International Airport, and the second film by Ogawa, after *Nihon Kaiho Sensen-Sanrizuka no Natsu* (The Battle Front for liberation of Japan: Summer in Sanrizuka, 68). The struggle against the construction of the airport, centering around farmers in Narita city in Chiba prefecture was considered one of the most important struggles in the history of the post-war movement in Japan. First discussing Sanrizuka struggle as an occasion for introspection, Adachi first argues that there is an irreconcilable distance between him and the struggle. He then states that, metaphorically, in the comparison to farmers having mud all over them, even though they are discussing a collaboration with the struggle and they actually film the struggle while participating, what they came to recognize is the fact that they are still wearing brand new spotless shoes.

What constitutes our movement has its basis in our joint struggle with Sanrizuka. Then, our introspection towards struggle not only collides enduring time, but it also makes us discover that still mud-free, white shoes are covering our toes. It is these white shoes that define what our departure has reached now, and constitutes the appearance of the situations i.e., the landscape that the decided philosophy itself is encountering? In fact, they continue to be extended to ourselves wearing them, the room where we stand, the territorial space between Shinjuku and Narita to

which we at least extend our hearts, and...to the entire landscape of the world we have been part of.<sup>248</sup>

Adachi further argues that it is through recognizing the current state of the world subsumed entirely by the landscape—and thereby discarding *auteurist* works—that a new cinema, which is different from previous cinematic expression, will begin.

Because cinema—whereby the “experience” based on the author’s phantasmagoria which can be painted heavily in the image=film, is attacked by the landscape—makes its territorial distinction of the work obsolete, and the cinematization of cinema itself just began now.<sup>249</sup>

The discussion concerning the deconstruction of images and the abolition of art, which culminated in the late 60s through the early 70s, was often framed in terms of deconstruction or abolition as a new form of expression, rather than fundamentally questioning expression itself. Meanwhile such image-centric experiments played a historical role to counter the Left—who regarded politics and art as dichotomous— or the New Left who insisted on political ideology. However, due to their antagonism towards political ideology, whereby a critique of capitalism was dismissed, such trends were assimilated into the 1970 Osaka Expo, the infamous cultural festival organized by state and capital. Ironically enough, it was through their extreme gestures against political ideology that the image-centric experimentalism ended up being coaxed into capitalism. Adachi summarizes his thoughts on the situations as follows:

Roughly stated, as for the intention towards the anti-Yoyogi cultural united front, the deconstructionism of images, which could be called media theory=methodology, ended up trying to call “freedom of expression” (=anti-imperialist and anti-Stalinism)—absolutely secondary, not only for cinema but the thought of cinema movement—as actual reality of struggle experience of cinema. [...] It should be capitulated that the “underground” movement, while advocating the liberation of cinema by establishing the self-sustainable system of movement for a theory of expression called the deconstruction of images (the non-thesis of subject and object), abandoned the tangible, primary struggle called the practice of cinematic transformation, and ended up contributing to the conscious industry as seen in the mass production of images (exemplified by World Expo professionals).<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>248</sup> Adachi Masao, “Eiga sakka no sakuin to jissen,” [Filmmaker’s works and practice] in *Eiga eno senryaku*, 153.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, 154-155.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*, 156.

With landscape theory, Adachi thoroughly criticized the trends of image-centricism and art for art's sake. At the same time, in discussing the films made by Ogawa Production, and the distance between Sanrizuka and Tokyo, he likewise criticized the political ideology and empiricism celebrated by independent productions, as well as the trait where the possibilities of the movement have been contained within the works.

Much of the “Independent production” movement should critique (*sokatsu*) its non-partisanship, which made the function of its movement independent (in reality however, it was the sectarian isolation of a “base”) by trivializing the actual practice of struggle exclusively into the transformation of specific work into thought. The movement should become self-critical, aiming for the primary practice of struggle by means of cinema, by recognizing that it is merely the realization of a revisionist, reformist strategy.<sup>251</sup>

In response to the works of Ogawa Production, what Adachi focuses on is not their political stance, but the fact that they pointed out the structures of power and anti-power. In the previous section, in light of the representation of violence I analyzed the way in which the potentiality of the landscape, rather than events themselves, was filmed. In a similar sense, Adachi pointed out that what is important is not that the anti-authoritarian artist subjectively films the righteous Sanrizuka Struggle from the right stance, and that it is properly documented, but the fact that the landscape—including the filmmakers who film the resistance—has been presented.

For example, Ogawa Shinsuke did not succeed in acquiring images (camera) as a weapon for revolutionary struggle by placing the creator, the “camera” eye on the side of the masses (anti-authority) as seen in the *Sanrizuka* series. He rather saw the landscape of the masses and the power.<sup>252</sup>

Then, while pointing out the difficult process of starting with the recognition that he himself is a part of the landscape, Adachi explored the direction for a new theory and practice through the negation of *auterism* and dismantling of the image.

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<sup>251</sup> Ibid., 156.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid., 157.

The situations where we are actually standing now - <landscape> should be presented truly as a true summation of the fact that (we) are wearing a pair of spotless shoes; it means the struggle against being perceived as apparent dogmatism, as a mistake of straightforward violence (*gewalt*) short-circuited for world revolution, and as self-evident movement-centricism, which can persistently be called the world cinema movement; it also means the practice of dismantling specific 'cinema' in a tangible manner. I believe that the program for a person who attacks cinema by <landscape> should lead the cinema from this standpoint.<sup>253</sup>

Also in the earlier cited *Creator's Subject and Action*, referring to statements by Nakahira and Akasegawa on landscape, Adachi further argues that the landscape exists both “in front of our eyes, and (on) our own inside”<sup>254</sup> emphasizing that the landscape exists both inside and outside of ourselves. In fact, inasmuch as everything is indeed landscape, it no longer even has inside or outside, and it was Akasegawa who actually accepted 'landscape' through his counterfeit thousand yen note, long before the highjacking by the Red Army Faction or Nagayama's attempt to tear apart the idea 'landscape=power.' On the subject of his counterfeit thousand yen note, Akasegawa made the following statement in a round-table discussion on landscape theory:

I created a thousand yen note myself, and then the detective first came. So, to explain it I said out of desperation that this is a landscape painting. I could not explain any further. That was it/the end.<sup>255</sup>

Apparently, Akasegawa treated the image of the thousand yen note he created not as the reproduction of money but as a landscape. Akasegawa did not make any statement about landscape or landscape theory other than at this round-table discussion, and the content of his statement is indeed peculiar. However, Adachi—together with Nakahira, Matsuda and Hara—specially paid attention to this as an important statement.<sup>256</sup> Adachi pointed out that, despite the fact that Akasegawa produced a fake thousand note as a landscape in order to gaze at reality, the police came after him, and through his being

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<sup>253</sup> Ibid., 158.

<sup>254</sup> Adachi, “Hyogensha no shutai to kodo,” 118.

<sup>255</sup> Akasegawa Genpei, “Toron: Fukei o megutte”[Discussion: about landscape], Akasegawa Genpei, Adachi Masao, Tone Yasunao, Sato Makoto, Nakahira Takuma and Nakahara Yusuke. *Kikan Shashin Eizo* [Photographic image quarterly], no.6 (Autumn 1970): 129.

<sup>256</sup> Nagayama touched upon the thousand-yen bill incident in *Muchi no namida*, and because of this background Akasegawa later designed the cover of a book by Nagayama.

brought to trial for a crime, the landscape, in a sense, returned the gaze back at him. Though landscapes were made visible by landscape theory, the reality where we are being looked at exists prior to our looking at it. Hence, in order to become invisible in an all-pervasively visible landscape, Adachi describes that the first thing to do is to expose your body to landscape, since our recognition of being looked at by the landscape we are looking at, means that we exist as a part of the landscape i.e. the power we confront. In the last chapter I touched on the theory of cinema movement developed by Matsuda. In comparison to Matsuda, Adachi,—who defined *auteur* as activist—elaborated on the concept of landscape from within the *auteur* or the work, deconstructing the authoritarian *auteur* himself from within, thereby seeking a new theory of cinema movement different from either image-centricism or political ideology. The theory of cinema movement as will be discussed later was to be developed further in terms of movement and theory through the production of *Red Army –PFLP: Declaration of World War*.

## 10 Refusal to Screen the Film

I have discussed *A.K.A. Serial Killer* and the landscape theory born from it from various angles, however, as I described earlier, the work itself was not ever screened at the time. Whereas the theoretical discussion was growing—and indeed, that fact made the condition even more complex—it could be said that the choice to not screen the film was made deliberately, as an extension of landscape theory. Adachi made his first statement on *A.K.A. Serial Killer* in the round-table discussion called *Hyogen o haki shiuruka?* (Can expression be discarded?) in the March 1970 issue of *Film Quarterly*. In addition to Adachi, designer Awazu Kiyoshi, TV director Konno Ben, and film director Shinoda Masahiro had a discussion on what expression and art meant, in response to poet and art critic Alain Jouffroy's essay, *Abolition of Art*. On the topic of the assimilation of artistic expression into a society of control, although Adachi created and continued screening his films, his proposal was to stop screening them, precisely because he was always incorporated into the system.

So, I am saying, let's not release the film we worked hard to create. In other words, I believe the fact we made the work was more or less right, however since we go wrong after the stage where we have created the film, why not stop going out of control, and so the problem is, how the difference between before and after making the film, so we have now reached the point where it will be completed if 6 staff members confirm that we created the work with a set of agendas, and we got our answers to the agendas. [...] From our standpoint for example, we worked hard to pursue a single theme—whether the resolution will be found or not—and say, the resolution has been found, and when we realize that no resources other than that are available, then let's not release the film, since it has many things wrong.<sup>257</sup>

Though neither specific works nor details are referenced, as the statement was made immediately after the completion of the film, it suggests the process of how they struggled to reach a decision whether to release the film or not. In addition, due to the differences in background among other participating artists (in comparison to an interview with Nakahira, which was rather intense and highly abstract, for example), there are even more noticeable differences and discrepancies in the discussion. The fact that the concept of landscape is not used also makes it possible for us to read Adachi's intention to reach the decision to not release the film even more clearly. In contrast, the earlier cited *Centering on Landscape* was a roundtable discussion, which was held due to high interest in landscape theory. The statement regarding the non-release of the film was in the context of a direct discussion about Nagayama and landscape theory. While asked about the process of producing the film and developing landscape theory, Adachi argues that even though they claimed that the landscape that Nagayama must have encountered would be filmed, in reality it is only the landscape that they were actually seeing that could be filmed, and therefore, rather than screening the film, all they can do is to mention that they saw the landscape themselves.

...but it could be said that the film we made, even though it included places all over Japan, was just a layering of postcard-like landscapes of the places he had been. And since that is not something meant to be shown to people, it turned out that rather than showing the film, all we could do was to just talk about how we saw the landscape.<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>257</sup> Adachi Masao, "Hyogen o haki shiuruka?" [Can expression be discarded?], Adachi Masao, Awazu Kiyoshi, Konno Tsutomu and Shinoda Masahiro, *Kikan Firumu* [Film Quarterly], no. 5 (March 1970): 114.

<sup>258</sup> Adachi, "Toron: Fukei o megutte," 120.

In addition, while showing the limit of landscape theory at that very moment, Adachi argues how he reached the decision to not show the film, even proposing that they stop discussing it:

As for the landscape theory that can be derived from that, you could say that the landscape is not what we were able to see or what we saw, but rather a landscape that exposed itself to us. If indeed that is so, then for us, as individuals, that landscape which allowed us to identify ourselves with Nagayama needs to have a much greater structure of loss, not a structure of emancipation. In that sense, what we have here as landscape theory has not yet reached that point, and since we still have not shown the work, I think we should stop speaking about it.<sup>259</sup>

With regard to this refusal to screen the film, Adachi further elaborates on its theoretical positioning in *Imaginary Questions* cited earlier, insisting that, by avoiding screening the film publicly, they avoid the film being assimilated into state power. Adachi argues:

Perhaps, unless the language called image=language that I have acquired, reinforces activity that deviates from the domain of the work or film, it would just end up becoming valuable evidence for the prosecutor's argument. In addition I consider somehow sharing the continuity of his expanding madness by continuously holding my language to the level of the work without interruption. Rather than avoiding responsibility for the language I myself end up having by exhibiting the work, I consider fulfilling my responsibility at the maturity of the excessively heightened truth of decadence to further start my experience, rather than choosing the folly of relegating his uniqueness to typicality.<sup>260</sup>

In fact, even if the film consists only of landscape images, when it is shown in public as a piece of work, what tends to be emphasized—contrary to the filmmakers' intentions—is the typicality of Nagayama as it is depicted in other films or TV programs, or in many of the texts about him, and as a result, it ends up being assimilated into a grand narrative about him. Hence, while refusing both to present the film as a work and to screen it in public, Adachi tries to internalize Nagayama so that his uniqueness as being could be continuously maintained. Since the text was written a year after the production, one could say that it represents what Adachi had already been thinking about as an ongoing matter. Whereas a number of critiques of landscape theory exist, there are few that directly criticize the refusal to screen it. In a later interview Adachi recalls what was happening in those days:

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<sup>259</sup> Ibid., 120.

<sup>260</sup> Adachi, *Eiga eno senryaku*, 115-116.

We discussed what to do then, however everyone's mind was already made up. On that spot we decided to stop screening it for then. [...] Voices condemning us for madly doing this 'luxury' arose from all sides. Though the thunderously arising critique also seemed valid, we who had stopped the screenings also felt in our hearts that we were right in some way, so we ignored (the criticism).<sup>261</sup>

Adachi recalls Tamura's statement, which was the most scathing criticism, as follows:

He genuinely made an sharp criticism that perhaps we had created a film that it was not necessary to make, and knowing that it is impossible to present a human being this way, and that the film had been made on an impossible premise, and that was inexcusable. Tamura Tsutomu's criticism was that that was the premise of filmmaking, so on that basis we must show what we show. His point was that not showing or screening the film was a way to avoid confrontation.<sup>262</sup>

Tamura pointed out that to film landscapes that Nagayama may have encountered exclusively is not a goal but just a premise for making the film. But it appears that what he was most critical of was the decision to not screen the film. One could imagine that the decision was unacceptable for Tamura and his peers, who had approached crimes and events like Nagayama's from the point of view of script writing. As I will touch upon in Chapter 4, though they did often collaborate—especially Sasaki was involved with both groups—one can glimpse the differences between Adachi and Sozosha in terms of filmmaking and expression. However in light of history of cinema, Adachi came from the student film study group, and it was not easy for him to have screenings within the existing screening routes, while Sozosha was an offshoot of Shochiku, a major film company. Therefore, Adachi attempted various experiments by screening his works such as *Bowl* and *Closed Vagina* at universities, community centers and galleries. Screenings were organized as events, incorporating happenings, and finally evening preview screenings were held at Art Theatre Shinjuku Bunka. Also, Adachi's own films were shunned from pink movie theaters for commercial reasons, even after his participation in Wakamatsu Production. So although they were commercial genre films—albeit low budget ones—Adachi had found screening opportunities at places such as underground theaters, and special screenings organized by universities or film study groups. Particularly noteworthy as evidence of Adachi's attempts to create new screening spaces was an inaugural

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<sup>261</sup> Adachi, *Eiga/Kakumei*, 297.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*, 298.

screening for the opening of the Theatre Scorpio of his independent film *Galaxy*, with his peers from the student cinema study group. Indeed, it could be said that it is because of his continuing efforts in the entire process of filmmaking—from production to releasing, to screening, that Adachi may have tried to suggest that releasing and screening the film was not necessarily the ultimate purpose of making the film. This stance is also evident in the round table discussion in *Film Quarterly* mentioned earlier, where, based on the experience of conducting the screening movement for *Closed Vagina* for three years, he states, “When the film was made, rather than the fact that the work is watched, unless I could again get a firm hold of the relationship of being *looked at by* the work, I did not want to release the film.”<sup>263</sup>

However, it is important to note that the decision to not release the film was not made only as a methodological experiment.<sup>264</sup> Adachi wrote an essay called, *Onore ni muke dokuhaku suru kotoba* (Words of 'monologuing' yourself), as a book review of *Tears of Ignorance* by Nagayama for the 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1971 issue of *Japanese Reader's Newspaper*. While making a comparison between “No.108” who was wanted by the police after the second incident, and “No. 941” who was assigned a new number after being arrested as a serial killer, as one with a name, and the other without name respectively, Adachi tries to discover the continuation of “No. 108” in prison, not inside the book of *Tears of Ignorance*, but outside it. By citing Nagayama’s statement quoting Frantz Fanon, Adachi inquired about the 'secret zone' for “No. 108” while suggesting what the 'secret zone' shares in common with *A.K.A. Serial Killer*.

I would say that what is called the 'secret zone' according to the case demonstrated by Fanon is, even after the conversion of “No. 108” into “Nagayama Norio as villain,” the only possible world that “No. 108” could inhabit, as he was able to know “a defensive attitude towards the past and the desire and impossibility of being understood.” “No. 108” has also realized that the world would never be able to unfold in <words> or in books.<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> Adachi, “Hyogen o haki shiuruka?” 115.

<sup>264</sup> This is of course attributed to the economic reason that Sasaki did not need to provide funds and collect production cost himself individually. However, one could imagine that the condition may have been similar, as independent films by Adachi were also self-funded, or funded by other production members. Though the routes for film distribution are much more diverse today, then, unless the film was officially promoted, one could imagine that such efforts as organizing independent screenings, in terms of considering advertising and labor costs, would have further increased the financial losses and difficulties.

<sup>265</sup> Adachi, “Onore nimuke dokuhaku suru kotoba,” [Words for monologizing yourself] in *Eiga eno senryaku*, 117.

As mentioned earlier, Nagayama's incident created an enormous impact throughout Japan, however it was not until the publication of his book, *Tears of Ignorance* in March 1971 that claims made by Nagayama himself became widely known. The book consists of Nagayama's prison diaries that are titled "Note 1" through "Note 10." Since "Note 1" started on July 2, 1969, Nagayama had already started writing by August 1969, when shooting commenced on *A.K.A. Serial Killer*. One year after the filming of *A.K.A. Serial Killer* under the publication of *Tears of Ignorance*, Adachi published this review. Contrary to Matsuda, who took Nagayama's criticism of intellectuals seriously, as one aimed at himself in his book review of *Tears of Ignorance*, Adachi's response was rather negative.<sup>266</sup> Instead of defending Nagayama, he tried to discover the possibility of Nagayama's "secret zone" in the nameless, anonymous Nagayama himself, prior to his proper name, or his transition to a serial killer. In this sense, it could be said that at the time of decision to only film landscapes that Nagayama may have seen, and to accept Nagayama as a

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<sup>266</sup> Matsuda drawing Nagayama's criticism of intellectuals closer to himself as well, critiqued himself for the fact that he did not realize Nagayama's class transformation at the time of filming, by comparing the filming periods and dates of Nagayama's prison diaries. "At the end of August 1969 we were certainly at the home land of Nagayama Norio, continuing to stand against the landscape of the Tsugaru Plain. However, we did not know that at the very moment a revolution was gradually and rapidly rising in the mind of Nagayama, who could do nothing but live in 'prison' then. Having finished reading the first volume of Nagayama's prison notes, *Muchi no namida* I am feeling extremely ashamed about it." "Shinsen no chi ni daiya o sagasu ga gotoku," [Like searching for a diamond in the land of profundity], *Shuppan nyusu* [Publication News], (early April 1971): 22. Matsuda also published an essay on terrorism, "Misshitsu no teroru," [Terror in a closed room], First appearance unknown; in *Fukei no Shimetsu*, 233-239 in which Nagayama was defined as a "solitary terrorist in the closed room". Among many other assessments in those days, literary critic Akiyama Shun quickly defined *Muchi no namida* as a literary work rather than the scandalous notes of a criminal in his essay. Akiyama Shun, "Noto no kotoba," [Words from notebooks] in *Akiyama Shun bungei jihyo: gendaibungaku eno kakehashi 1970.6-1973.12* [Literary comments of Akiyama Shun: A bridge to contemporary literature 1970.6-1973.12] (Tokyo: Kawadeshoboshinsha, 1975). In the descriptive notes for *Muchi no namida: Expanded new version* and also in his interview from *Bungei special issue: Nagayama Norio* as follows. "Crime – It is something that has to be thought of also as the pure, live act of a human being." In "Noto o yonde" (After reading the notes) in *Muchi no namida: Expanded new version*, 528. "I was thinking that some sort of murders [committed] by minors without cause, although it is a little bit hard to put it, as I was thinking that killing can be done as if writing poetry, there should be poetry. If one has words that can be precisely explained with theory, one can be different. There is something like a word or a voice that cannot become a form, running in the hand that is extended to kill people. I wanted to know it. I thought it was something in the form of poetry." Akiyama Shun, "Hito o korosu te no naka o nagareru katachi ni naranai kotoba" [Words running inside the hand of killing someone that cannot become form], *Bungei Bessatsu Zohoshinban: Nagayama Norio*, 65. Considering Nagayama's act as a theory of expression rather than simply as a vicious crime, Akiyama tried to read it from *Muchi no namida*. On the other hand, a scholar of German literature Hosomi Kazuyuki, who has been researching the literature of Nagayama discusses *A.K.A. Serial Killer* from Nagayama's perspective as follows: "In this sense, it could be said that later Nagayama, in opposition to a memory where he himself is absent, and that the landscape was telling, tried to fill everything with his own words. It was a delicate period in which the clash between silent landscape and his eloquence begins inside and outside the prison." "Fukei to Kotoba" [Landscape and words], *Jokyo Bessatsu Adachi Masao 'Eiga/Kakumei' o Megutte* [Situations Extra Issue on Adachi Masao: Concerning Cinema/Revolution] 3.4, no. 6 (June 2003): 184.

being, the decision to not release this work was also the inevitable choice in order to defend their own “secret zone”.

**Chapter Three B: On *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War***

Due to the fact that the film *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War* was produced as a newsreel film and screened as propaganda, the film was both recognized and critiqued in light of factional politics in Japan. Many of the discussions about this film have focused on the evaluation of the Red Army faction – whether one can be affirmative toward their politics, ideological premise, actions, etc. and therefore the discussions concerning the film’s complex cinematic structure, the manifesto by Adachi, as well as his political stance and tension in relation to the Red Army faction have often been neglected. The same applies to Matsuda’s writings: despite the fact that, while discussing *Red Army/PFLP*, Adachi as auteur, or the Red Army affirmatively, Matsuda was also often critical of their politics, his political stance remained unexamined. It is historically true that Wakamatsu Production, the Red Army faction, and the PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) all joined in its production, and that the screening movement was carried out with the full support of the second incarnation of *Eiga Hiho*. Moreover, since Adachi himself defines the film as propaganda, negating the concept of conventional films, media, or other work, it goes without saying that one should not speak about the work only in terms of theories of film and media, bracketing its political aspects. In this paper, the attempt—rarely made in the past—is to reexamine the film in a multifaceted way: by providing analysis in line with the work and its texts, with an emphasis on its historical and political relationship to the Red Army. Furthermore, this paper will reread the theory of reportage as the theoretical successor to landscape theory, with an emphasis on 'continuity' from it, rather than interpreting it literally as a 'transition,' as proposed mainly by Adachi at the time of the Red Army-PFLP film production.

## **1. Historical Background and Structure of *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War***

*Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War* is a newsreel film produced by Wakamatsu Production, co-edited by the Communist League Red Army Faction and the PFLP. Adachi conducted the actual production, shooting, and editing. It was produced to be a text geared toward world revolution, depicting daily life in the Palestinian liberation struggle, as well as the revolutionary struggle in Japan. In

May 1971, Adachi and Wakamatsu were invited to Directors' Week at the Cannes International Film Festival for screenings of their films *Violated Angels* and *Sex Jack*, and went to France with Oshima, who was also invited to Cannes for his films, *Ceremony*, and *The Man Who Left His Will on Film*. After attending the film festival, Adachi and Wakamatsu went to Beirut, Lebanon on May 28. They joined Shigenobu, who had already entered the country as a Red Army faction member, and thereafter began negotiations for producing a story on the journal *AL HADAF* which was a Popular Front for PFLP. In a meeting with Gassan Kanafani, who was in charge of the information center and a scholar of Arab literature, they obtained approval on the condition that the production be made jointly by the filmmaker, the Red Army faction, and the PFLP. On June 11th, film shooting began in Saida, the largest Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon. They filmed an interview with Kanafani held with the so-called Queen of hijacking Leila Khaled. After moving to Damascus, Syria, they filmed the front base in Daraa, the base in the Golan Heights, and, by way of Amman, Jordan, moved to Jerash to film the largest base of Palestinian guerrillas. However, when the Palestinian troops gathered information that the Jordanian government forces would launch an all-out attack, the three of them were ordered to leave the mountains, and they returned to Beirut on June 25th. Wakamatsu went back to Japan earlier, on June 27th, to prepare for a public screening of the film, while Adachi and Shigenobu continued filming in the Lebanon camps for about two weeks. Adachi returned to Japan via Paris on July 21st. The film was shot with a 16mm Filmo camera, and more than ten thousand feet (a little under 5 hours) was used. Adachi was in charge of most of the filming.<sup>267</sup>

After returning home, Adachi did more filming in Japan, as well as editing. He then organized the "Red Bus Screening Troop" to carry out his practice of the theory of reportage, or the theory of cinema movement, which he had proposed together with Matsuda, and thereby launched a nationwide screening movement that was independent, not relying on the existing film theaters or distribution system. The first screening in Tokyo was scheduled to take place at Art Theatre Shinjuku Bunka on

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<sup>267</sup> For circumstances and schedule of filming in detail, see the following: Adachi Masao, "<Hodo> to <Sozo> no Kairo," [Circuit between reportage and creation], *Eiga Hiho*, no. 17 (February 1972): 14-21; *Eiga eno senryaku*, 15-36.

September 30, but was forced to be cancelled due to pressure from the parent company, and they changed venues, to *Keio Meigaza* (Keio Grindhouse) in Shinjuku, where the screenings continued for one week. The Red Bus Screening Movement traveled to universities, factories, public halls, etc. in the Kansai, Chugoku, Kyushu, and Shikoku regions. However, due to internal revolt among the screening troops during the tour, and also because of the United Red Army incident that occurred in February 1972, the troops were restructured, and became the second incarnation of the screening troop in April. They toured Kanto, Tokai, Hokuriku, and Tohoku, as well as Hokkaido and Okinawa. In August the same year, the Information Center for World Revolution (IRFIC) was founded, as a base for revolutionary movement centered on "Red Army-PFLP" screenings, and the journal *Sekai Kakumei Sensen* (World Revolution Front) was published. Meanwhile, plans were made to expand the screening movement domestically and internationally, and, shortly after it was completed, a screening of the English version of the film was held at a Palestinian camp. After that, Matsuda and others who were based in Paris sought the possibility of making a French version and bringing the screening movement to Europe. However the project suffered a setback when Matsuda faced deportation from France in September 1974. As a result of these events, Adachi also became responsible as the spokesperson of the Arab Red Army<sup>268</sup> while traveling back and forth between Japan and Arab countries; in August 1974 he left Japan completely to join the Palestinian struggle.

## **2. Analyzing the Structure of *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War*—Film/Image Theory**

*Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War* structurally consists of landscape shots of Palestinian refugee camps and guerrilla bases in Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria, as well as those of town areas, and interviews with the revolutionary soldiers. Similarly, the shots of Japan include scenes of militant demonstrations, interviews with Red Army faction, and their proselytizing, upon which Japanese

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<sup>268</sup> The Arab Red Army was formed mainly by the members of Kyodai Paruchizan (Kyoto University Paritizan) and Red Army faction of Communist League, including Shigenobu in 1971. As for the Red Army faction in Japan, upon experiencing organizational decline, the United Red Army (Toitsu sekigun) was formed, but it collapsed as it shifted to the United Red Army (Rengo sekigun). Under these circumstances, while distancing from the domestic group, many people including Adachi who were not affiliated with Red Army coalesced. It was reformulated as Japan Red Army in 1974. It dissolved in 2001.

subtitles, narration and Agitation are superimposed. The narration was voiced mainly by Toura Rokko from *Sozosha*. The Japanese voice over for PFLP members was added by actress Nakajima Aoi, Matsuda, Iwabuchi and others. The film starts with the narration, "This is a newsreel film for the construction of the World Red Army", followed by images taken from existing news reports on the hijackings by the Red Army faction and the PFLP, upon which *The Internationale* was played at an extremely high volume. The caption, which reads, "The best form of propaganda is armed struggle" in white letters against a black screen is inserted while the contents of their proselytizing and interviews are explained. Images of the hijacking of the Airliner *Yodo* by the Red Army faction, and an airplane hijacked by the PFLP exploding are shown in montage with agitation, clearly indicating that this newsreel film was created as propaganda for the Marxist-Leninist world revolution. However what follows after the news footage—being shown in montage, based on the dialectics of revolution—is, in contrast, entirely different: images of the quotidian landscape of town areas around Beirut. This long-take sequence of landscapes of the city, shot from a car, progresses, occasionally including such mundane features as billboards, seashores, a Ferris wheel, etc. upon which the sounds of aggressive narration and proselytizing by PFLP soldiers are superimposed. Meanwhile, in the sequence of the Shatila refugee camp in Beirut, there is no narration or proselytizing, but instead, a shot of an everyday landscape spreading out under flying airplanes unfolds, while images of landscapes and the sounds of political messages are juxtaposed. Though the film advocates Marxist-Leninist revolutionary slogans in its role as a newsreel film, the focus is not only on images that are relevant to Marxist-Leninist political ideology or struggle; instead, shots of everyday landscapes are repeatedly overlaid, emphasizing that the film's intention is not to straightforwardly aim for one integrated and 'correct' revolution, but to disclose and accept conflicts and contradictions immanent in the reality of their struggle, and thereby, to critique the traditional cinema of revolution by way of its very structure, by the use of this filming methodology.

Next, this section is followed by images shot in Japan, consisting alternately of images from a political rally of the Red Army faction, in montage with the CMs screened on the TV, and those from a news programs reporting on the Sanrizuka struggle. The image of the rally was taken on the occasion of

the formation of *Toitsu Sekigun* (Jointed Red Army), in which the domestic Red Army faction and the *Keihin Ampo Kyoto* (Keihin Security Treaty Joint Struggle) of the Revolutionary Left merged together. It was filmed after Adachi and Wakamatsu returned from Palestine. Meanwhile, the TV images, including a news broadcast by TBS (Tokyo Broadcasting System Television) 's JNN (Japan News Network) news desk, a major broadcasting network, along with commercials for sweets, automobiles, and weather forecasts that were run before and after the news are also used. For the voiceover, the proselytizing for the formation of the United Red Army continues, with sound from the news about Sanrizuka superimposed. In the sense that the film was initially produced for propaganda it should have been more natural to juxtapose the documentation of the aggressive struggle within Japan with that of the struggles in Palestine. However the content of the images used to depict the Red Army faction is extremely restrained, consisting of only images taken at the rally, i.e. the silhouette of militants on the podium and a signboard, which reads, "The Rally to Celebrate the Formation of The Revolutionary Army"—even though this was deliberately executed to obscure identification of those involved. On the other hand, as for the images of Sanrizuka where the most fierce and intense struggle in Japan unfolded at the time, instead of using actual footage filmed by the activists themselves, news images appropriated from the television screen were superimposed onto footage of the Red Army faction at a rally, while footage of commercials and weather forecasts, juxtaposed with aggressive proselytizing by the Red Army faction, with the sound and voice of the news reporters reporting on the situations in Sanrizuka is inserted. In order to portray the Sanrizuka struggle, the use of actual footage taken by Red Army members themselves is avoided, and instead TV news, which is effectively a commodity, referred to as, "suppressed <reportage>" is deliberately employed. In this way, while articulating differences between the Red Army faction and Sanrizuka, rather than their joint struggle, synchronization or mutual identification, the use of this editing method serves to highlight the unreconcilable gap between the Red Army faction/the New Left, characterized by the poverty of their political discourse, and the limited availability of their images like those from feeble rallies on one hand, and Sanrizuka, where an armed uprising by farmers was actually taking place on the other. The methodology of juxtaposing the mundane landscape in Beirut with aggressive political

agitation at the beginning of the film was again used to combine similarly contrasting elements of the everyday landscape and aggressive agitation in an even more complex manner in the Japan sequence, where for instance, the interviews with Palestinian guerrillas with an emphasis on anonymity are juxtaposed with agitations of the Red Army advocating heroism, thereby articulating discrepancies and contradictions between image and sound, and structurally incorporating critical recognition of the Red Army faction and themselves as producers. The more philosophical and theoretical background and issues of this particular cinematic practice will be discussed later.

The next sequence is of refugee camps in Sida, Jelasi and Gaza, consisting of scenes of various mundane landscapes and traces of warfare—soldiers cooking and doing laundry, or reading Vladimir Lenin or Mao Zedong, children playing on the street, sunflowers<sup>269</sup> growing in the surroundings, as well as scenes of men and women of all ages engaged in the exercise of disassembling guns, and numerous guns placed everywhere—while interviews with and proselytizing by soldiers emphasizing their own anonymity are superimposed. With the frequent use of close-ups and panning, depictions of guns are used heavily, however, the emphasis is not on the specificity of the gun as a weapon in extraordinary circumstances, but rather on the image of guns as part of the everyday landscape. As is indicated in the narration in the film, "With guns in their hands, they study guns and are taught by guns. It is guns and bullets that the oppressed people can acquire now for the first time." Focus is given to guns and bullets as 'language' rather than as fetishized physical objects. Also, Adachi later wrote, "We learned and recorded the reality of PFLP's <Armed Struggle> centered on guns as a context for close alignment between the forefront of Palestinian guerilla fighters and the Home Front, without making a distinction."<sup>270</sup> In other words, as the armed struggle itself becomes propaganda, and likewise a hijacking itself is a form of media, through the representation of guns in the front line and in the camps, Adachi depicted their new role—not

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<sup>269</sup> The depiction of sunflowers may remind us of the landscape in *A.K.A. Serial Killer*.

<sup>270</sup> Adachi, *Eiga eno senryaku*, 20.

just as a weapon, or as a fetish object, but guns as media.<sup>271</sup> On the other hand, as Adachi pointed out, the soldiers are "working concurrently as guerrilla fighters and as actors for a 'Propaganda film for the Palestine Liberation Struggle'", it should also be pointed out that soldiers were clearly aware of this dual role, and consciously perform and direct the way their own everyday lives are depicted.<sup>272</sup> Also, shots of bullet holes in the camps everywhere are shown repeatedly, and beams of light coming through the bullet holes are employed to depict conditions after the event of war, and to conjure up its violence. As will be described later, in continuously projected traces of war, it can be possible to discover the issue—relevant to landscape theory—of how to represent the unrepresentable—in those traces of war.

Soldiers in search of their enemies at the Syria–Israel border zone are shown only in silhouette to avoid their being identified, and the landscape of the silent but violent border zone is depicted. While shots continue of soldiers searching for enemies, performing exercises and studying in the Jordan–Israel border zone and at the base at Jerashi Mountain. The fighting and training are represented as the everyday life of guerrilla soldiers of all ages. The front zone is a region of mountains, deserts and meadows, which are visually monotonous and ordinary. The camera, however, captures them in a long panning shot, while the PFLP soldiers' messages and agitations, including those by Khaled, Kanafani, founder Georges Habasch, as well as by military volunteers from France, are repeatedly superimposed. An attempt is thus made to articulate a border that cannot be represented with images from the media, and to depict the violence and history that are embodied within the landscape itself. In the next sequence an interview in Arabic with Shigenobu, a Red Army soldier, is shown montaged against landscapes of a street in Jordan and desert mountains, taken from a moving jeep. Hijacking and training scenes are montaged with the image of the Jeep moving forward, and while sounds and voices from multiple messages and interviews are mixed and intertwined, revolutionary slogans are shown rapidly, and similarly to its beginning, the film ends with *The Internationale* played at an extremely loud volume. While these sequences and

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<sup>271</sup> This is succinctly mentioned by Matsuda. "Either <guns> or <bullets> are not just a subtype/subgroup of weapons. It is a metaphor of communication media in the <third world>." "Sairon 'Sekigun-PFLP • Sekai senso gensengen'," [Revisiting Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War] in *Hakuchumu wo ute*, 235.

<sup>272</sup> Adachi, *Eiga eno senryaku*, 13; Adachi, *Eiga/Kakumei*, 361.

montages conveying revolutionary messages repeat at the beginning and the end of the film, instead of focusing on this political spectacle, it is important to understand the criticality provided by the cinematic structure itself, and discover a continuity of landscape theory, or the theory of reportage as landscape theory.

### 3. Theory of Reportage—Its Theoretical Analysis as Continuation of Landscape Theory

As was discussed in Chapter Two, the shift from landscape theory to the theory of reportage, or the theory of the media, was pursued in *Red Army/PFLP*. Adachi introduced the concept of reportage for the first time in his article, <Hodo> to <sozo> no kairo: *Sekigun/PFLP: Sekai Senso Sengen no tame no noto* (Circuit of <Reportage> and <Creation >: A note for *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War*), in the October 1971 issue of *Eiga Hihyo*. A similar article, *Eigaundo no senryakuron* (On a Strategy for Cinema Movement) was published earlier in the October 4th, 1971 issue of Japan Reader's Newspaper, but this second article is considered to be the first text written on Red Army/PFLP. The text consists of short descriptions of the intentions for production proposed to the PFLP; the production of *Red Army/PFLP* and the description of film screenings; and detailed journals of the film shooting in Arab countries. Adachi wrote, "Based on my impression and the diary of this <journey>, I would like to start outlining the thesis for *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War*."<sup>273</sup> Style-wise, the text was written not as a theoretical and political manifesto, but as a praxis report relating to cinema movement, in the form of a diary.

In this text, Adachi first defines the journey not as an act of physically moving from one place to another, but as a direction for movement, including the deconstruction of self/self-dismantling or transformation of the subject, and then offers a counterargument against criticism of him by Tsumura Takashi. Adachi then introduces the diary after his arrival in Beirut on May 28th, 1971, followed by the quotation from the statement of intent to produce the newsreel film as a proposal to the PFLP, created on June 5.

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<sup>273</sup> Adachi, *Eiga heno senryaku*, 15

We must permanently carry out propaganda for all the revolutionary forces fighting for world revolution. We must establish an organizational mechanism for propaganda immediately. Because all revolutionary forces face difficulties, and in that difficult situation we may lose the goal of creating a true world revolutionary front by not seeing the status quo for what it is, and compromising ourselves by it. Now we must begin the movement towards the creation of a world revolutionary front by creating the body of the movement—not to speak about the suppressed <truth> and <history>, but to recognize the <truth> and <history> of the people. Therefore, we must let the people of the whole world know, through the most prominent struggle and strategic theory, and ask them about the specific situation of the struggles of the Japanese Red Army faction and PFLP, who are trying to build a radical world revolutionary front. We must propagandize the declaration of the joint struggle between the Japanese Red Army faction and PFLP with the <newsreel film> as our <language>. *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War* must be carried out. We must continue screening this <film>, historically,<sup>274</sup> the most militant film produced jointly by the *Red Army/PFLP* on the basis of the movement.

The production plan is divided into four parts: themes, form of methods, contents, and notes. The quote above, which corresponds to the themes part, suggests that, already at the production stage, Adachi and his peers were aiming to establish the propaganda organizational structure for the revolutionary movement that would extend the theory of reportage—transcending the existing frameworks and categories, such as film as a work of art, newsreel film, political documentary. In addition, although the film was made as propaganda about the joint declaration of the Red Army and PFLP, unlike conventional propaganda, its objective was to create a world revolutionary front through the particular situations of both the Red Army faction and the PFLP, rather than to just introduce the theory and practice of either the Red Army faction or the PFLP, based on independent factionalism. Thus, through the proposal to create the body of the movement to recognize "truth" and "history", the Red Bus Film Screening Troop movement beyond conventional screening movements was to be prepared. Simply put, theories that were to be developed later, such as the theory of reportage, the theory of the Film Screening Troop Movement, and the theory of propaganda, were all presented here in a compact version. Adachi discusses the film's methodologies further based on the following three definitions:

First, we must clarify and learn the strategic theories of the Japanese Red Army and the PFLP, and have a mutual understanding of the current situation.  
Second, we should carry out a concrete analysis of the specific situations of the Japanese Red Army and the PFLP through the tasks of film production.  
Third, we should document all the problems around the strategic theories of the Japanese Red

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<sup>274</sup> Ibid.,18

Army and the PFLP, and the feuds caused by their current status as <truth>, aiming in an accurate and militant direction, and thereby create a genuine propaganda method. Therefore, we must first grasp the strategic theory, second analyze the status quo, and third create a <film> directly reflecting the entire work process of documenting the first two. We must discover its method and form here and now.<sup>275</sup>

Adachi analyzes both Red Army faction and PFLP in a concrete way through the production of the film, documents all the problems—such as discrepancies and contradictions between the strategic theory and the actual situation—and tries to fix them in the film as "truth". Adachi thus aims to disclose those problems and contradictions as a part of their struggle, and to seek a method and form through which the entire process of filmmaking can be constituted as propaganda. Adachi's diary reports that the joint-production was approved, and the PFLP's strategy was introduced as follows.

Propaganda immediately is <information>, and <information>, immediately, is to convey the truth. Moreover, the best form of truth is armed struggle. Therefore, we believe that armed struggle is the best form of propaganda.<sup>276</sup>

The above statement was made by Kanafani, a member of the central political bureau of the PFLP and a scholar of Arabic literature, and his highly specific concept of revolution, propaganda and media marked a significant position for the subsequent production of *Red Army/PFLP*, and the screening movement. With this statement—providing the example that, despite the fact that the U.S. imperialism-propaganda apparatus is historically the most powerful, the U.S. can no longer justify war even domestically, because of the battle in South Vietnam against the Viet Cong's limited but adamant war efforts,—Kanafani continues arguing that this, in fact, proves that armed struggle is the most effective propaganda. While discussing the general rules and principles of the PFLP, Adachi analyzes the reason for the approval for the joint production of his *Red Army/PFLP* as follows, using the term 'reportage'.

For Palestinian guerrillas, arms are the <language of truth>, the armed struggle itself is their <expression>, and therefore, the creation of <information> that is brought along as the result of warfare is considered to be a highly effective form of reportage. The reason they acknowledged <newsreel films> as propagandas is because they only acknowledge political mass movement(kampaniya) as the creation of <information>.<sup>277</sup>

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<sup>275</sup> Ibid., 18-19.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid., 19-20.

<sup>277</sup> Ibid., 20-21.

