

Casting Light: Community, Visibility and Historical Presence in Reportage Art of the 1950s

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Overture: The Hiroshima Panels¹

The Hiroshima Panels (原爆の図) are enormous, 1.8 meters high and 7.2 meters long. [Image 1] There are fifteen in all. A wife and husband, Maruki Toshi and Iri, painted the panels together over a period of thirty-two years.² Millions of people have seen the panels over the decades since the first one appeared in 1950, as they have toured the world in the context of numerous peace movements and campaigns against nuclear arms.

One of the most striking features is that, what fills all the space on these enormous canvasses, is people. There are some animals, a ship, and some floating candles, but in the early panels all that comes into and consecrates this space is people – over two hundred in *Water* alone. There is no landscape, no Renaissance perspective, no consistency of scale. The figures do not walk on a stable territory, and the bird's eye view, which itself made the bombing possible, cannot encompass their testimony. The compositions are too rambling to be called a snapshot. Nor are they collage. Built up from single details, from the corners, the images are the cumbersome work of individually realized human forms, not an exercise in nimble juxtaposition. Even claiming a narrative is complicated: four years separate the initial devastation of *Ghosts* from the beginning of *Rescue*. The space and time of people between life and death is not consistent or elegant.

Though the *Panels* mock the elegance gained from regularity in time and space, they do not forsake drama. The figures themselves are predominantly women and children. There were in fact few able bodied men left in Hiroshima by the time of the bombing, but the mother and child figures also partake of a long standing popular metaphor for violence and shattered bonds. There are mountains of the dead, pieces of people strewn around the feet of those who stand, tendrils of skin hanging from outstretched arms. But there are also figures not fully dehumanized by starvation or even injury. Many have noticed how well formed they are, more nude than naked body. This is daring, even transgressive. Do we dare cross that river, to make a fiction of beauty amid this tragedy? Though undoubtedly a risk, some have pointed out that it may

¹ The insights in this section are not the result of my own research. I rely completely on the unsurpassable work of Kozawa Setsuko. *Genbaku no Zu: Egakareta "Kioku," Katarareta "Kaiga" (The Hiroshima Panels: Painted Memories, Storied Paintings)* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2002).

² The panels are: 1. *Ghosts* (幽霊), 1950; 2. *Fire* (火), 1950; 3. *Water* (水), 1950; 4. *Rainbow* (虹), 1951; 5. *Young Man and Woman* (少年少女), 1951; *Atomic Wasteland* (原子野), 1952; *Bamboo Grove* (竹やぶ), 1954; *Rescue* (救出), 1954; *Yaizu* (焼津), 1955; *Signatures* (署名), 1955; *Figures of Mother and Child* (親子像), 1959; *Floating Lanterns* (とうろう流し), 1968; *Death of American Prisoners of War* (米兵捕虜の死), 1971; *Crows* (からす), 1972; *Nagasaki* (長崎), 1982. Displayed on the Maruki Museum website: <http://www.aya.or.jp/~marukimsn/index.htm>

be this tension, this field of melodrama between the human and the dead, which is the source of the fascination that keeps people looking and looking again at these images.³ Would a brutal realism stay with us for long, would it speak to or beckon us? Would it not run its own risk of hygiene?

The issues of speech, beckoning, and sharing, are central to the production and reception of these paintings. Iri was a native of Hiroshima but was in Tokyo when the bomb was dropped. When he read of the terrible new weapon in a newspaper, he hurried home, arriving three days after the blast. Toshi followed a few days later. They did not see with their own eyes the scenes they painted in the first three panels. The sources for these scenes were stories, told by survivors and eye witnesses, many of them Iri's relatives. Therefore, the scenes the Marukis were painting were based on verbal accounts, many of which were gathered in 1949 and 1950. There are other sources too: the mother and child at the center of *Water*, and the dead child at the bottom of *Fire* were based on photographs that had evaded censorship and were being circulated through Communist Party networks. These panels, then, do not bear witness to the visual reality of the event (whatever that might have been), but to a narration that was already part of a community: they are an amalgam of stories and fugitive photographs.

