

Japan 1968

Student protest movements in global historical perspective

Paul Kreitman (EALAC) pk2528@columbia.edu
GU4968 Fall 2024

Seminar: Mon 2.10pm-4pm, Hamilton 707

Film screening: TBD



Above: Sanpa Zengakuren members battle riot police on the Suzugamori Expressway ramp near Haneda Airport, October 8, 1967.

COURSE DESCRIPTION: Japan also had a 1968. Students occupied university campuses across the country - in the most dramatic cases storming lecture-halls, building barricades and wielding bamboo spears in clashes with the police, counter-protestors and each other. These protests coincided with a wave of other campus occupations around the world, including in the US, France, Germany, Czechoslovakia, and China. In Japan they marked the culmination of a decade of protest against a range of issues including (but not limited to) the Vietnam War, colonialism, nuclear weapons, pollution, inflation, consumerism, capitalism, corruption, labour abuses, police brutality, authoritarianism, censorship, patriarchy, conformity and boredom. This course explores why students protested and what methods they used. It asks what effect the protests had in terms of goals achieved, unintended consequences, and longer-lasting social and cultural legacies. How did protestors' motivations change over time, and how did Japanese state and society accommodate, repress or subvert the movements? How did the protests and subsequent crackdown transform universities as spaces for learning, research and socialization? What alliances did students seek to forge with peers, activists, guerillas and governments overseas? Was there such a thing as a global 1968, and if so was Japan a part of it? And in what ways did their protests resemble or differ from other student protests around the world, then and now?

Requirements and Evaluation

1. **Regular class attendance and active participation in seminar**, informed by solid preparation. (Attendance of film screenings is recommended but not compulsory). One unavoidable absence may be excused, but in such cases please contact me beforehand and arrange to submit notes or otherwise respond to the content of the missed class. (20%)
2. **Courseworks postings** each week (**due by 6pm the Sunday before class**). The Courseworks postings should be short and punchy (100-200 words) and discuss specific aspects of at least one of the primary or secondary source(s). A range of responses are possible, eg drawing connections and contrasts between readings, highlighting specific themes, or raising questions that remain unanswered. Please make detailed references to text (including page numbers) where possible. In weeks where films are also assigned, please make sure to discuss the written texts as well. Each posting should contain **at least one suggested group discussion question** for the seminar. (20%)
3. **Two papers** to be submitted via Courseworks. If an extension has not been requested and granted in advance, overdue papers will lose one-half letter grade for each day they are late. (60%)
 - i. A short response to one of the following primary source texts, relating it to themes discussed in class through specific quotation and analysis. Feel free to draw upon your own and your classmates' courseworks postings, but please cite accordingly. Where extracts are assigned (eg *Memphis Nam Sweden*) you are encouraged to respond to the entirety of the primary source text, not only the part assigned in class. (**1000 words max**), **due Sun 13th October 11.59 PM**. (20%):
 - (1) Imamura Shohei (dir.), *Pigs and Battleships* (1962)
 - (2) Gillo Pontecorvo (dir.) *The Battle of Algiers* (1966)
 - (3) James Simon Kunen, *The Strawberry Statement* (Random House, 1969)
 - (4) Terry Whitmore, *Memphis Nam Sweden: The Story of a Black Deserter* (University Press of Mississippi, 1997)
 - ii. Write an essay on one of the following topics. Support your argument by referring to texts from the syllabus and at least one additional primary source text. Include functional citations, a bibliography, and a 250 word abstract. **2000 words max (not including footnotes or abstract)**, **due Monday 23rd December 11.59 PM**. (40%)
 - (1) Compare and contrast two protestors or protest groups, at least one of which must be Japanese. Analyse their backgrounds, motivations, and methods, and discuss their impact on politics, society and culture.
 - (2) How did gender roles shape the Japanese protest movements of the 1960s and '70s?
 - (3) Discuss the role of colonialism and/or imperialism in shaping postwar Japanese history.

- (4) How were the boundaries of legitimate protest contested in postwar Japan?