Concerning the development of film production, screenings, and the theory of reportage, instead of pursuing abstract answers for either cinema or politics, or art or revolution, Adachi instead subsequently persisted on the specificity of, and equivalence between, armed struggle and propaganda. In his report on film shooting, Adachi discusses the relationship between the filmmaker as author and viewers as readers, continuously providing a counterargument to Tsumura's criticism. Tsumura claimed that, in cinema, the act of reading films—rather than that of creation on the basis of the filmmaker's self-expression—should be considered of primary importance. Tsumura's criticism is that Adachi, despite developing the theory of cinema movement, only speaks from the standpoint of the creator. He then argues that, rather than enclosing cinema in the isolated domain of expression by an author, cinema should be opened up to the city as its exteriority.<sup>278</sup> In contrast, while agreeing on the importance of the audience as readers, Adachi counters that the creator should not be unilaterally criticized by emphasizing the dichotomy between creator and reader, and if the reader is to be considered of primary importance, one should aim to organize spectators as readers, instead of proposing the vague concept of 'opening cinema to the city' to unilaterally criticize an auteur-based cinema.

The cinema as <journey> is a journey of 'anonymizing' in order to become a reader. On the other hand, the <journey> of the anonymous [person]=reader is a journey of <becoming a person> for constructing a strategy, or a journey to <truth>. Situated between them, what is the "truth" that "can be accomplished by <expression>" (called cinema), as its own unique mission?<sup>279</sup>

Adachi argues that in order to become a reader, what is required in cinema is to make authors or individuals become anonymous, unknown, or impersonal. Meanwhile, as for the reader, subjectivization by transforming oneself into a subject for the movement, and organization for the movement should be the goal, in order to read the truth in cinema. Referring to the principles of the PFLP's armed struggle=propaganda, Adachi again argues that the focus at the time of shooting *Red Army/PFLP* was on the "gun as a language"<sup>280</sup> connecting the front line and the refugee camp. Based on that experience, the relationship between the cameraman and the object being filmed, or between seeing and being seen is

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<sup>278</sup> Tsumura Takashi, "Prauda wo yomutameno itsutsu no konnan," [Five difficulties in reading <<Pravda>>], *Eiga Hihyo*, no.10 (July 1971): 15-26.

<sup>279</sup> Adachi, *Eiga eno senryaku*, 23.

<sup>280</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

placed onto the relationship between the author and the reader of the film. Adachi argues that the cameraman can also be a reader, and the object filmed, as a reader, should in turn react to what has been 'read' by the author, addressing the necessity of reciprocal communication between a creator and a reader, or between seeing subject and being seen object.

I must have the reality of the entire <expression> and <journey>, from reading their <armed struggle>, especially the <language> of guns. They must also read how expression, which I will discover by reading them, comes about, because we must recognize now that the <language> between them and me that is going to be documented and discovered is based on both of our higher agendas as our strategies, "Victory for the Palestinian Liberation Struggle!" and "Build the front line to win the world revolutionary war!", which are our main premises, as strategies of reading.<sup>281</sup>

Lastly, Adachi argues that, through the production and screening movement of *Red Army/PFLP*, onto which the introspection of the creator himself was reflected, 'reportage,' as a new form of communication, in which all theories and practices interact dynamically in order to realize armed struggle=propaganda, must be produced.

However, the only clear thing is that we cannot abandon the creator's position of <reporting> <armed struggle> as an act of converting our reflections into the method shown in "Can drunks in Shinjuku become guerrilla soldiers?" until the <reportage> on a particular feeling as the <journey> called <newsreel film> *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War* takes shape. <Armed struggle> is the best propaganda. Unless a form of that <reportage> is <created>, its <language> will not be expressed as a 'language of class.'<sup>282</sup>

While proposing the theory of reportage on the one hand, Adachi poses the provocative and ironic question, "Can drunks in Shinjuku become good guerrilla soldiers?" Again, instead of emphasizing the military, historical and geopolitical differences between Palestine and Japan, dichotomies such as Shinjuku-Japan/Palestine, everyday/non-everyday, avant-garde/rearguard, or front line/home front are canceled out, and the possibility of reciprocal and mutual exchange between them, or even the synonymous relationship of a 'drunk in Shinjuku' and 'guerrillas' is proclaimed as shown in the title's playful expression. This approach of invalidating dichotomous thinking is mentioned even more straightforwardly in Adachi's narration of the film.

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<sup>281</sup> Ibid., 29-30.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid., 32.

They make no distinction between the forefront line and the home front. The front line base is the place for their rich 'learning' life. The urban area is a place where "weapons" as the common language of the people is discovered and utilized. They make no distinction between urban guerrillas and guerrilla warfare. Guerrilla soldiers learn on the battlefield, and the people and the masses have their place of residence on the battlefield.<sup>283</sup>

Adachi further argues that the landscape in everyday life, rather than the forefront of the non-everyday, is, in fact, synonymous with armed struggle, proposing to extend this context not only to Palestine, a land of revolutionary war, but to Shinjuku-Japan, and the world.

The Landscape, meaning that armed struggle is to be on standby, is now spreading in front of us as a landscape of the world. It is possible to learn from the oppressed Palestinian people that to be on standby means to develop weapons, be armed, and to wait for battle.<sup>284</sup>

Adachi's heavily political writing style, including the theory of reportage, evidently derived from the fact that *Red Army/PFLP* was a newsreel film, which was mainly produced for the purpose of propaganda supporting armed struggle in Palestine and Japan. As was analyzed earlier, in *Red Army/PFLP* various proposals were made to go beyond existing revolutionary theories and theories of media, however, because of the fact that the film was a joint production between the PFLP and the Red Army faction, it is inevitable that these proposals tended to be elucidated in terms of their political relationship. However, Adachi's argument, not on the basis of a binary opposition between urban areas and frontline bases, but on the theory of reportage—in which he recognizes everyday life, including armed struggle is recognized as landscape—and presents it in the form of a newsreel film=reportage, illustrates—albeit by his convoluted use of expressions—a theoretical and practical development, and a continuation of landscape theory.

On the other hand, problematics relevant to the theory of reportage can also be found in the discussions of landscape theory prior to the proposal of the theory of reportage. For instance, in his article *Dezain ni kansareta kyoso no hakuri koso sozo no saisei e* (Peel off the pretense placed on design for the rebirth of creation) in *Design Journal* on September 15th, 1970, in which Adachi discusses the relationship between design and revolution, a journalistic photo of the hijacking of Yodo-go is reprinted

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<sup>283</sup> From *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War*.

<sup>284</sup> Ibid.

with the caption "A 'landscape' of Red Army hijacking".<sup>285</sup> In this way, a photo of a hijacking by the Red Army faction, one of the most crucial struggles—and as a successful one—in the history of the New Left represents a 'landscape', and this expression attests to the fact that landscape theory itself was already embedded in the problematics of the theory of reportage. This continuity, as in the relationship between landscape theory and the theory of reportage is also evinced by the fact that many of the discussions relevant to the production of *Red Army/PFLP* and the screening movement have already been shown in the context of the earlier film theory. Adachi published *Nani wo nasazaru beki ka* (What is not to be done?)" as a counter argument to Godard's essay *Nani wo nasubekika?* (What is to be done).<sup>286</sup> As in the Godard piece, problems such as "1. Should we make films of movement?" and "2. Should we make films on the basis of movement?" were asked, based on 39 theses.

The practice of 2 is to practice <cinema > as <movement>, and to learn the following principle and put it into a method. Namely, all the basic mechanisms of production, distribution, and screening of <the film> must be organized politically.<sup>287</sup>

The practice of 2 is an urgent task of all <people working in the film industry>, and rather than judging every practice in which films are used, we must first carry out the <demolition> of the entire mechanism of cinema.<sup>288</sup>

The intentions of making *Red Army/PFLP* and the theory of reportage quoted earlier, were, in fact, part of the process of developing theses like these theoretically and putting them into practice. In addition, it was true that the debate between Adachi and Tsumura that occupied a significant part in *Circuit of <reportage> and <creation>*—crossing the production of *Red Army/PFLP*—was carried over and continued.

The background of this important debate was as follows: First, quoting the statement made by Adachi in his conversation with Nakahira titled '*Sakuhin' no hokai to kaitai* (The collapse and dismantling of 'works') in the December 14th and 21st, 1970 issues of Japan Reader's Newspaper. Tsumura wrote a

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<sup>285</sup> Adachi Masao, *Dezain ni kansareta kyoso no hakuri koso sozo no saisei e* [Peel off the pretense placed on design for the rebirth of creation], *Dezain Janaru* [Design Journal], Vol.4.No.9 (15<sup>th</sup> September 1970): 1.

<sup>286</sup> Jean Luc Godard, "What is to be done?" in *Godardu Manifesto* [Godard Manifesto], ed. Fukami Koichiro (Tokyo: Furansu Eigasha and Sozoshu, 1970), 2-5. Originally, published in *Aferimage*, no.1, April 1970.

<sup>287</sup> Adachi, *Eiga eno senryaku*, 149.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*, 150.

critique of Adachi in *Godaru in wandahrando* (Godard in wonderland), in the March 1971 issue of *Eiga Hihyo*, and Adachi immediately launched a counter-argument against Tsumura in *What is not to be done* in the April 1971 issue of *Eiga Hihyo*. While Tsumura praised the Dziga Vertov Group's experiment attempting to dismantle cinema made in *Lotte in Italy*, based on a comparison to this film, he also critiques Adachi as follows:

When *Lotte in Italy* appeared with the <black screens>, people understood it, and made the connection with the idea of "giving up on [a] movie" unless it was seen as a mere technical novelty. They said that Godard should give up on cinema flatly and do politics instead, and Adachi Masao said that he would not quit cinema, assuming the gesture that he definitely did not have a black screen. But when did Godard, like [Brice] Parain, declare that cinema had to be replaced with a direct mode of action anyway? Indeed, was it not Godard who actually discovered the mission of dismantling the era of the world-image, or the one specific to cinema (TV can also be added), in this world revolution? Isn't it about time that we stop clinging to the old schema of art and politics?<sup>289</sup>

In his analysis of the first half of *What is not to be done*, leading up to the list of theses, while offering a counterargument against Tsumura's critique, Adachi also says that the method of inserting a black screen instead of an image in *Struggle in Italy* is, in fact, an act of Auteurism.

Now, I am saying that <action> must be taken in <cinema> on the same level as <practicing politics>. Did the dismantling of the cinema have to be carried out in that direction? What I am saying is that the "black screen" used in *Struggle in Italy* is part of the Godard's method, in which "the old schema of politics and art" is literally incorporated. How could he not say that <the process of dismantling> that schema merely provided the <work> *Struggle in Italy* with a 'specific task'? It was not that I "assumed a gesture" by making an assertion, but instead I indicated that, when a task specific to <the work>, and a task specific to <the auteur> have been reflectively put into the method with the use of the <black screen>, it becomes only <work>. Why does Tsumura not understand it?<sup>290</sup>

His discussion, referenced earlier, about the relationship between the creator and reader in cinema continues. Tsumura countered the above criticism in his text *Purauda o yomutame no itsutsu no konnan* (Five difficulties of reading *Pravda*) published in the July 1971 issue of *Eiga Hihyo*, while filming of *Red Army/PFLP* was in progress. After returning to Japan, Adachi again countered Tsumura in the October 1971 issue of *Eiga Hihyo* in *Circuits of <reportage> and <creation>*. It is interesting in considering

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<sup>289</sup> Tsumura Takashi, "Kagami no kuni no godaru Itaria eno tabi aruiwa <kurogamenn> shiron," [Godard in wonderland: A journey to Italy, or an essay on <black screens>], *Eiga Hihyo*, no.6 (March 1971): 23.

<sup>290</sup> Adachi, *Eiga eno senryaku*, 143.

Adachi's theoretical development that important texts such as these were written as a response to Tsumura's criticism. Likewise, Matsuda also published texts right around the same time exploring discourse after landscape theory. This series of arguments, which had taken place mainly in *Eiga Hihyo*, thus provided a major influence on the production of Red Army/PFLP and the screening movement, contributing also to the theoretical restructuring of the theory of reportage. Adachi himself, reflecting on the period when he was making the transition from landscape theory to *Red Army/PFLP* and the theory of reportage, writes as follows:

Schematically speaking, landscape theory-based cinema examined ways in which one cuts out the landscape one sees, and the seen-landscape, given the fact that it is being expropriated by power. We tried to acquire a means of maneuvering and breaking through the situation of the existing landscape, or even the enemy's landscape, either subjectively or whatever, and regardless of whether we continue to shoot films, or we think of what to shoot after A.K.A. Serial Killer, would be the extension of that idea itself. We were thinking about that for a long time.<sup>291</sup>

Clearly the statement above, as well as the series of polemics, testifies to the fact that, already when Adachi was leaving for Palestine, the theory of cinema=movement, as opposed to the traditional idea based on a choice between cinema and politics, or between cinema and movement was already established as a background. The theory of reportage was thus to be created to overcome its limitation through the collaboration between the PFLP and the Red Army faction. It is true however, that the equation of cinema and movement inherent in the theory of reportage is often overshadowed, due to a tendency to emphasize aspects of movement through political discourse. As a result, the continuation of landscape theory into the theory of reportage, before and after the production of *Red Army/PFLP* also becomes harder to articulate. The discussion in the following section will attempt to clarify the relationship through closely examining the development of the formation of this argument.

#### **4. Development of Screening Movement—Theory of Cinema=Movement**

Adachi wrote a short article called *Eigaundo no senryakuron* (On the strategy of cinema movement) for the October 4th, 1971 issue of Japan Reader's Newspaper. Unlike his long discussions for

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<sup>291</sup> Adachi, *Eiga/kakumei*, 364

*Eiga Hiho*, this short text was written as both declaration and advertisement for this book review, informing a variety of backgrounds and discussions quite succinctly.<sup>292</sup> First, the article explains the background of the joint production between the Red Army and the PFLP, and that the screening movement should "include the 'cultural movement', the 'intellectual movement', and the 'popular movement' comprehensively". Adachi then discusses the relationship between the Red Army faction, the PFLP, and himself as producer, specifically defining the positioning of the film *Red Army/PFLP*.

The actual filmmaking is shared among our film production staff at Wakamatsu Production, but we first try to be responsible for the duty: as a theory of strategy for cinema movement to provide structure to the reality of the factional feuds between the filmmakers, who insist on their own auteurist positions; and that created by 'the World Red Army' that is posited based on the joint struggle between Red Army faction and PFLP, and its strategies. In other words, we regard <newsreel film> as the beginning of the manifesto for the construction of the "World Red Army".<sup>293</sup>

Here, both auteurism by representing Adachi et al., and the political strategies of the Red Army faction and PFLP are expressed with the word 'factionalism,' and the mutually conflicting relationship between the three over issues of cinema and politics, art and revolution, and the policies of the movement, are placed as central to the construction of the new theory of cinema movement. Adachi argues that *Red Army/PFLP*, as a newsreel film significantly exceeding the framework of cinema, marks the beginning of a declaration to construct the World Red Army. Furthermore, in discussing the definition of what the newsreel film is, he states that it is synonymous with propaganda and armed struggle.

Therefore, as a theory for a strategy for picking up the truth to be conveyed and the method with which to communicate [that truth], as well as the <language> of its propaganda=armed struggle, from reality, and to return them as <language> back to reality, the <newsreel film> must be presented as an actual state of propaganda. Therefore, we must embody the theory of strategy for the manifesto of the world revolutionary front, such as armed struggle = propaganda, propaganda = <newsreel film>, and <newsreel film>=propaganda=armed struggle.<sup>294</sup>

Adachi proceeds with providing a theoretical definition of newsreel film, referencing a specific episode in which the guerrillas enacted a battle for the sake of the film shoot. Without making a

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<sup>292</sup> At the bottom, the issue with the text had the advertisement, "<Newsreel film> The first period screening, <Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War> a lecture: Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine soldiers and Red Army soldiers to be held concurrently from September 30 to October 5, open 9:40 every night/Art Theatre Shinjuku Bunka"

<sup>293</sup> Adachi, *Eiga eno senryaku*, 11.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid., 11-12.

distinction between this quasi-battle and the real battle—following the principle of newsreel film=propaganda = armed struggle—Adachi was aware of the risk, and decided not to shoot the scene. He then poses a question to himself about the problem of how a Palestinian reality—without the boundary between the real and the non-real—should be conveyed as a newsreel film.

When filming this guerrilla soldier as subject, the spirit of documentarism will continue filming them by forcing me to record the entire process of how my position as record taker is collapsing. Or <language> as propaganda will make it possible to hand down the reality of strategy and tactics for guerilla battles called guerilla soldiers' war=armed struggle through <reporting>. I learned from this episode that <newsreel films> can become a <language> not through the auteur's rumination, but through the entire process in which the author, upon confronting that <language>, is collapsing.<sup>295</sup>

Instead of understanding the collapse of auteurism—or its self-dismantling—formally based on the interiority (naimen) of the author or the work, Adachi's emphasis is rather on documenting the process of collapsing and dismantling itself. He then discusses a form of reportage that should be sought.

Then, just like one can claim that there is no disunion/gap between reality and non-reality for guerillas if it is all mediated by their <weapons>, the location of the <language> will become unclear as long as the content of the <report>, and the object being <reported> on, as well as the method of <reportage> for <newsreel films> are not proven by factionalism to build "World Revolutionary Front" and "World Red Army." "The things learned from soldiers must be returned to soldiers"—isn't this the task of true <reportage> that our <newsreel film> can follow with regard to <language>, rather than our speaking about the <episode> itself?<sup>296</sup>

Adachi argues that, in the newsreel film, the content reported, the target to whom the film is shown, and its method, in short, the creator and the reader must be connected as equals for the distinct purpose of building the World Revolution Front and the World Red Army. Therefore, a new machinery of reportage to convey the truth through the act of screening newsreel films, or the screening movement, must be created.

Now our screenings will embody the <newsreel film>. The screening movement must prevent the <truth> of the oppressed people from being relegated to a commodity called suppressed <reportage>. The <newsreel film> *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War* is ready to create the machinery of <reportage> as our <language>, which is returned to the actual situation of the movement throughout the screening-movement process.<sup>297</sup>

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<sup>295</sup> Ibid., 13

<sup>296</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>297</sup> Ibid., 14.

Through the mediation of *Red Army/PFLP*, the theory of reportage functions as a means of dismantling all existing theories of cinema, including Adachi's, and aims for building a completely different and new 'circuit'. Instead of claiming the superiority of factional politics, through the concept of reportage, politics in all domains—including cinema and media—are called into question, and efforts are made to connect their contradictions, conflicts, or possibilities with the theory and practice of reportage. Subsequently, Adachi wrote, *Propaganda no sairyo no keitai ha buso toso de aru* (The best form of propaganda is armed struggle) in the December 27th, 1971 issue of the Japan Reader's Newspaper. Introducing the screening movement for *Red Army/PFLP*, he discusses how cinema movement in the 70's was going to be formed via critique and analysis of the existing screening movement. In fact, since the text was written initially after the Red Army/PFLP screening movement first started, Adachi proceeds with a discussion on the subject (*shutai*) in the screening movement, articulating the relationship between the creator and the reader, on the basis of more concrete experiences and involvement with the audience.

Cinema is starting to try to assume its own role through the screening movement as a circuit of movement based on cinema movement, as well as on the <audience>. Although we began our struggle on that horizon, through the long campaign across the nation/the <revolution bus> tour, repeating familiar screening rallies for *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War*, we also had to start rethinking the subject of our own movement [standing] in front of the masses=film <audience>. Many handshakes made secretly, and chance encounters with the <audience> that took place in the middle of countless attacks compelled us to reaffirm the subject of the movement based on the principles summarized in Declaration, i.e., whether we can speak in the words of the people as our own [words]. On one hand, as long as it is shown in front of the <audience>, Declaration is merely a film, however, on the other hand, the question is, whether the screening movement for Declaration in front of the <audience> is nothing more than the cinema movement, which also counts on a <phantom-like> <audience>, is loved and confirmed by them, or it is just the cinema movement "in the service of the masses." The question is how the subject of the movement can assimilate this contradiction.<sup>298</sup>

These words testify to Adachi's assertion that both the concept of screening movement as a cultural project based on auteurist production and consumption of cinema, or one which relied on the political themes documented in the film, must be rejected, and instead the cinema movement of *Red Army/PFLP* must be started from the point where those who screen the film subjectively accept the theory

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<sup>298</sup> Ibid., 35.

and practice of armed struggle depicted in the film as their own. In order to transcend the recognition that cinema is, after all, only cinema, or the limitation of a fixed relationship between those who screen the film and those to whom the film is shown, what is primarily required of the screening movement is to establish itself as 'subject'. With that in mind, Adachi argues that what is needed in the seventies is the screening troop as a new entity of the screening movement, and its encounters with the audience.

However, in order to confirm that "The best form of propaganda is armed struggle", and continue propagandizing the people's Declaration, to "Create the world revolutionary front through joint military actions", the primary importance of cinema via the screening movement must be ensured by the reality of the front work operation utilizing the <revolution bus>. Instead of showing Declaration, we must keep creating a declaration. We have abandoned the <phantom> <audience> by critiquing our own history, and tried to embody the subject of the movement by creating a front based on encounters with our already assumed <invisible> comrades=former comrades, by instigating tumult and maneuvering secretly.<sup>299</sup>

According to Adachi, the screening troop itself was required to be responsible for *Red Army/PFLP* and the screening movement, in which the world revolutionary front presented therein must actually be theorized and practiced, as well as screening the film as a work. Also, the project should not be carried out by the screening troops alone, but should generate a collaboration with the audience as its active agents. Mediated by the discussion of the 'subjectivizing' of the screening movement, Adachi tried to articulate a new relationship based on mutually reciprocal communication between the author and the audience, instead of the author as creator, or of assuming leadership of movement unilaterally for the audience. Adachi implemented further practical developments based on his own theme of auteur/activist, as well as based on the theory of cinematic activism by Matsuda. In the February 1972 issue of *Art Notes* in a piece called *Hyogensha no shutai to kodo* (The Subject and the Action of the Artist), Adachi notes on more specific content of the screening movement:

However, the <newsreel film> lacked a system of transportation upon which to transmit it as news. As for the propaganda, first of all, we had to start building our own system of transportation, organizing the advertising team to realize the screening movement, founding a publishing bureau, and acquiring <a revolution bus> as a part of our transportation network.<sup>300</sup>

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<sup>299</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>300</sup> Adachi Masao, "Hyogensha no shutai to kodo," 111.

Instead of following existing forms and methods of screenings or screening networks, new means of communication and the construction of the machinery of reportage were proposed, with the goals of organizing the screening troops, procuring the red bus for a nation-wide tour by the screening troops, and establishing a publication center. In reality however, the screenings often had to rely on the existing network of theaters. As will be discussed later in detail, with regard to some issues, including the one above, criticism against Adachi and Wakamatsu grew within the first screening movement, and it was to be dismantled. In response to this circumstance, Adachi developed the discussion on the subject (*shutai*) as an artist (*hyogensha*), arguing that revolutionary thought and action are inseparable, and should after all be integrated. Instead of organizing the movement based on leadership of a fixed subject, Adachi conceptualized their screening-movement journey as a process in which it, as the subject, unfolds through its own transformation, holding various problems that occur throughout. Following this argument, Adachi then touches on the issue of place-space in cinema.

<Filmmakers>, who previously approached a reality in which the heightened situation of the seventies was contested independently at the level of the <auteur> or <work> only within the [domain of] personal struggle, are starting to seek the unique direction for their movement to create not cinema to "be presented to the masses," but <cinema> "to be produced jointly with <the masses>". In a broad sense, they have approached the issue of a "place", in which cinema is comprised of <author,> <work>, and <audience>.<sup>301</sup>

Based on the context of the theory of cinema movement showing a shift from auteurist cinema to cinema of activism, the concept of place-space is proposed, explaining cinema integrating all aspects relevant to production, distribution and screening. Adachi's criticism then points to the fact, though its historical significance to transcend the value and expressions of existing commercial films made by major film companies was significant, due to its being co-opted and exploited by the machinery of the state and capitalism, the auteurism-based cinema movement—organized around the structure of the independent production in the 1960's—had limitations. Furthermore, through the historical investigation of landscape theory, his criticism is also directed against the renegades in the screening movement whose argument

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<sup>301</sup> Adachi, "Hyogensha no shutai to kodo," 112.

was organized based on the binary oppositions of expression-cinema vs. politics, or screening movement vs. armed struggle. It could be said that landscape theory, through the mediation of the theory of reportage, turned out to be tested in theory and practice at the extremely political, yet quotidian setting of the screening movement of *Red Army/PFLP*. As will be discussed in the following section, the theory of cinema movement was now to move further towards the issues of organizing and specifics of the screening troop and audience.

## 5. Specificity of Cinema

Adachi wrote a long text called *<Sozo> to <hodo> no kairo* (Circuit of <creation> and <reportage>) published in three parts in the February, March and April, 1972 issues of the *Eiga Hiho*, in which a comprehensive evaluation of the first-period screening movement, including the production of *Red Army/PFLP* and the renegades incident, was carried out, and with reference to a series of United Red Army incidents, which had occurred while writing was still in progress. The text was written as a manifesto for the second-period screening movement.<sup>302</sup> Based on a series of events, including the internal revolt incident and the United Red Army experienced after the start of the screening movement, a review was conducted with regard to past discussions and the theory of reportage, and issues such as cinema in revolutionary movement and politics, and specificity of the cinema movement were also discussed. Because the texts analyzed earlier were intended to be published as a manifesto or agitation immediately after launching the screening movement, the emphasis was often placed on the politics of collaboration between Red Army faction and the PFLP as in critical opposition to the existing cinema and cinema movement. In this text, however, instead of emphasizing politics and its superiority, Adachi discusses the idea of specificity in cinema, through the theory of reportage and media theory, to direct a political critique against the Red Army. Adachi criticizes the first phase of the screening movement for having renounced their screening movement. Then, while verifying the background leading up to the joint

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<sup>302</sup> Since the text was written in three parts, the text published for the April issue refers to a series of United Red Army incidents occurred in February. E-mail interview with Adachi: on November 2016.

production between Wakamatsu Production, the PFLP, and the Red Army faction, he insistently points out problems of the Red Army faction. He notes:

In the transitional situation between the 1960s struggle of the <preliminary stage of armed insurrection> and the 1970s <armed confrontation stage>, even if the PFLP addresses the manifesto for the absolutely correct revolutionary strategy, "the best form of propaganda is armed struggle," there is still a political judgment that there is nothing in cinema—cultural and intellectual struggle—through which the strategy to be developed by the Communist League Red Army faction can be practiced. The epistemology of world revolution in which the masses and the intellectuals are detached is nothing more than a corruption of revolution, and the logic of the Red Army faction, who demand that we not get involved in their strategic developments, came to the fore in the joint production of Declaration by the three parties. Indeed, it contained a logical structure as an inevitable judgment for revolutionary politics. However, it is the same structure of logic based upon which factionalism as revolutionary politics in response to the partisan politics of establishment power, has filtered out the subject of the movement, with the objective of evolving into the revolution, and produced the existing bureaucracy for revolutionary politics.<sup>303</sup>

When the PFLP was rushing to develop the theory of a pure military strategy, the Red Army faction adhered to the platform-like criteria (tactics), which were militarily effective and necessary. They tried to grasp the development of the subject of Declaration—no longer restricted to the subject of declaration, but the revolutionary subject to be developed for the purpose of organizing the declaration—in the context of the ideological politics justified by the revolutionary situation of 1970's Japan. Using the pretense of the problem of confidential disclosure, they judged that propagandizing that "the best form of propaganda is armed struggle" would be at odds with armed struggle itself.

Because of their dualistic understanding of cultural movement based on a split between politics and art, they tried to push the movement mobilized for the creation of Declaration back to the horizon of cultural movement. No, they dismissed the essence that <newsreel film> *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War* is a pamphlet and a message to our comrades to confirm our factional viewpoints of the world revolution, and instead, attached special importance only to the realistic effectiveness of the propaganda in the relationship to authority.<sup>304</sup>

In reference to the fact that there were major conflicts and discrepancies over politics and culture in the collaboration with the Red Army faction in the process of production, responding to their bureaucratic approach, which viewed the production and screening of *Red Army/PFLP* only within the framework of cultural movement, Adachi argues that the dualism of politics and culture, avant-garde and rear-guard, should be transcended. He continues that, unless their own strategic theory is made popular among the masses, its role as propaganda will stop, and furthermore, it cannot move outside the reach of political conflicts with other domestic factions. Moreover, in comparison to PFLP's more specifically

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<sup>303</sup> Adachi, *Eiga eno senryaku*, 40-41.

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

elaborated theory of military strategy, or Matsuda's theory of anonymous riots, Adachi's scathing criticism was directed at the limitation of the Red Army faction's revolutionary theory, which was organized on the basis of politics with a capital 'P', but showed disregard for insurrection led by armed masses, or spontaneous popular uprising. This is in contrast with the production intention cited earlier, whose premise was on three-party joint production, and the criticism of the Red Army faction was not so specified. This time, however, it became clear that there were exchanges of critiques between Adachi's film group and the Red Army faction at the joint-production level, and political and cultural conflicts between them already existed even at the initial stages of production. These conflicts may have been attributed partially to the separation between the international division of the Red Army faction in Palestine and the main troop in Japan. In the course of reviewing the entire production process and screening movement, towards the new second incarnation of the screening movement, a critique of the Red Army faction, which had not surfaced initially at the time of or immediately after starting the screening movement, was conducted. According to a later statement by Adachi, when the PFLP inquired about the reason for not filming the Tokyo War and the Osaka War as initially proposed by the Red Army faction, Adachi argued that those were just attack on police boxes, not warfare. Looking back on those days, Adachi notes:

Shigenobu was also worried because everything they had held was being denied at the stage of recapturing the logic of the Red Army faction and the contents of their line of policy in light of the reality of the Palestinian battlefield. She was finding out that it was not that their line of policy was denied, but how conceptual the contents of our policy of armed struggle were. It seems that she wrote to Japan several times, but since a proposal returned from Japan said for example, how many guns the PFLP could provide, I later heard that she was so upset by that. Kanafani explained that the PFLP could send hundreds of guns, but that was not the issue. The problem was that it was unclear how we conceived of the course of our revolution. While we were waiting having conversations like that, the PFLP side finally gave us permission to film, but with a condition. The contents of the condition were that if the Red Army faction said they would do the best they could, hopefully it could be a collaboration between the Red Army faction and PFLP, and if we understood, everything would be fine. Actually, we did not care about such a political condition at all. But we were sort of reluctant to be aligned with New Left factions, so the agreement was set to be a "collaboration with all the Japanese Revolutionary factions," and filming began.<sup>305</sup>

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<sup>305</sup> Adachi, *Eiga/kakumei*, 356-357.

Even though a complex political relationship such as the above existed, it was undeniable that the production, as well as the screening movement, was implemented jointly with the Red Army faction, and hence various misunderstandings and criticisms were prompted. Even Matsuda, one of Adachi's colleagues in *Eiga Hiho*, developed his initial discussion on Red Army/PFLP comparing it to the Dziga Vertov Group's *Jusqu'à la Victoire* (Until Victory/Palestine Will Win), and pointed out the fact that the latter, while documenting the same Palestinian Revolution, had not been completed, even though their filming started earlier. Matsuda ends his text as follows:

However, still, I believe that Adachi Masao and his crew, while trying to "make films politically" as expressed by Godard, may have created a "political film" instead. As of the fall of 1971, the difficulty of filmmakers today lies not only in the misery that the film cannot be completed, but also in the glory that it has been completed.<sup>306</sup>

While strongly supporting *Red Army/PFLP* and the screening movement as a new form of cinema movement, Matsuda at the same time offered a critique that the film may have been drawn to the realm of the politics, rather than the politics of cinema. In response to this criticism, Adachi developed an argument concerning the specificity (*koyusei*) of cinema in contrast to politics, and further provided clear criticism of the Red Army faction. Whereas the previous production intention explained that the objective of the film was to document the relationship between the PFLP and the Red Army faction with respect to their strategy and current issues, Adachi discusses the specificity of the subject as filmmaker and cinema, expanding the relationship between PFLP and the Red Army faction to that, including the filmmaker. Despite various issues that were at play between him and the Red Army faction, Adachi's decision to collaborate with them was based presumably on the prominence of the Red Army faction in the history of Japan's political movements, due to their praiseworthy attempt at armed struggle, with the goal of international solidarity. Through this collaboration in praxis, questions relevant to landscape theory or the theory of reportage were directed at "all revolutionary factions of Japan" from within, rather than from the outside. Hence, rather than unilaterally critiquing the Red Army faction, Adachi finds a strategy for

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<sup>306</sup> Matsuda, *Hakuchumu o ute*, 233

bringing armed struggle to the masses—common with the PFLP—in the theme of organizing the "ocean of people," and discusses how it can be propagandized through screening movement.

Based on this recognition, we do not intend to establish ourselves as an independent subject, as a third faction that responds to the factionalism of the PFLP and the Red Army faction. We can say, rather, that the production staff of *Declaration* have arrived at the necessity to propagandize not the party politics for revolution, but politics of revolution needed between the Red Army faction and PFLP. It is a common ground for the factionalism of the strategy, "Build the world revolutionary front through joint military action!" shared between the Red Army faction and PFLP that we should 'declare' as realistic indicator from the common ground to the front line, from recognition to praxis. In other words, we at last became able to rise to the level where *Declaration* should not be carried out unless the subjects of the joint production for *Declaration* can formulate under what strategic theory the method of propagandizing the <armed struggle> should be developed as a new policy."<sup>307</sup>

Adachi argues that the role specific to the screening movement is not to literally communicate as mediator what PFLP or the Red Army faction insists, but rather to find out and propagandize commonalities—as a film producer or the body of the cinema movement in collaboration with the two revolutionary organizations—in theory and praxis that are free from factional strategies. Hence, what was at stake for Adachi was to present the universality of the revolutionary movement—whether happening in Palestine or Japan, beyond political, historical and geographical differences—in short, the revolution itself. By proposing a process different from top-down political decisions by political factions, the specific role of the screening movement is pointed out.

It could be posited that the task of propaganda in the situation of "the stage of armed confrontation" is the execution of advertising, and creating (kosaku) a subject of the *Declaration*=the context which embodied the pamphlet rather than the <bulletin> issued and distributed from the center to the lower part of the faction based on <factional> viewpoints not limited to the viewpoint of the political faction.<sup>308</sup>

In addition, Adachi proceeds with his discussion as to how the uniqueness and the specificity of cinema should be explored on the basis of cinema=politics, neither through identification with both organizations, nor political independence from them, but on the basis of the screening troop's subjective undertaking of armed struggle. Tracing the course of the actual screenings in detail, he examines the first-period screening movement launched after the production of Red Army/PFLP, focusing on a rebuttal of

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<sup>307</sup> Adachi, *Eiga eno senryaku*, 44.

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid.*, 44-45.

the critique by the renegade group. Concerning what sort of strategy and tactics should be used based on the issues of production and screening, Adachi argues as follows:

The strategy of <the world revolutionary front> as a consequence of propaganda, and the strategy with which propaganda functions determines the strategy of the movement. The tasks specific to cinema proposed in Declaration should be sublated from the error of leaning on a <movement>-centric realism resulting from specifying them exclusively as propaganda, and also from the error of filtering out the propaganda of the strategy caused by aiming for generalizing the <movement> of the screening movement to the level of the subject of developing the tactic of propaganda.<sup>309</sup>

Here, the screening movement is defined twofold: on the one hand, it implies a critique of the politics with a capital 'P', which restricts cinema exclusively to the function of political propaganda, and on the other hand, it favors a screening movement-oriented approach, in which only the screening movement is important, and the media function of propaganda as cinema withdraws into the background. Adachi attempts to define afresh the specificity of the cinema by revolutionary media theory, not just in light of cinema alone, but also cinema as propaganda/propaganda as cinema. Continuing his discussion on the issue of the specificity of cinema, he also argues that all cinema should aim for the purpose of creating a world revolutionary front.

One thing is, cinema, not limited to *Declaration*, should be evaluated in terms of its numerous experiences of the <movement> towards the creation of the <World Revolution Front> now. The fact that cinema constitutes itself by "imitating the way cinema exists," and the fact that "cinema is propaganda" do not mean that the tasks specific to cinema are divided in complete opposition. It is rather that cinema based on these two worldviews is carrying out two kinds of propaganda, and therefore, it is not the task specific to cinema that is paradoxical, but we who must ask ourselves how we are fighting in order to have cinema bear its specific tasks. In fact, it is our side that acknowledges the reality that there are two types of cinema, "capitalistic cinema and revolutionary cinema".<sup>310</sup>

Adachi points out that the problem lies in our recognition that there are two types of cinema, rather than cinema having two different fronts, suggesting instead that what needs to be acquired is the tactic to combine presumably divided cinema into one based on the tasks specific to it.

It is "Revolutionary film" that now propagandizes revolution towards reality, and we are starting to practice cinema to "speak for revolution rather than to speak about the revolution" by asking

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<sup>309</sup> Ibid., 77.

<sup>310</sup> Ibid., 77.

how the reality of our world determined by capitalist imperialism and social imperialism can be transformed into a "revolutionary" world. As for the meaning of "revolutionary cinema" also, it first of all depends not only on deciding in which of the two propaganda regimes we will position ourselves to fight, but also acquiring the tactic to explicate all cinematic experiences into a strategic practice of propaganda to be revolutionary.<sup>311</sup>

As a theory of cinema of revolution, critiquing capitalist–socialist films in defense of the revolutionary cinema is requisite, however, rather than simply abandoning them, the revolutionary potential on the side of cinema has to be incorporated strategically and tactically. In short, revolutionary cinema must not only serve to propagandize the revolutionary movement but also draw on revolutionary potential from all films. While drawing a clear line between revolutionary cinema vs. Hollywood films, and also differentiating from the theory of revolutionary cinema based on the politics with a capital 'P', Adachi's attempt was to transform all forms of films into revolutionary cinema, i.e. to convert them into a medium for revolutionary propaganda. The role of *Red Army/PFLP* and the screening movement are explained as follows:

The general universality of the *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War* lies in the act of propagandizing the theory of the revolutionary strategy for 'Red Army-PFLP' as a specific task of cinema. It also lies in the act of freeing the subject of producing and screening *Declaration* as propaganda, from the narrow-minded pedantic insistence on learning that theory of strategy, and explicating that the specific task of cinema that can be realized in the revolutionary practice of <armed struggle>. It is through these acts that Red Army-PFLP as general universality can become responsible for the propaganda of revolution for the first time.<sup>312</sup>

Also, in the text <*Hihyo Sensen*> *wa shucho suru* (<Critical Front> asserts) written under the name of the editorial committee for the February 1971 issue of *Eiga Hihyo*, which preceded the series *Circuit of <creation> and <reportage>*, the role of *Red Army/PFLP* and its screening is illustrated even more clearly.

The assertion, <The best form of propaganda is armed struggle> proposed in the film, *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War* is overwhelmingly correct because it is based on a fair argument in which propaganda for the message of the movement has to be guaranteed as propaganda by making the body of the movement itself into the content of the message.<sup>313</sup>

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<sup>311</sup> Ibid.

<sup>312</sup> Ibid., 78.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid.

Based on this argument, an analysis is posited for the hijackings by the PFLP, and the question as to what propaganda means in light of the practice of hijacking is asked, rather than through discussions on the basis of binary oppositions (praxis vs. propaganda, politics vs. cinema, or cinema about revolution vs. cinema for revolution).

Hijacking is itself a revolutionary action. At the same time, it also includes the goal of acquisition, which should be propagandized for the benefits of revolutionary action (= armed struggle). There is a viewpoint suggesting that it is acceptable for factions of the revolutionary front that the goal can be a cinema about revolution, or for the subject of movement to create the revolutionary front, that it can be cinema for revolution. The tradeoff is not between 'about' and 'for'. It rather lies in the subject of the movement by the revolutionary front, who should ask themselves what the propaganda must be aimed at, and by whom it can be fulfilled.<sup>314</sup>

The hijackings by the PFLP, which were begun in 1968, marked a new form of guerrilla tactics in which not only did the practice of taking over the enemy's aircraft take place, but also, that very act itself was used as a medium for propaganda, rather than for its initial purpose, a means of transportation. Adachi applied this remarkable tactic to cinema, and by creating a theoretical practice where both cinema for revolution and revolution for cinema could be used for the purpose of propaganda—instead of separating cinema between revolutionary cinema and the other, or choosing either cinema for revolution or revolution for cinema—the potential of cinema as a medium should be drawn out. On the other hand, Adachi also argued how difficult it was to combine the specificity of cinema with praxis in the actual screening movement:

However, the screening movement of *Declaration* that we undertook, torn between the propaganda for revolution that it should speak about, and the revolutionary character of <the world revolutionary front> that it should propagandize, did not have an accurate reflection of reality for the theory of the movement and organization as we recognized them. It posed a reality of the <theory of the movement> in which we must start again by examining the strategic organization for the Declaration screening troop, encouraging our self-critique of not indicating the creation of the subject who propagandizes and that of <world revolutionary front> on the same level.<sup>315</sup>

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<sup>314</sup> Adachi Masao, "<Hiho Sensesen> wa shucho suru," [<Critical Front> asserts itself], *Eiga Hiho*, no.4 (January 1971): 13.

<sup>315</sup> Adachi, *Eiga eno senryaku*, 78.

Following the experiences and various problems during the first-period, as well as political chaos built by the Red Army faction and United Red Army, a new strategy and tactic for propaganda were to be attempted.

## 6. The First Period of Screening Troop Movement

In this section, the development of the first period of the screening troop movement is outlined, based on statements and discussions made by people involved in the movement. Adachi presented a text discussing his theory of the screening troop movement called *Chukan sokatsu notame no noto* (Notes for interim self-evaluation) in October 1971, a time when an internal revolt took place.<sup>316</sup> In the section called *Joeiundo wa ikani okonawarerubekika?* (How should the screening movement be conducted?) Adachi reported on the status of the screening movement using a chart. The text includes discussions as an extension of Adachi and Matsuda's previous theory of screening movement, and based on Adachi's concept of expression=activist (*kodosha*), however, the roles and function of the screening troops, their relationship to, and differences from cinema and revolutionary movement are even more clearly defined.

The direction of → means the process of creation and responsiveness, and we consider that what is mentioned on the same level (things that should be indicated in the chart), cannot be said to be entirely on an equal level. Therefore, as for the positioning of the screening troop movement in the chart, I would like to propose the necessity of constructing a <theory of movement> and a <theory of strategy>, by confirming the process of creation and the process of movement as specificities of the screening troop strategies and their evolution (removal of frameworks).<sup>317</sup>

Adachi then laid out four issues with regard to the specificity of the screening troop, such as the political relationship between the Red Army faction and PFLP, screening troop strategies, and the problem of the screening troop member as subject, and claimed that the screening troop movement would not be justified without carrying out the overall evaluation of these issues. After that, while countering in detail criticism from the first period screening troop, he specifies the policies as an overall evaluation of the production and screening movement, to prepare for the second incarnation of the screening movement.

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<sup>316</sup> Since these notes were to be reprinted partially in "<Sozo> to <Hodo> no kairo", it was announced to the general public a few months later. Adachi, *Eiga eno senryaku*, 58.

<sup>317</sup> Ibid.