The paintings are collaborative in a more immediate sense also, in that Iri and Toshi worked on them together, even though Toshi worked in western painting (*yoga*) and Iri in the modern style of Japanese painting (*nihonga*). Oil and water, paint and ink, are not easily mixed. Neither are the traditions and visual styles of *yoga* and *nihonga*. During the first few panels especially, the two artists were still experimenting with how these two divergent traditions could be brought together. In understanding the actual roles of the two artists, Kozawa proposes a compelling parable: Toshi, an expert in painting nudes from studio models, created corporeal figures of definite volume based on the verbal testimony of eyewitnesses, while Iri, who arrived much closer to the actual blast washed the veil of memory over this in the watery grey of ink.⁴

The wobbly, irregular human forms emerge too close to each other, and then too far apart. That the tension between death and survival, between anger and humanism, between mourning and melodrama should come in such unbalanced compositions, and such a hodge podge of styles and images, is testament to the human scale of this memorial. No one approach goes too far, no experience rises above others. No single line establishes a rule of consistency or finality over what in the community of memory is such a multifarious and unruly event.

But beyond the community that supported the imagery appearing in the paintings themselves, there is the enormous community that supported them in their travels. Images have long suffered suspicion and persecution, most recently in the argument that vision is an unavoidably alienating sense, irredeemably lording over the inhumanity and

³ Both Kozawa Setsuko and John Dower argue this. Kozawa, 119-128; John Dower, "War, Peace and Beauty: the Art of Iri Maruki and Toshi Maruki," in *The Hiroshima Murals: the Art of Iri Maruki and Toshi Maruki*, eds. John Dower and John Junkerman (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1985), 9-26.

⁴ Kozawa, 138.

violence of modernity.⁵ Images do undoubtedly have their own power, but they are also exceedingly unwieldy and fragile. They require huge effort and resources to produce, display and preserve. Therefore, as a corrective to the claimed power of the image, we must remember how much capital, infrastructure, and work is necessary to make and keep a given image visible. What were the communities of support that were called into being to bear the *Hiroshima Panels* around the world, so that they might in turn bear their own form of witness?

Though I can't give an account of all the bearers these panels have relied on, I will introduce some of the first. The first five panels were made under US occupation. Any public mention of the atomic bomb was forbidden under Occupation policy, so if the first exhibitions had been caught by the police or military police, the panels could well have been confiscated. A picture book about the bombing that the Marukis produced in 1950, titled "*Flash Boom* (ピカドン)," was banned from publication by the Occupation censorship authority (CIC), and pirate copies were regularly confiscated from shops by the police. Until the landmark August 6, 1952 edition of *Asahi Guraifu*, which, with the end of occupation, was finally able to "break" the seven year old news, most Japanese people had little idea of what had happened in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and certainly had never seen any pictures.

The Hiroshima Panels could rectify this, but it was not a matter of images spreading of their own accord. Through 1950 and 1951, the Marukis themselves carried the panels from place to place on a countrywide exhibition tour. With nothing but the national railroad and their own feet to move the huge panels, the Marukis held exhibitions in 51 locations. Of course they had help, most notably from the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) and the Committee for Peace (平和委員会). These organizations helped the Marukis make contact with people in the locations they visited, to help them set up the exhibit. The exhibits were held in department stores, country inns, schools, universities and temples. Local groups such as students, members of the teachers' union, and people in the peace movement, helped to organize publicity. Each exhibit would stay in one place for three or four days, and each day one of the Marukis, usually Toshi, would make a presentation: not lectures, but dramatic performances. She told stories based on the panels, in a traditional popular style, shifting frequently from one character's voice to another's. She often spoke laments from the perspective of the dead. These performances created a space for extreme emotional involvement and participation. 649,000 people saw these exhibitions.