Academic Integrity Statement

Students are expected to do their own work on all tests and assignments for this class and act in accordance with the Faculty Statement on Academic Integrity and Honor Code established by the students of Columbia College and the School of General Studies. Because any academic integrity violation undermines our intellectual community, students found to have cheated, plagiarized, or committed any other act of academic dishonesty can expect [specify academic sanction] and may be referred to the Dean's Discipline process.

It is students' responsibility to ensure their work maintains the standards expected and should you have any questions or concerns regarding your work, you can:

- Ask the instructor
- Refer to the Columbia University Undergraduate Guide to Academic Integrity.

Disability Accommodation Statement

If you have been certified by Disability Services (DS) to receive accommodations, please either bring your accommodation letter from DS to your professor's office hours to confirm your accommodation needs, or ask your liaison in GSAS to consult with your professor. If you believe that you may have a disability that requires accommodation, please contact Disability Services at 212-854-2388 or disability@columbia.edu.

Important: To request and receive an accommodation you must be certified by DS.

Readings

Each class session involves common reading from primary and secondary sources. Most readings will be made available on the Courseworks site, and the rest will be held as course reserves in the CV Starr Library in Kent Hall. However you may find it easier to purchase your own copies of some of the longer novels (eg *Sun and Steel*).

For further background reading, please consult the following general surveys or watch my Japan Civ video lectures at <https://youtube.com/playlist?list=PLVvbKuLbDCPPg6l6GA09ZhexJnduQlwuz>

- William Andrews, *Dissenting Japan: A History of Japanese Radicalism and Counterculture, from 1945 to Fukushima* (Hurst & Co., 2016)
- Nick Kapur, *Japan at the Crossroads: Conflict and Compromise after Anpo* (Harvard University Press, 2018)
- Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present* (Oxford University Press, 2013).

- Andrew Gordon, *Postwar Japan as History* (UC Press, 1993)
- Christopher Gerteis and Timothy George, *Japan Since 1945: From Postwar to Post-Bubble* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012)
- John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (Norton, 2000)

Weekly Readings

Week 1 (Monday 9th Sept) - Introduction & Organisational Meeting

Week 2 (16th Sept) - Setting the Scene

- **FILM: Imamura, Shohei (dir.). *Pigs and Battleships* (1962)**
- Kapur, Nick. *Japan at the Crossroads: Conflict and Compromise after Anpo* (Harvard UP, 2018): Intro.
- Cumings, Bruce. 'Japan's Position in the World System,' in Andrew Gordon (ed.), *Postwar Japan as History* (University of California Press, 1993)
- Aldous, Christopher. *The Police In Occupation Japan: Control, Corruption and Resistance to Reform* (Routledge, 1997): Conclusion & Epilogue

Week 3 (23rd Sept) - A Global 1968?

- **FILM: Gillo Pontecorvo (dir.) *The Battle of Algiers* (1966)**
- **James Simon Kunen, *The Strawberry Statement* (Random House, 1969) - extract**
- **Herbert Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," in Wolff, Moore, Marcuse (eds.), *A Critique of Pure Tolerance* (Beacon Press, 1970)**
- Jian, Chen, Martin Klimke, Masha Kirasirova, Mary Nolan, Marilyn Young, Joanna Waley-Cohen (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of the Global '60s* (2018):
 - Westad, Odd Arne. "Preface: Was there a 'global 1968'?"
 - Slobodian, Quinn. "The meanings of Western Maoism in the global 1960s"
 - Scarlett, Zachary A. "The Chinese Sixties: mobility, imagination, and the Sino-Japanese Friendship Association"
- Oguma, Eiji. "Japan's 1968: A Collective Reaction to Rapid Economic Growth in an Age of Turmoil". *The Asia-Pacific Journal* (2015) **13** (12): 1–27.