*Declaration* is intended to propagandize the strategy of creating <world revolutionary front>. In addition, the subject of the propaganda shall be established by carrying out the process of creating <world revolutionary front>, and the strategy for propaganda must acquire reality to include all duties to develop strategies for <world revolutionary front> through the screening movement. We consider that it is by having the reality of the screening troop <----> red rescue party, that the circuit of the people's military<---->the people's language <armed struggle> <----> screening troop=troop for propaganda efforts<---->the people will make the construction of strategies to create <world revolutionary front> possible, and also the subject of movement for the screening troop will become responsible for propaganda strategies for the first time.<sup>318</sup>

As was discussed earlier, the question that Adachi proposed was, how would it be possible for the screening troops to accept the strategy of cinema as propaganda, or propaganda as cinema, through the film production and the screening movement. However, the actual first-period screening movement was going to be dismantled due to the revolt of the screening troop members against Adachi. The background of this incident, in short, is as follows: the screening troop, with Adachi at its center, consisted of members of Wakamatsu Production, those from the Red Army faction, and laymen who had responded to a call by the screening troop.<sup>319</sup> The first incident was that the initial screening in Tokyo scheduled to be held at Art Theatre Shinjuku Bunka was cancelled due to pressure from the theater's parent company. Members of the screening troop proposed occupying the theater, but the screening location was changed to the Keio Grindhouse, also located in Shinjuku, and known for screening Wakamatsu films. Meanwhile, under these circumstances, they needed to find additional autonomous screening venues, and the nationwide screenings began. However, due to the fact that the screening was forced to be canceled by the existing commercial theater—albeit being known as a base for independent ATG or underground films—selected by Adachi and Wakamatsu, and also the fact that, despite this course of events, the production of the film that later became *Ecstasy of the Angels* continued with ATG, as a consequence, Adachi and other members of the screening troop were severely beleaguered. Furthermore, the propaganda for armed

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<sup>318</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>319</sup> "There were myself, Saito and someone named Kawakami from Wakamatsu Production. Also, people based on open recruitment, people who participated in struggle at Aoyama Design technical school, black helmets from Yokohama National University, and a young man who was arrested at Daibosatsu, or Kansai Gakuin University Zenkyoto." Arai Haruhiko, "Akabasu wa eiga to kakumei no aida o hashitta," [Red Bus ran between cinema and revolution] in *Underground Film Archives*, 68.

struggle in cinema that they aimed for prompted contradictions between theory and practice through actual screening movement, and criticism caused by this led to the internal revolt.<sup>320</sup>

While there were participants from the film side, including Arai Haruhiko, Saito Hiroshi and others from Wakamatsu Production, they neither traveled to Palestine with Adachi, nor necessarily shared the film's production process or theorization. There was also the issue of collaborating with Red Army faction, who had almost no understanding of cinema movement, or art and politics, at the actual site of the screening movement. Forming screenings with such members and collaborators brought enormous difficulties even from the outset. Meanwhile, as for the statements about the screening troop at that time, besides the ones written by Adachi, there are materials such as booklets by the screening troop and university papers. However, because they are practically unavailable now, one can only learn about them from fragments of statements Adachi quoted in his counterargument. However, some of the people involved later made comments about it; some of them will be summarized here. First, in a book of interviews published in 1982, Wakamatsu reflected on the screening troop as follows:

Then we launched the nation-wide 'Long March.' I still remember that it was raining heavily. I, who had never sung *The Internationale* before, sang the song together with Iwabuchi in front of the Central Apartment where my office was, to see everyone off. I had them take 300,000 yen, saying that they should take care of the rest with money earned from the screening, and send all the money left over back to me. But they were gone, and never sent back even a penny. After a while, someone we had been asking to come to Japan from Palestine was going to come, so from Kyushu I told Adachi to return. Then, after having many discussions I said, let's do it together, but soon after he came back to Kyushu, he was critiqued and thrown out by everyone. Then we realized that we didn't know where the bus had gone. The renegades at that time were people like Arai Haruhiko and someone called 'Small' Adachi, Arai's girlfriend and so on. Adachi was thrown out, along with a few Red Army members. I then asked what was happening now in Fukuoka. I said, "Ok, Iwabuchi, in any event, you and I should go," and so we decided to take a flight with Jumbo the next day, and fly to Kyushu, with Japanese swords packed in our bag. So, I said, first, since Arai was the ringleader, we should forget about the rest of the losers, and I would chop off one of Arai's arms, you should attack the other guy.<sup>321</sup>

Wakamatsu's statement, based on his own view—in contrast to Adachi's—conveys that, regardless of the context related to the political movement, Wakamatsu's role as the producer of *Red*

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<sup>320</sup> I would like to research and compile statements those days about the screening movement by members of the first period screening troop, and Red Army faction at another occasion/in the future.

<sup>321</sup> Wakamatsu Koji, Uchida Eiichi (interviewee), *Wakamatsu Koji: Orewa teo yogosu* [Wakamatsu Koji: I dirty my hands]. (Tokyo: Dagereio Shuppan, 1982), 135-136

*Army/PFLP*, including the handling of production costs and the screening movement, was of crucial importance. Wakamatsu, who came from a Yakuza group and became a pink-movie director, previously had no connections with either the New Left movement or the Red Army faction, however, his involvement in politics significantly increased through his meeting Adachi and Matsuda. Upon receiving Adachi's proposal, Wakamatsu agreed to go to Palestine after the Cannes Film Festival and shoot a documentary film – partly due to the fact that Palestinian guerrillas he met at the base in Jerashi Mountain were all massacred immediately after the filming, although later he entrusted *Red Army/PFLP* as the screening movement entirely to Adachi—out of his feeling that the film might be sold to TV companies.

Many people, even activists in Japan, kept saying, Vietnam, Vietnam, and their attention was all devoted to Vietnam. I thought that, if I go to Palestine now, film the activities of Palestinian guerrillas and come back, it may become something to propose as an issue. There was also the calculated thought that I might be able to sell it to make money.<sup>322</sup>

Although he was crucially important as producer for the production and the screening movement of *Red Army/PFLP*, Wakamatsu, on the other hand, created increasing conflicts and contradictions. In an interview in 2001, reflecting on the development of the screening troop, Arai commented on the relationship between Wakamatsu Production, who financed the cinema movement with their box-office sales of pink movies and ATG films, and Adachi, who leaned on them as follows:

So, before leaving, we decided to carry out a screening at Shinjuku Bunka, but nothing could be done with the efforts of Kuzui alone, and the screening was crushed by Sanwa Kogyo. Though they did not get on the bus, members of the Red Army faction were also involved, so together with them, I had Kuzui write a self-criticism and so on (laughs). I guess Adachi and Wakamatsu also felt troubled by it, but I must say, from the standpoint of my own logic, it didn't look good to the Red Army faction. They didn't understand cinema movement and so on, so the screening at Shinjuku Bunka was arranged based on a somewhat laid-back relationship among movie-related peers, and it was suddenly cancelled. You couldn't get away just by saying that.<sup>323</sup>

Arai's scathing criticism was also directed at/based on the fact that the cancellation of the screening was a top-down decision, made based on the relationship between Kuzui, the manager of Art Theater Shinjuku Bunka, the main venue for screening ATG films exemplifying auteurist art films, and

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<sup>322</sup> Wakamatsu, *Ore ha te wo yogosu*, 122.

<sup>323</sup> Arai, "Akabasu wa eiga to kakumei no aida o hashitta," 68.

Wakamatsu and Adachi. Thus, Adachi's contradiction—whose theory of revolutionary films was developed on the basis of Wakamatsu Production—was pointed out.

That could also be a problem for Wakamatsu Production, and they were enthusiastically discussing "cinema for revolution or revolution for cinema." The same holds true with Adachisan himself, and they deal with the problems in a twofold manner. While making revolutionary films, he was also making pink or ATG movies for a living. However, people like us, those who have nothing to do with selflessly devoting yourself to Wakamatsu Production out of the love of movies, strongly felt that way. Looking back, after all, I think that the red bus was just running somewhere between cinema and revolution. I mean, between "cinema as revolution" and "revolution as cinema," because there were problems with positioning against authorities or factions when screenings were held at different universities. They thought that, position-wise, we were a propaganda group for the Red Army faction, so they didn't let us in. Then, as a way of maneuvering, we said, "We are Wakamatsu Production. We just screen the movie." For everything there was this problem of switching positions, taking on a two-fold role. It was sometimes convenient, but the role itself became unclear.<sup>324</sup>

Though initially being a factional activist, Arai was also affiliated with his university's cinema study group. He was therefore asked to join Wakamatsu Production as a script writer by Adachi through the editorial division of *Film Art*. As one of the young staff members of Wakamatsu Production, as well as a member of the screening troop, he often bore the brunt of day to day of the issues on the ground, however his background of approaching cinema from politics allowed him to maintain distance from both of them, and it could be from this unique position that Arai's relentless criticism was directed at Adachi, who was making a shift from cinema to politics, the domain from which Arai was separated, on the one hand, as well as at Wakamatsu, who supported Adachi and the movement not from for the sake of politics, but out of sympathy, allowing one to read *Red Army/PFLP* and its screening movement from angles that were different from Adachi's.

Also, Wako Haruo, who used to work on staff at Theater Scorpio, and later became the assistant director for Wakamatsu Production, and assumed responsibility for the second-phase screening movement after Arai's involvement in the first-phase, looks back critically at the screening movement for *Red Army/PFLP* in light of an even deeper political relationship than Arai's with the Red Army faction.

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<sup>324</sup> Ibid., 69.

Initially, with *Red Army/PFLP* what we were aiming for was 'cinema of movement' as an antithesis to 'cinema of politics' by Godard. In retrospect, it seems that we actually transformed ourselves into 'cinema of politics' evidently at the time the second-phase screening troop was launched. Even though we called ourselves the screening troop for *Red Army/PFLP*, in reality, we had become a part of the supporters in Japan for the 'Arab Red Army', and that fact was also a reminder to try to maintain our own uniqueness in response to various domestic factions related to the Communist League Red Army faction after the United Red Army.<sup>325</sup>

While aiming for its own political autonomy on one hand, the second-phase screening troop positioned itself as a part of Arab Red Army, taking a stance to distinguish itself from the domestic Red Army factions that were eventually led into the United Red Army incident. It could in fact be due to this two-fold stance that the second-phase screening troop was able to protect itself from vulgar political criticism. On the other hand, Adachi himself also recognized political limitations and problematics in the actual screening movement, and was looking back as follows in his conversation with Sato Makoto in the December 1973 issue of *Geijutsu kurabu* (Art Club).

In actuality, it may have only been seen as a film for tourism. We call it Red Propaganda Task Force (Sekishoku Senden Kosakutai), but there is a situation specific to Japan in which propaganda and task inevitably have to be divided. It is still impossible to believe that the film itself could communicate between them, either as language or as world-view. Therefore, the direction of the community driving the red bus creates news, based on what originally existed as a text or a pamphlet.<sup>326</sup>

Rather than simply screening political and social films or carrying out the screening movement for the audience to consume, the tactics with which the screening troop, the Red Army faction, and Red Aid were jointly organized—both the screening movement and the operation of the political movement were carried out simultaneously; the film is screened as a text for learning revolution; and finally, a new form of work and movement are to be constructed through joint screening with the audience. Therefore it was inevitable that not only political issues but also various problems and contradictions arose at specific places or through the process of developing the movement. Adachi knowingly generalizes this situation as the "phenomenon of an embryonic period for the construction of the revolutionary subject which the

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<sup>325</sup> Wako Haruo, "Ware ga zendankai: Sekigun-PFLP • Sekaisenso sengen to Palestine senjo deno sonogo," [My preliminary stage: *Red Army-PFLP: Declaration of World War* and afterwards at the Palestine battlefield] in *Underground Film Archives*, 112.

<sup>326</sup> Adachi, "Tabi eno senryaku," [Strategy for Journey], Adachi and Sato Makoto in *Eiga eno senryaku*, 220.

movement—which had started politically and organizationally from a completely new horizon—had to undergo eventually."<sup>327</sup> Instead of unilaterally criticizing the first-period screening troop, he insists on continuing the movement, in which problems that arose, or may arise in practice will be construed as a part of the screening movement and screening troop movement, and that they should be undertaken regardless of their outcome. Adachi once defined the role of Critical Front as "making of a program of our assertion that, rather than cinema as creative movement concerning where to seek an auteur, works and spectators, what should be organized in cinema is to bring creativity into the movement. In other words, cinema is a circuit of communicating at a fundamental level through the practice of <criticism> by drawing the meaning of the creative movement fundamentally closer to the principle of revolution."<sup>328</sup> Similarly, in the new screening troop, rather than bringing either one of auteur, works or spectators to the movement, in all aspects encompassing cinema, including these three categories, a new form of creativity and its establishment as the subject for the movement was sought. Indeed, that was what Adachi called the screening troop movement, and this endeavor was passed along to the second incarnation.

## 7. Party and the Subject——Return to landscape

In the August 1972 issue of *Eiga Hihyo*, Adachi wrote a thesis called *Waga sensen no saikochiku no tameni--<Fukeiron> kara <Undoron> eno teni no noto* (For the reconstruction of our front line—Notes on the transition from <landscape theory> to the <theory of reportage>) to look back at the previous development of the theory of cinema movement, particularly during the second incarnation of the screening movement, including issues raised by Critical Front. This long theoretical argument was virtually the last text—except for a few short reviews—written prior to Adachi's departure to Palestine. It also turned out to be the last text written on the film *Red Army/PFLP*, as well as Adachi's last piece published in *Eiga Hihyo*. This text is particularly important because Adachi returned to landscape theory as the point of origin to discuss the production of *Red Army/PFLP*, and analyze the current situation of

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<sup>327</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>328</sup> Adachi, "<Hihyo Sensen> wa futatabi shuchosuru," 12.

the screening movement, as well as related future issues. Adachi first argues that, while the screening movement began in search of communication with the people and the masses, it only resulted in discovering reality as mere landscape, where all across Japan, even neighborhoods associated with lower class workers were surrounded by citizens and migrants devoid of subjectivity. Based on this analysis, Adachi critiques the notion of intersubjectivity, developed by the Zenkyoto group, as follows:

Even though a landscape with migrants guarantees the development of <intersubjectivity>, that cannot be a guarantee that the subject of struggle for 'subjectivity' and 'creativity' of the Japanese masses is allowed to survive. Rather, it guarantees the <crisis> that makes the 'subjectivity' and 'creativity' the landscape of migrants.<sup>329</sup>

Continuing the earlier discussion of the screening movement, Adachi argues that the notion of the subject at play here is neither the revolutionary subject in politics with a capital 'P', nor is it intersubjectivity as criticism of the former; it is, rather, the subject that assumes responsibility for the struggle, and also recognizes him/herself as being subject to change. To force one's way through such a landscape, the course of events undergone by Critical Front is reviewed, and discussed, including the Suzuki Seijun Joint Struggle incident, the production of *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, the publication of *Eiga Hiho*, and the production of *Red Army-PFLP* and the screening movement for it. Through this process, Adachi offers a counterargument to Matsuda's criticism regarding Adachi's concept of 'the <party-based>' (<To> teki naru mono). Future plans and objectives for Critical Front were also sketched out. Here, the clarification of Adachi's concept of party, mentioned briefly in an earlier section, provides an effective perspective for examining the ensuing arguments. Adachi's full use of the concept of 'party' started with the production of *Red Army/PFLP*. His discussion of the factionalism of the filmmakers, the Red Army, and PFLP first appeared in his text called *Eiga undo no senryakuron* (Theory of strategy for cinema movement) in October, 1971. Also, in his article "The best form of propaganda is armed struggle" published in December 1971, his critique was directed at the way in which political party-based themes (seito teki shudai) should be addressed. The discussion of the party-based viewpoint proposed in *Shucho: <Hiho Sensen> wa futatabi shucho suru* (Assertion: <Critical Front> asserts itself again) in February

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<sup>329</sup> Adachi, *Eiga eno senryaku*, 81.

1972, was fully developed in his text "Circuit of <creation> and <reportage>" during the period from February to April 1972, where the concept of the 'party-based', or the party-based viewpoint—as opposed to existing political parties/factions or partisanship/factionalism—is to be defined.

In the <assertion> in this journal, and also in this report, I have continued to make manifestos not for *Declaration*, but for the practice explained in *Declaration*. However, this does mean that we have established the <party-based> viewpoints to develop the subject for which *Declaration* propagandizes <Pick up the weapon!> and <Armed struggle now!>, either with the deployment of the political faction structure, or under the system of political bureaucracy. Indeed, we also know that, other than the creation of the <World Revolution Front> by joint military action, the <party> itself is unnecessary. What is called the <party-based> viewpoint for the <World Revolution Front> first of all, is nothing other than the recognition of being on standby for <joint military action>, through the continuation of <armed struggle>. It is by arming oneself and standing ready, and by preparing oneself for battle, that the creation and maintenance of one's own weapons should be sublated into the creation of a <party-based> viewpoint for the first time. It is with the goal of embodying that process of sublation that propaganda becomes equal to <armed struggle> for the first time.<sup>330</sup>

Adachi argues that not for political reasons, but rather exclusively with the intent of hands-on armed struggle for revolution, a collective body called <party> is required, and *Red Army/PFLP* and the screening movement are to be situated as its propaganda. Although the introduction of the notion 'party' in Adachi's theoretical argument may seem somewhat unexpected, it could be due to the fact that the reinterpretation of 'party' was necessitated by his engagement in the actual struggle with Marx-Leninist factions, such as the Red Army and PFLP. While Adachi stresses the necessity of the party, his notion of party challenges the existing notion of party as an organization with hierarchical structures; by incorporating his discussion of landscape theory—including ideas such as the recognition of 'being on standby', or 'a state of being prepared for battle', and using the term, the 'party-based' instead of 'party', Adachi's objective was to define 'party' purely in terms of its functional role. To put it differently, rather than either affirming or denying the party altogether, based on the context provided by landscape theory where there is no distinction between the everyday and non-everyday circumstance, or avant-garde and rear-guard, Adachi tried to restore the authentic meaning of party as a collective body for revolution. In an important sense, also, it is not the party that take leadership of armed struggle; but because of his

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<sup>330</sup> Adachi, *Eiga eno senryaku*, 61.

stance that the party is necessary for armed struggle and its propaganda, it could be said that Adachi had to clarify the role of the party, or adopt it exclusively.

However strong criticism was voiced against Adachi for trying to redefine this already historically obsolete concept. A text entitled *Ima naze <tabi> ni derunoka* (Why go on the journey now) in the June 1972 issue of *Eiga Hihyo* includes an interview with Oshima by Adachi and Matsuda. While making a comparison between a documentary film shot abroad by Oshima, and the production of *Red Army/PFLP* and the issues revolving around the screening movement, Adachi presented a discussion as to how the artist's viewpoint can possibly intersect with the party-based viewpoint. Though Adachi discusses the necessity of the 'party-based', he was brutally criticized by both Matsuda and Oshima. Due to lack of space, and due to the fact that the discussion is a digression from the interview with Oshima, the discussion ended up being published just as a summary by Matsuda.

Both Oshima and Matsuda, who couldn't help but perceive both sorrow and humor at the same time in the word, <party>, offered critical comments about the revelation of <party> in Adachi Masao. Matsuda Masao's comment —. What existed at Jerash Mountain was not so much a <party>, but was it rather the reality of a single <front>? Also, rather than saying that the screening movement was an approach to issues at the party-based level, on the contrary, would it be more accurate to say that it was a process in which what was presented initially as a party-based issue was being dismantled? We object to the Adachi's dichotomizing of individual level and party-based level.<sup>331</sup>

As someone who discovered the <party> in the process of disengaging from, rather than engaging in something, would Adachi Masao be able to properly consolidate this dispersal? The discussion must continue even after this interview. In the meantime, a comprehensive list of problems will be raised by Adachi in the next issue. That should be a new starting point.<sup>332</sup>

In response to this, Adachi counters that Matsuda is just criticizing the party outright without discussing how the party should be established, and is only pointing out a difference in position from Adachi's 'party-based' positionality. What Adachi refers to as the 'party-based' is a new concept, an approach to organization for the purpose of overcoming issues of the currently existing parties/factions.

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<sup>331</sup> Matsuda Masao. Oshima Nagisa interviewed by Adachi and Matsuda, "Naze ima <tabi> ni deru noka," [Why start a journey now], *Eiga Hihyo*, no.21 (June 1972): 20-21.

<sup>332</sup> Matsuda Masao, "Naze ima <tabi> ni deru noka," 21.

I meant to assert that, exactly because it is impossible to find something <party-based> in what the existing <parties/factions> are responsible for, that 'something' should be created in the process of pursuing how to establish it.<sup>333</sup>

This thesis, "For the reconstruction of our front line" was originally written as a response to Matsuda's criticism of the party. The notion of the party was re-proposed through comprehensive evaluations of issues related to Critical Front and the past screening movement. The debate developed in this text did not continue afterwards, however it did create significant conflicts among the coteries of *Eiga Hiho*, especially between Adachi and Matsuda. Meanwhile, Sato Makoto, Artistic Director of *Gekidan Kuro Tendo* (the Black Tent Theater), who like Adachi, was also discussing a new concept of 'party', praised Adachi's theory of cinema movement, but made objections against his argument about 'party'.

On one hand, we approve of the relentlessly <factional> principle-based approach that remains consistent throughout this "newsreel film, *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War*, as well as the violence of the work <language> as its consequences, and we deeply hope that the creation of <the movement> will be established to realistically manage the effectiveness of its propaganda function. At the same time, based on what we can imagine, we should not ignore the crucial incongruity lying between the <factional> viewpoint, which is the basis of this work, and the '<party>-based viewpoint' that Adachi tried to specify in the process of his <movement>, and that should be established as having been mentioned in his so-called 'evaluation'.<sup>334</sup>

While affirming the proposition of cinema as propaganda=the armed struggle, Sato points out that the actual political factions such as the Red Army faction or PFLP, and Adachi's argument of party-based viewpoint are significantly different, and therefore they should not be confused.

From what I have read from 'the overall evaluation', the 'realistic process' for "The establishment of a <party>-based viewpoint" that Adachi has envisioned involves a dangerous moment where [this process] may side-slip down to a slogan-like empty word, due to the hasty thought process from 'the creation of the subject for propaganda' to 'the creation of the world revolutionary front'. Even though we respect Adachi's pride as <an activist> who always tries to respond directly to the actual <situations>, and we also understand his sense of urgency, which can be even called 'tactical', we cannot easily accept something like a <party>-oriented basis (*toteki kiban*), upon which the Red Army, PFLP and Wakamatsu Production are connected as subjects of joint production for *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War*. Moreover, it seems to me that the poverty of the policy of <the screening movement> embodying this <party-based> strategy

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<sup>333</sup> Adachi, *Eiga eno senryaku*, 87.

<sup>334</sup> Sato Makoto, "Wakamatsu pro ni okeru sakuhi no <ba> wa nanika <ge>," [What is the <place> for work by Wakamatsu Productions], *Nihon Dokusho Shimibun*, no. 1639 (20<sup>th</sup> March 1972): 8.

theory as 'a part of the cinema movement' indeed must be thoroughly criticized, with all of my zealous camaraderie.<sup>335</sup>

Sato's strong disagreement with Adachi was due to his insistence on directly connecting the three groups (Wakamatsu Productions, the Red Army faction and PFLP who jointly produced *Red Army/PFLP*) at a foundational level, through his notion of 'party-based'. Sato encountered the Red Bus Screening Troop in various places at a time when he was carrying out his own Black Tent Theater performance movement. Expressing understanding of Adachi's screening in terms of his practice and theoretical proposition, Sato, as a similar organizer of a performance movement, albeit in a different genre, tried to critique Adachi's argument about 'party' in terms of his approach to organization. Returning to the discussion of Matsuda, he had a closer relationship with the Red Army faction than Adachi, and, due to having had experiences with the Communist party in his youth, and having developed an Anarchism-based theory of violent revolution, as well as a theory of insurrection thereafter, he completely rejected the notion of the party, and instead considered the Red Army faction highly as an organization, as well as their tactical and military actions. After a series of incidents—from the internal purging within the United Red Army leading up to the shoot-out with the police—Matsuda wrote a text entitled *Heishi no Katekizumu* (A Catechism for soldiers) in the journal, *Bessatsu Keizai Hyoron* (Economic Criticism Extra Issue) in 1972.

What we need here is not a loquacious yet vulgarly flamboyant strategic talk in which we find faults with policy differences about the significance of the revolution. In other words, we need, rather, a sincere approach to the problem of how our own existence and life, which always remain only in the realm of silence, can be situated in this clamor, and organized.<sup>336</sup>

Matsuda argues that, following the difficult situation of the revolutionary movement especially after the United Red Army incident, what is at stake is not the political transition from the Red Army faction to the Integrated Red Army and to the United Red Army, but only the discussion—as one's own existential issue—of what the necessities are for revolutionary soldiers at this moment. A thoroughly tactical analysis was then carried out, quoting the organizational principles of the early Red Army faction,

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<sup>335</sup> Ibid.

<sup>336</sup> Matsuda, *Fukanosei no media*, 130.

the Red Guards' Three Main Rules of Discipline, and the Black Panthers' Ten-Point Program. In contrast, through praxis of "research, operation, learning and living activities"<sup>337</sup> based on the production of *Red Army/PFLP* and the Red Bus, Adachi—rather than isolating the issues of the Red Army faction leading up to the United Red Army incident and critiquing it from outside—strove to undertake a series of issues and limitations entirely as a part of revolutionary movement. In short, his objective was not to separate the notion of 'party-based' identity from the physically existing factions, but rather to connect them in reality. However, the collaboration with the actual Red Army faction, especially after the United Red Army incident, was not easy, and in fact, Adachi himself, as well as the screening movement, came under sharp criticism. Yet, while placing himself in the midst of criticism, at the same time Adachi sought a new concept of the party and organization theory, and thereby attempted to maintain distance from the actual factional politics that Matsuda and Sato were criticizing. It is in this multilayered context that Adachi brought landscape theory to light again, and continued critically analyzing the status of struggle in Japan.

It was also the beginning of the face-to-face, confrontational struggle against the reality in Japan of how the content of the strategic debate between the Red Army faction and PFLP was used to formulate a thesis in such a dire situation as the struggle in Japan, and why it had been made into the landscape.<sup>338</sup>

Adachi argues that, as opposed to the Palestinian liberation struggle which was built on the basis of the quotidian environment, with no distinction between the vanguard and the rearguard, what the Japanese Red Army called the theory of preliminary armed insurrection, in which insurrection by the vanguard can be followed naturally by the rearguard or the masses, had limitations militaristically, sharply criticizing the fact that even the Red Army faction was only capable of presenting such a lacking, problematic strategy as this.

What spreads out in front of us is the heavy landscape of our reality, in which this 'preliminary armed insurrection' is the only form of the movement we are capable of organizing.<sup>339</sup>

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<sup>337</sup> Adachi, *Eiga eno senryaku*, 88.

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

The use of the expression "grave landscape" not only displays Adachi's recognition of landscape as the apparatus of power, but also points out the difficult situation in which all that embodies the movement—including the Red Army faction, the movement body including Adachi himself—have been subsumed as part of it internally. The joint operation between PFLP and the Japanese revolutionary fighters at the Lydda Airport is then cited as an instance of a practical opportunity to break through such a landscape. Adachi concludes his text by referencing ensuing difficulties such as the assassination of Kanafani, and successive oppressions against the screening troop and Wakamatsu Productions in Japan.

This is the state of (subjective) landscape where we are currently standing. Do we often break through this landscape?<sup>340</sup>

In the history of the Japan's postwar movement, the Red Army faction is well known for their development of the most aggressive armed struggle. Adachi perceives it even not in its exteriority, but something that is already subsumed into the landscape=power, which, as his objective, must be conquered. Indeed, the crux of landscape theory lies in the perception and recognition of landscape as apparatus of power—where there is neither exteriority nor interiority—and it was under the assumption of this definition that a new theory of the movement should be developed. Contrary to what the title of his text indicates, it is possible to discern the continuity from landscape theory to the theory of reportage, or to the theory of movement.

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<sup>340</sup> Ibid., 99.

## **Chapter Four: On Wakamasu Koji, Oshima Nagisa, Jean-Luc Godard and Group Dziga Vertov**

This chapter presents analysis of films by Wakamatsu Koji and Oshima Nagisa, who are known for their collaborations with Adachi and Matsuda, focusing on a group of their works that are closely related to landscape theory. The analysis will also be conducted based on a comparison between films by the above mentioned filmmakers and some films by the Dziga Vertov Group—including films by Jean-Luc Godard and Jean-Pierre Gorin—that are thematically relevant to issues of landscape and politics. By so doing, some different approaches to 'landscape' in the context of 'radical cinema'—in Japan as well as abroad—during the period from the late 1960's to the mid 1970's, will be further examined.

### **1. Wakamatsu Koji**

Wakamatsu was born in 1936 in Miyagi Prefecture to a family of farmers. After quitting high school, he went to Tokyo, held various odd jobs—working as pastry maker, delivering newspapers, and engaging in day-labor at yoseba (labor camp). He entered the world of the film and television industry when, as a junior yakuza member, he happened to be in charge of traffic control for a film shoot location in Shinjuku. After having worked as an assistant director and production assistant, he made his directorial debut with the 'pink film' *Amai Wana* (Sweet Trap) in 1963. After that film, he directed a number of films which were controversial due to their explicit depictions of violence and sex, including *Akai Hanko* (Red Crime, 1964), about a falsely accused man expressing his resistance by kidnapping a prosecutor's wife; *Hadaka no Kage* (Naked Shadow, 64), a film about the troubling effects of the atomic bomb; *Namari no Bohyo* (Gravestone of Lead, 1964) about the self-destruction of a thug who pushes his way into becoming a killer; *Joji no Rirekisho* (Resume of Love Affair, 1965), about a poor woman from the Tohoku region who, despite being endlessly exploited, shrewdly tries to survive in Tokyo; and so on. He became the most spotlighted director both commercially and in terms of the uniqueness of] his work within the Pink movie industry. In 1965 Wakamatsu completed *Secret Behind the Wall* (1965), the story of a gloomy and depressed prep-school student who, living in the confined living space of a housing complex built during the housing shortage after the war, lets his unfocused rage explode against a housewife, who meets in

secret with her former lover (from a time when both were activists), as well as against his sister, who enjoys free love and consumer culture. This leads to a sudden rape and stabbing, as a scathing criticism against Japanese society wherein the society is moving towards high economic growth after the defeat of the Anti-Security Treaty struggle in the sixties. This film, which was officially presented as a representative of Japan at the Berlin International Film Festival, caused a big scandal, which remains in the history of Japanese cinema.

At the time, the determination for which films would be selected to represent Japan in international film festivals was made by the Federation of Japanese Cinema. *Secret Behind the Wall*, however, was not selected. It was screened, pushing aside the officially-recommended works, because a German film distribution company, who had seen the film in Japan and liked it, purchased the rights to the film, and contacted the festival to show it there. The existing Japanese film industry condemned as an insult the fact that a vulgar 'pink' genre film would be the representative of Japan, and, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, through the embassy, called for the screening to be cancelled, threatening that Japan would boycott the festival in the future otherwise. The film was also fiercely criticized by various Japanese media—TV, newspaper, magazines etc. In addition, Wakamatsu's response to the criticism after returning to Japan—with people such as Oshima, and Sato Jushin, the editor of *Eiga Hyoron* (Film Review) and film critic acting in full support of him—created a campaign, and thereby the genre 'pink movie', as well as the name Wakamatsu Koji, became well-known to the general public.

While the Japanese film industry, which had peaked in 1958 in terms of box office revenue, was declining, the character of the film industry itself—which had been dominated by major companies—was changing significantly. Many independent production companies were established, diversifying the ways in which films were produced and distributed. Among those was the 'pink film' genre, whereby films of sexually explicit content were mass-produced. The genre was established following the *ero-guro* (erotic grotesque) mode of film that had been begun by Shintohe, one of the major companies, with films produced with actors and staff from major film companies. Pink movies and the major Japanese film industry were therefore closely related, two sides of the same coin. This is evidenced by the fact that

many of the people working in the film industry, who are currently leading Japanese cinema, actually made their debuts in Pink movies. In a sense, the structure of discrimination whereby the existing Japanese cinema required the Pink movie as its exteriority on the one hand, but excluded it on the other hand for its own survival was brought to light by a series of scandalous events surrounding *Secret Behind the Wall*. It should be noted that Wakamatsu started his career as a filmmaker associated with this industry-wise incorporated, but marginalized genre, and later came to be called the 'master of the pink film'. To counter this adverse circumstance, Wakamatsu started his own independent production company. With the participation of Terashima Mikio and Yoshizawa Takao from Shingeki Group, Yamatoya Atsushi and Sone Yoshitada, former assistant directors at Nikkatsu, Adachi Masao and Okishima Isao from Nihon University Film Study Group, as well as Komizu Kazuo and Akiyama Michio from a group of hippies based in Shinjuku, he transformed the pink film into a site of radical experiments, creating Wakamatsu Productions as a body for cinema movement, in which numerous film works as well as his own were produced by proactively promoting young filmmakers for director's posts. The collective dimension of Wakamatsu Production as part of its movement is noteworthy, given the fact that many of the independent productions which boomed in the 1960s depended on the structure of allowing a central auteur to shoot the film, despite proclaiming collective production and screening movement.

The anti-authoritarian inclination in Wakamatsu's films was consistent throughout his career as a director since his debut film. There is a well-known anecdote mentioned in *Ore wa te o yogosu* (I dirty my hands), in which Wakamatsu states that, "I wanted to retaliate against the policemen and prosecutors who put me in jail, but if I actually did, I would get arrested, so I decided to shoot films and kill them through imagination." With the participation of Yamatoya, Sone, Adachi and others, Wakamatsu expressed his animosity further, expanding from the level of personal revenge against police and prosecutors, to that against society, state, capitalism, and even further against the structure of power and control within the Leftist movements. Importantly, it is with radical depictions of anti-authoritarianism in his films that Wakamatsu gained greatest support, especially in the so-called season of politics. For instance, the Left is sharply criticized in *Secret Behind the Wall*, which depicts a former leftist who now

makes profits from stock market fluctuations due to the Vietnam War and lives as part of civil society; *Resume of Love Affair* depicts the degenerated New Left after the Anti-Security Treaty struggle of 1960. In *Violated Angels*, a Sprechchor and the sound of the TV news in addition to newspaper articles on the Vietnam War and anti-war protests are overlaid on a shot of nightsticks being swung by police, who storm into the nurses' dormitory where a beautiful young man, played by Kara Juro, is taking hostages. In *Running Madness*, *Dying in Love* the opening sequence starts with documentary footage from the Haneda Struggle on October 8, 1967, and the Riot in Shinjuku on October 21, 1968, segued into a shot of the protagonist fleeing through the West Exit of Shinjuku Station. In *Teroru no kisetsu* (Season of Terror, 1969) the film starts with still shots of demonstrations and fights with Molotov cocktails, as well as montages of newspaper reports where the trajectory of the protagonist is overlaid, and the film ends with a shot of him going to Haneda Airport to carry out a suicide bombing to stop Prime Minister Sato Eisaku's visit to the U.S. Also, in *Sex Jack* (1970) the film starts with documentary footage of the protest during the Anti-U.S. Security Treaty struggle in 1970, and next to the factional militants engaging in 'rosy alliance,' a young ex-factory worker kills a member of the secret police, bombs the police box and headquarters of the Communist Party, assassinates the Prime Minister, while further suggesting the assassination of the Emperor.

Wakamatsu, who was invited to Director's Week at the Cannes International Film Festival for screenings of *Violated Angels* and *Sex Jack*, on his way back to Japan went to Beirut with Adachi, and joined Shigenobu Fusako from the local Red Army faction and PFLP to create a newsreel film, *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War*, which depicts the 'quotidian life' of the Arab guerillas as the text for world revolution. After returning to Japan, in order to seek an alternative screening method free from the existing system, the Red Bus Film Screening Troop was formed to carry out the screening movement across the country, and as a producer, Wakamatsu supported the basis of its production, as well as the screening movement financially. Also, in *Ecstasy of the Angels*, which turned out to be Wakamatsu's first ATG film, an armed group aiming for a total guerilla warfare attack on Tokyo seizes weapons from the U.S. military base, however, betrayed by the leader of the group (the protagonists) leave the organization

and start blowing up the city to develop their own anarchist battle. This film was called into question due to its connection to the bombing incident of a police box that actually took place in Shinjuku, and furthermore, since the date of the film's release was scheduled after the shooting battle at the Asama-Sanso incident, due to political reasons, many theaters canceled the screenings and the film was released only at Art Theater Shinjuku Bunka.

However, since Wakamatsu was closely connected to the student movement at that time, and due to the fact that the student movement had declined as a result of the defeat in the Anti-U.S. Security Treaty Struggle of 1970, and that Adachi went to Palestine in 1974, he was forced to change direction significantly. This shift of course held true for many of the other filmmakers who were directly tackling the actuality of political issues in the sixties, and were also struggling with pursuing the possibility of expression in the seventies. For instance, Oshima stopped producing films dealing with contemporary issues after his film *Natsu no imoto* (Dear Summer Sister, 1973), and tried to look for an alternative in an alliance with overseas capital instead of ATG, and released *Ai no korida* (In the Realm of the Senses, 1974), with Wakamatsu as its producer. Yoshida Kiju took a long time to produce the next film after *Kaigenrei* (coup d'État, 1973) whereas Suzuki Seijun spent ten years to complete *Hishu monogatari* (A Tale of Sorrow and Sadness, 1977) by way of the Suzuki Seijun Problem Joint Struggle Committee, formed due to his sudden layoff from Nikkatsu. Also, Art Theater Shinjuku Bunka, one of the main theaters known to have supported experimental films released by ATG Films, closed in 1974, and ATG Films was also forced to change its policy. Furthermore, Theater Scorpio under the Shinjuku Bunka helped Wakamatsu establish himself as a filmmaker by promoting him through organizing special screenings of his films. Because of such shifts, Wakamatsu had to make a shift from the guerilla-like, high-mobility production of pink films to a larger framework, based on ordinary commercial films in Japan, as well as ones sponsored by overseas capital, trying to seek out a new means to survive.

## **2. Catalyst for Landscape Theory**

Since the discussion on landscape was developed mainly by Adachi at Wakamatsu Production, Wakamatsu never joined it. However, as mentioned in Chapter Two, in his initial text on landscape theory *Sex as landscape* Matsuda provides analysis of *Go, Go, Second Time Virgin*, commenting that the film "was positioned as catalyst for [the development of] landscape theory."<sup>341</sup> The script was written by Adachi while the shooting and editing of *A.K.A. Serial Killer* were in progress. Although the theoretical influence from the production of *A.K.A. Serial Killer* is evident, the significance of the ideas and direction Wakamatsu contributed to *Go, Go, Second Time Virgin* is undeniable. This section, therefore, will argue for the role that Wakamatsu's films played in the formation of landscape theory, mainly through a close reading of Matsuda's text on *Go, Go, Second Time Virgin*. The film was based on a script written by Adachi, inspired by the poem, *Mama Boku Dekakeru* (Mom, I'm going out) written by Nakamura Yoshinori, a poet affiliated with VAN Film Science Research Center. Originally however, it was said to have been based on Wakamatsu's idea of exploring the possibility of shooting a film only on the rooftop of his office.

“[We shot] *Go, Go, Second Time Virgin* (1969) just around the time when there was still nothing on the rooftop of the current (Harajuku) Central Apartment. Whenever we had time, we used to be sunbathing or get naked and suntan on the rooftop. Then I had an idea. OK, it would be interesting to shoot a film only here. I was with Adachi, so I said, "Hey Adachi, if we shoot a film only here, it would be great because we wouldn't have to spend much." It began with such silly talk.”<sup>342</sup>

In low-budget pink films, since it was difficult to secure a location and shooting site, not to mention a studio, and the production days were limited, Wakamatsu was always searching for various means to reduce production costs. For example, the office of Wakamatsu Production was used as a set for *Embryo Hunts in Secret*; likewise a room at a traditional Japanese inn was used for *Violated Angels*, and for *Shojo geba-geba* (*Violent Virgin*, 1969) only Gotenba, located at the foot of Mt. Fuji, was used as a

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<sup>341</sup> Matsuda Masao, *Fukei no Shimetsu* [Extinction of the landscape] (Tokyo: Tabata Shoten, 1971), 275.

<sup>342</sup> Wakamatsu Koji, *Wakamatsu Koji: Orewa teo yogosu* [Wakamatsu Koji: I dirty my hands]. (Tokyo: Dagereo Shuppan, 1982), 112-113

set to shoot this 'locked-room drama' (*misshitsugeki*).<sup>343</sup> In *Go, Go, Second Time Virgin*, only the rooftop of the apartment in Harajuku where the office was situated, was used, and furthermore, Assistant Director Akiyama was used as the film's protagonist, rather than hiring an actor. Rather than trying to fit his work into the framework of low-budget genre films, Wakamatsu thus took advantage of various constraints of the pink film genre, such as limited budget and limited number of shooting days, and constantly explored the entire production method, including creative storylines, directing, shooting, editing, as well as the selection of actors and the staff, in a trial-and-error manner. Though *Go, Go, Second Time Virgin* is basically a strange love drama about a girl and a boy who meet on the rooftop of an apartment building, it depicts the changing city and situation of the time period when 1970 was approaching through the landscape of Tokyo, shot from a locked rooftop. Matsuda argues the relationship between this landscape and the closed room as follows:

This [film] is said to have been based on a poem by a young poet, to which Adachi added a little adjustment, however it is important to note that the closed room where the boy is standing is an artificial space that was constituted by closing the rooftop at the top exit of the flight of stairs. [The space] was open infinitely up to the sky, and beyond the chain link fence, one can see Shinjuku, Shibuya or Tokyo Tower, in other words, the urban landscape that is gorgeously colored with all sorts of accessories. Through the terrifying paradox of the closed room connected to the landscape, Wakamatsu and Adachi vividly expose a tragic relationship between utopia and apocalypse.<sup>344</sup>

And referencing the scene at the end of the film, in which a young couple throw themselves off the roof, the term 'landscape' was proposed in comparison to the notion of *jokyo* (situations), coined by Yoshimoto Takaaki.

However, now it is only in the landscape where the boy can go. A boy and a girl jumped lightly over the chain link fence; that is to say, this film ends with the conclusion that they are destined to throw themselves into the landscape and die. In this way we are informed that, for the moment,

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<sup>343</sup> Furthermore, the same actors, staff, and filming location for *Violent Virgin* was used to shoot *Female Student Guerrillas* directed by Adachi. This is called 'double shooting,' by which two completely different films are shot in succession to economize labor costs, and two films can be shot with little cost added to the budget for a single film. In this way, Wakamatsu himself often directed two films back-to-back, or had either Adachi or another young director shoot another film in addition to the work directed by himself.