Near the end of 1951, two young activists agreed to take over the exhibition tour. Through 1952 and 1953, Nonoshita Toru and Yoshida Yoshie brought the paintings to 794,200 people in 96 locations. Although they could not mimic Toshi's verbal performances, they held four or five teach-ins per day when the panels were on display. They discovered that survivors of the bombings lived all over Japan, and when one was in the audience he or she would sometimes spontaneously take over the explanation. Visitors were given the chance to express their reactions, and Yoshida later described how some crushed their pencil tips into the paper as they tried to write out their

⁵ Martin Jay discusses this phenomenon in *Downcast Eyes: the Denigration of Vision in Twentieth Century French Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

emotions. In one case at least these reactions were collected and hand printed as a booklet.⁶ *The Hiroshima Panels*, therefore, are not simply images, and certainly not images claiming to capture or legislate some reality. Rather they are one part of an expanding network, part of a community and a communication that was only possible insofar as people kept the movement going, kept contributing to it, and kept the images visible. Just as the panels themselves were born of the unevenness of human community and memory, their exhibition was also a forum for multiple ways of identifying and reacting to the paintings.

The Hiroshima Panels and their visibility touch many of the points that will come up in the pages below. In regard to representation itself, realism was a key term and value in the first two decades following the end of the war. But realism as it was used at the time had little connection with verisimilitude. A painting's realism came from its ability to communicate a truth, and most importantly from its ability to *impress* that truth upon someone, to bring that truth into such undeniable presence, that its reality could not be denied. Realism succeeded when an image participated in a transfer of *motion* (emotion and motivation) from the depicted site to the audience. If it succeeded, realism would open up a channel of communion, a relay, between people separated by time and place, but nonetheless living in a contiguous historical world. The shock of the real allowed the image to become thinkable as an active participant in a social movement. The shock would communicate content, yes, but also open a space for the viewer to find themselves in relation to the historical present.

This theory of realism, however, made sense only as part of wider social movements. While painting, drawing, and writing yearned for moments of transfer, the artwork itself was carried on the back of activists and became visible only because of their work. As with Yoshida, Nonoshita, and Maruki Toshi and Iri, the reportage artists worked not only on their artwork, but on building an institutional setting for that work. Publication, exhibition and other modes of transmission were not to be taken for granted. The decade after 1945 was one of tremendous tension, upheaval, possibility and repression. Though by 1952, the Occupation had ended, and public speaking about the atomic bombing was no longer illegal, the police were constantly on watch over *The Hiroshima Panels*. After one exhibit at Okazaki, local organizers were arrested and charged with riotous behavior (a charge which took the accused eighteen years to clear).⁷ The authorities were viewed as colonial, and established media as biased or blind. Reportage was the project that aimed to correct that, but this required spaces and networks to be built from scratch: artists had to be exhibition organizers, publishers, teachers and activists. Though the images they created were their main work, it was also their work to make these images visible.

Though some might claim that vision and images do not share the same intimacy as whispers or touch, we must not forget the human effort needed to make and keep them. Kelly Oliver has argued that vision itself is inherently physical and involving, that

⁶ Yoshida Yoshie, *Kaitaigeki no Makuorite (The Curtain Draws Shut on the Spectacle of Demolition)* (Tokyo: Zokeisha, 1982), 50. This booklet was created as part of one of the largest and best organized exhibitions, in Okazaki, in Nagoya. Over 10,000 people saw this exhibit.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 50.

it exists within gravity and within and through our relations with others.⁸ I would like to come outside of the eye and the mind, and show the other side of this: that what we see, what we look to as art, always rests on people and community. I introduce the work of the reportage artists, because their work brings this to light. Their work was realized in pen and pencil and paint, and this is what survives as art. But their work was also a gesture within a movement, a gesture which they themselves had to carry through to the audience they hoped it would reach. Their work includes not only their artistry in pigment and shade, but also their energy in creating the conditions which would make their work visible. Taken together these form the testimony of the reportage movement.