Week 4 (30th Sept) - Vietnam

- **Whitmore, Terry, *Memphis Nam Sweden: The Story of a Black Deserter* (University Press of Mississippi, 1997) - Japan chapters**
- Havens, Thomas. *Fire Across the Sea: The Vietnam War and Japan* (Princeton, 2014): Ch.1
- Takata, Kei. "Escaping through the networks of trust: the US deserter support movement in the Japanese Global Sixties," *The Sixties: A Journal of History, Politics and Culture* (2017)

- Avenell, Simon. *Making Japanese Citizens: Civil Society and the Mythology of the Shimin in Postwar Japan*. University of California Press. University of California Press, 2010 - chapter on Beheiren

Week 5 (7th Oct) - Education

- Perkins, Christopher (trans.) "The Starting Point of the Student Movement," *Asiatische Studien* 71:2 (2017), 683-695.
- Fuse, Toyomasa (October 1969). "Student Radicalism in Japan: A 'Cultural Revolution'?" *Comparative Education Review*. 13 (3): 325–342.
- Tooze, Adam, Chartbook 279: Columbia University's "crisis" - a political economy sketch map.
- Kumano, Ruriko, 'Anticommunism and Academic Freedom: Walter C. Eells and the "Red Purge" in Occupied Japan'. *History of Education Quarterly* 50, no. 4 (8 October 2010): 513–37.
- Kapur, Nick. "The Japanese Student Movement In The Cold War Crucible, 1945-1972," *Japan Focus* 20:14 no.1 (July 2022)

Week 6 (14th Oct) - Siege

- **Act on Temporary Measures concerning University Management (大学の運営に関する臨時措置法 (1969))**
- Marotti, William. 'AHR Forum Japan 1968: The Performance of Violence and the Theater of Protest'. *The American Historical Review* 114, no. 1 (2009): 97-135.
- Perkins, Christopher. *The Tokyo University Trial and the Struggle Against Order in Postwar Japan*. New Directions in East Asian History, 2023. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-99-7043-8>. - Intro
- Kersten, Rikki (September 2009). "The Intellectual Culture of Postwar Japan and the 1968-1969 University of Tokyo Struggles: Repositioning the Self in Postwar Thought". *Social Science Japan Journal*. 12 (2): 227–245
- Nagasaki, Hiroshi. "On the Japanese '68," in Gavin Walker (ed.) *The Red Years: Theory, Politics and Aesthetics in the Japanese '68* (Verso, 2020)
- OPTIONAL: Marotti, William, *Money, Trains & Guillotines: Art and Revolution in 1960s Japan* (Duke University Press, 2013): extracts on Akasawa Gempei trial.

Week 7 (21st Oct) - The Right

- **FILM: Toyoshima, Keisuke. *Mishima: The Last Debate* (2020)**
- **Mishima, Yukio. *Sun and Steel: Art, Action and Ritual Death* (1968): extract OR *Runaway Horses* (1969): extract**
- Kapur, Nick. "The Empire Strikes Back? The 1968 Meiji Centennial Celebrations and the Revival of Japanese Nationalism," *Japanese Studies* 38:3 (2018)

- Allinson, Gary D. "The Structure and Transformation of Conservative Rule" in Andrew Gordon (ed.), *Postwar Japan as History* (UC Press, 1993)
- Oguma, Eiji. "The Other 'Post-1968': A Socio-Historical Analysis of the Resurgence of the Conservatives in Japan's Long 1960s," *IQAS* Vol. 52 / 2021 3–4, pp. 229–252

Week 8 (28th Oct) - Okinawa

- Yamazato, Eikichi (trans. Joe Hung) "Japan is Not Our Fatherland," (Hong Kong, 1969)
- Medoruma, Shun (trans. Steve Rabson), "Hope" (199) in Bhowmik, Davinder & Steve Rabson (eds.) *Islands of Protest: Japanese Literature from Okinawa* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2016)
- Akemi Johnson, *Night in the American Village: Women in the Shadow of the US Military Bases in Okinawa* (New Press, 2019): conclusion ("Ai")
- Aldous, Christopher. "Achieving Reversion: Protest and Authority in Okinawa, 1952-70," *Modern Asian Studies*, 37:2 (2003)
- Obermiller, David Tobaru. "Dreaming Ryūkyū: Shifting and Contesting Identities in Okinawa," in *Japan Since 1945: From Postwar to Post-Bubble*, edited by Gerteis, Christopher and Timothy George (Bloomsbury, 2012)