<sup>344</sup> Matsuda Masao, "*Fukei toshitenno Sei*" [Sex as landscape], in *Bara to Mumeisha* [A Rose and the Nameless] (Tokyo: Hagashoten, 1970), 122

there is nothing but landscape outside of the <single room>, which is symbolized as a single man, a single woman and a single bed.<sup>345</sup>

The relationship between the boy and girl begins when the girl, who had been sexually assaulted by a group of vagabonds, salutes "Good morning" to the boy. While they are attracted to each other, the girl pleads with the boy, who is killing all those hippies, to kill her, but he doesn't listen, and even refuses to have sexual relations with her. The girl casually says her last words, "I am going," and goes over the rooftop fence and jumps off. The boy also follows her and does the same. The two of them are shown out on the ground in a long take from a fixed viewpoint on the rooftop. The death is not represented as an outcome of the story, as the body is depicted simply as physical matter, whereas the shot of campaign posters for the prevention of juvenile delinquency presented all over the town is overlaid. As Matsuda points out, they do not have any option other than throwing themselves into the landscape, and even if they kill themselves, the outdoor space is nothing but a part of the landscape. What is revealed by the moment the couple actually jumps over the fence is that the threshold between the rooftop and the outdoors, i.e., the inside and the outside, that was presumed to exist has already dissolved. By creating a paradoxical space—not a locked room in a literal sense, but a space that is closed but at the same time visually open—Wakamatsu represents the structure of power in the urban landscape that encloses all, including that of dominance within the story or within human relationships. The tragic sequence thus anticipates subsequent theoretical developments of landscape theory: the couple aim for the outside from the closed rooftop, and materially fulfill their wish through their bodies, but what lay ahead was not implied as some kind of utopia, but just as a landscape with no distinction of inside or outside.

In the context of landscape theory, attention is mostly paid to the significance of the script by Adachi—who is responsible for the idea of staging the locked room drama on the rooftop—however it should be emphasized that, also combined in this film are Wakamatsu's restrained direction for the lifeless gestures of the protagonists and the minimalist camera work and editing. As much as the analysis that *A.K.A. Serial Killer* propelled Matsuda to propose landscape theory, on an equal level, *Go, Go,*

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<sup>345</sup> Ibid., 123.

*Second Time Virgin* functioned as creative and critical input that was crucial in constructing landscape theory.

### 3. Seeds of landscape theory

In reviewing Wakamatsu's filmography, the initial seeds of landscape theory can be traced back to *Violated Angels*. This film is based on the serial murder of a group of nurses in Chicago. The story is about a young man who holes up in the nurses' dormitory and then kills them one by one, with the exception of one woman who reached out to the young man. Kara Juro, theater director of Jokyo Gekijo (Situation Theater)—one of the representative figures of the underground theater movement, and an actor—was cast as the protagonist, and with only a rough plot prepared in advance, Wakamatsu and Kara attempted to create a unique, tension-filled time and space, based on the use of improvisational direction, while the dialogue was decided upon on the spot, as well as frequent uses of the long take. Wakamatsu commented on the protagonist in an interview in the April 1970 issue of *Film Review* as follows:

People commit crimes on impulse. Kill someone in front of him. That person, I believe is "the young man." The young man points a gun at the sea. The moment he steps out, if someone shows up in front of him, he might kill that person. That is [his] impulse.<sup>346</sup>

A series of murders is thus not understood on the basis of causality, but as a succession of outbreaks of sudden events. Wakamatsu attempted to fix the moment that the impulse flares up in the protagonist on film. If one traces back Wakamatsu's films, it is possible to point out that the locked-room drama—which starts with *Secrets Behind the Wall* and culminates with *The Embryo Hunts in Secret*—prepared the way for landscape theory. It is through these films that the methodology of disclosing the power structure by depicting human relationships between ruler and ruled, as well as depicting social and political oppression through a man and a woman in a locked room, that extremely restricted subject was created. However, whereas problematics such as these were depicted more scrupulously within the story of the locked-room drama in *The Embryo*, what was attempted in *Violated Angels*, despite its being a

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<sup>346</sup> Wakamatsu Koji and Sato Jushin (interviewee), "Wakamatsu Koji no kibakuryoku ni tsuite" [Koji Wakamatsu's explosive force], *Eiga Hyoron* [Film Review], vol.27, no.4 (April 1970): 52.

similar locked-room drama, was to connect the time and space within the film to the outside, not only in terms of the narrative, but also through improvisational directions and the use of long takes. This does not mean that time in the film's long takes is identical with time in reality; however, the time and space where the new political movement is on the rise in 1967 is filmed in long takes, so that the contemporaneity of the film beyond its narrative context is compressed. Furthermore, images such as photographs of the Vietnam War and Haneda struggle, and newspaper articles, as well as television sound, etc, abruptly inserted into a static image of a group of police officers storming at the end of the film are used to directly throw cinematic expression itself beyond its narrative context, and into the historical context of the particular time period. Wakamatsu later called this type of work situational film (*Jokyo eiga*),<sup>347</sup> which served to re-examine the relationship between the inside and the outside in film, i.e., between films and the times in which those films were made. In addition, a photograph of an anonymous ordinary young man standing in the city is superimposed on political images and sound to articulate the ubiquity of the film's protagonist, as being one of those young men with no particular story or background who would participate in a protest. Retaining the narrative framework of a genre film, by using experimental direction, filming methods and montages, Wakamatsu attempts to indicate emphatically that the film is not a mere object to be consumed as work or entertainment, but exist in the nexus of actual politics and society, or movement. Since *Violated Angels* is literally structured as a locked-room drama, in which, rather than the locked room itself as landscape, the emphasis is on the conversion of the locked room – its interiority, into landscape by external forces, it is possible to discover a precursor to landscape theory. An attempt to depict a locked room as landscape was further pursued in *Violent Virgin*, in which the wilderness at the foot of Mt. Fuji was regarded as a locked room, and then later in *Running in Madness*, *Dying in Love*.

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<sup>347</sup> "Around that time I was thinking that I could shoot situational films, or I must continue shooting something like that. I thought I had to seriously deal with what was happening in each time period." Wakamatsu, *Orewa teo yogosu*, 104. For the analysis concerning situational films and the actuality of films by Wakamatsu, see below. Furuhata, Yuriko "Kakkotsuki no hanpuku —Wakamatsu Koji no eiga to akuchuariti" [Repetition in parenthesis —Films of Wakamatsu Koji and actuality] in *Wakamatsu Koji: Hankenryoku no shozo* [Wakamatsu Koji: A Portrait of Counter-Power], ed. Yomota Inuhiko and Hirasawa Go, (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2007), 112-142

This film—whose script was attributed to Deguchi Izuru/De, but was actually written by Adachi—is a story about a younger brother, an activist, who mistakenly shoots his older brother, a police officer, and ventures on a journey of escape with his sister-in-law, with whom he is in love. The protagonists keep fleeing northward, encountering various people and customs in different places, imagining their new life, however when they find out that the older brother survived, the sister-in-law returns to him, with the younger brother opposing this in vain. As similar to *Violated Angels*, the film begins with montages of photographs and newspapers, as well as actual documentary footage and enactments of scenes from it, showing the protagonist fleeing after clashing with riot police during a protest. The scene of the protagonist running through the town of Nishishinjuku before its urban development is shot in continuous long takes. The snowy landscape of the northern provinces against the background of their escape using all forms of transportation such as train, bus, ship, horse carriage, walking etc., is also filmed. Matsuda comments that this film is pioneering because "all the gloomy landscapes of Japan, from Tokyo to the Tohoku region and Hokkaido are assumed as locked room."<sup>348</sup>

All of these landscapes—despite their varied beauty and undulations—mediated through the depiction of the irrevocable mutual dependency between the three—younger brother, older brother, and his sister-in-law—are revealed to be just variations of the same landscape; in other words, during the course of the protagonists' escape, no matter where it might extend to, the landscape is depicted simply as a part of the power structure of the Japanese state. Since narrative of the film unfolds centering on the love drama of the couple as their internal changes are superimposed on shots of different landscapes, it can be pointed out that the landscape is depicted not as that which exists externally, but rather as if the exclusive locked room of the couple were enclosing the landscape. Wakamatsu commented, emphasizing this aspect of enclosure, as follows:

Both compulsion and desire come out. The story is that as they keep running, they want to enclose the whole world.<sup>349</sup>

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<sup>348</sup> Matsuda, *Bara to Mumeisha*, 124-125.

<sup>349</sup> Wakamatsu, "Wakamatsu Koji no kibakuryoku ni tsuite," 53.

However, their intimacy and emotional connections within the locked room had to succumb to the older brother, the symbolic figure of ultimate power, who appeared in the bleak snow-covered scenery, and took away the sister-in-law. The protagonist kept on walking dispassionately, not in the landscape-as-locked room, but rather inside the locked room of the 'landscape.' It is of course not intended exclusively in this film to represent the transition from the locked room to landscape thematically, however, if the story is retroactively traced back from the landscape that the protagonists were last staring at, that landscape could also be considered identical with the landscape of Shinjuku, or the beautiful landscape of the northern provinces. As an extension of the analysis of power structures such as this, however, the development of landscape theory can be found in *Go, Go, Second Time Virgin*, filmed immediately after this.

#### **4. *Sex Jack***

In Wakamatsu's filmography after *Go, Go, Second Time Virgin*, it is *Sex Jack* (1970) that should be reconsidered as a new development of landscape theory. The screenplay attributed to Deguchi was written by Adachi, and Assistant Director Akiyama starred in the film, as in *Go, Go, Second Time Virgin*. Many actors from underground theater group *Yakokan* (Night Theatre) participated in the film. It could be said that this film, for which shooting started with the documentation of the Anpo Struggle on June 15, 1970, achieved a political extreme for Wakamatsu's films, as well as marking the end of the movement. The story claims to be based on a series of armed struggles such as the hijacking of the Yodo airplane by the Communist League Red Army faction. It mainly revolves around an armed militant group named *Chiku Hansen* (District-based groups against war), which is hidden away in the apartment of a thief who they encountered by chance during their escape, and the thief, an ordinary looking former factory worker, who turns out to be a lone terrorist providing money for the group's military operations. While militants are calling themselves *barairo no rentai* (rosy solidarity) and repeatedly engaging in sex acts, the young man steps outside, throws Molotov cocktails at the police box, shoots a security officer to death, attempts to blow up the headquarters of the Japan Communist Party, and assassinates the Prime Minister of Japan.

In the film however, 'direct actions' such as this are never depicted, but are only included as headlines on the newspapers delivered by the young man himself. The film only shows the daily life of the young man, who, though beaten and insulted by militants, quietly delivers food for them. However, when the members are arrested due to betrayal by their leader, and security police officers come to arrest him, he kills them all in a gun battle, shoots the collaborator to death, and leaves the hiding place behind.

The apartment is located in a segregated area for resident Koreans, or "over the bridge", and the film ends with a scene of the young man crossing the bridge, in which the screen changes from monochrome to color, with his gaze becoming one with the movement of the camera. A close-up shot of a zipper on a red jacket being zipped up is inserted, and staring ahead, the man crosses the bridge. In the middle of crossing, he stares at a car driving on the right side of the bridge, and a bridge and a river to the left, and then again looks straight ahead and proceeds, and the film ends when he again stares ahead, steps forward, and stares once again at the bridge on the left. In Pink film, due to low budgets and the high cost of print, films were often shot in black and white, and color was only used for the important scenes. This method is called 'part color', and due to requirements of the genre, color was normally used for sex scenes. Wakamatsu however appropriated this method as a form of expression, and adopted it for the ending scene of the film. Interestingly Wakamatsu had a red jacket that he loved and was always wearing, and since the jacket was also used during the actual filming, it could also be said that he overlaid himself on the protagonist.<sup>350</sup> However, the crucial point here is that the film comes to an end with the landscapes that the protagonist stares at. Evidently, these landscapes—being quite normal and ordinary, do not allow the action to be taken by the young man to become visualized and be presented as a specific image. What is at play, however is that the young man, with some look of determination, crosses the bridge from this side to the other side, and this indeed is depicted neither through his body or facial expressions, or based on the script, but rather through the landscape that he sees. The use of depicting the landscape through the gaze of the lone terrorist thus helps inscribe his determination in those landscapes, thereby suggesting the

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<sup>350</sup> Akiyama Michio, "Chi no kayotta mono no chikara," [Power of those with flesh and blood in their body], Sex Jack, booklet included in *DVD-BOX 1: Wakamatsu Koji* (Tokyo: Kinokuniya Shoten, 2005), 7-12.

possibility of the direct action to come. Indeed, because these landscapes are just as normal as any other, the landscape seen by the terrorist is purposefully amplified to redefine the 'ordinary landscape'.

The same methodology was used in *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, in which shots of ordinary banal landscapes that Nagayama may have seen are overlaid one after another. However, the possibility of the concept of landscape was dramatically expanded in a literal sense by introducing the method à la documentary films into a clear narrative structure. It is possible to see this as a new interpretation for landscape theory that was proposed from the side of narrative films. For instance, upon seeing this ending, Matsuda offered an even more in-depth interpretation. He pointed out that the protagonist—who already killed the Prime Minister—had to be led to assassinating the Emperor, the symbol of Japan, at the end.

However, still, who was this young terrorist, zipping up his red jacket and crossing the river, going to kill next? He essentially killed everyone he could, from the police officer to the Prime Minister. If so, the bridge must be the Niju-bashi Bridge of the imperial palace. It is undeniable that beyond the bridge there is an esteemed personage who is situated at the pinnacle of society's structure of discrimination. The lower-class proletariat's will to divine retribution is thus narrowing in on its target.<sup>351</sup>

Assuming the bridge where the young man is moving forward is the Nijubashi Bridge (built across the moat at the Imperial Palace), Matsuda suggests that the departure from the segregated area "over the river" should inevitably aim for the Emperor system in view of the historical structure of dominance in Japan. It is of course impossible to read the image of the Emperor directly in these landscapes. However, it can be said at least that Matsuda's argument renders salient the invisibility of the Emperor System, and its power structure that is embedded in all landscapes in Japan by identifying the Emperor as the ultimate target of critique in the visible landscape shown in this film in both narrative and cinematographic contexts. The reference to the Emperor system as subject matter in Wakamatsu's films first appears in *Nihon boko ankokushi: Ijoshi no chi* (Abnormal Blood, 1967). Originally titled, *Kuroi chi* (Dark blood), the film aggressively critiques Japanese modernity after the late Edo/Meiji period, superimposing the story of a cursed bloodline revolving around four generations of a family, against the unbroken chain of

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<sup>351</sup> Matsuda, *Fukei no Shimetsu*, 201

the imperial family.<sup>352</sup> The film became a big hit and was later turned into a series. His films thereafter also used the theme of the darkness of Japanese modern history brought into focus through the history of sex crimes, and also had a script by Adachi. Interestingly also, a scene of Wakamatsu in his youth himself throwing an explosive device at Nijubashi Bridge is depicted in an early draft of the screenplay for *Ecstasy of the Angels* directed by Wakamatsu and scripted by Adachi, called *Tenshi wa kechi dearu=Dai ikko aruiwa shinario keishiki niyoru Wakamatsu Koji ron* (Angels are stingy=the initial draft, or on Wakamatsu Koji in scenario-format).<sup>353</sup> The final version which the film was based on is significantly different from the initial draft, and this scene was not included, however, since the draft was published in the October, 1972 issue of *Eiga Hiho*, it is possible to imagine this as Adachi's response to Matsuda's essay on *Sex Jack*.

The use of the street landscape to indicate armed struggle can be seen throughout *Ecstasy of the Angels*. The October group affiliated with the Four Seasons party that proclaims an all-out attack on Tokyo turns their back on their policy upon the betrayal of the organization, and indiscriminately attacks the city, with weapons stolen from the U.S. base. The protagonist—who up to the end has many bombs in hands—heads to Shinjuku. While a close-up image of the protagonist walking a landscape of the city shot over his shoulder is seen, when he is finally approaching Shinjuku Street, located in the central district of the city, the camera pans to the right, and shifts to a shot of the intersection in front of the train station that the protagonist would have been seeing, and the film comes to an end. Whether the ending shot is specifically meant to designate the East Exit of Shinjuku Station, a center of street struggle in the late

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<sup>352</sup> In Oshima's *Nihon shunkako* (*Sing a Song of Sex/A Treatise on Japanese Bawdy Songs*, 1967), the film ends with championing the theory of claiming the Emperor Clan to be the descent of horseback nomads from the Korean Peninsula. It can be pointed out that the Emperor system was a subject of argument simultaneously both at Wakamatsu Productions and at Sozsha.

<sup>353</sup> Adachi Masao, "Tenshi wa kechi dearu=Dai ikko aruiwa shinario keishiki niyoru Wakamatsu Koji ron," [Angels are stingy=the initial draft, or on Wakamatsu Koji in scenario-format], *Eiga Hiho*, no.25 (October 1972): 30-53. The following is described in the scenario for the last scene.

"Young Wakamatsu running on gravel under the Nijubashi Bridge with a grenade raised over his head.

Young Wakamatsu: Uhhh!

Young Wakamatsu throws the grenade like a shot-putter.

With a blast of sound the image of young Wakamatsu freezes in the frame."

sixties, as the target of the attack, or whether it is used as a metaphor for the urban space of Tokyo is unclear, but either way, it is not expressed directly, but is represented by the landscape.

Similarly, the landscape plays a significant role in *Season of Terror*. This film, made slightly before *Sex Jack*, depicts the story of an activist who was monitored by security police. He successfully diverts their attention by spending time unethically and lazily with two women, and then heads for Haneda Airport to stop the Japanese Prime Minister from leaving for the U.S. to negotiate the revision of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. After a scene of the national flags of Japan and the U.S. overlapping, the 'color-part' continues, and we see a continuous shot of the landscape that would be seen from the car by the protagonist, who has a bomb wrapped around his body. Though the scene is partially divided, the landscapes that the protagonist may be seeing before heading to carry out a suicide bomb attack are shared with the audience for as long as one minute. On the other hand, in the last scene of the film, after the protagonist steps out of the car, walks into the airport gate in a disinterested manner, the camera quickly pans to the control tower, the screen turns white, and sound of an explosion is heard, depicting the airport explosion specifically in the form of a montage. In this scene we can see the development of the method of incorporating the landscape seen by the protagonist—especially this folding in of the landscape he sees on his way to taking action—into the narrative, which is seen later in *Sex Jack*.

## 5. Oshima Nagisa

Oshima Nagisa participated in the theater movement when he was at Kyoto University, and joined Shochiku in 1954. During his time as an Assistant Director, he published a coterie magazine called *Shichinin* (Seven people) with Takahashi Osamu, Tamura Tsutomu, and Yoshida Kiju. He introduced his own scenarios, while contributing articles to film journals such as *Eiga Hihyo* and *Documentary Film* making statements proactively with respect to new theories of cinema and practice. Oshima made an exceptionally young debut with his *Ai to kibo no machi* (A Town of Love and Hope, 1959) depicting insurmountable class differences through a relationship between a poor boy and a bourgeois girl. Subsequently, *Seishun zankoku monogatari* (Cruel Story of Youth, 1960), the tale of a teenage boy and

girl who encounter a tragic fate while enjoying their aberrant adolescence acquired overwhelming support from a young audience. Through that popularity, the young directors of Shochiku, with Oshima as a central figure, received enormous attention, and were called Shochiku Nouvelle Vague. Oshima and other directors were critical of this name, due to the problem of comparing the young Japanese filmmakers, who were still affiliated with major film companies, with the French Nouvelle Vague, which had been created outside of the existing studio system. On the other hand, contemporaneous to these directors and events, young filmmakers were proactively appointed directors for documentary films as well as for narrative films, and independent productions such as student films and personal films were burgeoning, so in a broad sense, the Japanese new wave in film was created.

Meanwhile, Oshima released *Taiyo no hakaba* (Sun's Burial, 1960), depicting the uprising of the lower-class workers set in Kamagasaki in Osaka, and *Nihon no yoru to kiri* (Night and Fog in Japan, 1960), with the Anti-U.S.-Japan Security Treaty struggle as subject matter. Screenings were cancelled four days after the films' releases due to political suppression. The time of the Anti-Security Treaty Struggle, including discord between the old Left (Communist party) and the New Left (Communist League) is recollected through the wedding ceremony of a couple who met in front of the National Diet, and is depicted in one single, experimentally-long take for each scene. As a form of protest, Oshima left Shochiku the following year and established Sozsha with Tamura, Ishido Toshiro, actors such as Toura Rokko, Komatsu Hosei, and Koyama Akiko; they were later joined by Watanabe Fumio and Sasaki Mamoru. However, Oshima's activities were restricted due to a five-company agreement between the major film companies, and after *Shiiku* (The Catch, 1961), and *Amakusa Shiro Tokisada* (Shiro Amakusa the Christian Rebel, 1962), Oshima moved on to work in other fields such as television, radio, and promotional films. *Wasurerareta kogun* (Forgotten Soldier, 1963) depicted the issue of Japan's imperialism and culpability for the war through the issue of military pensions for resident Korean veterans, showing a new possibility for the television documentary. Together with Ushiyama Junichi, a producer for Nippon Television, he worked on numerous controversial works. Upon shooting the film *Seishun no Ishizue* (Cornerstone of Youth, 1964), the story of a female activist injured during Korea's

democratization struggle, and her subsequent tragedy, Oshima used still images of children that had been shot for later use for a short film, *Yubongi no nikki* (Diary of Yunbogi, 1965) on a self-production basis. The screening of *Diary of Yubongi*, and lecture series by Oshima himself were held as a late program at the Art Theater Shinjuku Bunka. The program proved popular, and there was the thought that, if a film's budget is kept low, and then it gets a longer, late-show run just at Shinjuku Bunka, the production costs can be recovered. This led to the independent production of *Ninja bugeicho* (Band of Ninja, 1967). Though this film ended up being distributed by ATG, the basis of the film production system by the ATG had already been established by Oshima through his continued trial and error for independent film production and screening. This led to *Koshikei* (Death by Hanging, 1968), the first ATG-produced work. Films such as *Shinjuku dorobo nikki* (Diary of a Shinjuku Thief, 1968), *Shonen* (Boy, 1969), *The Man Who Left His Will on Film*, and *Ceremony* were released jointly with ATG, while expanding the opportunities of releases to the U.S. and Europe, and synchronizing themselves with changes of 1968 across the globe. On the other hand, Oshima completed other films commissioned by Shochiku, including *Etsuraku* (Pleasure of the Flesh, 1965), *Hakuchu no torima* (Violence at Noon, 1966), *Nihon shunka-ko* (Sing a Song of Sex, 1967) and *Kaette kita yopparai* (Three Resurrected Drunkards, 1969).

## **6. ATG and *Death By Hanging***

While Oshima consistently stood at the forefront of Japanese cinema from his debut, it was rare that he diverged from the frameworks established by existing filmmakers, despite his fame in an auteurist context. Of course, none of his films would be what they are without the presence of this exceptionally unique filmmaker himself, however, it can be said that his films' achievements are not attributed exclusively to the singular talent of one man, but rather are the result of a larger, collective movement, created by various people who he gathered around him. This is evident in the sort of collectives Oshima formed around himself, ranging from his involvement in Marxism-based theater against the background of the student movement during his Kyoto University period, to the launching of his own new group immediately after entering university, and joining the already active Sozoza, as well as the publication of

the collected scenarios from his Shochiku period, with the establishment of Sozosha as its culmination, using collective creativity as the basis for his filmmaking. Needless to say, cinema by its nature requires collective work, and in this sense, all aspects of filmmaking can be based on collective production.

Oshima however created his films collectively not only in terms of solving technical requirements, but also conceptual issues, including subject matter and content of films, as well as the films' philosophical implications. These were all discussed together with his staff, actors, critics and his friends. It is during his ATG period that his collective production reached its apex.

ATG started working on the production of its own films in 1968, adding on to its work distributing international art films that had begun in 1961. Its initial production was *Death by Hanging* with a production cost of ten million yen, which was split equally between the filmmaker and ATG. As there were less international masterpieces available to purchase, for about the same amount as they would spend for distribution, ATG was able to shift their budget to cost sharing for new works, and the filmmakers could request financing for their work knowing that the costs would be recovered. Furthermore, the low budgets enabled filmmakers to produce work freely and creatively. The advantages and risks on both sides were examined, and the funding method was created as a last resort. Its impact, however, was so enormous that productions of many films—by Oshima, as well as by other filmmakers and artists—became possible, including: Masahiro Shinoda's *Shinju ten no amijima* (Double Suicide, 1969), Yoshishige Kiju's *Erosu purasu gyakusatsu* (Eros + Massacre, 1969), Hani Susumu's *Hatsukoi jigoku-hen* (Inferno of First Love, 1968), Matsumoto Toshio's *Bara no soretsu* (Funeral Parade of Roses, 1969), Kuroki Kazuo's *Ryoma Ansatsu* (The Assassination of Ryoma, 1974), Wakamatsu's *Ecstasy of the Angels*, Jissoji Akio's *Mujo* (This Transient Life, 1970) and Tahara Soichiro's *Arakajime ushinawareta koibitotachi e* (Lost Lovers, 1971) from television industry, and Terayama Shuji's *Sho o suteyo machi e ideyo* (Throw Away Your Books, Go into the Street, 1970), from theater.

The planning of *Death by Hanging* began in 1963, by which time both the initial and the second drafts had already been written by Fukao Michinori. Upon making it into a film, Oshima, Tamura, and Sasaki, wrote the script jointly based on those drafts. The so-called Komatsugawa incident, the murder of

a Japanese high school girl upon which the story is based on, took place in 1958. The incident had become notorious due to the perverse nature of the crime, including the fact that the culprit himself reported the crime to a newspaper, and sent the victim's belongings to her home. Also, the discovery that the man who was arrested for the crime, a hard-working but impoverished young resident Korean named Ri Chin'u, prior to this murder had previously murdered another woman was an enormous shockwave for the public. Despite being a minor he was sentenced to death. Despite some doubts about his guilt and a clemency campaign, his sentence was carried out in 1962.

Oshima depicted the death penalty execution of Ri by the state of Japan by means of theater of the absurd, attempting to pursue the issue of Japan's war responsibility. Issues such as Japanese rule of the Korean Peninsula and resident Koreans had previously been depicted in Oshima's films after *The Forgotten Army*, including *Dairy of Yunbogi*, *Sing a Song of Sex*, and *Three Resurrected Drunkards*. It could be said that Oshima's decision to create *Death By Hanging*, in which Japan and the death penalty in East Asia were central subjects, and an anti-state, anti-Japan stance was highlighted, as his debut film from ATG, clearly determined ATG's subsequent philosophical direction. Taking advantage of the constraint of the low budget, Oshima also proposed an anti-cinematic production format that was different from conventional film making.<sup>354</sup> A theatrical methodology was introduced with the use of a single, limited set, and limited number of actors. A flexible production system was created with a small group of staff, including Yoshioka Yasuhiro, a still photographer for film director, as well as script writer Ishido, film director Adachi, film critic Matsuda, and Yun Yundo as protagonists—who were non-professional actors—along with great actors from Sozsha. The participation of Adachi from Wakamatsu Productions known for pink film and Matsuda, an anarchist critic literally represented the joint struggle between Sozsha and the 'underground' cinema and activism at the time. Adachi demonstrated extreme anti-death penalty agitation in the trailer, in which Oshima is depicted with his neck in a noose, asserting to the audience that the act of watching *Death by Hanging* at the ATG theater is equivalent to the political

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<sup>354</sup> Due to the low budget that Oshima had never worked with before, it is said that he learned much from the production method of pink film at Wakamatsu Production.

movement. ATG's adoption of using artists and performers from media other than film—which was to become more frequent subsequently—owes much to the success of their use in this film. The continuation of experiments in cinematic formats and the questioning of state and power explored here culminated in the film *The Man Who Left His Will on Film*, one of the most representative landscape films.

### **7. *The Man Who Left His Will on Film***

Originally titled *Tokyo Fukei Senso* (Tokyo landscape war) with the subtitle, *Eiga de isho o nokoshite shinda otoko no monogatari* (the story of a man who left his will on film), *The Man Who Left His Will on Film* is one of Oshima's most complex and experimental films. The film, based on the idea described above, conceived by Oshima and Tamura, was scripted by Hara Masato and Sasaki. Landscape became a central subject of the film, because Hara—through his critique of the previous generation's notion of subjectivity, including Oshima and other filmmakers, as well as the notion of that generation's auteurist subject as was discussed in Chapter Two—recognized it as subject matter. Meanwhile Sasaki's interest in the notion of landscape derives from his participation in the filming of *A.K.A. Serial Killer* along with Matsuda and Adachi. Former members of Group *Posiposi*, a high school film study group, also appeared as actors in this film.

Structurally, the film takes the form of a film within a film, in which shots of a film that a man had left as his 'will' are inserted throughout, while the protagonist tries to film the same landscape as is seen in that film. The protagonist Motoki, a member of a high school film study group has his camera confiscated by the security police while filming a protest. While trying to get it back, he becomes obsessed with the illusion that one of his friends filmed something using a camera he had borrowed from Motoki, left it as his will, and committed suicide. Based on the film left, Motoki, together with Yasuko whom he believes was a girlfriend of the dead man tries to trace his footsteps. Motoki attempts to overlay himself onto the man in order to overcome him by filming the same landscape, but the attempt leads to Motoki's own death. What dominates a substantial part of the film is shots of banal landscapes.

The All-Campus Joint Struggle League, which culminated between '68 and '69, was gradually suppressed by an unstoppable police force, and to counter that force, a new course of action for armed struggle was to be created. The Tokyo War was a policy for struggle that the Communist League Red Army faction proposed during its initial formation. They laid out the theory of preliminary armed insurrection (*zen dankai buso hoki ron*), and attacked police boxes in Osaka and Tokyo. However, a large number of Red Army faction members were arrested at a training camp in the mountains, and they thereby suffered heavily. Meanwhile the movement as a whole also tapered off after International Anti-War Day on October 21, 1969, along with the Struggle to stop Prime Minister Sato's visit to the U.S. in November. The history of these struggles, according to Oshima, was collectively referred to as *senjo* (the post-war) of the Tokyo War.

During the Tokyo War (as proclaimed by the Red Army) that culminated with [struggle] to stop Prime Minister Sato's visit to the U.S, each sect proclaimed that they would fight to the death, but ultimately with not one death, I was deeply affected by the fact that the struggle in the sixties came to an end in the form of defeat. I was also roaming around the Haneda area with camera in hand, but of course I was also unable to die. For me, how one can die in the seventies is the answer to the question of how one can live.<sup>355</sup>

The accomplishment of this work thus was not to depict the movement and struggle directly, but rather to film the war's end in defeat, or to film the impossibility of filming the war that had already ended. To put it differently, Oshima attempted to re-examine cinema as visual medium by having the cinema movement for which Sozosha had been responsible question itself. What is filmed through the landscape, therefore, is not the movement but its aftermath, not the war but 'post-war,' not the Tokyo War but the post-Tokyo War as phantasmagoria; the film thus depicts shots of ordinary landscape rather than those selected thematically according to narratives of struggle or politics. The shooting of the film itself started on April 28, 1970, the first annual Okinawa humiliation day. The protest demonstration starting from Meiji Park is depicted as the film begins, with a scene in which a high school film study group who was filming it had their camera confiscated by the police. However, with the voiceover of the film study group

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<sup>355</sup> Oshima Nagisa, "Nanajunendai o do shinuka," [How can one die in the seventies] in *Kaitai to Funshutsu* [Deconstruction and eruption] (Tokyo: Hagashoten, 1970), 189

members critiquing the protest demonstration or the movement itself, along with the landscape that they are to see daily, even the politically-charged signs in the film are pushed into the background. It is thus only through the landscape, which is different from that which is produced based on political or narrative causality, that the aftermath of the movement in the seventies can be representable. It could be said that the present or the 'post-war' was presented as that which can only depict landscape in and of itself.

As was argued in Chapter Two, Oshima himself was not engaged in a discussion of landscape theory. However, since Matsuda developed landscape theory in the essay he contributed to the official pamphlet for *The Man Who Left His Will on Film*, comparing it with *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, beyond Oshima's intention, the film had become representative of the landscape films. This further complicated the situation. Though there are aspects that make it difficult to include this film clearly in the genealogy of landscape theory, it is evident that a completely new theory of the state and power in 1970's were sought by Oshima through landscape. It can also be said that the importance of historically reexamining this film is enormous, in consideration of matters such as Sasaki's involvement with the film as script writer, as well as the subsequent development of discussions about landscape by Hara, who also filmed a landscape movie called *Hatsukuni Shirasu Sumera Mikoto* (The First Emperor, 1973), in which the notion of landscape was more autonomously understood as a critical reply to *The Man Who Left His Will on Film*.

## **8. Boy and Landscape**

Out of all of Oshima's films, *The Man Who Left His Will on Film* is considered most relevant to landscape theory. However *Boy* shot a year before *The Man Who Left His Will on Film*, should be mentioned as well. The film depicts daily life from the perspective of a boy in a family making their living by staging fake accidents for money, as they drift across Japan. Inspired by a true story, Tamura wrote the script in 1966, but the film remained unrealized for the next three years until it was completed as an ATG film. As an ATG work, the film retains a more narrative structure compared to Oshima's

experimental works filmed around the same period. The filming was conducted entirely on location; Oshima himself looks back on his demanding travel schedule:

On October 13th, I left for Kochi, and the film shoot began on the 15<sup>th</sup>, after traveling to Kochi, Niihama, Onomichi, Kurashiki, Kitakyushu, Matsue, Kinosaki, Tangokanno, and Fukui; I returned to home to Tokyo briefly on November 26<sup>th</sup>, and went to Takasaki for three days on December 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, and 12<sup>th</sup>, and left for Yamagata on the 14<sup>th</sup>, and after that, traveled to Akita, Wakkanai, Otaru, and Sapporo, and returned to Tokyo, and then went to Osaka on January 18<sup>th</sup>. Shooting finished on the 26<sup>th</sup>, and re-shooting minor parts completed on February 4<sup>th</sup>. The total excursion was 7,400 kilometers by railway, the equivalent of traveling round-trip between Kagoshima and Aomori three and a half times.<sup>356</sup>

Though the film revolves around a boy and his family as protagonists, the other subject that plays a central role in the film is images of landscapes, shot while the family are traveling across Japan freely. Due to local jurisdictions of police in Japan, which are separated by administrative districts called prefectures, the boy and his family do their business from one prefecture to another, continuing their journey of living precariously day by day, without a destination. They are arrested in Osaka, and all their bad deeds are revealed. What matters here, however, is not the characteristics and differences of the regions to which they escaped, or where they were caught. It is rather that the images of landscape depicted in the film indicate that everything, everywhere in Japan is subsumed by the state. This not only means that the entire land of Japan is controlled administratively from above by a repressive police governance. It rather means that all forms of power in everyday life are embedded as apparatus in landscape. This is evident in the images of the Japanese flag that are seen everywhere the family goes, regardless of whether metropolitan area or remote region. The family migrate silently in a landscape enclosed by such apparatuses. Despite the individual beauty of those landscapes, signs of violent interventions by the state are filmed in them. What is depicted here is the story of the family's flight, but also the process of bringing the structures of state and power to the surface through the landscape they had to see in their daily lives. Whether they leave towns to escape the hands of the police, or slip into the crowd of the city, or even if they remain nearly inhumane as a family engaging in extortion, they cannot exist outside of Japan. In the discussion of Oshima's films and the landscape, Sasaki states as follows:

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<sup>356</sup> Oshima, "Shonen Oboegaki," [Memorandum for *Boy*] in *Kaitai to Funshutsu*, 164.

I think that *Boy* is more of a film about the "boy." But, during the course of following the boy, or that family of four centering on the boy, the camera inexorably continues filming the landscape behind [them].<sup>357</sup>

The incident of a boy staging a fake accident itself is astounding and may be even emotionally appealing content-wise, however, Sasaki's statement points out that what is depicted in this film is not just the relationship between people, but also their relationship to the landscape in the background. These images of landscape, rather than being shot subjectively, as representation of the state, are something that has to be shot on film. Except for Sasaki's statement above, this film was almost never discussed in the context of landscape theory, however in light of Oshima's theoretical engagement with the issues of the state and power that were being rigorously developed starting with *Death By Hanging*, detecting similar themes in this film is not difficult. For instance, near the end of *Death by Hanging*, when the protagonist R claims his innocence and is about to open the door to step out of the execution site, and is drawn back by the bright light emanating from the outside, he is unable to go outside. The prosecutor tells R the following:

Do you understand why you came to a standstill? The place you are about to step out to now is the state. Where you are standing still now is also the state. You said that the state was invisible. But now you know the state. The state exists inside your heart. As long as the state exists in your heart, you feel guilty. You are guilty. Now you think that you should be executed.<sup>358</sup>

R, who then returns to the gallows, feels convinced by the prosecutor's statement that, as long as the state existed, he was innocent, accepts his fate as R for all people, and chooses to be executed. While *Death by Hanging* precedes discussions of landscape theory, this scene—in which the state is represented by a white light behind the door, by which the protagonist has to stand still, and furthermore, where he comes to stand still is referred to as part of the state, and the reference to the invisibility of the state and its internalization are all indicated—can be read as a step in the theoretical development of landscape theory. In this context, the family's state of drifting is what the "prosecutor" referred to as being inside the

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<sup>357</sup> Sasaki Mamoru, "Zadankai—Oshima sinpojiumu" [Discussion: Oshima symposium] in *Sekai no Eigasakka 6 Oshima Nagisa* [Filmmakers of the world 6 Oshima Nagisa], (Tokyo: Kinemajunposha, 1970), 214.

<sup>358</sup> *Koshikei: Oshima Nagisa Sakuhinshu* [Death by Hanging: Collected Works of Oshima Nagisa], (Tokyo: Shiseido, 1968), 174.

"state." It is also interesting that Oshima met Wakamatsu in Tohoku and Hokkaido for filming locations for *Boy*, while Wakamatsu was then shooting *Running in Madness, Dying in Love*, in which the protagonist's journey of flight was similarly depicted as melodrama, and a film which also serves as a precursor for landscape films.<sup>359</sup> Furthermore Toura from Sozosha, who did not act in *Boy*, appears in *Running in Madness, Dying in Love*. Hence, in the context of the landscape in films by Oshima, the relationship between *Running in Madness, Dying in Love* and *Go, Go, Second Time Virgin* can similarly be seen in the relationship between *Boy* and *The Man Who Left His Will on Film*.

## 9. Cinema of Premonition

Subject matter such as state, power, and landscape were thoroughly developed by Oshima during his ATG period, however two of his films, *Sing a Song of Sex* and *Muri shinju: Nihon no natsu* (Japanese Summer: Double Suicide, 1967) can be listed as a precursor to these, which built a new basis for experimentation. *Sing a Song of Sex* is a teen drama about the daily life of a group of high school teenagers who came to Tokyo for college entrance exams. They spend time engaging in reckless acts, such as ditching their former teacher and raping his fiancée, and searching for a female high school student they met at the site of entrance examination to rape her as they fantasized.

This time we are going to begin shooting without making what is in the normal filmmaking process called a script. When we start shooting, we will have only a brief description that simply sketches the basic images of the characters and their actions. This should be called a script of images, because it consists of the conclusions reached about the images of the work that were agreed upon among the director, the script writer, the art director, and the producer, who had discussed the work up to now. We believe that this will meet our needs as we begin shooting. Accordingly, the concrete creation of each scene will be done during the process of preparation for shooting or during shooting itself, not only by the director and the script writer, but by the entire crew and the actors as well.<sup>360</sup>

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<sup>359</sup> Wakamatsu, *Orewa teo yogosu*, 109.

<sup>360</sup> "Nihon shunka-ko" ni sanku suru shokun e [To the friends and Collaborators on "Sing a Song of Sex"], (Tokyo: Sozosha, 1967), 1. Reprinted in Oshima Nagisa, *Koshikei: Oshima Nagisa Chosakushu* [Death by Hanging: Collected Writings of Oshima Nagisa] (Tokyo: Shiseido, 1968), 179. For English translation see "To the Friends and Collaborators on A Study of Japanese Bawdy Songs" in Oshima, *Cinema, Censorship, and the State: The Writings of Nagisa Oshima*, ed. Annette Michelson, trans. Lawson Dawn (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992), 125. A minor change was made for this translation.

In a three-page brochure, a reprint that is separate from the scenario titled, *Nihon shunka-ko ni sanku suru shokun e* (To the friends and Collaborators on *Sing a Song of Sex*) Oshima proposed a collective concept and experimental methodology for the film production. Through various unorthodox attempts, including collaborations with thinkers and students from Zengakuren on scripts and direction by Oshima and Ishido, or those by Matsumoto Toshio and Tomatsu Shomei on a script for *The Catch* that had been made in the past, an approach to newly theorize a collective, group-based creation, beyond the framework of the independent film productions was worked on in this film. A plot-only scenario was written by four people including young script writers, and based on that, directions were provided improvisationally.

For these reasons, we are confident that by applying this formula, we will be able to bring off a freer, richer film production; at an even deeper level, however, there is the fact that we have great confidence in our abilities. We are confident that we are Japan's best film crew at this point in time. It is because we are Japan's best film crew that we are able to embark on an adventure that has never before been attempted in Japanese film.<sup>361</sup>

Through these new attempts at collective and collaborative creation, protagonists' chaotic sex and violence are depicted not only as cinematic narrative, but also as a series of shots—including distinct bodies, monotonous urban landscapes with the use of long takes and long shots, anti-Emperor system demonstrations by anarchists who are raising black Japanese flags against the re-establishment of National Foundation Day, and the last scene where the theory of claiming the Emperor Clan as the descent of horseback-riding nomads is abruptly championed—to successfully create a chain of events filled with tension. It is important to note that this was not meant for the sake of the avant-garde novelty of the improvisation-based story or cinematic techniques, but rather as the result of a philosophical endeavor. This horizon was to be further pursued in *Japanese Summer: Double Suicide*. The story is that a suicidal man meets a vagabond girl, and while wandering together in the city in search of a place to die, they encounter a mysterious group: killers, a random sniper, etc. As was written for *Sing a Song of Sex*, Oshima similarly describes the following in his declaration for the production of this film:

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<sup>361</sup> Ibid., 179. For English translation, see "To the Friends and Collaborators on A Study of Japanese Bawdy Songs" in Oshima, *Cinema, Censorship, and the State*, 124.