In thinking about the weight and fragility of testimony, I am reminded of something John Berger wrote around the same time, 1954, about one of history's greatest reportage artists, Goya.

The despair of an artist is often misunderstood. It is never total. It excepts his own work. In his own work ... there is the hope of reprieve. If there were not he could never summon up the abnormal energy and concentration needed to create it. And an artist's work constitutes his relationship with his fellow men. Thus for the spectator the despair expressed by a work can be deceiving. The spectator should always allow his comprehension of that despair to be qualified by *his* relationship with his fellow men: just as the artist does implicitly by the very act of creation.⁹

The almost overwhelming despair in the early *Hiroshima Panels*, along with the anguish of many works of reportage, strike me in the same way: they must always be approached with appreciation of the participation of all of the people, including the artist, whose work to make them visible can only be considered a sign of great optimism and caring. Likewise when we begin to speak of the success or failure of that caring, we should bear in mind that the difference between success or failure lies also with us, in our present.

Introduction: the Field and the Stake

In the chapter below I introduce the reportage movement, paying special attention to two things: first, the paintings, drawings and writings themselves, along with the aesthetic theory that surrounded them, and second, the collective initiative and desire to work across genre and class boundaries to make this art visible. After introducing the fields and stakes involved, I move on to a general account of the movement. I then focus the discussion through three artists, Ikeda Tatsuo (b. 1928), Katsuragawa Hiroshi (b. 1924) and Nakamura Hiroshi (b. 1932). It is through them that I examine most closely how texts functioned within the participatory collectivities the artists built. Finally, concentrating on the figure of Nakamura Hiroshi, I trace the ways the reportage ethic and aesthetic survive beyond their usual pigeonhole in the 1950s.

⁸ Kelly Oliver, *Witnessing: Beyond Recognition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

⁹ *Selected Essays*, ed. Geoff Dyer (New York: Vintage, 2001), 57.

As this chapter speaks to the fields of postwar social, art and cultural history, I will take these up in turn. In a recent essay about one of the major grassroots literary movements in the early postwar, Narita Ryuichi highlights the historiographical difficulty of presenting the early 1950s. He titles the essay “The Disconnected Era,” and argues that it is now the task of historians to “loosen” the narratives which disconnect this era from the rest of the postwar.¹⁰ The work below is part of this project. But reconnecting this era, which comes between occupation and high growth economics, is more than just an exercise in filling gaps in the historical record. The significance of the “postwar” to discussions of Japanese identity is hard to underestimate, as people habitually look to readings of this most recent history as a legitimizing strategy. Most recently, in the 1990s, a group of conservative public intellectuals began a campaign to rethink Japan’s identity. Central to their position was the claim that “postwar democracy,” as they termed it, was a system forced on the Japanese under occupation and then promoted by Japanese “modernizers” and “westernizers” during the postwar: its individualism, however, ran counter to the spirit of the Japanese nation.¹¹ These claims have not been without their effects. The long running public campaign to cleanse public school history textbooks of things damaging to Japan’s national pride seems to have paid off.¹² In December 2006, the Japanese Diet passed a major reform of the country’s education law, emphasizing the need to instill patriotism in Japanese public school children.

Thus revaluation of Japan’s early postwar is a crucial task for the present. Why? Historian Oguma Eiji’s work explains.¹³ Working with a team of researchers, Oguma carried out a massive analysis of Japanese intellectual discourse from 1945 to the late 1960s. One major result of this was to portray the critical difference between the “first postwar” (1945-55) and the “second postwar” (1955-90). During the first postwar, Japan was an undeveloped nation, with GDP per head on par with Ceylon. Not only were living standards low and starvation a real fear, but the economy was unstable, with a large mass of migrant workers wandering in search of companies that could provide food and shelter. The instability was also political, with the Communist Party fighting for armed revolution between 1951-55. By contrast, the second postwar is a time of conspicuous political stasis and economic success. When people refer to Japan’s “economic miracle,” “one-party democracy” or “middle class society,” it is this second postwar they are referring to. Oguma argues that the recent critics of Japan’s postwar democracy have a similar amnesia: they forget the first postwar, or disconnect it, as Narita would put it. Oguma shows that “postwar democracy” as a term did not even come into existence until around 1960, adding that “The people living through the ‘first