Week 9 (4th Nov) - ELECTION DAY HOLIDAY

Week 10 (11th Nov) - Red Armies

- FILM: O'Sullivan, Shane (dir.) *Children of the Revolution* (2010)
- **OPTIONAL FILM:** Wakamatsu, Kōji & Adachi Masao (dir). *PFLP: Declaration of World War* (1971) [on Youtube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KFfa97bEeQ9g>]
- Steinhoff, Patricia G. 'Hijackers, Bombers, and Bank Robbers: Managerial Style in the Japanese Red Army'. *Journal of Asian Studies* 48, no. 4 (1989): 724-740.
- Igarashi, Yoshikuni. "Dead Bodies and Living Guns: The United Red Army and Its Deadly Pursuit of Revolution, 1971–1972," *Japanese Studies* 27, no. 2 (September 2007): 122–128.
- Box, Meredith & Gavan McCormack "Terror in Japan: The Red Army (1969-2001) and Aum Supreme Truth (1987-2000)," *Critical Asian Studies* 2004) 36:1: section on Red Armies
- Randall, Jeremy, "Global Revolution Starts with Palestine: The Japanese Red Army's Alliance with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* (2023) 43:3

Week 11 (18th Nov) - Liberations I

- Tanaka Mitsu, *No More Toilets* (1970)
- *Asian Women's Liberation No.3* (May 1980): "Prostitution Tourism"

- Evans, Sara M. (2009). "Sons, Daughters, and Patriarchy: Gender and the 1968 Generation". *The American Historical Review*. 114 (2): 331–47.
- Chelsea Szendi Schieder, 'Human Liberation or "Male Romance"? The Gendered Everyday of the Student New Left'. In Gavin Walker (ed.), *The Red Years*, 143–59
- Setsu Shigematsu, "'68 and the Japanese Women's Movement,'" in Gavin Walker (ed.) *Red Armies*
- Shigematsu, Setsu. 'The Japanese Women's Liberation Movement and the United Red Army'. *Feminist Media Studies* 12, no. 2 (June 2012): 163–79. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2011.597098>.
- Jad, Islah. "Modernizing Palestinian women: between colonialism and nationalism - reflections on the 1960s and 1970s" in *The Routledge Handbook of the Global '60s* (2018)

Week 12 (25th Nov) - Liberations II

- **FILM: Toshio Matsumoto (dir.) *Funeral Parade of Roses* (1969)**
- **Kato Masae, *Women's Rights?: The Politics of Eugenic Abortion in Modern Japan*, ch. 3.**
 - **Appendices 4 and 5: translations of one primary source each from the women's lib movement and disability rights movement.**
 - **Appendices 1-3: translations of the underlying Japanese laws on abortion and eugenics**
- Mclelland, Mark. *Queer Japan from the Pacific War to the Internet Age* (Lexington Books, 2005): chapter 3
- Avenell, Simon. *Transnational Japan in the global environmental movement*, (University of Hawai'i Press, 2017): intro, ch4
- Andrews, William. [*Dissenting Japan: A History of Japanese Radicalism and Counterculture from 1945 to Fukushima*](#). (Hurst, 2016): chapter on Sanrizuka

Week 13 (2nd Dec) - Memories I

- **Murakami, Ryu, 69 (Pushkin Press, 2013)**
- Steinhoff, Patricia G. (2013). "[Memories of New Left protest](#)". *Contemporary Japan*. 25 (2): 127–165. doi:[10.1515/cj-2013-0007](#).
- **OPTIONAL Murakami, Haruki. *Norwegian Wood* : chapters 1-4**
- **OPTIONAL Tran Anh Hung (dir.), *Norwegian Wood* (2012)**

Week 14 (9th Dec) - Parallels?

- [Columbia Spectator Op-ed, "Columbia University Apartheid Divest: Who We Are"](#).
- [Joint Statement by the American Association of University Professors, Barnard and Columbia Chapters](#) (19 April 2024)

- Timothy Burke, [Academia: On The Inside? Thursday's Child Has Far to Go](#) (25 April 2024)
- Columbia University Task Force on Antisemitism, *Report #2* (August 2024)
- Roth, Michael S. "I'm a College President and I Hope My Campus Is Even More Political This Year," *New York Times* (2 September 2024)
- Yutaka Nagahara, "1972: The Structure on the Streets," in Gavin Walker (ed.), *The Red Years*
- Gavin Walker, "The Post-'68 Conjunction" in Gavin Walker (ed.), *The Red Years*