Our films are usually films of premonition. We take a lot of our material from the past and present: however, we don't use it to explain the past or present. We take material from the past and present only when it gives rise to our images of the future. At such times, the material already transcends its significance as material, becoming our images and projecting certain premonitions about the future to those who see the film. Thus, we are now trying to make exclusively premonitory films, and we consider all other films meaningless.<sup>362</sup>

"Films of premonition" is one of the well-known statements made by Oshima. It does not mean that *Japanese Summer: Double Suicide* is predicting that something new is about to happen. More specifically, it does not mean that, as of the spring – summer of 1967, Oshima and his crew immediately had a gut instinct about, and prepared a way towards the turbulent political and cultural period that was to fully unfold in 1968. It could be certainly pointed out that - when retroactively tracing history, the work was pioneering in depicting the turbulence characteristic of '68, with a plot in which mysterious characters, neither on the right nor on the left, without stating their nationalities, appear one after another, while introducing a wild girl as an agent to create mayhem estrangement. "Premonition" here is not meant for the talented avant-garde subject—whether an auteur, a thinker or an activist—to create a new form of practice or theory. Oshima discusses the notion of premonition through the relationships between characters as follows:

It's correct for one to have a premonition that they are being made by someone to commit suicide. But that someone isn't us. We are not on the side saying, "Let us commit double suicide." We ourselves have the premonition that someone is making us commit double suicide.<sup>363</sup>

Oshima is trying to present the fact that he has a premonition not that one forces others to commit suicide, but rather one is going to be driven to double suicide as a demand of the times. It is through the notion of premonition that he tried to express the situation in which one would become galvanized by something new, rather than that in which either specific individuals or a group would lead pioneering thoughts or practice. It goes without saying that Oshima, who had been responsible for the most

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<sup>362</sup> "Satsujin hyakka matawa Muri Shinju Nihon no Natsu ni sankasuru shokun ni," [To the Friends and Collaborators on *Encyclopedia of Murder* and *Japanese Summer: Double Suicide*], 1967, 1. Reprinted in Oshima, *Koshikei, Oshima Nagisa chosakushu*, 181. For English translation see "To the Friends and Collaborators on Japanese Summer: *Double Suicide*" in Oshima, *Cinema, Censorship, and the State*, 128-9.

<sup>363</sup> Oshima, *Koshikei: Oshima Nagisa Chosakushu*, 183.

experimental cinema movement both historically and contemporaneously, developed new horizons of cinema and thoughts through his works and statements. In this sense, what is referred to as 'premonition' can be generally understood as a new concept proposal by Oshima. In actuality however, Oshima contrarily tried to indicate the recognition that new thoughts and practice in the new era should not be created unilaterally by avant-garde individuals or groups, rather that he and his colleagues are simply existing to witness that something new is rising. Paradoxically however, it was most radical for him to be able to take notice of that new thing, and recognize that he simply existed inside it. Through the presentation of the notion of premonition and its impossibility, Oshima attempted to negate the auteurist subject in terms of cinema and art on one hand, and the leftist or new leftist subjects on the other. This negation however does not mean passivity. While clarifying the limits of the existing 'Avant-garde' subject, or subject on the basis of Politics with a capital 'P', an entirely different form of new subject was sought simultaneously through collective filmmaking. In the context of such attempts, the issue of subject in film is to be argued.

How can we go far beyond naturalism and still permit each existence to stand on its own? To what extent can time pass subjectively, or stop? Can our premonition, expressed clearly as a framework in our script, take root as a film? Our work from now on, which will decide this can be boiled down to these two points.<sup>364</sup>

In previous filmmaking, the emphasis was on the subjectivity of each division, however this work, in addition to respect for each subjectivity, requires scrupulous mutual interaction between divisions, even in the smallest details. Oshima aimed to bring out the potential of each individual maximally, not through a group of individual subjects, but by generating a collective subject of autonomous individuals. As a specific example of this type of organization theory, Oshima references that the victory at the Struggle at Haneda on October 8<sup>th</sup>, 1967 was due tactics in which each activist group fought autonomously and sporadically, rather than under a unified chain of command. Oshima further discusses the relationship between individual and group, and art movement and everyday life:

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<sup>364</sup> Oshima, *Koshukei: Oshima Nagisa Chosakushu*, 185. For English translation see Oshima, *Cinema, Censorship, and the State*, 132.

That a small number of people who can talk about creation directly on a daily basis do something together is art movement. Since art is based on each and every minute symptom of our daily life, art movement can be established only based on the personal relationship. And [the only way] is that those various bodies of art movements which are scattered, respectively create superb work (including criticism), [and there is no other way].<sup>365</sup>

Developing his unique theorization of subjectivity and cinema movement, with reference to problematics such as everyday rather than those of avant-garde art and politics exclusively, Oshima created collective forms of expression that differed entirely from auteuristic works; though still under his own name or his production *Sozosha* with members of extremely individual originality, going beyond the 'names,' he pursued the possibility of cinema as anonymous creation, which is also linked to the uprising of 1968 negating all forms of representation. In *Diary of a Shinjuku Thief* in which the chaotic situations of Shinjuku ranging from political movement, culture, entertainment and everyday circumstances from spring to summer of 1968 are actually filmed, the film ends with the documentation of the actual police box attack. Oshima explains this incident in relation to his concept of films of 'premonition':

Later, from October 8<sup>th</sup> to October 21<sup>st</sup>, the 'riot' of the crowd in Shinjuku escalated, but the first stir was actually created on June 29<sup>th</sup>, and that was an attack on the police box in Shinjuku, done for the first time in sixteen years after the [incident] on the 27<sup>th</sup> year of Showa. I always want to make films that stir things up like that.<sup>366</sup>

While in 1967 premonition and the subject were defined as synonymous with revolutionary direct action in the midst of the season of politics of '68 and '69, in *The Man Who Left His Will on Film*, they were to be re-questioned in the new stage of post-'68, through the notion of landscape.

## **10. Jean-Luc Godard and Dziga Vertov Group in Japan**

Though the Dziga Vertov Group, formed in 1969 by Godard and Jean-Pierre Gorin, had no direct relationship with landscape theory that was developed in Japan, in this section a comparative investigation on works and theory that examined the relationship between cinema and politics through

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<sup>365</sup> Oshima Nagisa, "Hoho dake o ronzu mono wa taihai suru," [Those who only discuss methods will degenerate] in *Kaitai to Funshutsu*, 56.

<sup>366</sup> Oshima Nagisa "Shinjuku Dorobo Nikki no shinario ni tsuite," [On the script of Diary of Shinjuku Thief] in *Kaitai to Funshutsu*, 153.

landscape will be attempted, mediated by discussions on the works of Godard in Japan. Godard's work and theories since the Nouvelle Vague period have had an enormous impact on Japan, however, it was during the time just before and during the period of the Dziga Vertov Group when various transnational, mutual exchanges were conducted. Sozosha, together with Kawakita Kazuko and Shibata Hayao from France Eigasha (Shibata organization: distribution company in Japan), organized a movement to screen the works of Godard and the Dziga Vertov Group in Japan called Godard Manifesto. The movement consisted of a total of four series, lasting from October 1970 to November 1971. This screening movement intended to re-contextualize earlier works such as *Breathless* (1959) and *A Woman Is a Woman* (1961) that were previously imported by either distribution company, as well as to screen unreleased works including *Le Carabiniers* (1963), *Made in U.S.A.* (1966), and *Two or Three Things I Know About Her* (67), along with work from the same period by the Dziga Vertov Group such as *Pravda* (1969), *British Sounds* (1969), and *Lotte in Italia* (1969). As requested by Godard, versions with voice-over instead of subtitles were created for *Pravda*, *British Sounds*, and *Lotte in Italia*, and actors from Sozosha and Adachi as voice actors, and Matsuda and Tsumura for translation of political terminology participated under the supervision of Shibata. Also *Eiga Hihyo* by Matsuda and Adachi cooperated by reprinting the script, as well as publishing translations of texts by and interviews with Godard.<sup>367</sup> Since screening and televising the works of the *Dziga Vertov Group* had been banned in Europe, it can be imagined that the role played by these advanced releases of the works in Japan was, for Godard, not marginal. Also, since France Eigasha was also handling the overseas distribution of Oshima's films, there was an exchange of screening rights between *Death By Hanging* and *Two or Three Things I Know About Her*. Texts by Godard and the Dziga Vertov Group, as well as those written about them by Matsuda,

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<sup>367</sup> For the published booklet, see ed. Fukami Koichiro, *Godaru Manifesto* [Godard Manifesto] (Tokyo: Furansu Eigasha and Sozosha, 1970). Featured texts include the translation of Godard's "What is to be done?" and Matsuda's essay on *Lotte in Italia*. For detailed background for the screening, see Matsuda Masao, "'Godaru Manifesto' no koro – dojidaisha no monorogu funi," [Around the time of "Godard Manifesto" – in the manner of monologue by a contemporary], ed. Hirasawa Go, *Bungei Bessatsu Godaru* [Literary and Art Extra issue Godard], (Tokyo: Kawadeshoboshinsha, 2002), 129-135. Also in the similar context of cinema movement, *La Chinoise* and *Wind from the East* were released by Firumu atosha (Film Art Company) —a company related to Sogetsu Art Center—, which published *Kikan Firumu* [Film Quarterly] with Matsumoto Toshio, Teshigahara Hiroshi and others as editorial board members.

Adachi and Oshima became central to the theorization of cinema movement in Japan. Additionally, the voice-over system for the Dziga Vertov Group was also to be used for Red Army/PFLP. And last but not least, both the Dziga Vertov Group and Adachi made films about Palestine: *Until Victory/Palestine Will Win* and *Red Army/PFLP* respectively. More importantly, however, practical and theoretical relationships between the group and filmmakers in Japan was established, was based on various historical events and background as described above.

## 11. Landscape in Films by Godard

Although neither the term nor the notion of landscape was directly referenced in films by Godard, it can be said that problematics similar to those of 'landscape' are brought to the fore in Godard's film *Two or Three Things I Know About Her*.<sup>368</sup> The film fragmentally depicts the life of the female protagonist living in a large apartment complex in the suburbs who is involved in prostitution, while hiding it from her husband. However the film's other subject matter is the landscape that is being homogenized by high economic growth. The film can be considered as extension of *A Married Woman* (1964) in terms of a methodology based fragments of a woman's everyday life, and *Masculine-Féminine* (1966) in terms of its sociological analysis of youth lifestyle and fashion, and also *A Married Woman* in its depiction of poverty and prostitution in the modern city. However, the narrative structure centered on characters is pushed into the background through the decentralizing of the narrative, by depicting the protagonist, the newly-born middle class with multiple women simultaneously, and furthermore, the overlaying of the landscape of the new city, represented by the apartment complex where they live. The pronoun 'she' included in the title denotes both the character of the film and Île-de-France, a new administrative district which was established in 1961 and later renamed in 1976, and thus, both the character and the redeveloped district were considered to be the protagonists of the film. The new poverty, in which female characters are driven to prostitution by a desire for consumption is explained as a political and economic issue in light of

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<sup>368</sup> For instance, Jean-Henri Roger points out the connection of this work with works from *Dziga Vertov Group*. Jean-Henri Roger, Interview by Stephan Bouquet, Thierry Lounas, "Défense du cinéma", *Cahiers du cinéma: cinéma 68, hors-série*, (1998): 38-41.

class theory, either inside the story or by Godard's off screen narration. More importantly, the sheer objectiveness of the landscape is represented by images such as enormous buildings towering in the redeveloped suburban areas, the everyday living carried on in each room of the apartment complex, the shopping at clothing stores or the supermarket, commercial ads filling the street, and construction sites; hence the film depicts the structure where, rather than engaging in business or daily living subjectively, the protagonists living in the new urban space are subsumed into the landscape and forced to do so. From this transitional work, Godard was to proceed further with an attempt to discuss landscape as representation, as well as cinema as a form of media, while referencing himself as auteur, thereby making clear the dynamics of the state and capitalism that are at work in filmmaking.

In *Camera Eye*, part of an omnibus film titled *Far From Vietnam* (1967), while shooting himself sitting in front of the camera in Paris, Godard keeps talking in a disinterested manner on whether one can or cannot shoot a film for the liberation of Vietnam. The impossibility of filling the distance, no matter how extensively one talks about the Vietnam War in Europe, as well as the fact that Godard, who is feeling conflicted himself, is part of the landscape, is self-referentially depicted. It could be said that *Camera Eye* is not a film about Vietnam, but rather about the distance to Vietnam. In *La Chinoise* (1967) the story revolves around a group of university students studying Mao Zedong during summer vacation. Against the background of a discussion between one of the protagonists and Francis Jeanson, a philosopher who was involved in the Algeria national liberation struggle on a train ride from Nanterre La Folie station, shots of banal suburban city landscapes are continuously overlaid, highlighting the contrast to the discussion on armed struggle. The majority of the film takes place inside an apartment depicting the 'landscape' where the students are learning intently. In contrast to the vivid colors of images such as scattered red quotations from Chairman Mao and others, the clash of the aggressive sounds of political language with an impoverished use of images is articulated. In *Weekend* (1967), a peaceful country landscape is depicted—filled with urban symbols such as colorful cars and a Shell truck, due to a heavy traffic jam caused by car accidents—by a continuously moving camera.

Meanwhile, in February 1968, upon the sudden dismissal of Henri Langlois, the director of Cinémathèque Française, protest demonstrations were called for by Godard and François Truffaut, and during the decisive events of May 1968, this fight further developed into a struggle to crush the Cannes International Film Festival. Godard himself participated in demonstrations and rallies in the streets of Paris, and jointly with *Cinétracts* (1968), the independent film production movement for political agitation formed by directors including Chris Marker, he released short films consisting of montages of documentary images of the protest movement, his own films from the past, and political slogans. After the May revolution, Godard launched the editing of *Le Gai Savoir* (*Joy of Learning*, 1968), for which filming was completed in January. This marks the transition from the period of his early commercial narrative films to the era of the *Dziga Vertov Group*. The story is set in a film studio where the protagonists, a student activist and a worker, are engaged in discussions on images, films, photographs, arts, science, media, politics, etc. The film is shot with extremely unadorned and spare lighting, straightforward and devoid of frills. While the presence of the protagonists is evident, the film articulates the importance of the impersonal 'landscape', which is unconventional in comparison to cinematography in character-based narrative film. In short, whereas Godard's films from *Two or Three Things I Know about Her* to *Weekend* indicate the structure of power inexorably filmed in banal scenes and landscape within the framework of fiction films, it could be said that starting in Godard's films starting from *Joy of Learning*, mediated by quite limited images of landscape, the political analysis of the structure of cinema as an audio-visual medium of representation itself is strengthened. Also, the sound and voice are clearly articulated against images of visually empty scenes of discussions, in an attempt to make sound and image break free from their relationship of subordination, and establish their own autonomy.

In *One Plus One* (1968), the rehearsal sessions for *Sympathy For the Devil* by the Rolling Stones, each scene is filmed as one shot, a series of uninterrupted takes. Along with this sequence, shots of militants from Black Panthers' performing a revolution play in a junkyard are included. In *Un film comme les autres* (*A Film Like Any Other*, 1968) a discussion of the events of May to June 1968 is filmed, endlessly, with extraordinary framing and in long shots, between students from Nanterre, and workers

from the Renault factory, with their faces hidden in the shade of tall grass in a field near an apartment complex outside Paris. Meanwhile, various black and white documentary footage shot during protests is inserted into those color sequences. The soundtrack consists of the off screen reading of texts on revolution in France and abroad, from the French Revolution leading up to the May revolution. The structure of power in the suburbs is thus highlighted by the landscape of the field spread with the high-rise apartment complex and highway bridge in the background. In addition, documentary shots of intense protests on the street, university, and factory are meticulously montaged with the monotonous landscape, thereby evading the interpretation of those images exclusively on an ideological basis. In addition to the use of images such as these, another noteworthy aspect of this film is the political aspect in sound=words. Godard himself recalls that this work "can be mechanically decomposed into three elements — two visual images and one auditory image".<sup>369</sup> Here, based on Godard's defining sound=words as auditory-image, it is clear that the possibility of autonomy of sound in cinema was intended. At the same time however, words, as well as sound and image, have a prominent role in this film. In a conversation with Solanas, Godard looks back on this film as follows:

I made a film with students talking to workers and it was very clear: the students talked all the time and the workers never...The workers among themselves talked a lot...But where are their words? Not in the newspapers, not in the films.<sup>370</sup>

In an interview in the January 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1969 issue of *Tribune socialiste* Godard states more succinctly:

That was a film about words. Those words that are often sealed between them, when students and workers get together, and those words that were released there, I needed to present them.<sup>371</sup>

Clearly, in a sense of articulating a political argument versus images, Godard's statement testifies to the fact that workers do not have their own words, and thus the film is about the absence of words. In the film it is not that workers are not talking at all, however, it can be pointed out that their voice is not

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<sup>369</sup> Ed., Alain Bergala, *Jean-Luc Godard par Jean-Luc Godard: Tome 1 1950-1984* (Paris: Cahiers du Cinema, 1998), 364.

<sup>370</sup> Godard on Solanas/Solanas on Godard, in *Selections from New Latin American Cinema*, ed., Coco Fusco, (New York: Hallwalls Contemporary Art Center, 1987), 89.

<sup>371</sup> Ed., Bergala, *Jean-Luc Godard par Jean-Luc Godard: Tome 1 1950-1984*, 335.

heard as the discussions by the students. In short, the film depicts the impossibility of representation or representing in words=sound, as well as in images, and hence, in order to respond to the events of May, 1968 an approach that Godard took in this film was to seek content and form in which the anonymity of discussion can be secured, and the structure of power in image and sound into light should be brought to light, and finally, the negation of representation by such image and sound should be expressed.

Films about 'May' were created based on a viewpoint which was separate from the commercial films as a starting point. They were also created as part of personal political activities. These films are not seen as spectacles, therefore it is not possible to consider them as spectacle. As a matter of fact, films about May have to be well made to the extent possible. However, that which was created well to the extent possible still remains to be seen, and may gradually become clear going forward.<sup>372</sup>

Based on this context, it can be said that it is in *A Film Like Any Other* that, as a turning point, the experiments in image and sound initially introduced in *Two or Three Things I Know About Her* were radically developed, and that even based on its negation, a new cinematic horizon can be opened up. The depiction of class struggle by means of words was made possible by disclosing the structures of power by sound, as well as by images in the form of landscape. In the same interview however, as self-critique, Godard refers to it as being nothing but a revisionist film that was thought of by himself, even though the film is more revolutionary in comparison to *Joy of Learning*. Despite the fact that the director's name is actually absent in the credits, and the script, filming, and editing are attributed to both Godard and ARC Group, he strongly critiques it as auteurist, and as created individually, and this was to lead him to the formation of Dziga Vertov Group, for the purpose of carrying out movement-based, collective and anonymous film production.

## **12. Landscape during the Period of Dziga Vertov Group**

In December 1968 Godard filmed *British Sound*, a documentary about Britain, jointly with Jean-Henri Roger, a young Maoist and editor of the journal, Action. Though the film's credits show that the film was co-directed and scripted by Godard and Roger, this practically marks the beginning of Dziga

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<sup>372</sup> Ibid, 332.

Vertov Group. The finished film, which had been scheduled to be aired on London Weekend Television, resulted in the rejection of screening. The film consists of six sequences on the basis of the subjects: 'workers', 'struggle', 'capital', 'workers' again, 'students' and 'revolutionary sound', and the operations in image and sound executed in *A Film Like Any Other* were developed further, politically and analytically, with an emphasis on the aspect of 'sound film'. As is evident in the opening shots with word 'images' crossed out, the film is clearly intended as a critique of images. In the September-October, 1969 issue of *Cinéthique*, on behalf of Dziga Vertov Group, quoting a narration used in the film, Godard issued a manifesto called, *Premiers 'sons anglais'* (First "British Sounds").

The bourgeoisie created a world in its image. However, it also created an image in its world. The bourgeoisie creates an image of its world that it calls a reflection of reality. <Photography is not a reflection of reality but reality as reflection of reality.><sup>373</sup>

Godard further points out that photographic media was nothing but an invention designed to camouflage reality as an ideology of new communication for the masses. In this work, 'sound' was juxtaposed against 'bourgeois' images, and then further 'revolutionary' sound against 'imperialist' sounds.

This film pertains to a sound that is placed in opposition to some other sound. It is about a revolutionary sound that is placed in opposition to some imperialistic sound. But this is to be expressed in this film itself, on the film strip, through something dialectical (Eisenstein) which is none other than a struggle for image and sound.<sup>374</sup>

Godard then proposes a critique of image as representation using the Marxist concept of surplus value.

Is there an opportunity for surplus value to have an effect on representation? Is surplus value not created when reality is reproduced (or represented)? Is the Marxist notion of surplus value not a useful weapon in the struggle against the bourgeois concept of representation?<sup>375</sup>

Representation in image and sound is understood precisely as exploitation from filmed reality, and through dialectical methodology, by colliding image against image, image against sound, or sound against sound, Godard aimed to point out and dismantle fundamental structural problems of cinema as a

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<sup>373</sup> Ibid., 337.

<sup>374</sup> Ibid., 338.

<sup>375</sup> Ibid.

medium of representation. Therefore, in this work, the images of the landscapes at the factory, university, or in everyday life as elements of representation, become objects to be analyzed and criticized through other images or sounds. If films up to the Dziga Vertov Group were assumed to visualize the violence of the state and Capitalism or Communism through the representation of landscape, it could be said that after the Dziga Vertov Group, emphasis was placed rather on the politics of representation in image and sound itself, including landscape. These attempts were to be fully unfolded in the Group's second film, *Pravda*.

*Pravda* was edited by Godard, based on material shot by Godard and Roger, and cinematographer Paul Burron in Prague, Czechoslovakia in April 1969. The film consists of four parts, in which a couple named Vladimir and Rosa, who are off screen, analyze and critique documentary footage shot during the Prague Spring when the democratization movement was suppressed by the Soviet Union's military interventions: a presentation with respect to the specific situation of Czechoslovakia is delivered in Part one, that presentation is then diagnosed as revisionism in part two, and in part three, as prescriptions against those false images, a Marxist-Leninist discourse is presented as correct sound, and finally, in part four, after a short evaluation, Mao Zedong's struggle based on three kinds of social practice is addressed. As Godard himself pointed out, that "<political> shooting, but in reality it is shooting based on <political tourism>, nothing more, nothing less." or "hasty, opportunist, petit-bourgeois shooting,"<sup>376</sup> documentary footage—that was originally difficult to make into work—was reincarnated as a political film through Marxist-Leninist-based self-critical re-examination and editing after returning to France. With a technique based on Dziga Vertov's Kino-Eye theory, with an emphasis on the editing process, those images came together as one material, and a new relationship between image and sound was sought. As an affirmative aspect of this film, Godard lists the fact that cuts and scenes where working-class or productions are captured were able to be rescued at the end by organizing editing, without abandoning filmmaking.

And to pick up simple images is to refuse to create excessively perfect images about the world. Also, it is not even that the same image (or sound) remains to be the image (or sound) of struggle;

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<sup>376</sup> Ibid., 340

it is to make them become an image (or a sound) about struggle, about critique, and about change, and to make them become an image (or a sound) to struggle, to critique, and to change.<sup>377</sup>

Experiments to politically reconstruct images and sounds taken by themselves through editing culminated in *Le vent d'est* (Wind from the East, 1969) and *Lotte in Italia*, and also after the Vertov Group era, they bore fruit methodologically in *Ici et ailleurs* (Here and Elsewhere, 1975). For instance, the editing of *Pravda* was actually conducted after filming and editing *Wind from the East*. Faced with the limitation of the shooting method, Godard stalled. The work was however made possible by innovative editing methodology by Gorin. Godard states as follows:

His work was to try to overturn the traditional notion of editing. Rather than considering editing as simply combining and collaging cuts, he tried to consider it as a way to systematize cuts. Thanks to his work, we were able to break free from the impasse. Gorin's work was something that made me try to ask myself politically about images and sounds, and the relationship between images and sounds.<sup>378</sup>

*Wind from the East* was shot in Italy in May-June 1969 by Godard, Gorin, and Gérard Martin, with activist Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Italian script writer Sergio Bazzini, who co-wrote the screenplay. Also, in this film, the name Dziga Vertov Group first appeared for the directing credit. In the film, while a revolutionary western is performed in the field by caricatured characters such as 'Union soldier,' 'Indian,' 'bourgeois girl' 'union delegate,' and 'fighter,' shots of the cast and crew discussing the film, images of landscape such as factories, a rural village, and apartment complex, as well as black and red screens are inserted intermittently, along with an off-screen voice-over continuously critiquing the film's images. Godard speaks about his approach to a spaghetti western film as follows:

The intention was not to say that this is a correct image, but the intention was rather to say that this is just an image. It was not like trying to say that this is an image of a Union officer riding a horse. It was rather intended to say that this is an image of a horse and a Union office. And an attempt to say that in *Wind from the East* was quite an aggressive thing to do. Because in that film we were taking the major position of the enemy called western as <an image> that the West has been imposing on other countries—by using any means.<sup>379</sup>

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<sup>377</sup> Ibid., 340

<sup>378</sup> Ibid., 366

<sup>379</sup> Ibid., 366.

By creating a Western film—which symbolizes Hollywood—in light of Marxism, the aim was to deconstruct the Hollywood cinema as an institution centered on 'stars' and story-based spectacles. Structurally, a quasi-spaghetti western drama unfolds in landscape, or 'nature' discovered in the process of modernization, while being interrupted by the screen turning to black or red, scratched-up images a la experimental films, discussions as self-critique, and so forth. In the second half of the film, when a landscape of workers working in rural village or a factory, a suburban ghetto, and a housing complex are overlaid, the film criticizes cinema vérité by stating that the masses cannot be filmed by simply turning the camera towards them. The film contends that images and sounds are those of the ruling class, which are dependent on the Hollywood-Mos Film industry, and also points out structural issues to do with photography being an institutional and bourgeoisie medium at its origin, and finally, armed struggle is called for, while practical images of bomb- and weapons-making relevant to direct action, landscapes of blown-up buildings, a market, and children waiting for after-school pickup are montaged along with the sounds of explosion. Furthermore, workers on duty early in the morning at the Citroën plant are shot in long takes with a fixed camera, while a civil war between capital and labor, as well as rebellion against the bourgeoisie and revisionists are called for. During the events of May 1968, collective film production in order to put thoughts into praxis was vastly significant in terms of cinema movement. In fact, the most important contribution production turned out to be participation of Gorin. Godard, along with Gorin, recalls the film's production process as follows:

Gorin: Let's take a film like *East Wind*, which was very involved in the spirit of the May-June events, because all sorts of people were gathered together there. There were the people who were around Danny Cohn-Bendit, there were Marxist-Leninist people like me and Jean-Luc—it was some sort of liberal gathering of people. And it failed because there was no real political discussion. What happened was that the two Marxists really willing to do the film took power, and ...

Godard: All the anarchists went to the beach. (laughter)<sup>380</sup>

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<sup>380</sup> The Dziga Vertov film group in America: An interview with Jean-Luc Godard and Jean-Pierre Gorin, by Michael Goodwin, Tom Luddy and Naomi Wise, *Take One*, vol.2, no.10 (1970): 17.

Initially the script started to be written collectively by twenty-nine people, however, it is suggested that, as the production went on, there were difficulties in the end. It could be said that the tumultuous aspects of the movement inherited from '68 took root in this film as well. *Lotte in Italia*, directed by Godard and Gorin, was filmed in December 1969. RAI in Italy produced the film, but it was again denied screening. Consisting of four parts, the film depicts a young female student involved in revolutionary movement in Italy, and her rigorous self-critique of bourgeois ideology that permeates her daily life. In the first one, themes such as 'political activism', 'university', 'society', 'family', 'housing', 'sex', and 'identification' are presented visually, however at the end of the sequence the protagonist herself points out that images such as these are none other than fragments of her own self, or 'reflection rather than reality'. The second part is constructed primarily based on the depiction of the protagonist's reflection on her daily living and how contradictions therein can be overcome through Marxist theory and praxis. It concludes that what is asked for is the ideological struggle between bourgeoisie and revolutionary movement. The third part provides structural analysis concerning what sort of ideological function was at play in the first and second parts; for instance, while specific relations of production at places like a factory that are concealed behind the day-to-day living indicated in the first part are found out, the intellectual reproduction of teaching workers knowledge acquired at university as an ideological state apparatus is also referenced. Criticism is further aimed at the fact that only relations of capitalistic production are mentioned in the second part, and it is decided that the struggle should be expanded to the legal and political domains. In the fourth part, the question as to how the protagonist must actually develop the struggle is posed.

At that time Italy was experiencing so-called *L'autunno caldo* (hot autumn), a period in which an aggressive struggle centering around the labor movement was underway, however, as is different from what one can expect from the title, even though discussion of such movement is depicted, actual documentary footage never appears in the film. Except for several shots that were taken at factories in the suburbs of Milan or near Lille, almost all filming was conducted in the apartment of Godard and Anne Wiazemsky. Gorin expresses the reason straightforwardly as follows:

We were not involved in the revolutionary movement in Italy, so we decided to make the film mainly in Paris, and then to add a few shots of the Italian situation—very well-chosen, important shots.<sup>381</sup>

With an Italian student militant as protagonist, Godard and Gorin poses a question not about politics with a capital 'P', but rather politics in everyday life. Godard was at first skeptical of the methodology of militant documentation. In the same interview he criticizes the American Newsreel group as follows:

They are just trying to spread other information than the Establishment. It's not enough just to show students on strike or people rioting—the task of the militant filmmaker is much more difficult. How can you build an image of a riot, how can you build an image of a striker, when you don't belong to the working class?<sup>382</sup>

It can be pointed out that many of the Newsreel group filmmakers were in fact rolling the camera while directly participating in the movement, however, Godard contends that, instead of filmmakers filming from the outside, those who are actually participating in the movement themselves should shoot films and images regardless of their experience or skills, and if filmmakers themselves are going to shoot a film, production should be made jointly with those participants. As an extension of the proposal, since he was not participating in the worker's movement in Italy, Godard decided to take a different approach in terms of content and form to shoot a film about the political situation in Italy. It is therefore important to note that rather than movement-related images, shots of a black screen like those that started to appear after *Wind From the East* were to be frequently employed; the black screen in the first part serves to indicate the protagonist's lack of political consciousness, for which the attention was evoked in the second part. In the third part, instead of the black screen, images of factory labor are shown in an attempt to visualize the relations of production that are rendered invisible by daily bourgeois life. Problems of visibility and invisibility in images are thus to be challenged in the context of class struggle. Concerning this black screen and its technique, in discussing *Lotte in Italia*, Matsuda argues as follows:

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<sup>381</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>382</sup> Ibid., 23.

I would rather like to see a truly sincere sense of arrangement in order where his agony in method—like colorful paints that were thrown too casually on the canvas in *Wind From the East*—inevitably has to pass when it is aiming for a single direction, and is beginning to be crystalized within Godard himself. I or Adachi Masao or Sasaki Mamoru would propose rather a <landscape> than a <black screen>. However, the problem is not within a simple dichotomy between <black screen> and <landscape>. Indeed, the problem lies in [the question] of what should mediate both [of us], who shared the same agony in method in a global simultaneity.<sup>383</sup>

In comparison to landscape theory, Matsuda discusses a black screen in this film based on the notion of global simultaneity surpassing theoretical and methodological differences, as well as individual-based relation of influence. On the other hand, Adachi summarizes what transpired before Godard reached the black screen as follows:

Godard was trying to film the fact that his own gaze trying to film images, even though it is aiming at everything in the situation, is none other than an image to be looked at by filming objects to film and persons filming and offset them. And finally, it has become <a black screen> as something to be looked at synergistically consisting of objects to film, objects to be filmed.<sup>384</sup>

In response to the black screen as a method, Adachi criticizes that it is simply "part of Godard's method, which digested 'the old scheme of politics and art,'" and "when duty unique to <work>, duty unique to <auteur> are turned into methodology introspectively, it only becomes <work>. Furthermore, quoting the above writing by Matsuda, Adachi launched a declaration titled, *What should not be done?* as a critical response to the black screen, Dziga Vertov Group, and Godard.

When Matsuda Masao thus points out, the contrast between Godard, who has used <the black screen> in *Lotte in Italia*, and auteurs (including myself) who have used landscape theory by holding it in private as the so-called "Serial Killer" first has to be viewed objectively.<sup>385</sup>

As the comparison between the film theory of Dziga Vertov and the landscape theory of Adachi and Matsuda attests, both are significantly different politically and methodologically. The Vertov Group, with a strong belief in Marxist-Leninist philosophy, aimed to dismantle the political structure of power in images and sounds through a process of editing, and to reorganize their relations. Therefore, a landscape

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<sup>383</sup> Matsuda Masao, "Itaria ni okeru toso' Oboegaki" [Memorandum for *Lotte in Italia*] in *Godardu Manifesto*, 21.

<sup>384</sup> Adachi, *Eiga eno senryaku*, 138.

<sup>385</sup> Adachi, *Eiga eno senryaku*, 146.

such as a city, factory or rural village is just one of the aspects in the film newly consisting of new images and sound. In contrast, Adachi and his colleagues, by overlaying one image of banal landscape over another, tried to articulate the structure of power implied in those landscapes in an attempt to generate new meanings by representing landscape. Neither revolutionary messages nor signs are contained either directly or indirectly in individual landscapes. Instead, through closely examining them, they strove to evoke the possibility of new events arising; in other words, rather than being the author unilaterally documenting the object to be filmed and editing the image, they eliminated the relations of dependency between the seer and the seen, or filming and being filmed, thereby trying to bring out new subjectivity and autonomy on the side of the spectator. Despite the shared denial of auteurism, the Marxist-Leninist dialectics of the Vertov Group and the anarchism-based methodologies of Adachi and Matsuda were in contrast with each other in terms of understanding subjectivity and its conceptualization. It is evident, for instance, in the comparison between a shot in *Wind From the East*, in which the call for action is specifically indicated through a montage of the daily landscape, with the scene of an explosion on the one hand, and shots of monotonous daily landscape (despite its being the object to be destroyed) in *A.K.A. Serial Killer*—which suggests the potentiality to leap into action for armed struggle—on the other. Of course the Vertov Group is not straightforwardly proposing praxis only, and not everything about the group can be understood based on schematically-informed ideology. Rather, it could also be said paradoxically that it is within the discrepancies between politics and cinema, or the gaps between images and sounds that are created due to their thorough adherence to dialectics that characteristics unique to the Vertov Group reside; indeed, it is due to their attempt to carry out the theory as film that the political movement supported by the theory and its praxis can be critically understood as well. Importantly however, despite their differences, there was also a similarity in terms of the way the problem was raised; i.e., rather than by directly documenting the existing movement itself, by calling into question possibility or impossibility of representation through landscape, as well as images and sounds, and thereby fundamentally exposing the structure of governmental power based upon which they are constituted. On the other hand, it can also be pointed out that the methodologies by which revolutionary agitation and

intertitles are overlaid against ordinary landscapes, and images and sounds are juxtaposed or distanced from each other through editing in *Red Army/PFLP* bears more similarities to the Dziga Vertov Group than to *A.K.A. Serial Killer*.

The Dziga Vertov Group was virtually dissolved with their last film, *Tout va bien* (1972), co-directed by Godard and Gorin, featuring Yves Montand and Jane Fonda as protagonists. It depicts a wildcat strike at a meat factory, via Vladimir and Rosa, a political comedy based on the Chicago Eight Trial. In a broader sense however, *Here and Elsewhere*, for which Godard and his new partner Anne-Marie Miéville re-edited footage from *Until Victory* shot during the Vertov Group period, was to be their last film.

### **13. *Here and Elsewhere***

In February 1970, Godard, Gorin, and Armand Marco, in cooperation with Fatah, began shooting the film *Until Victory* in Jordan, Lebanon and Syria.<sup>386</sup> The filming continued intermittently, wrapping up in July. Two months later, an operation under the leadership of the Jordanian King Hussein to wipe out armed Palestinian insurgents known as "Black September" was implemented, and many of the guerrillas shown in the film lost their lives. Due to that, and drastic changes in the situation surrounding Palestine, filming was interrupted for a long time. Later, when Godard was checking the footage shot with Miéville, he noticed that the voices of guerrilla soldiers criticizing the higher-ups were not interpreted. With the task of correctly conveying that voice as a major theme, *Until Victory* was restructured as a film not about

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<sup>386</sup> For production cost, it states in the film, "6,000 dollars from League of Arab States." Also, at the press conference at the Cannes Film Festival in '75, Godard made the following statement: "As for the film about Palestine, three of us —Anne-Marie, I, and Jean-Pierre Gorin, who left two years ago, started creating it four years ago, and recently it was finally completed. In those days, based on millions francs provided from Jacques Perrin and League of Arab States, the production was moved forward jointly with the PLO, and the film was finally completed two weeks ago. "*Kannu eigasai deno kashakaiken '75 · 5 · 16 'Jinsei no rimeiku'*," ["Remaking life" at a press conference at the Cannes Film Festival on May 16, '75"], Godard no zentaizo [A Comprehensive Picture of Godard], ed. and trans. Okumura Akio (Tokyo: Sanichishobo, 1979), 492. League of Arab States is an organization of Arab states, established in 1945. With the approval of the League in '64, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was founded. Fatah practically plays a central role in the PLO. Also, upon visiting the U.S., Godard answered that the reason "We came here for money reasons, to get a little money for the living expenses of the three or four people who are working on the movie we made in Palestine two months ago." Godard, "The Dziga Vertov film group in America: An interview with Jean-Luc Godard and Jean-Pierre Gorin," 16, therefore presumably the production cost provided from the Arab side may not have been sufficient.

the Palestinian Revolution, but concerning the relationship between the idea of here=France and elsewhere=Palestine. Materials that had been shot during the Vertov period and had yet to be made into a film were re-compiled by Godard and Miéville, and, revising the title to *Here and Elsewhere*, the film was completed in 1975.

Before examining *Here and Elsewhere*, a brief summary concerning the circumstances surrounding *Until Victory* may be worthwhile. The reference was made by Godard in his proposal to Fatah: first, in response to the question as to why Palestine and Fatah were chosen, Godard stated that, as French militants, paying a visit to Palestine, which, among the former British and French colonies in the Middle East is the most trouble with contradictions is rather appropriate. Also, as a result of reading their programs and having discussions repeatedly, they decided that, because Fatah differed from other Marxist-Leninist factions like DFLP, and refused to call themselves a party or front, and was trying to organize an even broader movement in practice, they would like to shoot the film jointly with the group.<sup>387</sup>

It is very difficult to talk to the higher officials about *the image* that has to be constructed of the Palestinian revolution, and about *the sound* that has to accompany (or contradict) this image. But it is exactly this difficulty that is positive. It poses in concrete terms the contradiction between theory and practice: between political front and artistic one. When we arrived in Amman, we were told, “what do you want to see?” We answered, “everything!” We have seen the Ashbals, the training of the militia, the bases in the South, the North and the Centre. We have seen the school of war orphans. We have seen the school of higher-ups, the medical centers. Then they told us “what do you want to film now?”. We said “we don’t know” – “How come you don’t know?” – “No, we would like to talk, and learn with you. You don’t have a lot of munition for the Kalachnikovs and RGB’s. We don’t have many images and sounds. The Imperialists (Hollywood) have ruined and destroyed them. So we can’t waste them.”<sup>388</sup>

It is said that the text above was published in July, 1970, however the intention was to communicate the outline of the film prior to the start of full-blown shooting. Thus, in terms of content, because of the assumed joint production with Fatah, the text goes beyond the context of simply

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<sup>387</sup> The DFLP (Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine) criticized the PFLP's policy for the armed struggle, and became a separate organization to develop more grass-roots-based movement. It is unclear whether the Dziga Vertov Group contacted organizations other than Fatah and DFLP or not.

<sup>388</sup> Jean-Luc Godard, "1969-1976— A propos de *Ici et ailleurs* de Jean-Luc Godard: un Manifeste inédit" in *La Palestine et le Cinema*, ed. Guy Hennebelle and Khemais Khayati (Paris: E.100, 1977), 207. The present English translation by Stoffel Debuysere slightly modified version of the one available online: <http://www.diagonalthoughts.com/?p=1728> [Accessed 31 August, 2020]

distributing political propaganda, indicating the characteristics of the Vertov Group which were pursuing revolutionary expression politically and cinematically. Rather than having cinema unilaterally subordinate to politics, political relations between images and sounds were called into question through problems concerning Palestine, and likewise, it is through cinema that questions about Palestinian Revolution were addressed.

We say: cinema is the secondary task of the revolution for us currently in France. However, we make this secondary task our primary activity. Understand thoroughly this contradiction between this secondary task and the primary task of the revolution, which is armed struggle against Israel. Understand also the other contradictions between cinema and the other secondary tasks of the Palestinian revolution. See also that at a certain moment, at a certain place, the secondary transforms into the primary. That is what we call politically posing the fact of shooting a film politically.<sup>389</sup>

Based on the dynamics between cinema and revolution, in which cinema is not the primary task for revolutionary movement, and for those on the side of cinema, who understand that cinema and revolution are synonymous, Godard attempts to propose a new relationship between politics and cinema. He further argues on the political relationship between image and sound in cinema:

[We] present not only interviews with Habash or Arafat or Hawatmeh, or spectacular images of the “young lion” wading through flames, but relations between images, relations between sounds, between images and sounds that point out the relations between armed struggle and praxis in the Palestinian revolution. Each image and each sound, each combination of image and sound, is a moment of relations between forces.<sup>390</sup>

Those forces, in order to counter imperialism, are presented specifically as three images, for example: Fedayeen crossing the river, a female soldier teaching reading and writing at the refugee camp, and young guerillas training. Each scene is emotionally or aesthetically inviting, and although each has its own role, what makes them politically important is the order in which they are arranged.

In order to have them carry political value, any of these three images has to be connected to the other two. At that moment, what becomes important is the order in which they will be shown. Because they are parts of an overall politics, and the order in which we arrange them represents the political line. We are on the line of Fatah. So we arrange the images in the following order: 1)

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<sup>389</sup> Ibid.

<sup>390</sup> Ibid., 208.

Fedayeen in operation; 2) Militia woman working in a school; 3) children training. Which means: 1) armed struggle; 2) political work; 3) prolonged popular war.<sup>391</sup>

It is not by filming the revolutionary subject itself, nor by the methodology of how to film them, but rather it is by correctly combining those images and sounds that political value can be generated for the first time. Since images such as the militancy of Palestinian guerillas, or women and children doing military training have the danger of being consumed as spectacles, it is pointed out that the crucial matter is how they should be combined and arranged. Hence, while shooting a film about the Palestinian revolutionary movement—an extremely militant subject to film—rather than relying on its political aspect, what mattered more was the relationship between images and sounds, or the politics within cinema as a medium. As will be described later, it could be said that an attempt such as this may already involve the problematics of the conjunction 'and,' as seen in *Here and Elsewhere*. In other words, it was presented as self-criticism against movement-based cinema in which political identification with the movement is strived for through filming the revolutionary movement on one hand; a critical proposal to the side of the movement based upon which the cinema simply becomes subordinate to the movement as a medium for propaganda. In an interview conducted in the U.S. in April 1970, regarding the tension on both sides throughout film production, Godard and Gorin make clear-cut comments, as follows:

Godard: So when we arrived, they asked us, "Where do you want to go? Do you want to shoot a training camp? An operation? A hospital? Where do you want to go?" I said, "Yes, we want to see a training camp, we want to see an operation, but for the moment we don't know if we are going to build our picture from them. To know, we have to discuss it with you." And it took us three weeks before we could start shooting.