¹⁰ Narita Ryuichi, “Danso no Jidai (The Disconnected Era),” *Shiso (Thought)* No. 980 (December 2005), 111. This issue of *Shiso* is a special issue that focuses on grassroots social and arts movements in the early postwar period, sharing my concern with properly recognizing their significance. Narita’s essay takes up the journal *Jinmin Bungaku (People’s Literature)*, discussed in more detail below. Another major contribution to this field is the December, 2007 special issue of *Gendai Shiso*, titled *Sengo Minshu Seishinshi (People’s Spirit in the Postwar Era)*, *Gendai Shiso*, vol. 35 no. 17 (December 2007).

¹¹ For example in Kobayashi Yoshinori, Fukuda Kazuya, Seiki Keishi, Nishibe Susumu, *Kokka to Senso (Nation and War)* (Tokyo: Hichosha, 1999); Nishio Kanji, *Kokumin no Rekishi (The People’s History)* (Tokyo: Fusosha, 1999).

¹² One of the major forces in this campaign has been the Society for School Textbook Revision (新しい教科書を作る会).

¹³ Oguma Eiji, *Minshu to Aikoku: Sengo Nihon no Nashonarizumu to Kokyosei (Democracy and Patriotism: Nationalism and Community in Postwar Japan)* (Tokyo: Shinyosha, 2002), 11-26.

postwar' did not have any collective, overarching term to refer to the variety of movements and intellectual currents around them."¹⁴

When claims that Japan's democracy has prevented the expression of the true national spirit, gain as much traction as they have at present, the urgency of reconnecting the disconnected first postwar becomes clear. In this first postwar, for all the chaos, misery and loss, there was an unending variety of grassroots political participation and involvement in collective forms of creative expression. This was a thriving democracy, one wrested from devastating poverty, and achieved for a short time in the face of opposition from the US and Japanese state. As Leslie Pincus has written in her study of the Hiroshima Culture Movement of 1945-47,

Let us ... reenvision the immediate postwar period as a transition from one epoch of concentrated power to another—a transition that is interrupted (or disrupted) by an extraordinary historical interval of transformative social energy. ... Despite the privations that followed in the wake of a disastrous war, substantial numbers of people committed themselves to an ongoing enterprise to reshape social space in a radically democratic direction.¹⁵

The reportage artists and their milieu were part of this.

The problem of the two postwars also affects Japanese art history. The period between 1945 and 1955 has received little attention in English.¹⁶ The standard narration of postwar Japanese art focuses heavily on abstraction, conceptualism, performance, and kitsch, which flourished most gorgeously in the 1960s. This picture of Japanese art has a surprisingly stubborn institutional weight, and continues to affect exhibition practices to this day. As a couple of important works that set up the coordinates of this narration, one could point out, first, the 1972 *Bijutsu Techo* timeline titled "Fifty Years of Contemporary Art."¹⁷ This enormous undertaking filled two full issues of the journal, and the structure is important: the first issue covers the period 1916-1960, while the second issue covers 1955-1968. The five years between 1955 and 1960 are thus covered twice, creating a division whereby one trajectory (figuration, painting, realism) seems to end, while another (abstraction, conceptualism, performance) begins. The reportage movement and the political movements surrounding it were consigned to the end, while the new trajectory basically begins with Gutai (Art Association Concrete; 具体美術協会), the representative beginning in Japan of gestural abstraction, performance, happenings, and conceptualism. This narrative was further strengthened in Chiba Shigeo's history, *A*

¹⁴ Ibid., 16.

