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Landscape theory: post-68 revolutionary cinema in Japan

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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.¹ 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

¹ 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 2000.² 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

² 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.³

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.⁴ In November 2000,

³ 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.

⁴ 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; "Fuukei ga kawaranakereba 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 Fuukei 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.⁵ 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 publication⁶. 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 '71.⁷

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

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

⁵ 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.

⁶ 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.

⁷ 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 2001.⁸ 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.⁹ 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.¹⁰

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

⁸ 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.

⁹ 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.

¹⁰ 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.¹¹ Immediately thereafter, a workshop called "Cinema & Revolution: A Screening of Adachi's Work" was organized at New York University¹², 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.¹³ Also, film theorist Yuriko Furuhashi presented what turned out to be the first theoretical investigation on landscape theory written in the English-speaking world.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ 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

¹¹ 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.

¹² 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], *Tosho-shimbun* [The book review press], no. 2620 (1st March 2003): 1-3; Conversation between Adachi Masao and Hirasawa Go, "Eiga undo no genzai ni mukete" [For the Present of Cinema=Movement], *Tosho-shimbun* [The book review press], no. 2697 (16th 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]

¹³ 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.

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

¹⁵ Hirasawa Go, "Adachi Masao no Kikan," [Adachi Masao's Return], in *Yuheisha* [Prisoner/Terrorist], ed. Lindy Pop Studio (Tokyo: Aikusha, 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.¹⁶

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.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ 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 1968.²⁰

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,

¹⁶ 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.

¹⁷ 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.

¹⁸ 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).

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

²⁰ 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 Filmoteca 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 2012.²¹ 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.²²

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

²¹ 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.

²² 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.²³ 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

²³ 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.