Gorin: It was the political fight with them, because they were still on "go and fetch images", while we were on "try to analyze and build images," which are completely different.<sup>392</sup>

The above testifies to the fact that filming was still going on in April, however, it is noticeable that there were significant disparities between the Vertov Group and Fatah.<sup>393</sup> As Godard himself

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<sup>391</sup> Ibid., 209.

<sup>392</sup> Godard and Gorin, "The Dziga Vertov film group in America: An interview with Jean-Luc Godard and Jean-Pierre Gorin," 19

<sup>393</sup> For the film shoot by the Vertov Group at the time, see Elias Sanbar, "Vingt et un ans après," *Trafic* (Winter 1991): 108-119. Sanbar, Palestinian historian, who worked as translator, refers to an episode where Godard was told

references in the film's summary, their initial question was how contradictions between cinema and politics can be overcome within cinema, and how that process can be depicted. An attempt to continue this questioning through collaboration with the body of the movement—unlike previous work by the Vertov Group, who had been commissioned by European television stations to make revolutionary films, which were then denied broadcast—was genuinely pursued.

However, while editing continued after the filming was completed, it was discovered that, despite documenting fedayee, who had lost his comrade during reconnaissance, and strongly criticized his superiors, the content of his actual statement had been left out, and because of this, Godard was faced with a long interruption, and a reconsideration of the work itself. Subsequently, significant restructuring was conducted to complete a film about the distance between France ('here') where Godard exists, and Palestine ('elsewhere') articulated through narration by Godard and Miéville, in which previously shot images were self-critically reviewed, as well as through the introduction of a historical examination of Palestine and Europe, with additional scenes that were shot in Paris, and footage of the Munich Olympics incident by Black September that occurred after shooting.

In 1970 this film had been called *Until the Victory*. In 1974, however, this film was called *Here and Elsewhere*. Here—it means a French family watching TV. Elsewhere—it is an image about Palestinian revolution. Here, it means today. It is also about today's sound and the image about that sound. Elsewhere—firstly, it is yesterday, it is abroad, and next, tomorrow.<sup>394</sup>

And at the end of the film, the footage of fedayeen having a discussion, shot in a long take, vis-à-vis other sequences using detailed editing, quotations, and insertions are introduced. While their voices—which were previously unheard—are translated and conveyed anew, discussions between Godard and Miéville about this event continue.

Yes, I remember well when I shot this. It was in June 1970, three months before the massacre. Members of this small troop would all be dead three months later. In fact tragically enough, they are talking about their own death like that.<sup>395</sup>

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by the person responsible for the Information Bureau to film the Palestinian folk dance group, but since he refused, he was left alone at a hotel in Amman.

<sup>394</sup> From *Here and Elsewhere*.

<sup>395</sup> *Ibid.*

Also, with a strong feeling of remorse he had as translator, Sanbar recalls in detail the circumstances of those days.

Two years later, on the first floor of the main building of Maine, Godard was in front of the editing bench to work on the montage. With the usual intuition that became his habit, suddenly, reducing the voice of a man who is talking about self-criticism, and raising the volume of the conversation of the fighters sitting cross-legged behind him, Godard asks me to translate it. Young fedayeen said to the person responsible. "You do not understand, enemies do not have mercy. They don't think about things in the easy way. The reconnaissance team had us cross the Jordan river three times at the same time, and we were ambushed all three times, and we lost our comrades ... "Then the angry outburst continued. We were stunned. Godard was shocked at that time that he had not asked [me] to interpret the words of fedayeen. And speaking of myself, after all it is my native language. I felt a deep sense of guilt that I did not hear anything accurately at that scene. The unshakable theory and conviction had deafened my ears that far.<sup>396</sup>

The untranslated sound literally represents the voices of protest from the guerillas, for whom trivial mistakes or false information can mean life or death. The failure to hear their sound=voice, despite his critical engagement in political relations between images and sounds, became a crucial factor for Godard, to turn to filmmaking that self-reflexively examines the distance between Palestine and himself, rather than films about Palestinian revolution or films for revolution. The methodology of recomposing filmed materials through editing remained the same as in the times of Dziga Vertov Group. However, whereas previously an attempt was made to engage in both cinematic revolution and revolutionary cinema in Palestine relying on Marxist-Leninist theory, here in contrast, such politics with a capital 'P' was also called into question in order to investigate the distance and the relationship between 'here' and 'there,' or France/Europe and Palestine; in other words, Godard, rather than seeking identification with the revolutionary movement, gave way to self-reflexive analysis of the distance, and thereby determined to accept cinema rather than politics.

Godard: "Evidently, we did not even try to hear the silence within silence. Immediately, and on top of that, on behalf of them, we wanted to shout out for victory."

Miéville: "If we think that we want to make a revolution on behalf of them, perhaps that means that in the present times, we don't think that we want to make a revolution where we are now; we rather think that we want to make a revolution where we are not."<sup>397</sup>

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<sup>396</sup> Elias Sanbar, "Vingt et un ans après", *Ibid.*, 110.

<sup>397</sup> From *Here and Elsewhere*

After the dissolution of the Dziga Vertov Group, Godard's rigorous investigation of image and sound using those from that era continued further, and along with the critical interventions of Miéville, a new theory and practice in cinema after '68 were to be pursued. In this sense, it is possible to say that *Here and Elsewhere*'s position is crucial as an intermediary film, which—via video works such as *Numéro deux* (Number Two, 1975) and *Comment ça va?* (How Is It Going?, 1975) — connects the works of the Dziga Vertov Group period to Godard's grand experiments in *Histoire(s) du cinéma* (1998).

#### 14. Restitution of Images

Film critic Serge Daney discusses *Here and Elsewhere* in his thesis, which was published in *Cahiers du Cinéma* in 1976 in conjunction with the release of *Numéro deux*. While discussing Godard based on the logic of education, he argues that the movie theater in all respects is a dangerous place, a place of crime and illusion where they exploit images and sounds, exploited from living people, and release them and entertain the spectators to make a profit. The film industry makes profits by navigating from one venue to another, and it is for these reasons that he argues how seriously Godard confronts these cinematic tasks.

This type of symbolic debt is also something that cannot be returned. What is posed by the way Godard walked is the problem that is fundamental for cinema, the problem with respect to the crisis of cinema, or what we could call the <filmic contract> between the one who films and the one who is filmed. Such an issue seems to be related exclusively to radical films or ethnographic films, however, Godard tells us that it is something to do with the act of filming in itself.<sup>398</sup>

He then describes the problem concerning voices in *Here and Elsewhere*, in discussing the task for new participants in the film industry, after the collapse of the given relations between the person filming, the person filmed, and the spectator:

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<sup>398</sup> Serge Daney, "Le Therrorise: Pédagogie godardienne," [The T(h)errorized: Godardian Pedagogy], *Cahiers du cinéma*, no. 262/63 (January 1976): 32-39. Partial translation by Bill Krohn and Charles Cameron Ball, available at <http://kinoslang.blogspot.com/2009/01/preface-to-here-and-elsewhere-by-serge.html> [Accessed 31 August, 2020] The present translation is slightly modified by the author.

The impossibility of obtaining a new type of filmic contract has thus led him to keep/retain/preserve images and sounds, without finding anyone to whom he can return them, restore them. Godard's cinema is a painful meditation on the theme of restitution, or better, of reparations. Reparations would mean returning images and sounds to those from whom they were taken. It is a phantasm that is difficult to eliminate, however, this also commits them to produce their own images and sounds. And all the better if that production obliges the filmmaker to change his own way of working. There is a film in which this restitution-reparation takes place, ideally at least: *Here and Elsewhere*.<sup>399</sup>

Daney assesses that, at least in a theoretical sense, the restitution of images is realized in this film. However, the destination to which they are returned is neither a casual audience nor a political audience nor the PLO who worked jointly on the film—but rather it is to the Fedayeen, who were already massacred during Black September.

To make the film is then, quite simply, to translate the soundtrack, so that one hears what is being said, so that one listens to it. What was retained has been freed, what was kept has been restored, even if it's too late. Images and sounds, as well as honor, are returned to those to whom they belong: the dead.<sup>400</sup>

On the other hand, upon the release of *Here and Elsewhere* in 1978 in Japan, comparing the work with Adachi's, Matsuda discusses it to the extent that it touches upon Daney's theory of morality in cinema as follows:

Indeed, it is based on his genuineness of never being able to fly lightly like Adachi Masao and others between <*Here and elsewhere*> that he has endured [this] six-year period. That is to say, this means that Godard himself closed the way to sublimate the well-known binary opposition of <cinema and politics> by somewhat easily surrendering himself to the side of <politics>. Precisely under the name of <factionality in cinema>, Godard has no choice but to go back and forth ascetically between <*Here and elsewhere*>, through repeated introspections.<sup>401</sup>

Matsuda praises Godard's ethical decision to remain in the domain of cinema, while self-critically moving back and forth between here and elsewhere, in contrast to Adachi, who crossed from cinema to politics. Originally Matsuda was skeptical of Adachi's joining the Japanese Red Army, and furthermore,

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<sup>399</sup> Ibid.

<sup>400</sup> Ibid.

<sup>401</sup> Matsuda Masao, "Godaru no shinsaku 'Hear & There' ga saguru tohasei no konkyo," [The basis of sectarianism explored in Godard's new film *Here and Elsewhere*], *Gendai no me* [Contemporary eye] 19, no. 8 (August 1978): 215.

upon being deported from Paris due to a charge of conspiring in a military operation, which he was not informed of in '75, and since he was condemning the bureaucratism of the Red Army in the latter half of the '70s, using the unique concept of 'factionality in cinema' (*eiga no tohasei*), Matsuda was taking a position to support Godard's 'genuineness,' while criticizing 'lightness' of Adachi who threw himself into revolutionary movement from cinema.

On the other hand, interesting similarities and differences in terms of complex analysis and investigation in sound and cinema—especially concerning the restitution of images mentioned earlier—can be observed if one compares *Red Army/PFLP*, which Matsuda also held responsible for its theorization and screening movement overseas, with *Here and Elsewhere*. As for the itinerary for the production of *Red Army/PFLP*, the production crew joined the PFLP troop in June, 1971, filming was completed in July, and in August and September filming of the Red Army faction in Japan, as well as editing was to be conducted. While editing the film, the battle in Jerash Mountains broke out, and many of those guerrillas who had been filmed were killed. The fact that the guerrilla soldiers in Godard's film were massacred during Black September is similar. However, upon receiving their deaths and the problem of the sound earlier, Godard then took five years to complete the film; whereas in contrast, Adachi, after returning to Japan and filming additional footage, immediately proceeded with editing, and then launched the nation-wide, red-bus film screening movement with the initial screening in Tokyo on September 30<sup>th</sup>. In the following month, the screening with English subtitles was held at the Palestinian camp. Matsuda, who brought the film to the site, looks back on the circumstances at the time as follows:

“Mainly with the local Japanese journalists, we completed the film in a rush, and when the film was screened at the Palestinian camp in the suburbs of Beirut, the venue resounded with loud applause, and everybody cried. Because the guerrilla soldiers on the front line who were filmed in *Red Army/PFLP* were all killed during the battle with Israel in September. Apparently, the survivors—parents, brothers and sisters, young sons and daughters—watched Red Army/PFLP, and cried their eyes out because their immediate family who should have been dead were alive and moving. At that moment I felt extremely embarrassed about the fact that up until then I had just been talking about something like the Palestinian revolution as a concept, or an agenda of the movement; I realized for the first time that I had to spend my whole life with those Palestinian people of flesh and blood. Perhaps Wakamatsu Koji and Adachi Masao may have had a similar awareness as well, and also everyone— including the fighters who died at the Lydda Airport or

their friends, and of course Shigenobu Fusako—at some point may have had the definitive process of conversion.”<sup>402</sup>

In *Red Army/PFLP* what was aimed for through the screening movement in Japan was to realize simultaneous world revolutions, as well as to engage with the restitution of images both ideally and in practice. On the other hand, in *Here and Elsewhere* the 'restitution' was carried out as a form of self-critical investigation in images and sounds, while theoretically and ethically remaining in the domain of cinema. It could also be said that the restitution continues taking place, as the work in the subsequent history of cinema beyond differences in time and place significantly influenced many filmmakers in Palestine and Arab countries. Since Adachi went to Palestine in 1974, he did not see this work at the time of release in France and Japan. He did however, publish a text about the film in 2002 after his return to Japan.

“We used a straightforward idea of '=' rather than 'and' as method. [The idea is] not [based upon] 'front' and 'rear,' and of course not 'here' and 'elsewhere'. We have been experimenting with the stance of 'front=rear' or 'here=elsewhere' as our method. Did Godard and others want to say that it is precisely the '=' that allows the infinite accumulation of '0's [zeros] where new American cinema and Soviet cinema are forming a single chain?”<sup>403</sup>

In response to Godard's "and", Adachi examined his own attempt with "=", which, despite assumed differences between 'front' and 'rear' or 'here' and 'elsewhere', daringly aimed to make the two synonymous. Significant differences lie in theory and practice between Adachi, who became committed to Palestinian revolution not as a shift from cinema to revolution, but rather as cinema synonymous with revolution, but was unable to make a film in the Arab world, and Godard, who remained in Europe, accepted its history as his own, and continued investigating the distance between France and Palestine through cinema. This difference may also be attributed in part to the simple fact that Japan, which is located 'elsewhere' on the margins, like Arab countries, viewed from the standpoint of Europe or France, which had played a central role in the world history, was initially off the track in terms of historical and

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<sup>402</sup> Matsuda Masao, “<To> toiu akuryo wo koete,”[Transcending demons called <parties> ] in *Bungei bessatsu: Sekigun* [Literary and Art Extra Issue: Red Army] (Tokyo: Kawadeshoboshinsha, 2001), 178.

<sup>403</sup> Adachi Masao "Godaru ga kakanakatta yuigon 'koko to yoso' o miru" [Watch *Here and Elsewhere*, a will that Godard did not write] in *Bungei bessatsu Godard*, 93.

geopolitical recognition. However, the fact that these two radical filmmakers and two film collectives, beyond their differences, were both led to a meditation on the logic of conjunctions '=' and 'and' respectively through Palestine as a common subject should at least be pointed out.

Lastly, in light of landscape, the fragmentation of images in *Here and Elsewhere* in comparison to the work during the period of Vertov Group is further accelerated by even more complex editing through insertions of narrations, texts and slides, as well as television images, each of which are further divided into smaller sections. Hence, the attributes of power in the relations between images, or images and sounds, rather than the images of landscape themselves, are further brought to foreground. In contrast, landscape theory aimed to make the global power structure, constituted by the accumulation of such relations, visible through the depiction of ordinary, banal landscape. Godard and Adachi can be seen as opposites in terms of their methodological approach to images. Hence, simultaneous analysis of both cinematic and philosophical similarities and differences is required.

## **Conclusion**

Landscape theory was first proposed in 1969 and 1970. The impetus for this was the rise and subsequent process of repression of the student movement, centering around *Zenkyoto* (the All Campus Joint Struggle Committee) in 1968 – 69, by the overwhelming power of the state and capitalism. Another significant background factor was Japan's high economic growth from 1954 to 1970, and the homogenization of that growth through massive restructuring that was taking place nationwide, as epitomized by the 1964 Tokyo Olympics and the 1970 Osaka World Exposition. During this transitional period for movements, politics and society, landscape theory was created as a new, revolutionary schema, which was further developed into a theory of reportage and media. Matsuda and Adachi's discussions on their theory of reportage are referenced in Chapter Two and the second half of Chapter Three respectively. As for the development of theories of revolution after landscape theory, our task going forward is to reinvestigate media theories of the 1970's, especially that of Tsumura Takashi.<sup>404</sup> In the mid-1970's, however, when the movement was in decline, key figures in the development of landscape theory moved in different directions. Adachi went to Palestine; Matsuda relocated to Paris—he was later deported as a political criminal, and after returning to Japan, he continued to work as a film critic. Meanwhile, Sasaki focused on working for television, which he had been involved with since early in his career. Nakahira destroyed all of his photographs, then lost his memory. Toward the mid 1990s, a depoliticization—through politics— progressed on various institutional and individual levels, and the ‘bubble economy’ came to an end, paving the way for a new structure of power to rise, which landscape theory had problematized.<sup>405</sup>

Under these circumstances, many of the filmmakers who had been struggling alongside Matsuda and Adachi, in practice and in thought, were also forced into difficult positions. After *Dear Summer Sister*

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<sup>404</sup> For his major argument, see Tsumura Takashi, *Media no Seiji* [Politics of Media](Tokyo: Shobunsha, 1974). Also, for discussions alongside the lineage above, see Kogawa Tetuso, *Shutai no Tenkan* [Changing the Subject] (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1978) among others. Also, as for Matsuda's argument, it is crucial to recapture his theories of film and revolution, by way of his *Fukanosei no media* [Impossibility of media](Tokyo: Tabata Shoten, 1973), in light of media theory, rather than specifying their development by tracing their path to the theory of reportage.

<sup>405</sup> For a political and social analysis of the 1980's, see, Takashi Sakai, *Jiyuron*[On Liberty](Tokyo: Seidosha, 2001), "Posutomodan towa Nandattaka—On the '80s" [What was Postmodernism?: On the 1980's], *Gendai Shiso* [Contemporary Thoughts] 29, no.14 (November 2001).

(1973), Oshima dissolved Sozosha, stopped producing films with ATG, and sought production cost from abroad, meanwhile in Japan he continued to appear as a TV commentator and produced documentary programs. Wakamatsu continued to shoot pink film, however, was unable to create relevant films after Adachi left for Palestine in 1974. He regained acclaim around 1980 when he moved away from Pink films. Yoshida had to spend a long time away from filmmaking after *Coup d'etat* (1973). In addition, ATG, which had supported experimental art film production in Japan, was forced to change its policy: after *Denen ni Shisu* (Pastoral: To Die in the Country, 1974) by Terayama Shuji. Art Theatre Shinjuku Bunka, ended its role as the direct venue for ATG, and its producer Kuzui, an icon of ATG, also quit. The cinema movement thereafter moved on to different horizons—with Cinema Expressway led by Hara Masato and Goto Kazuo and the dawn of the PIA, which later took root as an independent film festival; in the domain of commercial films, Nikkatsu Roman Porno, with film directors such as Kumashiro Tatsumi, Sone Chusei, and Tanaka Noboru; *jitsuroku* (real-life account) series, the post-yakuza films of Toei, with Fukasaku Kinji, Ito Shuya and others; as well as new pink films by Takahashi Banmei and others. It also became evident that, as the latter half of the seventies was approaching, the attempt to create a new post-movement front gained a certain maturity, shifting to different phase.<sup>406</sup> Broadly speaking, these attempts represented a new movement, however their political content was eviscerated, and, as art and culture were not excepted, discussing politics through cinema was strongly avoided.<sup>407</sup> In other words Japan became subsumed by the system described by landscape theory. Though so-called discussions on landscape surfaced regularly, only Matsuda's landscape theory was not discussed. However, with the collapse of the Cold War structure and anti-globalization movements on the rise, a reevaluation of, and interest in his pioneering argument began to surface, gradually spreading internationally. However in order to recapture

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<sup>406</sup> Matsuda defended them as new cinematic movement by the younger generation. See Matsuda Masao, "Jishuseisakueiga – sono seikyo no imi," [Independent Movies –Meaning of their success], *Kinema Jumbo*, no.677 (15<sup>th</sup> February 1976): 91-92; "Wakai sedai no Eiga Shiso," [Cinematic thoughts of the young generation], *Shinario* (Scenario) 32, no.12 (December 1976): 44-49.

<sup>407</sup> Film theories focusing on the analysis of images on the screen became dominant around latter half of the '70s, with literature scholar Hasumi Shigehiko as a central figure. Critiquing talking about politics in cinema, as a result, it established an extremely exclusive and thus 'political' sphere of cinematic debate. For conversation encapsulating this transition, see Hasumi Shigehiko and Matsuda Masao, "Nihoneiga no tenkeiki o megutte '80nendai nyu webu eno kiki to kigu," [Concerning the transformational period in Japanese cinema: Expectation and Fear towards '80s New Wave], *Bessatsu shithi roodo* [City Road Extra Issue], No.1 (June 1981): 40-56.

landscape theory, a clarification of its theoretical and historical position, as well as its political context—which was difficult to identified at the time—was required.

Based on the establishment of this problem, Chapter One traces the introduction of landscape and theories of landscape to Japan. Theories of landscape in Japan started during the process of Japan's modernization (or the Meiji Restoration) with Shiga Shigetaka's *On the Japanese Landscape*, and were subsequently systematized thereafter. By following their historical development, while referencing landscape in photography and film, I focus on the discussion between writers and critics, including Kamei Fumio, Dazai Osamu, Sakaguchi Ango, and Hanada Kiyoteru, that are rarely mentioned in the context of existing theories of landscape, and I discover a problematic that can be connected to Matsuda's landscape theory. In addition, I explored theoretical connections between writers and critics who were considered to have little relevance to Matsuda's landscape theory -- Kanzo Uchimura Kanzo, Kunio Yanagita Kunio, Kunikida Doppo, Tokutomi Roka, and Mizoguchi Kenji. Given the fact that landscape theory and Matsuda's argument rigorously rejected theories of "art" and "culture," and developed in a singular context, it might be against the intention of Matsuda and others to place their argument in the existing theoretical lineage. However, in order to clarify the possibility of landscape theory, I found it necessary to refer to the prevailing history of art, including theories of Japanese landscape, and culture, and to reinterpret it in that context. In fact, it can be said that this task of reinterpreting landscape theory was effective as a response to criticism of it, due to both its political aspects as well as its lack of historical and theoretical dimensions.<sup>408</sup>

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<sup>408</sup> For an excellent summary of theories of landscape, including a (not thoroughly explained) mention of Matsuda's theory, see the following texts: Ueno Koshi, "Fukey toiu bunmyaku," [The context of landscape], *Shashin Sochi* [Photographic Apparatus], no.4 (March 1982): 56-67; Matsuhata Tsuyoshi, "The Epistemology of Landscape: On the Origin of the Landscape," *10+1*, no.9 (Spring 1997): 68-87. Whereas the former discusses landscape photography with a focus on *Provoke* for the special issue on "Landscape Photography," the latter mainly examines the concept and history of landscape from the perspective of urban studies for the special issue "Landscape" (Fukey/Randosukepu). For other discussions related to landscape during the period of 1970's to 1990's, see the following texts: "Gerira, toshikukan no byori," [Guerrilla: Pathology of urban space], *Gendaishiso* 6, no. 10 (August 1978); "Tokyo no fukey," [Landscape in Tokyo], *Gendaishitecho* [Modern poetry notes] 21, no.7, (July 1978); "Fukeyron Seitaigaku," [Ecology of landscape theory], *Gendaishiso* 20, no.9, (September 1992). In a separate context, Takanashi Yutaka who was a member of the journal *Provoke* argued that photography should move outside theories of landscape and urban studies, praising the work of Nakahira Takuma on one hand, critiquing his theoretical inclination to rescue work (sakuhin) with language (kotoba) on the other. Though Takanashi critiques

Chapter Two traces the development of landscape theory by Matsuda. Despite its nomenclature, landscape theory was not presented as a unified theoretical system on the theme of landscape, but was in fact a series of texts that Matsuda wrote on film, art, and politics for various journals and magazines according to their requests, which was later compiled into the book *The Extinction of Landscape*. I examined discussions related to landscape theory based mainly on the essays included in this book, as well as other texts and transcripts of conversations and roundtables conducted at that time. Because there were quite a few essays on politics in *The Extinction of Landscape*, while identifying landscape theory as central to my argument, I also considered important to review and analyze it not only as a theory per se, but also more broadly with his essays on revolution and movement as a background. I further extended my investigation into landscape theory by including Nakahira's argument, as well as referring to theories and criticism on landscape developed by Sasaki, Hara, and Tsumura Takashi. Whereas not all of debates on landscape theory may be noteworthy, due to the significant differences in understanding the concept of landscape between commentators, as well as the issue that there were factious political critiques, it was meaningful to organize those debates for the examination of landscape theory. Meanwhile, I also touched on theories on landscape in literature by Okuno Takeo, in architecture by Hara Hiroshi and Miyauchi Ko during the same period, as well as those by literary scholar such as Karatani Kojin and Hasumi Shigehiko that were developed after landscape theory by Matsuda and others. It can be argued that the clarification of theoretical and historical differences and similarities among these theories helps articulate the pioneering role and uniqueness of their landscape theory. The exploration of the theory of reportage as theoretical successor of landscape theory further delineates the relevance and impact of landscape theory.

Chapter Three traces Adachi's development as an author and theoretician based on the history of new wave cinema in Japan through examining two films, *A.K.A. Serial Killer*—the film upon which landscape theory could be developed—and *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War*, which marked the transition from landscape theory to the theory of reportage, and examines them not only theoretically,

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Matsuda's essay on Nakahira, the fact that Nakahira was vigorously involved in theorizing landscape theory was not mentioned. See Takanashi Yutaka, "Ronkei no Kanata e," [Beyond debates on the landscape theory] *Eureka* 16, no.4 (April 1984): 57-61.

but also in terms of their screening method. Adachi did not write as many texts on landscape theory as Matsuda. For this reason, it is believed that for landscape theory, Matsuda assumed theoretical responsibility, whereas Adachi was in charge of the actual production of films. In this chapter, however, the analysis of the films is specifically made based on Adachi's statements, including those made in conversations and roundtable discussions. On the other hand, as for the theory of reportage—proposed mainly by Adachi—I presented its theoretical analysis in connection with his practice, including the production of *Red Army/PFLP*, as well as the screening troop movement. In addition, due to the tendency in the reception of *A.K.A. Serial Killer* and *The Red Army/PFLP*—that is, the former based on interest in landscape theory and the aesthetics characterized by the film's images, consisting exclusively of shots of landscape, whereas for the latter, political aspects were emphasized—neither film tended to be watched in detail as a film work in and of itself. To remedy that, I introduced a cinematic-based analysis of these films, with reference to their political or theoretical context.

Chapter Four examined films from the works of two film directors, Wakamatsu and Oshima, who were closely associated with Adachi and Matsuda, and who were related to landscape theory, i.e. Wakamatsu's *Go, Go, Second Time Virgin*, and *Sex Jack*, as well as Oshima's *Boy*, and *The Man Who Left His Will on Film*. *Go, Go, Second Time Virgin* is said to be the starting point of landscape theory, whereas *The Man Who Left His Will on Film* is considered to be a representative of the films of landscape theory. Since both films were often referenced through Matsuda's argument, I discussed landscape theory as seen from the side of these filmmakers, with reference to their writings and statements. In addition, as representative of filmmakers in the world who attempted to explore politics in film via landscape during the same period, I made comparisons with Jean-Luc-Godard and his Dziga Vertov group in light of this theoretical background, thereby examining the universal dimension of landscape theory.

Japan currently finds itself in a resurgence of 'grand narratives' of the past, such as the reconstruction of the country through high economic growth, revisiting the Tokyo 1964 Summer Olympics via the 2021 games, and the Osaka Expo '70, scheduled for 2025. This is obviously one of the desperate measures taken to conceal various social problems and contradictions that arise due to the

capitalist economy, single-party dominance and the strength of bureaucracy. Landscape theory could play a new and contemporary role to counter such reactionary trends. It is my hope that the scholarly and historical significance of landscape theory demonstrated in this dissertation will be further developed, theoretically and practically, within a new global context.

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## Filmography of Landscape Films

### ***A.K.A. Serial Killer (Ryakusho renzoku shasatsuma)***

1969/86min/Color/Standard/35mm

Co-Producers: Adachi Masao, Iwabuchi Susumu, Nonomura Masayuki, Yamazaki Yutaka, Sasaki Mamoru, Matsuda Masao

Music Director: Aikura Hisato

Music Performers: Togashi Masahiko, Takagi Mototeru

This film is considered the birth of the landscape film as based upon landscape theory. The film, about 19-year-old young Nagayama Norio, who committed a number of random murders, is idiosyncratic because rather than depicting Nagayama himself, the film presents static shots of landscapes that Nagayama may have seen throughout his lifetime, until his arrest. The landscape images ostensibly follow Nagayama's footsteps, but are fragmentary and framed similarly, with none being emphasized over the others. The 'bare' landscape is thus exposed as the 'materiality' of the landscape, without dramatic visual features, and without a causality-based narrative structure. In contrast to the fragmentary landscapes, the voice-over narration explains how the sequence of images relates to Nagayama's life, from a shabby home in Hokkaido, through various towns, to Tokyo where he was finally arrested. However the narration does not place any particular emphasis on the importance of Nagayama as an individual, or expose his internal character. Instead, the continuation of the ordinary landscape shots highlights the memory of the cities, the habitats of the underclass, thereby universalizing and historicizing Nagayama's existence within the social context of postwar Japan during the period of high economic growth. Nagayama was one of the so-called "golden eggs" (kin no tamago), young workers sent from the countryside to do low-wage, unskilled work in Tokyo. The film's title, 'serial killer' also emphasizes the randomness of this incident, which could have been anyone's story. In this manner, the film highlights the anonymity of the masses within the landscapes seen from the eyes of Nagayama.

### ***Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War (Sekigun PFLP: sekai senso sengen)***

1971/71min/ Color/16mm/ Standard

Production: Wakamatsu Production

Co-Editors: Red Army (Communist League-Red Army Faction), Popular Front of the Liberation of Palestine

The film was directed by Adachi Masao and produced by Wakamatsu Koji, in collaboration with the PFLP (The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) and the Red Army Faction of Japan. While the subject of this documentary is the frontline of the Palestinian liberation struggle, most of its scenes do not depict the 'spectacle of war,' but instead show the uneventful everyday lives of guerrilla fighters training in refugee camps, overlaid with radical political propaganda and narration. This approach followed from Adachi's own development of Landscape Theory, with his growing awareness that the landscape itself had been commodified as a 'spectacle' through the process of urbanization. It was also because of this insight that Adachi came to establish a new theory of tactical media and news reporting via film production, in order to capture the landscape in its role as the primary domain where power functions. Additionally, a theory of cinematic production as a form of political movement for alternative film distribution and screening was also proposed through the organization of the "Red Bus Screening Troop," which traveled through Japan and abroad screening the film. The aim was to go beyond the *auteurist* model of cinema, and to create a new producer-viewer relationship, outside of commercial theater distribution.

### ***The Man Who Left His Will on Film (Tokyo senso sengo hiwa)***

1970/94min/B&W/Standard/35mm

Director: Oshima Nagisa  
Producer: Yamaguchi Takuji  
Scriptwriter: Hara Masataka, Sasaki Mamoru  
Cinematographer: Narushima Toichiro  
Art Director: Toda Shigemasa  
Sound Director: Nishioka Hideo  
Music: Takemitsu Toru  
Editor: Uraoka Keiichi  
Cast: Goto Kazuo (Motoki Shoichi), Fukuoka Sugio (Tanigawa), Iwasaki Emiko (Yasuko)  
Production: Sozsha and Japan Art Theatre Guild

Directed by Oshima Nagisa, written by Sasaki Mamoru and the young filmmaker, Hara Masataka, this film was originally titled *Tokyo fukei senso (Tokyo Landscape War)*, which directly reflected the content of the film, but was later changed. The story can be summarized simply as follows: a member of cinema club at a high school commits suicide, leaving his will in the form of a film, and the other members of the group seek to understand his suicide by scrutinizing the film's footage. However they find that the film consists only of shots of everyday landscapes. The film achieves a meta-cinematic structure by use of this film-within-a-film format, while the narrative follows the protagonist, who becomes obsessed with shooting the same landscapes his friends had shot in order to solve the riddle. As a result, the majority of shots in this film are ordinary landscapes of Tokyo. Considered as the most enigmatic film of Oshima's oeuvre, *The Man Who Left His Will on Film* provoked various debates, especially abroad, ranging from those based on shot-by-shot analysis, to those invoking psychoanalytic theory. Despite the fact that Oshima himself did not engage in the Landscape Theory debate, this film came to be regarded as the epitome of landscape cinema. This was also due to the fact that *AKA: Serial Killer* was not shown in public for a long time after its production, due to serious internal disputes among those involved in its production.

***Go, Go Second Time Virgin (Yuke yuke nidome no shojo)***

1969/65min/B&W and Color/Scope Size/35mm  
Director: Wakamatsu Koji  
Producer: Wakamatsu Koji  
Scriptwriter: Deguchi De (Adachi Masao)  
Cinematographer: Ito Hideo  
Lighting Director: Isogai Hajime  
Sound Director: Fukushima Shin  
Music: Meikyu Sekai  
Editor: Guryu Kansuke  
Cast: Kozakura Mimi (Girl, Popo), Akiyama Michio (Boy, Tsukio)  
Production: Wakamatsu Production

Based on the script by Adachi Masao and directed by Wakamatsu Koji, *Go, Go Second Time Virgin* is a strange love drama about a young couple which takes place entirely on the rooftop of an apartment building. Wakamatsu had used the 'closed room' as a recurrent theme in his films; *Embryo*, (1966) shot exclusively in the offices of Wakamatsu, literally depicted a locked room. In *Running in Madness*, *Dying in Love*, (1969) various areas in northern Japan, where the protagonists are on the run, are depicted as 'closed room,' and in *Violated Virgin* (1969) the stark, wild landscape of Gotemba, at the foot of Mt. Fuji, is seen, paradoxically, as a 'closed room.' Similarly depicting the rooftop as a 'closed room,' Adachi—who had been inspired by a poem by Yoshinori Nakamura, a member of the VAN Film Science Research Center—and Wakamatsu created this unique film that could be called a 'rooftop movie.' The film was shot on the rooftop of the Central Apartment in Harajuku, where Wakamatsu Productions had their office at the time. The feeling of urgency derived from the changing situation of the times is

captured in the cityscape of Tokyo shot from the rooftop while the story unfolds. This foresaw the arrival of landscape theory, which would later be discussed as a key concept, replacing "situation."

## **Annex**

## ***Why Landscape War?***

Matsuda Masao

In Oshima Nagisa's work in 1970, *The Man Who Left His Will on Film* (He died after the war for the overseas edition), the term 'war' does not point at that Second World War. Certainly, war on the scale of World War disappeared from the earth at Imperial Japan's surrender to the Allied nations in 1945. However, have wars really been wiped out completely for the twenty-six years thereafter? The answer is no. To prove this it is enough to recall the Korean and Vietnam Wars, not to mention countless civil wars—including civil wars in China that ended in the victory of the Communist Party. The people of Vietnam indeed continued fighting for the postwar twenty-six years even. In his famous message ("Create two, three...many Vietnams, that is the watchword" published on April 16, 1967) Che Guevara characterized the postwar era as "this peace that we are willing to fight for." There was no such thing as a postwar for the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

There was however one fortunate nation-state that could enjoy "this peace." It was Japan. Under the new post-war constitution, Japan proclaimed its abandonment of all belligerent rights, while appearing "as a merchant of death" in the Korean and Vietnam Wars, and developed and strengthened capitalism as its system of control. Japanese rulers built an unofficial army that in fact violates its own constitution, and now with enormous economic and military power they are in the process of strengthening their direct expropriation of the people of Asia. Nevertheless, Japan enjoys "peace" without having a direct connection to the "wars" after World War II.

Students—not college students but high school students—who are characters in Oshima's new film, inevitably aggressively oppose this false system of control in Japan. At the end of the sixties they started basic armed struggles in major cities such as Tokyo and Osaka in Japan, playing a part in worldwide student power. The radical factions among students at that time named their struggles the 'Tokyo War' and the 'Osaka War'. Why did the Japanese students name what students in France would certainly have called examples of <May Events> 'wars'? We can find the answer in the lack of a "revolutionary" tradition among the Japanese people, as well as the fact that Japanese students are seeking a particular policy in an attempt to expand domestic "wars" (civil wars) abroad, and to develop them into world revolutionary wars, which can then be united with international liberation struggles.

The characters in Oshima Nagisa's new film are set as a group of students, who experienced wars in terms of what was mentioned earlier, and are now living in the midst of postwar. After fighting continuously for three years after the fall of 1967 they were completely defeated by the police force, a strong vanguard for the rulers of Japan. Thirty thousand people were arrested, ten thousand people were prosecuted, and now as of the spring of 1971, about 1,000 people are still in jail. The system's wall was so thick that their attempt during the Tokyo War was not successful enough to break through it. Of course they could not help but change the tactic from the previous popular street struggle—which furthermore can be called a protest for itself at the convenience of the rulers' schedule. Urban guerrilla tactics, including use of an elite minority were used, and so-called hit and run tactics were emphasized. That hijacking to North Korea that surprised the whole world was one of the successful examples.

But for them, the restrained urban guerrilla struggle means days of ordeals even harsher than the flashy popular street struggles, because, as the Chinese saying goes, as a fish in the water, guerrillas have to operate in the people's oceans. In other words, unless they can hide themselves in the masses, who live as calmly as water, tirelessly year in and year out, rather than in the crowds on the streets, who are excited as boiling water, they will be hunted by the security police with noses as keen as dogs. Thus in the postwar, which continued to the time/era of that frenzied war, militant students were forced to immerse themselves in clear, colorless water. The living space of the popular masses, as chilled water, while having infinite kindness, rejects those who cannot fit into it with infinite severity. The students are again in the midst of a difficult battle.

I believe that the above explanation can help you understand the reason <landscapes> are frequently shown in the film as a will that is introduced through a "play within a play" technique in Oshima Nagisa's new film, *The Man Who Left His Will on Film*. To put it metaphorically, <landscape>, like water in the

ocean, is something that becomes visible as a mundane place anywhere the popular masses live. It is a severe space that gently embraces those characters on one occasion, and on another occasion, holds one of them tight in its deathly jaws. However, students in Japan reached an extreme where, unless they first discover themselves capable of surviving in this <landscape>, they cannot see through the enormous controlling power beyond the <landscape>. Their difficulties here can be called the <Tokyo landscape war> in Oshima Nagisa's new film. It is no accident that the place where the protagonist kills himself (in both illusion and reality), is an important site in the Japanese capital, overlooking the Diet Building. He is in the tragic position of having no choice but to throw himself into the <landscape> that is spreading over it like a veil.

In this sense it can be said that progressive young students in Japan are shifting from the situation of an extraordinary battle that was oriented towards a utopia that doesn't exist anywhere, to that of the everyday battle of how they can resist <landscape> as a place that exists everywhere, and how they can overcome it. (<Landscape theory> is a major theme in the militant intellectual public sphere in Japan.) Because the process of this transition is appropriately conceived as "film as a will" in Oshima Nagisa's new film, it can be evaluated that this work, like Oshima's films up until now, became a film of premonition that anticipated what will come in the future. This achievement is owed to Hara Masataka, the youngest Japanese writer (nineteen years old at the time) who co-wrote the screenplay, and Oshima's group that decided to use him. Those who see the student group who appear here as a mere film production collective, must be really hopeless onlookers, I believe.

Naze fukei senso ka? [Why landscape war?]. *Eiga Hihyo* [Film Criticism], no.10, (July 1971): 40-41; *Fukei no Shimetsu* [The Extinction of Landscape](Tokyo: Tabatashoten, 1971), 240-244.

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## *Filmmaker's Work and Practice*

Adachi Masao

We are wearing brand-new white sneakers. Sure enough, there is no time like the present for us to take off. As usual, <now>.

As usual, <now>. What is it that makes the struggle in Sanrizuka an opportunity for self-reflection and a point of orientation for us?

The presence of the farmers shown in *Sanrizuka no fuyu* (Winter in Sanrizuka) begs the same questions asked by Godard in *Lotte in Italy*, "What is happening? Who are you?", as on television they are silhouetted in the haze of rain in front of a billboard that reads in large letters, <Protect the trench at any cost!>, becoming part of the barricade by chaining themselves to a post of the 'solidarity hut' in the morning paper, or a point in the floor plan of an underground bunker, dug by hand..

Our self-reflection answers, "eliminate all compromise, and to dare to know where one is, and where one has come from; know one's place in the process of production in order to change it." (Godard, What is to be done?)

We select news about <Sanrizuka> from amidst the excess of "expensive vegetables," "weather forecast," or "xxx chocolate" in the newspapers and on television, and further continue our self-reflection. We are introspective because we align ourselves with the struggle of <Sanrizuka> against the construction of the <military airport> based on the <Japan-US Security Treaty>.

But we are standing still, grinding our teeth out of frustration, knowing that our introspection about <Sanrizuka> is a new point of departure for our movement. We come to realize that through our present endurance and various vantage points, though seemingly unrelated to <Sanrizuka>, like Paola in *Lotte in Italy* we are learning, that "it is the social being of man that determines his thoughts." Godard goes on to assert that "to show people in struggle" means to "make films politically," and so it may be that inserting a <black screen> between "expensive vegetables" and <Sanrizuka> can serve as a moment for self-reflection.

We can understand the implementation of the <black screen> as a moment of introspection by Godard and Paola. What constitutes our <movement> has its basis in our joint struggle with <Sanrizuka> Subsequently, our act of introspection about the struggle not only captures it in time, but also reminds us that still, mud-free, white sneakers are covering our feet. Is it these white sneakers that define <now> as our point of departure, and frame the situation, i.e. the <landscape>, that our 'decided thought' itself is encountering?

In fact, they continue to connect us to the room where we stand, to the territorial space between Shinjuku and Narita, upon which we at least extend our hearts, and...to the entire <landscape> of the world we have been part of.

Which direction in the <landscape> are our white sneakers going? Are they bound to cut out the <landscape> and take it back home? Is the landscape some 'thing' that can actually be detached?

Is there a way home from our journey of communing with the soil, where we studied together with female farmworkers and learned from "people in struggle" in Winter in Sanrizuka, who now were putting on their makeup lightly to bury themselves in the land, or where we screamed, together with young activists, "Go away, you agents of power!"" We hold a camera in front of us. We have <images>. Is our journey just us wandering in the <landscape>?

Or would our white sneakers break through the <landscape> of <Sanrizuka>?

It may be apparent to those original self-reflective activists, without even having been at the battleground of <Sanrizuka> in February 1971 that the <landscape> of power is permeating everywhere we travel. Is it also self-evident that the white sneakers—now sullied from the liberation struggle with the <landscape> and without a <black screen> between—return in agony, with <images> only as souvenirs? Or, that the point of contact between <Sanrizuka> and the white sneakers no longer constitutes a place for the new <landscape>=the white sneakers to die?

The <landscape> as shot by Godard, Oshima and Ogawa has shattered the expression of <image> due to the <drama> of struggle, of encounters, and of once white sneakers which now have been soiled.

We also recognize that what films tell dramatically, and how they tell it can be determined by the realization of <cinema> in its entirety (including how it is presented and screened).

What is at stake now are our own ways of approaching <cinema>. We are still wearing brand-new white sneakers. Is this because of our ignorant pathos, as we insist on being filmmakers, pointlessly creating dramatic <images>? Or does our optimism at the frontline, where cinema "in light of global simultaneity is facing difficulties in common, in method" (Matsuda Masao, "Memorandum for Godard Manifesto") solely allow us to keep our sneakers clean?

That is not the case.

Because cinema—whereby our <experience> via the author's fantasy heavily embedded in <images>=the film—has been shattered by the <landscape>, making the territorial distinctions of the <work> obsolete, has <now> embarked on filmmaking about film itself.

With the recognition of individual achievements in film (work) constituting culture here critiqued for its own self-righteousness (value of the work), all films may come to constitute a single, historical whole. Can such a <cinema> become a <site> for its participants to reflect upon themselves?

And with Godard's method—based on his self-reflection that film imitated film too much—along with our own realization that cinema remains nothing more than films of <landscape>, is a new <cinema> movement imminent?

It is certain that this movement will simultaneously be an experience of struggle for world revolution. It is also certain that it will be a struggle to recapture cinema 'politically.' Therefore Matsuda Masao's statement—that the struggle will decisively be 'faction-based—will become a directive of our movement, whereby we assert that we are still wearing the same white sneakers.

If that is true, our 'journey' in white sneakers must specifically qualify itself to deserve to be called a 'movement' ... although it is also clear that our white sneakers can no longer remain as white as they are now.

<Cinema> is beginning to undergo this movement. It must not be talked about as a paradox. We, who consider ourselves to have been involved a priori in this cinema movement in one way or another must give this summary some tangible form.

The white sneakers that have brought us to the <landscape> can no longer paradoxically assert that <cinema> itself, as an 'intangible form that brings change', is indeed a part what manifests the 'thought movement.' Because what has been effectively taking place on the other hand, is this: a process of converting our experience of this paradox, where summarizing the overall cinema movement of the 60's—including "it is 'work' that actualizes and develops creative movement" or "it is functions of the creative site that set the stage for a movement"—as "independence from politics" is absolutely necessary to posit principles for structuring a cinema movement. Roughly said, the orientation towards an anti-Communist culturally united front, characterized by media=methodology-based iconoclasm, ended by trying to call <freedom of expression> as an objective of struggle, which is in fact absolutely secondary for either cinema or a cinema movement, an experience of <cinema>. Should we proceed with our summary, recognizing that even summarizing this as a cinema movement is a constituent of our white sneaker-based thoughts?

We should summarize that the "Underground" movement, proclaiming the liberation of <cinema> by establishing a self-sustainable mechanism of the movement by which to theorize based on the deconstruction of images (without the subject-object formulation), but abandoning the praxis of tangibly transforming <cinema> as a primary objective for struggle, ended up complicit with the consciousness industry, as is evidenced in the mass production of visual images (exemplified by the World's Fair). We should also point out as a self-critique the actual situation of organizing an 'artist' run movement, such as Jonas Mekas's Filmmakers' Cooperative. In this case, they mistook the 'art' of business management for the policy of the movement, and got sucked into the mindset of a small to medium sized company, whose

goal is simply to establish their organization and secure a distribution mechanism. Meanwhile, the rebellion at the previous Film Art Festival cannot be resolved unless it is recognized as a revolt against their own conservatism, against their own territorialization as creative subjects. In this sense, the "renegade" group, including Matsumoto Toshio, Imura Takahiko, Kanesaka Kenji, and Suginami Cineclub, regarding the cinema movement as being synonymous with a 'festival,' should recognize that they were equally at fault.

Many of the 'independent production'-based movements should critique themselves in light of their non-factionality, wherein their praxis of struggle has been trivialized by focusing their movement solely on individual works, and remaining independent (in actuality, separation and isolation of <sites>). With their primary goal being the praxis of struggle through <cinema>, they should critique their movement as nothing but the materialization of revisionist and reformist tactics. To contain the philosophical quality of the <site> based on the <drama> of some pieces of work together with the <drama> of the praxis of the movement within the work is not equal to critiquing cinema. The question we must ask is, what is the premise of the cinema movement?

We must critically summarize all the <existing> experiences of "filmmakers" whose awareness of a movement which fails to sublimate and put into praxis individual experiences politically, thus discarding ways in which to explicate their myth.

In addition, without critically summarizing these three dogmatic assertions, the movement that cinema is attempting to undergo, must become preoccupied with the movement body that is as 'introspective' as the 'swing' of a paper tiger, as well as the meaning of white sneakers. And this dogmatism (as Tsumura Takashi pointed out in Godard's methods) again, aggregated into causes such as "Maoism," "God," or "rebellion justifies itself" undermines the <movement> to an extent of making self-explanatory the meaning as experience of regarding the milestone of self-critique as the historical base of <cinema>; thus positing the meaning of the 'white sneakers' as <movement>.

We should not engage in the folly of reenacting a "progressive pursuit in terms of seeking the possibility of reflecting revolutionary reality artistically, and also the possibility of social political critiques, by means of documentary films," as was carried out by the Dziga Vertov Group, in the relationship between "program" and "politics." ("Preface by S. Ginzburg," translated by Kobayashi Maki, "in *Eiga Hiho*, March 1971) already recognize their formalist errors, and the negation of art in trying to conduct an "artistic pursuit in the context of revolutionary history as a theme by older-generation film directors."

For instance, Ogawa did not make an image (=the camera) as a weapon for revolutionary struggle by placing the 'camera' eye of the artist on the side of the masses (=anti-authority) as seen in the Sanrizuka series. He 'saw' the <landscape> of the masses and power.

Godard is not carrying out world revolution by forming the "Dziga Vertov Group," in the direction of making <cinema> itself into films after *Wind from the East*, but 'sees' a method of praxis to confront <cinema> (=power.)

Rocha, rather than 'seeing' the <Third World> through images of <art and culture> in humor against the 'Third World' as the creative subject of *Antonio das Mortes* instead 'found' a methodological evil in which the conflict between the <Third World> and <cinema> (=authoritarian power) became <image=landscape.>

Each filmmaker utilizes the presentation of <landscape> and the <viewer>, as creative subject methodically, and pursuing patterns of 'viewing' becomes a formalist error. But, what we must summarize is not that 'viewing' constitutes a relationship between the <author> and the <work>, but rather that the <viewer>, the creative subject, as the initially self-reflective agent for the movement, constitutes the thought and the praxis of that thought. It is when we accept the presentation of <landscape> as our own manifesto for setting out on a 'journey' for the first time that our white sneakers will be able to carry out the program based upon which the <cinema> is to experience the movement. I believe that with the acquisition of <landscape> we will be able to realize this self-explanatory summary "the cinema is a philosophical movement" in praxis <movement>.

The situation in which we find ourselves now—<landscape> should be presented truly as the summary of why we are wearing—exclusively—white sneakers.

We will struggle against the danger of being seen outwardly as dogmatic, as an error of a short-circuited Gewalt for world revolution, and as movement with a capital “M” that is as self-explanatory as the world cinema movement. We will carry out the <dismantling> of specific <films> in tangible form.—Isn’t it through these struggles and praxis that the program for those who attack film by <landscape> should provide guidance for the <cinema>?’

“Eiga sakka no sakuhin to jissen,” [Filmmaker’s works and practice]. *Nihon Dokusho Shimibun* [Japan Reader's Newspaper], no.1578 (8<sup>th</sup> March 1971), 8 and no.1579 (15<sup>th</sup> March), 8; *Eiga eno senryaku* [Strategies for cinema] (Tokyo: Shobunsha 1974), 152-158.

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*Circuit of <Reportage> and <creation>—A Note for Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War*  
Adachi Masao

1. A feeling sets out on a <journey>

As anticipated, we set out for our <journey> suddenly. Because even though our desire for a <journey> may not have been fomented in a day, we began individually to grasp <truth> and history ourselves, based on a spark of resentment illuminating the <truth> of the <journey> to come. In the midst of the heated wilderness, blowing in between frontier and city, sits the site where we will ask ourselves whether the reality of our resentment will come into contact with a world that counters <truth>.

While admonishing ourselves for a hasty departure—in the service of our restless pursuit of the truth—may help us map the circuit of that truth, it's not something that we should let impede us. And based on our impressions of this <journey> and our daily journal, we begin to write our theses for *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War*.

Because if our <impressions> and <feeling> about this <journey> constitute a unique reality that reinforces us as creator, the following points sound similar, if ironic.

"The reason that the film is a direct form of behavior is, in this case, for the one shooting the film. But there is another side of the problem, which is the matter of watching and listening to, in short, "reading a film." The actuality of deconstructing the film means to change one's stance toward images and phenomena as a reader of the film. We need to start with the fact that people involved in the film industry are already incorporated into the machinery of capitalism, and at the same time, readers are incorporated into the suppressive system of images." (Tsumura Takashi, "<Shinjitsu> (Pravda) o yomu tame no itsutsu no konnan" [Five difficulties in reading the truth (Pravda)] in *Eiga Hiho*, July 1971).

Pointing out the lack of strategy of reading in my response to cinema—especially to the cinema movement—saying, "Adachi is speaking as a creator," this statement also suggests that I have yet to attain the level of "figuration of negating the message and organized ambiguity" that Godard had discovered in *Pravda* and *Struggle in Italy*.

But, what is the strategy for 'reading'?

May 28, 1971, 8:40 AM: Wakamatsu Koji and Adachi Masao arrived in Beirut. Purchased one-week visa at the airport, and stayed with film equipment at the NEW HAMRA HOTEL, referred by Shigenobu Fusako, an exchange student living in Beirut.

May 29, 11:30 AM: Ms. Shigenobu came to visit us. Looked healthier than imagined. Some scandalous news reported by Japanese weekly magazines and newspapers had been reported to the information center of the PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) via French journals, and apparently, since March, the confidence she had enjoyed as one of the Japanese Red Army soldiers had been lost, as she had trouble explaining and determining the sources of reports. Didn't ask about her daily political activities. Only recorded her theories on action. Went to "Souks," one of the largest and most diverse shopping areas in the Middle East, to purchase everyday necessities. A group of kids carrying packages of paper bags hung on strings over their shoulders like newspaper delivery men, hopping from one store to another caught our attention. We heard that most of them would grow up to become "command" (guerilla soldiers), so we looked even more closely at their buzz cuts and frail constitutions, but got yelled at for that. Drank vodka at night.

May 30th: Requested a contact for the first time with AL HADAF, the only official organ of PFLP, and publisher of weekly journal. Moved into a furnished apartment in the same building as Ms. Shigenobu. Read *Ojo yoshu* [Collected essays on birth into paradise] given by Oshima Nagisa at Cannes. Opened two bottles of wine.

May 31: Swam at the unmanned private seawater pool. Beach was closed due to high tide and riptide. Asked Mr. A, a Japanese journalist based in Cairo, about the overall situation of the Palestinian liberation struggle. Met a nurse and a female military doctor from a Palestine support center in Japan

working at Al-Fatah faction's Red Crescent Society (hospitals always around in the urban areas with guerrillas) and asked them about their activities.

Had fun talking over whiskey with all the members at night.

June 1: Met with AL HADAF's Editor-in-Chief, Mr. Ghassan Kanafani. Explained the purpose and the method of our <newsreel films>, and requested to do a story covering PFLP. Only decided who would organize it, but didn't answer yes or no. Due to the busy schedule of the organizer, made promise to contact by phone and meet again tomorrow. At night, met a director and a cameraman working on a joint U.S.-British TV movie. Apparently they contacted Al-Fatah, and filming is in progress. Due to their impudence a la Soviet Communist, the three of us, including Ms. Shigenobu, harassed them, saying that the Russian Revolution "has become a counter revolution by now!" and drove them away.

June 2: Read *Ojo yoshu* while waiting all day for a call from the contact person. So absorbed in the pictorial storytelling of <hell>, spreading 3,000 shaku beneath the ground. For some reason disappointed with the entrances all being made of "iron" or molten iron. No phone call.

June 3: Purchased a map of Lebanon and Syria. Made a provisional agreement with the rental car shop. Ms. Shigenobu, who had gone out for a meeting, showed up reporting that there was a battle at the Lebanon-Israel Border, and the Fatah Faction was likely to be split in two. Discussed with Mr. Wakamatsu subject matter for the interview. Ironically a joke about whether "some Shinjuku drunks" could become guerillas or not is to be continued as part of the shoot. Discussed the necessity of trying harder to find more contacts other than Ms. Shigenobu, PIC at PFLP, a female doctor and a nurse. Still no contact from PFLP.

June 5: Prepared the production intentions for <newsreel films> (in English). No contact from PFLP.

<Production intentions for newsreel films>

1. Main theme: We must carry out propaganda eternally for all the world revolutionary forces. We must establish a mechanism for organizing propaganda immediately. All of the revolutionary forces face many difficulties, and in a difficult situation may not recognize the status quo and compromise themselves with it, thereby losing the goal of creating a true world revolutionary front.

Now we must begin to develop the movement towards the creation of the world revolutionary front by creating the body of the movement, not in order to speak about the suppressive <truth> and <history>, but to recognize the peoples' <truth> and <history>.

Therefore, we must let the people of the whole world know— through the most prominent struggle and strategic theory—and ask themselves about the specific situation of the struggles of the Japanese Red Army Faction and the PFLP, who are trying to build a radical world revolutionary front.

We must propagandize the declaration of the joint struggle between the Japanese Red Army Faction and PFLP with the <newsreel film> as our <language>. *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War* must be carried out.

We must continue screening this historically most militant <film>, produced jointly by the Red Army-PFLP.

2. Method and Format: First, we must mutually learn about and clarify the strategic theories of the Japanese Red Army Faction and PFLP, and understand the current situation mutually.

Second, we should carry out a concrete analysis of the specific situations of the Japanese Red Army Faction and PFLP through our film production tasks.

Third, we should document all the problems around the strategic theories of the Japanese Red Army Faction and PFLP, and the feuds caused by their current status as <truth>, in an accurate and militant way, and thereby create a genuine propaganda method.

Therefore, we must first grasp the strategic theory, second, analyze the status quo, and third, create a <film> directly reflecting the entire working process of documenting the first two. We must discover its method and form here and now.

3. Contents: We shall film and record everything that is within the strategic range of both parties for the <film>, and the struggle of the theoretical discussions about the strategies of both parties shall be the primary content.

4. Remarks: The film production, with the cooperation of the Japanese Red Army Faction and PFLP for production coverage, shall be conducted by Wakamatsu Productions, and a joint Production Committee, kampaniya, shall be conducted simultaneously by the three parties.

June 7: Suddenly had a call from PFLP. Presented our production plans for the <newsreel film>, but the personnel at the Information Center (Chief Editor and another person responsible) hardly read them except for one point. Notified that, based on a background check, they found that we were neither Zionists nor CIA, but "UNDERGROUND SUPPORTER[S]" of the Japanese revolutionary faction. They also stated that they agreed upon the understanding regarding propaganda, and gave us a definite answer approving the joint production. With both Shigenobu and Wakamatsu, transfixed for a second by their very solemn "OK."

"How have we been conducting propaganda? We have obtained quite simple lessons for the past five years.

Propaganda, immediately, is <information>, and <information> is the communication of <truth>. Moreover, the best form of <truth> is armed struggle. Therefore, we believe that armed struggle is the best form of propaganda." (Ghassan Kanafani, the PFLP Central Political Bureau member).

This is the foundation of the 'strategy of reading' adopted by the PFLP in the midst of the Palestinian liberation struggle. In the period of 'the past five years' in question, the PFLP has substituted hijackings and grenades for posters, and reported their military gains exclusively in their own weekly journal AL HADAF. They not only disapprove of any tactics lacking <military> action, but regard them as spying, recognizing all sympathizers as enemy spies.

"The apparatus of journalistic propaganda of the whole world may have an enormous impact on public opinions across the world, but what ultimately can determine things is people in the struggle who are trying to acquire their own rights by taking up arms. Of course we are well aware of the fact that the propaganda apparatus of U.S. imperialism is the largest, historically. It controls TV networks and newspapers throughout the world, circulating demagoguery and making films to disinform the people. Anything is possible for them.

On the other hand, what about the case of South Vietnam? They have a very little power, no TV or newspapers as in the U.S., but they have a determined will as a weapon to fight various imperialist apparatuses. And as a result, what is happening now?

The gigantic propaganda apparatus in their home country is no longer capable of convincing people that "the war is just." The American people are tired of wars, and are beginning to go against them. This is what propaganda should genuinely look like, and that we believe in. In other words, this is combat. Combating the enemy is the only—and also the highest form of—propaganda. But this battle has little value unless the cooperation of left-wing groups and the revolutionary propaganda apparatus in the whole world provides proof of international combat. The armed struggles of the masses have to be the basis." (Ibid.)

For those Palestinian guerrillas, weapons are the <language for the truth>, armed struggle is indeed the <expression>, therefore bringing together reports on combat and military gains as <information> makes for quite effective news reports. I believe the reason they acknowledged the <newsreel film> as propaganda was because they acknowledge kampaniya solely as the creation of <information>.

2. A feeling <reports> on a <journey>

June 10: Prepared the shooting schedule at the Information Center. Filming any of the frontline base, the military structure within the refugee camps, and the faces of guerrilla soldiers is forbidden for strategic reasons. Though I understand the reasons, still my motivation to shoot was affected enormously.

June 11: Filming started. 7:30 A.M., drove a car to Saida where the largest Palestinian refugee camps are located. Had a tour of daily agitprop activities of PFLP inside the camp, and of their library-cum-assembly hall, elementary school-cum-emergency hospital, special needs school (high school), and the Sprechchor.

Also accompanied the film crew for *The Activities of PFLP*, a genuinely political film that the PFLP is producing concurrently with us. Cameraman was hired from outside, and directing is handled by female party members and students dispatched from Italian MANIFESTO group to the Information Center. The director of the film, one of the PFLP members, focuses his work on procuring personnel and coordinating views with camp residents. As a result, unlike filmmaking by Palestinians, attempts to shoot young party members talking at the library or learning the handling of weapons from elderly, retired guerrillas—as glorious "fighters" like from a Russian agitprop film in the thirties—invited noticeable antipathy.

Since we came to cover a story with the theme of learning about and recording the current status of revolutionary action as everyday=reality, while they were shooting, we mostly recorded everyday activities at the refugee camp. In front of a Minaret, we asked the question, "Does 'God' exist?" An elementary school teacher answered that your own revolutionary action is "God." What impressed me was that a middle-aged man, who came back from his day labor, answered that God in Islam, Marxism, and your own action create "a God." Rather than believing in atheism, they express the process in which their own self-philosophy towards God within themselves becomes freely close to atheism. Also, in every district, a small Minaret towers high, and a speaker louder than the one PFLP uses for agitprop blasting prayers from the sacred scripture at five, ten, twelve in the morning, four in the afternoon, and nine in the evening played the role of telling the time for people, regardless of one's beliefs.

June 12: Filmed AK-47's, grenades, and other weapons that are prepared, hidden and stored everywhere within the camp, and shot everyday activity of the guerrillas. We found out that the school and the assembly place are the initial training ground for guerrillas, and PFLP's sport center like a youth hall outside the camp is the second stage training site, and after completing that training, they get advanced training at "Camp Shatila" in the outskirts of Beirut. By ten or eleven years old they become full-fledged guerrillas.

Quickly returned to Beirut, and went to "Shatila" a large refugee camp (it is, however, illegally occupied state-owned land, a refugees' village), but the training site was not found. PFLP's HQ told us to withhold filming and interviewing for a while, due to confidentiality.

June 13: Went to the Japanese Embassy to extend our visa for another two months, reporting that we hired Fusako Shigenobu, an English Department student at the American University of Beirut as our interpreter, currently producing a tourist film.

A <black screen> as a 'message' constitutes a form of departure for cinema to set out on a <journey>.

It may be that a <black screen> has succeeded in making film as a language consistent with its direct, organic mediators, i.e. <image> and <sound>; it forces and enables that which functions as 'reading'—such as objects to be recorded as images, various duties of recording agents, and the audience assembled as 'readers,' to become complicit in the duties specific to <cinema>.

No, in fact when we try to accept the functions of reprocessing writing (*écriture*) and speech (*parole*) on the <black screen> as <expressions>, we can 'read' that the strategy of the <expression> by which we assume ourselves as 'reader' points toward becoming-anonymous in the strategy of reading. The message symbolized by the <black screen> is based on this level of 'reading.'

First, the problem is that Godard (probably Tsumura as well) may turn <cinema> into a hiding place rather than a <journey> through this message via film to <cinema>.

The film's <journey> is a journey to <becoming anonymous> in order to be a 'reader.' On the other hand, the journey of the anonymous reader is a journey of becoming individual, in order to build

strategies for <truth>. And in between these two journeys, what is the <truth> that <expression> (called cinema) fulfills as its own duty?

It is possible to consider that a film is the methodological mediator of a thesis, and that a movie theater is an assembly hall to read this thesis. And that this idea is where Tsumura's argument for using linguistic theory as strategy for reading cinema movement comes from. I consider that this absolutely has to be true. At least the reality of the theoretical discussion of strategies is to consider the <black screen> as a priori part of what substitutes the message of an 'anonymous reader', which (as an open discussion, an antithesis) is the most symbolic of the <truth> of <expression>.

Therefore, without organizing the recorded language (image and sound), the recording agent's subjective viewpoint, and the audience, whose viewpoint is established only through 'reading', within the strategy of reading, it is impossible for the <black screen> to express <truth>. Furthermore, the movement cannot be established unless the 'site of cinema,' previously organized exclusively to suppress <truth>, as well as duties 'specified for film', brought to the individual level, are both deemed essential. And the 'terror of expression' that worries Tsumura will be actualized when our <journey> of turning anonymous readers' into individuals is incorporated symbolically into the <black screen>, thereby emboldening power by eliminating the reality of the movement. The only function of such symbolization can be in the service of power.

And whose power is it? Who are the readers? That is the second problem.

June 14: Conducted a film interview with Leyla, the "queen of hijacking" and Ghassan Kanafani, responsible for the Information Center. In her earthiness, as an elementary school teacher at the camp, Leyla talked about her everyday life as a Communist. She is criticized by other factions, who call her a "premature revolutionary hero." And she critiqued herself for the death of her comrades from Central and South America, with whom she collaborated on the hijackings. But she refuted the critics head-on, saying, "Guerrilla soldiers are all heroes, heroism on the level of action is a <sensibility> of soldiers with no room for consideration." Ghassan passionately described his desire for a "world front" in an official message from the Information Center.

June 15: Vaccinated for cholera at the hospital. At night crossed the Syrian border and arrived in Damascus by car with the supervisor of the PFLP members.

June 16: Drove by taxi 120 kilometers south from Damascus, to the forward operating base in Daraa. Reviewed our message asking for cooperation for production and covering a story at the base's HQ until late at night. Received an approval. In the meantime, heard a story from an elderly soldier about a series of battles from the time of the Arab liberation struggle in the 30's until he became a PFLP guerrilla soldier, and also asked a vice-captain, who joined the base two days after getting married, how it felt leaving his wife (he has also participated in a hijacking with Leyla). Had training on the use of an AK47.

June 17: Moved to a forward operating base at Golan Heights, 40 kilometers from Daraa. Permitted to act freely, except for filming the faces of the members.

The everyday schedule of the Communist guerrilla soldiers that I most wanted to experience goes as follows: on the base, morning starts at 2 A.M. for the eighteen soldiers there. When the moon rises to the middle of the sky, lighting the brown grey desert white, and this "Desert Moon," shining brightly as if stars were falling down from above, turns and repaints the Syrian, Jordan and Israeli borders, it is daybreak for the guerrillas, and is the time for search and destroy operations. We drove in a jeep with headlights shining brightly, looking at Kibbutzes and rows of blue lamps along military roads for about an hour, and as twelve (I was the thirteenth) soldiers disembarked, fires set by the Israeli army to block Palestinian guerrillas' actions were burning briskly. Led by the captain and an anti-tank gun at the back, we continued marching silently in the desert, covered with thorny waist-high grass, moving 200 meters forward and then holding our breath for a minute. Stabbed by the thorns below my knees, blood ran down my jeans. The sky is turning blue from the east by 4 A.M.. While the herd of cattle were sleeping like fossils waiting for the sunrise, we moved, dividing the team in half to avoid becoming the enemy's targets, and we were deployed every thirty meters throughout the large valley (apparently a minefield), waiting for dawn. All I could see over the valley after dawn was a prairie surrounded by lush green hills and

woods. With the voices of the soldiers gathered around the captain talking, by telescope we confirmed that enemies were moving in formation. But I was dazzled by the daybreak in the most serene highland on earth, near the border. Under the sky, after the day broke at 6 A.M., like new soldiers of a youth group after our courage had been tested, smoking in groups, we crawled our way through the shrubs. Three people selected from the team left all weapons and uniforms, and went towards Israel. (Apparently, they continue to search for the enemy.) Got on the shared bus that was passing by, stuck between bags of powder and cans of goat milk, and arrived at the camp at 7:30 P.M.. Had shooting practice and assembly and disassembly of guns until 9:30 P.M.. (Always carried a gun after that). Had breakfast at 10 A.M. (Based on what I saw, that there is always one soldier on cooking duty, regardless of how many people he has to serve and how long it may take. To save nine-tenths of the inventory is a must, no matter how small the meal you have for that day. Dining for more than ten minutes means a party, so their motto is "eat, shit, and sleep quickly"). Free time is from 10:30 A.M. to 12:30 P.M.. During this time they do laundry, write letters, read, play baseball, or walk to a nearby village for personal shopping. Have a tea break at 1:00 P.M. Make chai tea in a kettle and pass it around and drink from it. Attend study group until 5 P.M.. Main texts are "PFLP's strategy theory," "Our moral standard is our revolution," "Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung", "How the People of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea fought against Japanese Imperialism." Once the discussion starts, centering around the tutor of the day, they always end up discussing "Chairman Mao's military theory." Discussions are held under the scorching sun, requiring more energy than a military procession, and they have to literally, through their bodies, digest the correlation between "yes and no" and "good and evil". And their squinted eyes always stare at the desert, at the border. (They are allowed to piss, shit and take a nap during the session.) Dinnertime is signaled at 5 P.M., and they have dinner in shifts until 7 P.M.. After that they have free time;— which means sleeping time, except for those on security guard duty, checking every hour and half until 2:00 A.M. Besides, firearm duties are split into tasks, and once a week the captain handles contact with HQ to manage food supply and emergency preparations, all with very little sleep.—I find it impossible to film them through the viewfinder during this time period unless I persuade myself, "I am a guerilla fighter." First, fundamentally, why do we have to put their operation activities into words? Second, without focusing the foundation of my policy on my own physical limits in regard to digesting the curriculum to become a guerrilla soldier (carrying an AK-47), while holding a camera, I felt like passing out. Third, I realized that if I recognize the reality of the context of guns as <language> at the refugee camp or on the home front, as well as at the FOB, where the refugee camp constitutes their life, there was absolutely no basis for me to hold a camera, I thought. I therefore consider that I should focus my filming exclusively on an object: <guns>.

June 19: Headed for Jerash Mountains, called the "mountain" of Jordan, the largest base of Palestinian guerrillas. Traveled Samar Golan —> Daraa —> Damascus —> (Daraa/border) —> Jerash, taking a 400-kilometer detour under the scorching sun to erase our trajectory, but declined entry to the mountain by the guards, because the mountain and its entrance, the Gaza refugee camp, is under military jurisdiction, as well as the fact that I was a foreigner. Headed up to Amman. Today, in a matter of one day, passed three checkpoints in Syria, and nine in Jordan. The deep friendship between Japanese imperialism—referred to as "Yaban,"(Japanese)—and the governments in the Middle and Near East is convenient for our trip. Immigration taxes incurred for the film equipment. Due to strict inspection policy towards Palestinians, even the details of their unopened mail are checked. The countless bullet marks spread like a spiderweb on the windshield of a passenger car waiting to clear customs betray the tense relationship with guerrillas.

June 20: Went to the Ministry of Information, and spent half a day explaining our intention: to shoot a documentary film about historic remnants, from Jerash in the north to Aqaba in the south. Convinced them and obtained shooting permit. Immediately return to Jerash, but were told that we can't even enter the Gaza camp or the mountain without a permit from the Jordanian government forces, as well as from the Ministry of Information (which is absolutely impossible). Insistently stayed there for three hours, but were chased out. After feeling perplexed, discovered an old road that was drawn subtly on the map, and tried to get through the checkpoint there shouting, "Yaban! Yaban!" We safely passed the

checkpoint, which was equipped with three machine gun turrets, and continued driving up the empty mountain road, with no signs of cars or people. The signs of the government force's turrets and tents that were occasionally seen at the ridge of the mountains disappeared, and instead men in combat uniform became visible here and there under the shade of trees. We were arriving at the so-called "mountain" where Palestinian guerrillas re-mobilized after a fierce battle in Amman in 1969, a holy site for the Palestinian guerrillas.

### 3. A feeling <creates> <news reports>

But, the problem is, what is power? What is a 'reader'?

Is it necessary to distinguish 'oppressed people='readers' from <creators>, both capable of asking again, "What is class-based language?" in terms of the basic criteria of <expression>?. And is a <creator> alone to be responsible for the 'revisionism' of "applying introspection as method"?

Or, has what Tsumura calls the 'oxymoron,' the act of involving work not based on "applying introspection as method" rendered the cinema 'movement' meaningless?

And conversely, as Tsumura argues, "No matter what an agent for the movement should be, as long as it is an agent for the movement, it must have a system of messages, and, as I have been proposing, this system has to take the form of journalism. Whether it can actually form a class-based language or not depends on our ability to grasp reading as the primary activity, our understanding that <creation> as a form of self-expression is a mediation for the people, the reader, in the process of self-negation, understands it as the secondary activity in this entire process. Recapturing the site must be pursued not in the image ghetto we call cinema, but 'in the city.'" (Tsumura Takashi) When comparing the reality of the cinema movement with the reality of a 'demonstration in the park,' we can still consider the irreversibility of the image—on which Shuji Terayama might remain noncommittal, saying, "one cannot project an image on the wall of a building in the light of the day"—as a message (image processing not necessarily as defined by structuralism), and by extracting what is considered "secondary in the entire process" of cinema it is possible to signify "reading as primary activity."

The problem is the reality of cinema—in which this distinction between "primary" and "secondary" is divided respectively between <journey> and <truth>. In other words, what is at stake is to try to assimilate by dismantling individual <feelings> on the <journey>.

What Tsumura claims as the "direction of self-organizing ambiguity" in his strategy of reading along with Godard's <black screen> is a fair argument. But would the fair argument, in the context of the cinema movement, be literally based on the <direction> of reality, rhetoric-wise, and not a message? Hence, I will continue my <journey> as, "Adachi, who speaks out as creator."(ibid.)

"In image documentation, the person who documents must be deconstructed and changed through the confrontation with the subject which is documented, and the documentation of this process must be included in the documentary."(Oshima Nagisa, "Watashi ni totte kiroku towa nanika" [What does documentation mean to me] in *Eiga Hihyo*, July 1971)

This is also a fair argument about documentation, saying that it is based on encounter. The <journey> for the sake of encounter becomes part of everyday life of the documenting subject. It was Oshima who stated earlier, "Encountering can be a unique talent."

It is also deemed self-explanatory in this statement that, for the person who documents, this talent is a philosophical character in his everyday life. Would it be the fact that this talent has yet to be brought into anonymity, rather than being considered a philosophical character, that casts a shadow between power and reader, or <language> and <movement>?

In short, what is a philosophical quality of language? How should we realize a philosophical quality in the strategy of reading when Tsumura says, "No matter what an agent for a movement should be, as an agent for the movement, they must have a system of messages?"

We must call into question the <truth> of the <expression> (called cinema), as well as ask about the <expression> of <truth>, so that we should ask again "What does 'class-based language' mean, the major premise of the oppressed people?"

"How have we have been carrying out propaganda? We have obtained quite simple lessons for the past five years. That is, propaganda, immediately, is <information>, and <information> is the communication of <truth>.

Moreover, the best form of truth is armed struggle. Therefore, we believe that armed struggle is the best form of propaganda. (PFLP Information Center Ghassan Kanafani)

This <armed struggle> is the subject of documentation for me as a documentarian. But when they say that they represent their own <truth>, and their own <language>, will I also able to receive <armed struggle> literally as "class-based language?" I must acquire the reality of the entire <expression> and <journey> from the standpoint of reading the <language> that their <armed struggle>—especially <guns>—has acquired. They, in turn, must read the way in which <expression>, that I am going to discover by reading them, exists. Because the <language> between them and I that is going to be documented and discovered is summarized in the following two lines, but one enormous challenge, as strategy:

Victory to the Palestinian liberation struggle!

Build the world revolutionary war front for victory!

We must recognize their predominant premise as a strategy of reading here and now. Would it be possible to read the <language> "The best form of propaganda is armed struggle" through cinema?

June 21: Attended full demonstration-scale frontline formations by the eight independent factions, including Al Fatah, Sa'iqa, The National Front for the Liberation of Syria, PLO (regular guerrilla forces) and PFLP. Had shooting training. Filming permit still on hold.

June 22: Shooting training. Lecture and drill training on various timing devices. The situation of the "mountain" reported and a lecture on morality delivered.

June 23: Had shooting and ranger training. Mountain range on the side of Israel and Jordan surrounding Jerash looked entirely treeless, and the forest of red pine and olives continues towards Syria. Since the arrival of the Turkish army in the 1920's followed by the British Armed Forces, Israel and Jordan stripped bare the surface of the mountain apparently to contain guerrilla activity of fedayeen ("brave ones" who retaliate). At night torches set along mountains by Jordanian government forces and the Israeli army clearly indicate that the "mountains" are being surrounded, but they never launch an attack. Rather, they are just waiting [for us] to start shooting from Jerash, the guerrillas' holy site.

June 24: Called by the captain during the study meeting, and told that they can grant us a permit only to film an interview with him. The reason is, although all the operational information, in principle, has to be kept confidential, he said that we could film the 'evidence' to prove that if arrested by Jordan army, you will be in jail at least for ten years, and if you are found out to be a PFLP member by the Israeli army, you will be sentenced to ninety-nine years in prison along with the captain and others who have warrants. Apparently the reason was also due to our attitude towards training, and our shooting ability. Pulling out the camera first time in a while, got absorbed into shooting the interview.

June 25: Suddenly ordered to go down the mountain. Filmed the refugee camp in Gaza on our way back (blind bombardment by Jordan and Israeli forces taking place at night). Used our right to remain silent to cross the border this time. Arrived at Daraa, but main members were absent due to the meeting. Reluctantly left a message and headed from Daraa -->Madagascar. Drove at 120-150 kilometer per hour to reach the destination.

June 26: Went to the Information Center for the report, but main members were absent here as well. Instead, guerrillas I met in Daraa or Jerash were hurriedly coming and going.

June 27: Mr. Wakamatsu returned to Japan to prepare for the screening <newsreel film> in public. Shot some interviews as "messages for the Japanese people in struggle."

June 28: Started filming guerrilla operation HQs at different camps in Lebanon, including Saida and Saus. Still remain focused on ways guns exist.

July 2: Went to the base HQ Nabatieh at the Lebanon-Israel border. A few paved roads leading towards Israel were closed. Pass government checkpoint by showing "PFLP pass."

July 6: Visited a few villages already within Israeli territory in between days of training and filming. Mountains and fields burned by napalm. Bombed area with buildings without ceilings and rooftops. Debris of enemy tanks. Combat in everyday life including the escorting of wounded soldiers. But the landscape looks fairly peaceful with a view of "the Holy Land of Palestine" with Israeli fighters overhead, and the roaring of gunfire and sound of bombs resonating deeply. Can't forget that this is a battleground. Again, we are ordered to return to Beirut. Many commands move from one base to another.

July 10: The Information Center in Beirut was flooded with guerrilla soldiers. But on the 14th, like an undertow, they either disappeared into the central Beirut, or returned to the frontline. From this exact day forward, the Jordanian government army liquidated the guerilla bases near the Jerash Mountain-Syrian Border, in a joint operation with the Israeli army. As was reported by the Japanese foreign telegraph news, the Syrian government forces turned a blind eye.

After recording their <guns> and <messages> with more than ten thousand feet (a little under 5 hours) of film, I tried to watch Godard's *Jusqu'à la Victoire* funded by Al Fatah but returned to Japan without doing so on July 21st. As of September 10th, this record is still ongoing. Because our joint production work with the Japanese Red Army Faction developing <armed struggle> based on their strategic theory, "Preliminary armed insurrection --> Confrontational struggle" is still ongoing. But it is clear that I cannot give up the standpoint of 'creator' to 'report' <armed struggle> applying the introspective method as "Can Shinjuku drunks become guerrilla soldiers?" until this <report> of a <journey>, this feeling embarked on, takes shape as <newsreel film> Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War.

The best form of propaganda is <armed struggle>. Unless we <create> the <news reports>, our <language> will not be expressed as "class-based language." Our <journey> continues.

<Hodo> to <sozo> no kairo: *Sekigun/PFLP: Sekai Senso Sengen no tame no noto* [Circuit of <Reportage> and <Creation>: A note for *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War*]. *Eiga Hiho*, no.13 (October 1971): 14-23; *Eiga eno Senryaku*, 15-32.

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*STILLS*



*AKA: Serial Killer, 1969*

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*AKA: Serial Killer, 1969*

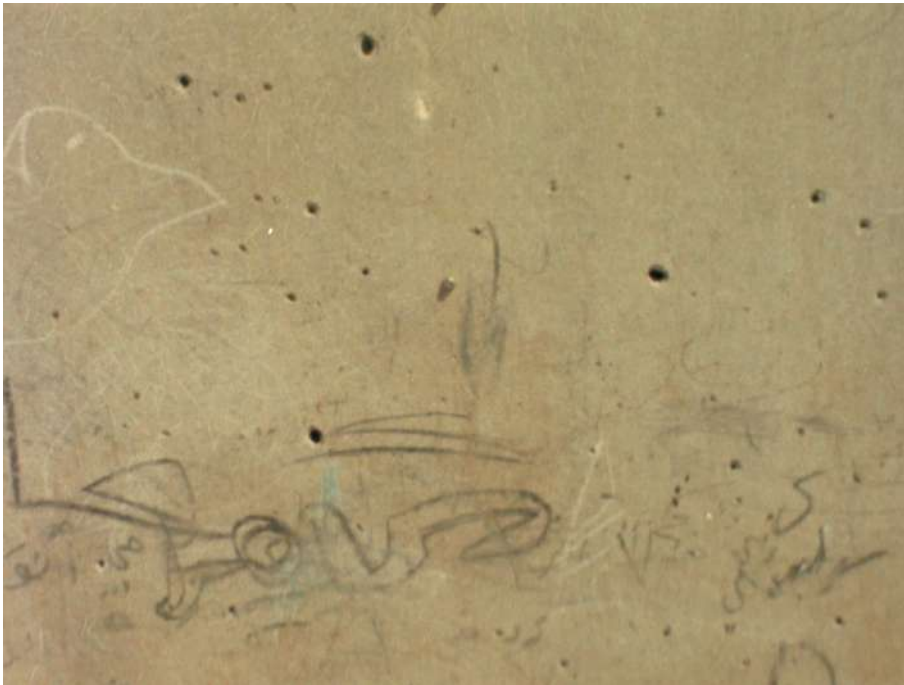


*AKA: Serial Killer, 1969*



*Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War, 1971*

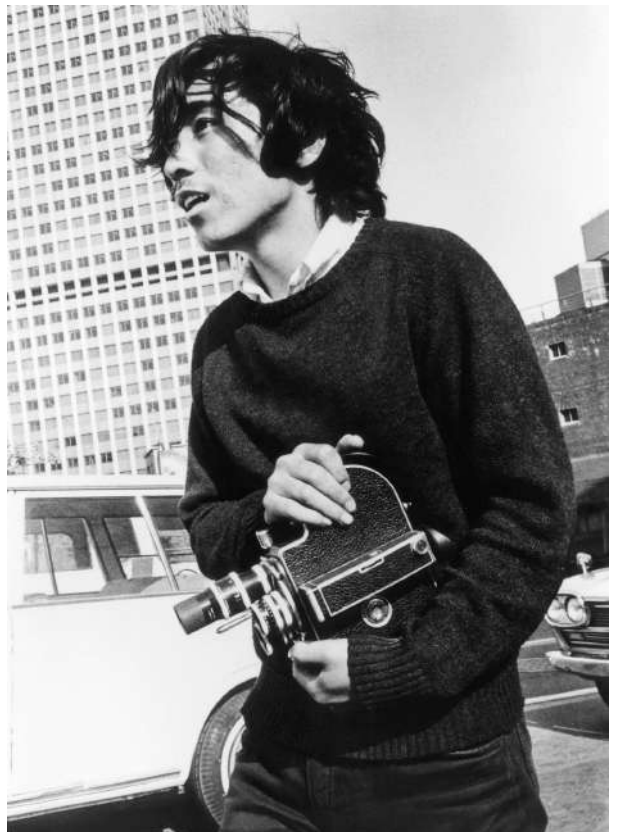
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*Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War, 1971*

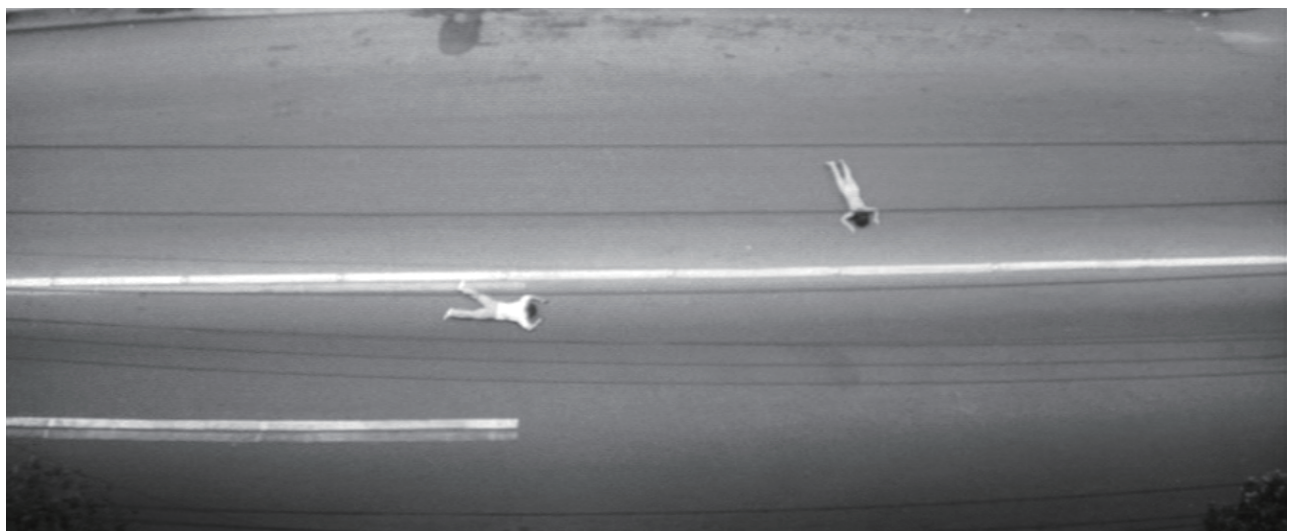


*Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War, 1971*



*A Man Who Left His Will on Film, 1970*

© Oshima Productions



*Go, Go Second Time Virgin*, 1969  
© Wakamatsu Production/Skhole

## Summary

This dissertation reexamines and considers landscape theory, which was proposed by film critic and anarchist Matsuda Masao in 1969, and further developed by film director Adachi Masao, screenwriter Sasaki Mamoru, and photographer Nakahira Takuma as a new theory of politics and revolution that moved beyond the framework of film history and art theory. The birth of landscape theory coincided with the production of the film *Ryakusho Renzokushasatsuma* (A.K.A. Serial Killer, 1969), a documentary film about an absent protagonist, nineteen-year-old Nagayama Norio, who had been convicted of a series of indiscriminate gun murders that had occurred between October 1968 and April 1969, in Tokyo, Kyoto, Hakodate and Nagoya. The film consists entirely of shots of landscapes that he may have encountered in his wandering from his birth until his arrest. The incident had an enormous social impact in postwar Japan, particularly because Nagayama was one of the so-called 'golden eggs' (*kin no tamago*), the young workers who came from rural areas to Tokyo to work as unskilled labor in support of the booming economy.

It was not until the introduction of the term '*fukei*' as the translation of the English word 'landscape' during the modernization process of the Meiji Restoration, in the latter half of the 19th century, that the term and concept '*fukei*' (landscape) started to be used in Japan. Prior to that, various terms such as '*kokei*' (scene) and '*keshiki*' (view) were used interchangeably with 'landscape,' however, when the western notion of 'landscape' took root, discussions about landscape started to develop in various fields. This dissertation, therefore, first introduces a historical overview of various theories of landscape in Japan, and through comparisons with them, argues for the specificities of the landscape theory that Matsuda, Adachi, and others had developed in an entirely different context from those of its predecessors.

A new post-war regime had been established in Japan under the American occupation, without accountability for the war having been thoroughly examined. Problems such as this were brought to light through the Japan-US Security Struggle in 1960, and as a result the New Left movement was born. Further in 1968-69, *Zenkyoto* (the All-Campus Joint Committee) movement, organized mainly by students, gained momentum almost to the point of dismantling the existing system of state capitalism. The 1960s thus became a major transitional period after the war. However, starting around 1970, the movement's momentum was suppressed by an overwhelming police and military force, and this marked the arrival of high consumer society. It was in the midst of these historical shifts that landscape theory was initially conceived, as a theory of film and photography, aiming for a new 'post-1968' thought and practice, rather than succeeding previous artistic and revolutionary theories. Landscape theory attempted to locate the power-state not in a typical political domain, but rather in the ordinary everyday landscape, expanding the interpretation of existing discussions dealing

exclusively with visible landscape further, to the extent of naming invisible as well as visually recognizable structures 'landscape.'

Despite its great potential as a new theory of power-state, and as a revolutionary theory for the 1970s, landscape theory experienced difficulties, and was forced to change its theoretical direction. This shift was due to the fact that numerous controversies arose, caused by factious criticisms regardless of their sources, such as film, photography and politics, as well as the fact that discussions of landscape theory had become a sort of cultural trend, result of which was the return of so-called 'Historical' theories of landscape. Another cause of this shift was a series of events in the lives of the main theorists of landscape theory: Adachi left Japan in 1974 to join the Arab Red Army (later the Japanese Red Army) for the Palestinian Revolution; Matsuda planned to move his living base to Europe, but was deported from France; and Nakahira suffered a severe memory loss. Tracing this background and course of events, this dissertation elucidates the historical and theoretical position of the newly created landscape theory in Japan, and, with an eye on the early 2000's reassessment of landscape theory, further explores its contemporary relevance and potential.

"Introduction" offers a reassessment of Adachi's life and work, as well as various currents of reinvestigation of landscape theory in Japan and abroad, which started upon his deportation from Lebanon to Japan in 2000.

Chapter One, "Landscape and Landscape Theory," traces and examines how the concept of landscape had taken root in the process of Japan's modernization, and how discussions around it subsequently unfolded. The discussions are diverse in content, starting from *Nihon Fukeiron* (On the Japanese Landscape) by geographer Shiga Shigetaka, published in 1894, to *Chijinron* (Discourse on the earth-human relation) by another geographer, Uchimura Kanzo, to a series of travel writings by folklorist Yanagita Kunio, to *Fudo* (Climate) by philosopher Watsuji Tetsuro, as well as to *Musashino*, by literary person Kunikida Doppo. There are additional discussions of landscape that have rarely been brought up in the context of theories of landscape, by people such as film directors Kamei Fumio, Mizoguchi Kenji, literary persons Dazai Osamu, Sakaguchi Ango, critics Yasuda Yojuro, and Hanada Kiyoteru. Encompassing geography, philosophy, ethnology, sociology, as well as theories of photography, film, literature, state, and culture, historical and theoretical changes of landscape and theories of landscape in Japan are traced. Through comparison with the above, the unique and innovative aspects of Matsuda's landscape theory is brought to light.

In Chapter Two, "Matsuda Masao's Landscape Theory," various texts by Matsuda, the central ideologue of landscape theory, are examined. Mainly based on his two essays, "Sex as landscape" and "City as Landscape," in which a theorization of landscape was initially attempted, the focus is to analyze landscape theory that had been developed in his discussions on films, including Oshima Nagisa's *Tokyo senso sengo hiwa* (The Man Who Left His Will On Film, 1970), culture, and politics. The possibilities of his texts as theories of state power, underclass proletariat, commune, guerrilla, and revolution are clarified through the exploration of key concepts, such as the collapse of dichotomies

between Tokyo and the countryside, between center and periphery, the regimentation of the entire Japanese archipelago as a gigantic city, and the homogenization of the landscape, as well as the relations between the act of seeing/being seen and the subject. Also, by examining theoretical responses to Matsuda's landscape theory by Nakahira, Adachi, Sasaki and others, as well as the critical exchanges between Matsuda and filmmaker Hara Masato and critic Tsumura Takashi, the development that led to a polemical debate on landscape theory, and its process of decline is traced. Discussions of landscape—contemporaneous to Matsuda and others' landscape theory—by literary scholar Okuno Takeo, architects Miyauchi Ko, and Hara Hiroshi, as well as new theories of landscape written after Matsuda and others' landscape theory, by literary critic Karatani Kojin and others, are reviewed as well. Furthermore, the theory of reportage and information media, which is considered as a theoretical successor to landscape theory, along with the theory of cinema movement that was concurrently developed, is referenced.

Chapter Three, "On Adachi Masao" and "On *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War*" focus on examining two films: *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, which led to the creation of landscape theory, and the newsreel film *Sekigun- PFLP: Sekai senso sengen* (*Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War*, 1971), produced by Wakamatsu production and jointly edited by the Red Army Faction of Communist League (*Kyosanshugisha Domei Sekigunha*) and the PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine). *Red Army/PFLP*, on which Adachi did the directing, shooting and editing, depicts the Palestinian liberation struggle, and the revolutionary struggle in Japan, as texts for world revolution. First, while touching on the cultural and historical background of the New Wave cinema movement in Japan spanning from the late 1950's to the early 1960's that saw the debut of Adachi, *A.K.A. Serial Killer* is analyzed in order to discuss how its methodology of using only images of landscape rather than a narrative brought forth new aesthetic and political possibilities of the film as visual medium. Furthermore, Adachi's remarks on landscape theory are gathered from interviews, conversations, roundtables and his own texts, and the theoretical development from landscape theory to theory of reportage and information media through the production of *Red Army/PFLP* is also examined. In addition, along with a film theoretical and political analysis of *Red Army/PFLP*, an analysis of the relationship between film theory, production, and screening in light of the screening troop movement for *Red Army/PFLP* is conducted.

In Chapter Four, "Wakamatsu Koji, Oshima Nagisa, Jean-Luc Godard and Dziga Vertov Group," the work of Wakamatsu Koji and Oshima Nagisa, both filmmakers who worked with Adachi and Matsuda, and whose work is particularly relevant to landscape theory, is examined. Focusing particularly on Wakamatsu's *Yukeyuke nidome no shojo* (*Go Go, Second Time Virgin*, 1969), *Kyosojoshiko* (*Running in Madness, Dying in Love*, 1968), *Sex Jack* (1970), as well as Oshima Nagisa's *Shonen* (*Boy*, 1969), and *The Man Who Left His Will on Film*, an analysis based on the statements of both filmmakers about these works and landscape, is conducted. Also, the Wakamatsu and Oshima films are compared with those of Jean-Luc Godard, as well as films from the Dziga

Vertov Group period, particularly with *Wind From the East* (1969), *Lotte in Italia* (1969), and *Here and Elsewhere* (*Ici et ailleurs*, 1975) that were made under the theme of landscape and politics, to examine cinematic and political approaches to landscape—not only in the Japanese context, but also in global context of radical international filmmakers of the same period.

In conclusion, by reflecting on these investigations and analysis, under the current situation in Japan, in which the return of so-called 'master narratives,' such as 'postwar reconstruction' and 'high economic growth' is becoming prominent, the challenge of formulating a new landscape theory in order to again resist such a move is discussed anew.

## Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift is een hernieuwd onderzoek naar en evaluatie van de landschapstheorie (Jp. *fukeiron*) die in 1969 ontwikkeld is door de filmcriticus en anarchist Matsuda Masao en doorontwikkeld door filmregisseur Adachi Masao, scenarioschrijver Sasaki Mamoru en fotograaf Nakahira Takuma als een nieuwe politieke en revolutionaire theorie die uitsteeg boven het raamwerk van filmgeschiedenis en kunsttheorie. De geboorte van landschapstheorie viel samen met de productie van de film *Ryakusho Renzokushasatsuma* (A.K.A. Serial Killer, 1969), een documentairefilm over een afwezige hoofdpersoon, de negentienjarige Nagayama Norio, die veroordeeld was voor een reeks van willekeurige vuurwapenmoorden die plaatsvonden tussen oktober 1968 en april 1969 in Tokyo, Kyoto, Hakodate en Nagoya. De film bestaat uitsluitend uit shots van landschappen die hij had kunnen tegenkomen op zijn omzwervingen van geboorte tot arrestatie. Deze gebeurtenis had een enorme sociale impact op het naoorlogse Japan, vooral omdat Nagayama een van de zogenaamde ‘gouden eieren’ was (*kin no tamago*), de jonge arbeiders die vanuit het platteland naar Tokyo kwamen om daar ongeschooold werk te doen in de opbloeiende economie.

Het was pas met de introductie van de term ‘*fukei*’ als vertaling van het Engelse woord ‘landscape’ tijdens het moderniseringsproces van de Meiji-restauratie in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw dat de term en het concept ‘*fukei*’ (landschap) in Japan gebruikt begon te worden. Vóór die tijd werden verschillende termen gebruikt als equivalenten voor ‘landschap’, zoals ‘*kokei*’ (landschap) en ‘*keshiki*’ (uitzicht), maar toen het westerse concept ‘landschap’ wortel schoot was dat het begin van discussies op verschillende terreinen. Dit proefschrift behandelt daarom eerst een historisch overzicht van verschillende landschapstheorieën en betoogt door middel van een onderlinge vergelijking dat Matsuda, Adachi en anderen hun specifieke landschapstheorie ontwikkelden in een volstrekt andere context dan hun voorgangers.

Na de Tweede Wereldoorlog werd in Japan onder de Amerikaanse bezetting een nieuw regime geïnstalleerd, zonder dat enige verantwoordelijkheid voor de oorlog op een gedegen manier was onderzocht. Zulke problemen kwamen in 1960 aan de oppervlakte door de protesten rondom het Japans-Amerikaanse veiligheidsverdrag en een van de gevolgen daarvan was de geboorte van de Nieuw Links-beweging. Daarna won in 1968-1969 de Zenkyoto (Comité van Verenigde Campussen)-beweging, die voornamelijk uit studenten bestond, aan kracht tot het punt dat deze bijna het bestaande staatsysteem wist te ontmantelen. De jaren '60 van de vorige eeuw werden zo een van de belangrijkste naoorlogse transitieperiodes. Vanaf ongeveer 1970 echter werd het momentum van deze beweging onderdrukt door een overweldigende politiemacht en militaire troepen; dit moment markeerde de komst van de consumptiemaatschappij. Het was tegen de achtergrond van deze historische verschuivingen dat landschapstheorie in eerste instantie werd geconcipieerd, als film- en fotografietheorie, eerder met het doel een nieuwe ‘post-1968’-gedachtengoed en -praktijk te

bewerkstelligen en niet zozeer als een voortbouwen op eerdere kunst- en politieke theorieën. Landschapstheorie streefde ernaar de almachtige staat niet in voor de hand liggende domeinen te lokaliseren, maar veeleer in het alledaagse landschap, en breidde bestaande discussies die zich uitsluitend richtten op met het zichtbare landschap bezighielden uit tot het benoemen van niet alleen zichtbare maar ook onzichtbare structuren in ‘landschap’.

Ondanks haar grote potentieel als nieuwe theorie van staatsmacht en als revolutionaire theorie voor de jaren '70 dreigde landschapstheorie vast te lopen en was men gedwongen om haar theoretische richting te veranderen. Deze verandering van richting werd nodig vanwege een aantal controverses veroorzaakt door verschillende vormen van factiestrijd ongeacht of dit nu film, fotografie of politiek betrof, alsook het feit dat discussies over landschapstheorie een soort culturele trend geworden waren met als een terugkeer naar de zogenaamde ‘historische’ landschapstheorieën tot gevolg. Een andere oorzaak van deze verandering was een reeks gebeurtenissen in de levens van de voornaamste theoretici van landschapstheorie: Adachi verliet Japan in 1974 om zich aan te sluiten bij het Arabische Rode Leger (later het Japanse Rode Leger) om mee te vechten voor de Palestijnse revolutie; Matsuda bereidde zich voor op een permanente verhuizing naar Europa maar werd uit Frankrijk gedeporteerd; en Nakahira kreeg te maken met ernstig geheugenverlies. Dit proefschrift beschrijft deze achtergronden en gebeurtenissen en verheldert de historische en theoretische positie van deze nieuw gecreëerde landschapstheorie in Japan, en brengt ook het hedendaagse belang ervan verder in kaart met oog voor de herwaardering ervan aan het begin van dit millennium.

De ‘Inleiding’ bevat een hernieuwd overzicht van Adachi’s leven en werk, en van de verschillende stromingen met betrekking tot landschapstheorie in Japan en daarbuiten die op gang kwamen na zijn deportatie van Libanon naar Japan in 2000.

Hoofdstuk Een, “Landscape and Landscape Theory”, inventariseert hoe het concept ‘landschap’ wortel schoot in het Japanse moderniseringsproces en hoe discussies rondom met betrekking tot dit concept vervolgens verliepen. Deze discussie zijn divers van inhoud, te beginnen met *Nihon Fukeiron* (Over het Japanse landschap) van de geograaf Shiga Shigetaka, gepubliceerd in 1894, tot *Chijinron* (Discours over de relatie tussen aarde en mens) van een andere geograaf, Uchimura Kanzo, tot een reeks reisliteratuur van de folklorist Yanagita Kunio, tot *Fudo* (Klimaat) van de filosoof Watsuji Tetsuro, alsook *Musashino*, van de literator Kunikida Doppo. Er bestaan aanvullende discussies van ‘landschap’ die in de context van landschapstheorie weinig aandacht kregen, zoals die door filmregisseurs Kamei Fumio en Mizoguchi Kenji, schrijvers Dazai Osamu en Sakaguchi Ango en critici Yasuda Yojuro en Hanada Kiyoteru. Historische en theoretische verschuivingen in landschap en landschapstheorie worden besproken, rakend aan geografie, filosofie, etnologie, sociologie, en ook theorieën met betrekking tot fotografie, film, literatuur, staat en cultuur.

In Hoofdstuk Twee, “Matsuda Masao’s Landscape Theory”, worden verschillende teksten geanalyseerd van Matsuda, de voornaamste ideoloog van landschapstheorie. Met vooral aandacht voor twee van zijn essays, “Seks als landschap” en “Stad als landschap”, waarin voor het eerst een

theoretisering van het landschap werd ondernomen, ligt de focus op een analyse van landschapstheorie zoals hij die ontwikkelde in zijn besprekingen van films, waaronder Oshima Nagisa's *Tokyo senso sengo hiwa* (The Man Who Left His Will On Film, 1970), cultuur en politiek. De mogelijkheden van zijn teksten als theorieën over staatsmacht, proletariaat, commune, guerrilla en revolutie worden verhelderd door een verkenning van sleuteltermen zoals de opheffing van dichotomieën Tokyo-platteland en centrum-periferie, en de reglementering van de gehele Japanse archipel tot een gigantische stad en homogenisering van het landschap, alsook de relatie tussen het zien/gezien worden als handeling en het subject. Door de theoretische reacties te bestuderen op Matsuda's landschapstheorie en het debat tussen Matsuda en filmmaker Hara Masato en criticus Tsumura Takashi, wordt het traject geschetst hoe een polemiek over landschapstheorie ontstond en hoe dat uiteindelijk ten einde liep. Discussies over landschap —die gelijktijdig met de landschapstheorie van Matsuda en anderen gevoerd werden— door literatuurwetenschapper Okuno Takeo, architecten Miyauchi Ko en Hara Hiroshi, en ook de nieuwe landschapstheorieën die na de landschapstheorie van Matsuda en anderen geschreven werden door Karatani Kojin en anderen komen aan bod. Voorts wordt ingegaan op de theorie van reportage en informatiemedia, die, samen met de theorie van de filmbeweging die gelijktijdig ontwikkeld werd, gezien wordt als opvolger van landschapstheorie.

Hoofdstuk Drie, dat bestaat uit “On Adachi Masao” en “On *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War*”, is een studie van twee films: *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, dat aan de wieg stond van landschapstheorie, en de nieuwsfilm *Sekigun- PFLP: Sekai senso sengen* (Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War, 1971), geproduceerd door Wakamatsu Production en stond onder gezamenlijke redactie van de Rode Leger-factie van de Communistische Bond (*Kyosanshugisha Domei Sekigunha*) en de PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine). *Red Army/PFLP*, waarvoor Adachi zowel de regie, camerawerk en montage op zich nam, toont de Palestijnse vrijheidsstrijd en de revolutionaire strijd in Japan als blauwdrukken voor wereldrevolutie. Allereerst wordt de culturele en historische achtergrond van de New Wave-beweging in Japanse cinema van de late jaren '50 tot de vroege jaren '60 van de vorige eeuw geschetst, een periode waarin Adachi deuteerde, en wordt *A.K.A. Serial Killer* geanalyseerd om aan te tonen hoe de methodologie van deze film (het uitsluitend gebruiken van beelden van landschappen, zonder een narratief) nieuwe esthetische en politieke mogelijkheden van film als visueel medium voortbracht. Voorts worden observaties van Adachi over landschapstheorie verzameld uit interviews, conversaties, rondetafelgesprekken en zijn eigen teksten wordt de ontwikkeling geduid van landschapstheorie naar theorie van reportage en informatiemedia door de productie van *Red Army/PFLP*. Daarnaast wordt, behalve een filmtheoretische en politieke analyse van *Red Army/PFLP*, de relatie tussen filmtheorie, productie en vertoning geanalyseerd in het licht van de *screening troop movement* voor *Red Army/PFLP*.

Hoofdstuk Vier, “Wakamatsu Koji, Oshima Nagisa, Jean-Luc Godard and Dziga Vertov Group”, is een studie naar het werk van Wakamatsu Koji en Oshima Nagisa, beiden filmmakers die met Adachi en Matsuda gewerkt hebben en wier werk bijzonder relevant is voor landschapstheorie. Met vooral aandacht voor Wakamatsu’s *Yukeyuke nidome no shojo* (Go Go, Second Time Virgin, 1969), *Kyosojoshiko* (Running in Madness, Dying in Love, 1968), *Sex Jack* (1970), en Oshima Nagisa’s *Shonen* (Boy, 1969), en *The Man Who Left His Will on Film*, worden uitspraken van beide filmmakers over deze werken geanalyseerd. De films van Wakamatsu en Oshima worden ook vergeleken met die van Jean-Luc Godard en die uit de periode van de Dziga Vertov Groep, met name *Wind From the East* (1969), *Lotte in Italia* (1969) en *Hier en elders* (Ici et ailleurs, 1975), die het thema politiek en landschap hebben, om zo de cinematografische en politieke benaderingen van landschap te doorgronden — niet alleen in Japan maar ook in de wereldwijde context van radicale filmmakers uit deze periode.

In de “Conclusion” wordt reflectie op voorgaande hoofdstukken ingezet om de hernieuwde noodzaak van een landschapstheorie te beargumenteren als tegenwicht in de huidige situatie in Japan, waar de terugkeer van ‘master narratives’ als ‘naoorlogse reconstructie’ en ‘grote economische groei’ prominent worden.

## **Résumé de la thèse : *La "théorie du paysage" : Cinéma révolutionnaire post-68 au Japon de Go Hirasawa***

Cette thèse a pour objectif d'examiner la "théorie du paysage" (Fukeyi-ron) qui a suscité de nombreux débats. Celle-ci a été proposée, à la fin de l'année 1969, par le critique de cinéma anarchiste Masao Matsuda puis développée par le réalisateur Masao Adachi, le scénariste Mamoru Sasaki et le photographe Takuma Nakahira, entre autres. C'est au cours du processus de modernisation de la Restauration de Meiji, à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, que le terme et le concept du "paysage" (fukei) ont été introduits au Japon pour traduire en japonais le mot occidental de "landscape". Auparavant, étaient utilisés les mots "scène", "vue", etc., mais avec l'arrivée du concept occidental du paysage, les discussions sur le "paysage" et sur la "théorie du paysage" se sont multipliées dans tous les domaines d'emploi du terme.

Parmi les différentes théories sur le paysage, cette thèse se concentre sur celle dont le film *A.K.A. Serial Killer* (1969), co-réalisé par Matsuda, Adachi et Sasaki entre autres, est considéré comme le catalyseur. Cette œuvre est un documentaire sur Norio Nagayama, un jeune homme de dix-neuf ans qui n'apparaît jamais dans le film bien qu'il soit l'auteur d'une série de fusillades à l'aveugle dans les villes de Tokyo, Kyoto, Hakodate et Nagoya entre octobre 1968 et avril 1969. Ce documentaire est entièrement composé de tous les paysages que Norio Nagayama aurait vus au cours de ses errances depuis sa naissance jusqu'à son arrestation. Ces meurtres avaient fait sensation dans le Japon d'après-guerre car Nagayama, l'auteur des crimes, était un jeune ouvrier venu de la campagne pour travailler dans les grandes villes. De fait, cette main d'œuvre, appelée "œuf d'or", était très appréciée dans le Japon de cette époque en plein miracle économique. Matsuda et ses amis, en retraçant eux-mêmes le chemin parcouru par Nagayama à travers ses paysages, ont révélé de ceux-ci une nouvelle interprétation. Le tournage a commencé en juillet 1969, juste après l'arrestation du jeune homme, et le film a été achevé à la fin de la même année.

Au lendemain de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, un nouveau régime a été instauré au Japon, alors sous occupation américaine, sans que soit remise en question la responsabilité du pays dans sa guerre d'invasion, d'où la lutte contre le traité de sécurité nippo-américain en 1960 qui a fait naître le mouvement de la nouvelle gauche. Cette tendance est allée encore plus loin puisque le mouvement Zenkyoto qui s'est développé dans les années 1968 - 1969, dirigé principalement par les étudiants, a été sur le point de démanteler le système de l'État-Capitalisme existant. Ainsi les années 60 ont-elles marqué un tournant majeur dans cette période de l'après-guerre. Mais vers le début des années 1970, ce mouvement ayant été réprimé par des forces policière et militaire écrasantes, une société de grande consommation s'est imposée. C'est dans ce contexte, au milieu de tous ces changements, qu'a été créée la "théorie du paysage", inspirée par celles du cinéma et de la photographie, dans le but de

proposer une nouvelle philosophie à l'ère post-1968, au lieu de s'inscrire dans la simple succession des théories existantes de l'art et de la révolution. Cette "théorie du paysage" ne se réduit pas à un espace politique symbolique, mais elle est la révélation de l'État-Pouvoir dans les paysages du quotidien. C'est une interprétation plus large et plus profonde que celle des théories antérieures qui s'appuyaient sur les paysages visibles car elle considère comme faisant partie du paysage non seulement les structures visibles mais aussi les structures invisibles.

Cependant, dans les années 1970, la "théorie du paysage" a dû subir des changements théoriques importants alors qu'elle disposait d'un énorme potentiel en tant que nouvelle théorie sur l'État-Pouvoir et la révolution. Dans cette thèse, nous examinons le contexte du retour de la "théorie du paysage" dans l'Histoire collective. Celui-ci a été déclenché par les nombreuses controverses des critiques partisans, que ce soit au cinéma, dans la photographie ou la politique, ainsi que par la vogue de la "théorie du paysage" elle-même. Pour ce faire, nous retraçons l'histoire d'Adachi qui a quitté le Japon en 1974 pour rejoindre l'Armée rouge japonaise engagée dans la révolution palestinienne, celle de Matsuda qui est parti en Europe la même année mais qui a finalement été extradé, et celle de Nakahira qui a perdu la mémoire et la parole. En réétudiant tous ces événements, nous tentons de clarifier la position historique et théorique de la nouvelle "théorie du paysage" née au Japon et de réexaminer sa potentialité actuelle.

L'introduction aborde la réévaluation d'Adachi tant au Japon qu'à l'étranger, laquelle a commencé au moment de son extradition du Liban vers le Japon en 2000, ainsi que la réévaluation de la "théorie du paysage" à notre époque.

Dans le 1er chapitre, intitulé « Le paysage et la "théorie du paysage" », nous retraçons la manière dont le concept du paysage a pris racine au Japon au cours de sa modernisation et examinons comment celui-ci a été discuté par la suite. De nombreux ouvrages y sont présentés : *Des paysages japonais (Nihon fukei-ron)* du géographe Shigetaka Shiga publié en 1894, *La terre et l'homme (Chijin-ron)* du géographe Kanzo Uchimura, une série de carnets de voyage du folkloriste Kunio Yanagida, *Fudo, le milieu humain (Fudo)* du philosophe Tetsuro Watsuji, *Musashino* de l'écrivain Doppo Kunikida..., pour ne citer que quelques-uns parmi d'autres. S'ajoutent à cela, les visions sur les paysages proposées par des réalisateurs tels que Fumio Kamei et Kenji Mizoguchi, par des écrivains tels que Osamu Dazai et Ango Sakaguchi, et par des critiques tels que Yojuro Yasuda et Kiyoteru Hanada, qui n'ont pas souvent été pris en compte dans le cadre des études sur les paysages. C'est ainsi que nous analysons l'évolution historique et théorique du paysage et de la "théorie du paysage" du Japon à partir de différents points de vue et disciplines, qu'il s'agisse de la géographie, de la philosophie, du folklore, de la sociologie, de la photographie, de la théorie du cinéma, de la littérature, de la pensée sur la nation, et de la culture... La comparaison entre ces différentes conceptions révèle l'originalité et l'innovation de la "théorie du paysage" telle qu'elle a été élaborée par Matsuda et ses amis.

Dans le 2e chapitre, intitulé « Masao Matsuda : la "théorie du paysage" », nous étudions le texte même de Matsuda, qui était le principal idéologue de la "théorie du paysage". Nous appuyant sur ses premières théories exposées dans : "Le sexe comme paysage" et "La ville comme paysage", nous analysons le développement de la "théorie du paysage" à partir des débats qui abordent aussi bien la théorie du cinéma, notamment avec l'exemple de *The Man Who Left His Will on Film* (1970) de Nagisa Oshima, que la théorie culturelle et politique. Nous mettons en évidence les possibilités de ces théories appliquées à l'État-Pouvoir, au sous-prolétariat, à la commune, à la guérilla et à la révolution, à la lumière de plusieurs concepts clés : la déchéance de l'opposition bipolaire entre Tokyo et les provinces ou entre le centre et la périphérie, l'uniformisation de tout l'archipel japonais en tant que mégapole, l'homogénéisation du paysage et la relation entre celui qui voit et celui qui est vu, etc. Dans ce chapitre, nous retraçons le processus du développement puis du déclin du débat sur le paysage et la "théorie du paysage", en abordant les réponses théoriques données par Nakahira, Adachi et Sasaki à la "théorie du paysage" de Matsuda, ainsi que les critiques émises par le cinéaste Masato Hara et le critique Takashi Tsumura. Nous y évoquons également les débats sur la "théorie du paysage" proposée par des contemporains tels que l'écrivain Takeo Okuno, les architectes Ko Miyauchi et Hiroshi Hara, ainsi que sur celle, plus récente, proposée par Kojin Karatani. Nous abordons ensuite la théorie de la presse et des médias, qui est considérée comme successeur théorique de la "théorie du paysage", pour finir sur la théorie du mouvement cinématographique, qui a été développée en parallèle à la première.

Dans le 3e chapitre, intitulé « À propos de Masao Adachi », nous étudions principalement le film *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, qui a donné naissance à la "théorie du paysage", et le film d'actualité *Red Army/PFLP: Declaration of World War* (1971), produit par Wakamatsu Production et co-monté par la Faction armée rouge et par le Front populaire de libération de la Palestine. *Armée Rouge*, réalisé, filmé et monté par Adachi, dépeint la lutte de libération des Palestiniens et la lutte révolutionnaire japonaise comme le ferait un manifeste proclamant la révolution mondiale. Avant d'analyser le film *A.K.A. Serial Killer*, nous abordons le contexte culturel et historique du mouvement cinématographique japonais de la Nouvelle Vague (de la fin des années 1950 au début des années 1960) qui a donné naissance à Adachi. Notre analyse vise à prouver que la méthode qui consiste à utiliser uniquement les images des paysages plutôt qu'à raconter une narration ou des événements, instaure une nouvelle définition esthétique et politique du cinéma. Tous les propos d'Adachi sur la "théorie du paysage" - que ce soient des textes écrits, des interviews, des débats et des tables rondes - permettent de préciser sa "théorie du paysage" qui a généré celle de la presse et des médias, suite à son film *Armée rouge*. Nous étudions également la relation entre la théorie du cinéma et la forme des projections du point de vue organisationnel, à travers l'évocation du rôle joué par l'équipe du film qui en a coordonné la diffusion sous forme de mouvement concret.

Dans le 4e chapitre, intitulé « Koji Wakamatsu, Nagisa Oshima, Jean-Luc Godard et le Groupe Dziga Vertov », nous étudions les œuvres de Koji Wakamatsu, qui a collaboré avec Adachi et Matsuda, et celles de Nagisa Oshima, dont les visions sont étroitement liées à la "théorie du paysage". *Va, va, vierge pour la deuxième fois* (1969), *Running in Madness*, *Dying in Love* (1969) et *Sex Jack* (1970) de Wakamatsu, *Le petit garçon* (1969) et *The Man Who Left His Will on Film* d'Oshima sont au centre de ce chapitre qui analyse non seulement les œuvres elles-mêmes mais aussi les propos tenus par les deux réalisateurs sur le paysage. Nous comparons leurs œuvres avec celles de Jean-Luc Godard et avec celles du Groupe Dziga Vertov, auquel participent Godard et Jean-Pierre Gorin, notamment *Vent d'est* (1969), *Luttes en Italie* (1969), et *Ici et ailleurs* (1975), qui ont pour sujet le paysage et la politique. Ces comparaisons nous permettent de spécifier, sur le plan du paysage, les approches cinématographiques et politiques des cinéastes internationaux radicaux de la même époque.

Dans la conclusion, au regard de ce qui a été proposé dans les chapitres précédents, nous évoquons les objectifs pour une nouvelle théorisation susceptible de s'opposer à la situation japonaise actuelle dans laquelle on peut regretter un retour aux grandes épopées caractéristiques de la reconstruction d'après-guerre.

## **Résumé succinct : *La "théorie du paysage" : Cinéma révolutionnaire post-68 au Japon de Go Hirasawa***

Cette thèse a pour objectif d'examiner la "théorie du paysage" (Fukey-ron), qui a suscité de nombreux débats. Celle-ci a été proposée, à la fin de l'année 1969, par le critique de cinéma anarchiste Matsuda Masao puis développée par le réalisateur Adachi Masao, le scénariste Sasaki Mamoru et le photographe Nakahira Takuma, entre autres. Elle souhaite réétudier cette théorie du paysage non seulement pour la réévaluer d'un point de vue artistique ou dans le cadre de l'histoire du cinéma mais aussi pour en dégager la valeur politique et révolutionnaire. La "théorie du paysage" est née suite au film *A.K.A. Serial Killer* (1969), co-réalisé notamment par Matsuda, Adachi et Sasaki. Cette œuvre est un documentaire sur Nagayama Norio, un jeune homme de dix-neuf ans qui n'apparaît jamais dans le film bien qu'il ait été l'auteur d'une série de fusillades à l'aveugle dans les villes de Tokyo, Kyoto, Hakodate et Nagoya entre octobre 1968 et avril 1969. Ce documentaire est entièrement composé de tous les paysages que Nagayama aurait vus au cours de ses errances de sa naissance à son arrestation. Cette thèse tente de démontrer le contexte dans lequel le terme et le concept du "paysage" (fukei) ont été introduits au Japon pour traduire en japonais le mot occidental de "landscape" au cours du processus de modernisation de la Restauration de Meiji à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, ainsi que la particularité de la "théorie du paysage" développée par Matsuda et Adachi dans une approche totalement différente de celle existante.

## 要約

# “Landscape Theory : Post-68 Revolutionary Cinema in Japan”

Go Hirasawa

本論文は、1969年後半に映画批評家でありアナーキストの松田政男によって提起され、映画監督の足立正生、脚本家の佐々木守、写真家の中平卓馬らによって理論展開され、大きな論争を巻き起こしていった風景論を検証している。日本で風景という用語とその概念が最初に用いられたのは、19世紀後半の明治維新における近代化の過程で西洋から landscape の翻訳語として風景が導入されてからであった。その前史として、光景や景色など様々な用語が同じ意味で使われていたが、西洋的な風景が定着すると、様々な分野で風景、および風景論についての議論が開始されていくこととなる。こうした日本における風景論史のなかにおいて、本論は松田、足立、佐々木らによって集団制作された『略称・連続射殺魔』（1969）という映画作品を契機として生み出された風景論を対象としている。この作品は、1968年10月から1969年4月にかけて、東京、京都、函館、名古屋で発生した無差別の連続射殺事件の犯人である19歳の永山則夫が、生まれてから逮捕されるまで、流浪しながら見て来たであろう風景のみで構成された不在の主人公をめぐるドキュメンタリー映画である。この事件は、逮捕された永山が高度経済成長下の日本において、「金の卵」ともてはやされ、地方から出稼ぎにやってきた若年労働者であったことから、戦後の日本に大きな衝撃を与えた。松田らは、実際に永山が歩んだ道のりを辿るなかで、新たな風景を発見していったのである。永山の逮捕を受けた1969年の7月に撮影が開始され、69年末に完成している。

第二次世界大戦後の日本は、侵略戦争の責任問題が問われないままに、アメリカの占領下において新たな体制が築かれていった。そうした諸問題が1960年における日米安保闘争によって大きく顕在化して新左翼運動を生み出し、さらに1968、69年における学生を中心とした全共闘運動が、既存の国家—資本主義体制を解体する直前にまでいたった。こうして1960年代は戦後における大きな転換期となったのだが、1970年代を迎える前後から、圧倒的な警察—軍事力によって抑え込まれ高度消費社会の到来を迎えていく。こうした時代状況の変化のなかで、映画論や写真論を契機としながら、既存の芸術論、革命論の継承ではなく、「1968年」以後における新しい思想を目指して生み出されたのがここで論じる風景論であった。この風景論は、象徴的な政治的空間ではなく、何の変哲もない日常的な風景のなかこそ、権力—国家を見出そうとするものであった。これまでの目に見える風景を対象としていた論をより広義に解釈し、視覚的のみならず不可視な構造をも風景と名指したのである。しかし、1970年代における新たな権力—国家論、革命論として大きな可能性をほらみなが

ら理論的な変更を余儀なくされることとなった。本論文では、映画、写真、政治を問わず党派的な批判による多くの論争や、ある種の風景論ブームが生まれたことで、いわゆる大文字の歴史的な風景論が回帰していった背景、また 1974 年に足立がパレスチナ革命のために日本赤軍に合流すべく日本を離れ、同年に松田が欧州に拠点を移そうとするが国外退去となり、中平が記憶と言葉を失うといった出来事などの経緯をたどることで、日本で生みだされた新たな風景論の歴史的、理論的な位置づけを明らかにするとともに、その現在的な可能性も問い直すものである。

Introduction では、2000 年に足立がレバノンから日本に強制送還されたことから始まる足立正生の日本国内外での再評価、また風景論の再検証の潮流について触れている。

一章の「風景と風景論」では、日本における近代化の過程で風景という概念が定着していく過程を辿り、その後、どのように議論されていくかを検証している。1894 年に出版された地理学者の志賀重昂『日本風景論』から始まり、同じく地理学者の内村鑑三の『地人論』、民俗学者の柳田國男による一連の紀行文、哲学者の和辻哲郎『風土』など、文学者の国木田独步『武蔵野』など、その内容は多岐に渡る。本章では、それらにこれまで風景論の文脈ではあまり論じられてこなかった映画監督の亀井文夫、溝口健二、文学者の太宰治、坂口安吾、批評家の保田与重郎、花田清輝らの風景に関する記述を加え、地理学、哲学、民俗学、社会学、写真論、映画論、文学、国家論から文化論にいたるまで、日本における風景および風景論の歴史的、理論的な変遷をたどっている。そして、それらとの比較から松田らの風景論の独自性や革新性を明らかにしている。

二章の「松田政男：風景論」では、風景論の中心的なイデオログであった松田のテキストを検証している。風景について最初に理論化した「風景としての性」、「風景としての都市」を中心に、大島渚の『東京戦争戦後秘話』（1970）などの映画論から文化論、政治論にいたる議論のなかで展開された風景論について分析している。東京と地方、中央と周縁といった二項対立の失効、巨大な都市としての日本列島全土の画一化、風景の均質化、見る／見られると主体の関係性などを鍵概念に提起された権力—国家論、下層プロレタリアート論、コミューン論、ゲリラ論、革命論の可能性を明らかにしている。そして、松田風景論への中平、足立、佐々木らによる理論的応答とともに、映像作家の原将人、批評家の津村喬らによる批判に触れながら、風景—風景論論争にまで発展した経緯とその衰退過程を辿っている。また同時代における文学者の奥野健男、建築家の宮内康、原広司の風景について議論、松田らの風景論以後に書かれた文学者の柄谷行人らによる新たな風景論についても論じている。さらに、風景論の理論的な継承とされている報道論—メディア論とそれらと並行して展開されていた映画運動論についても言及している。

三章の「足立正生論」では、風景論を生み出す契機となった『略称・連続射殺魔』、そして若松プロダクションが製作し、共産主義者同盟赤軍派、パレスチナ解放人民戦線によって共同編集されたニュース映画『赤軍-PFLP・世界戦争宣言』(71)を中心に検証している。

『赤軍』は、実際の演出、撮影、編集は足立によって行われ、世界革命のためのテキストとして、パレスチナ解放闘争と日本の革命闘争が描かれている。最初に、足立を生み出した1950年代後半から1960年代前半にいたる日本のニューウェーブ映画運動の文化的、歴史的背景に触れながら、『略称・連続射殺魔』という作品を分析し、物語や出来事ではなく風景のみを用いた方法論が、視覚メディアである映画の美学的、政治的な可能性を新たに引き出していることについて論じている。また足立による風景論についての発言を、テキストのみならず、インタビュー、対談、座談会のなかから集めるとともに、『赤軍』を契機に生み出された報道論—メディア論への風景論からの理論的展開もあわせて考察している。さらに『赤軍』という作品の映画論的な分析と政治的な分析とともに、『赤軍』の上映隊運動をめぐって、映画理論と制作および上映の関係性についての組織論的な分析もおこなっている。

四章の「若松孝二、大島渚、ジャン＝リュック・ゴダール&ジガ・ヴェルトフ集団」では、足立、松田と共同していた作家である若松孝二、および大島渚において、風景論と関わりの深い作品を検証している。とくに、若松『ゆけゆけ二度目の処女』(1969)、『狂走情死考』(1969)、『セックスジャック』(1970)、大島渚『少年』(1969)、『東京戦争戦後秘話』(1970)を中心に、それらの作品自体、あるいは風景についての両者の発言を踏まえながら分析している。またジャン＝リュック・ゴダール、およびゴダールとジャン＝ピエール・ゴランらのジガ・ヴェルトフ集団時代の作品において、風景と政治を主題とした作品、『東風』(1969)、『イタリアにおける闘争』(1969)、『ヒア&ゼア』(1975)を中心に比較することで、日本のみならず、同時代のラディカルな国際的映画人による風景への映画的かつ政治的なアプローチについても考察している。

結論では、これらの検証を振り返りながら、戦後復興という大きな物語が回帰している日本の状況のなかで、再び、それらに対抗するための新たな理論化の課題について論じている。

# Curriculum Vitae

## Hirasawa Go

Born in Kanagawa, Japan in 1975. Hirasawa earned B.A. in Film Studies at the Department of Art Studies, Faculty of Letters at Meiji Gakuin University in 1995. Immediately thereafter, as an independent film researcher and critic, he began writing film criticism and editing books; as a film programmer and curator, he organized special screenings and exhibitions focusing on Japanese cinema and art of the 1960s and 1970s at various art theaters, cinematheques, film festivals, as well as art museums in Japan and abroad. Also, in 2006 he taught as a part-time lecturer in the Department of Art Studies at Meiji Gakuin University, and in 2007 at the Department of Network and Information at Senshu University, among others. In 2009 he joined Institute for Language and Culture at Meiji Gakuin University as a researcher. From 2011- 2012 he worked as a visiting scholar at Columbia University, and from 2014-2015 at Goldsmiths, University of London, and from 2016-2017 at New York University. He is a doctoral candidate in the Graduate School of Humanities at Leiden University, and Université Sorbonne Nouvelle (*co-tutelle*). His most recent publication *Expanded Cinema and Intermedia: Critical Texts of the 1960s* (co-edited by Ann Adachi-Tasch and Julian Ross) was published in 2020. He also curated the film program "Japanese Cinema Expanded" at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 2021.

## **Mots-clés**

Histoire du cinéma japonais

Théorie du cinéma japonais, Histoire des théories des médias

Études du cinéma mondial, World Cinema

Histoire des arts de l'avant-garde japonaise d'après-guerre

Théorie des révolutions de l'ère post 1968

Histoire des mouvements japonais d'après-guerre

Histoire de la théorie du paysage du Japon

Histoire moderne du Japon, Théorie de la culture moderne

Théorie du Pouvoir des années 1970, Théorie de l'État