¹⁵ Leslie Pincus, "A Salon for the Soul: Nakai Masakazu and the Hiroshima Culture Movement," *positions: east asia cultures critique*, vol. 10 no. 1 (2002), 176.

¹⁶ Notable exceptions include the *Reconstructions* exhibition at Oxford, which foregrounded early postwar figurative art. David Elliott and Kazu Kaido eds., *Reconstructions: Avant-Garde Art in Japan 1945-1965*, exh. cat. (Oxford: Museum of Modern Art, 1985); and Thomas Havens' recent, *Radicals and Realists in the Japanese Non-Verbal Arts: the Avant-garde Rejection of Modernism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006).

¹⁷ Akatsuka Yukio, Tone Yasunao, Hikosaka Naoyoshi, eds., *Nenpyo: Gendai bijutsu no 50-nen (Timeline: 50 Years of Contemporary Art)*, in *Bijutsu Techo* (April-May, 1972).

History of the Divergence of Contemporary Art.¹⁸ In this work Chiba explicitly sets up a national history of contemporary art. The line he constructs, from Gutai to Anti-Art and Neo-Dada, then on to Mono-ha (もの派) and Bikyoto (美共闘) has become a mantra of postwar art history. Though Chiba claimed these were the moments when Japan “diverged” from western art traditions and achieved historical, national subjectivity, it is interesting to note how compatible it is with American art history. Anti-Art, Neo-Dada, and Mono-ha all find ready New York analogues in New York’s own Neo-Dada, Pop-Art and Minimalism. Without question the most influential authority on postwar Japanese art in English, the 1994 exhibition *Scream Against the Sky*, takes up the same groups as Chiba. The early postwar still gets only a cursory treatment.¹⁹ As is the case with the Japanese postwar more generally, the operating assumption is that Japan has always been stable and capitalist, with strong strategic and economic ties to the US. Vibrant and irreverent abstract and experimental art is part of that picture. This chapter will fill in some neglected movements, but in addition, it will show that many of the visual tropes, theories of representation, and ethico-political stakes of artists working in the 1960s, have their roots in the 1950s. This study begins to trace these connections.

Finally, the examination of aesthetics and ethics below will provide some clues to questions of the relation between politics and art more generally in Japan’s postwar period. Given the flowering of conceptual and modernist art in the 1960s, one puzzle of postwar Japanese discourse on the relation between art and politics, is the relatively minor impact of structural semiotics and political modernism. In relation to film in particular, Abe Mark Nornes, writing on documentary, and Michael Raine speaking on fiction and popular film, have both noted the relative lack of theorization of cinematic sign systems as generative nodes in ideological systems.²⁰ I believe that my discussion of the theory and criticism that were part of the reportage movement, can provide a partial answer as to why this might have been the case. Far from implying that there is one history of ideas that everyone should be living, this difference between the Japanese and Euro-American theoretical environments can provide insights into the needs that semiotics and political modernism did(n’t) fill for people on each side.

Sketching Reportage

What was reportage? Reportage most basically refers to a production practice and pattern of reception which operate on the assumption that the writer or painter is representing an actual, and usually recent, place or event.²¹ The assumption of

¹⁸ Chiba Shigeo, *Gendai Bijutsu Itsudatsushi 1945-1985 (A History of the Divergence of Contemporary Art)* (Tokyo: Shohan 1986).

¹⁹ Alexandra Monroe, ed., *Scream Against the Sky*, exh. cat. (New York: Abrams, 1994). Although this work is subtitled *Japanese Art After 1945*, only a dozen out of over two hundred plates are of works produced between 1945 and 1955, and none of them are figurative.

²⁰ Mark Abe Nornes, “The Postwar Documentary Trace: Groping in the Dark,” *positions: east asia, culture, critique*, vol. 10 no. 1 (Spring 2002): 39-78; Michael Raine, seminar “Political Modernism,” University of Chicago, Fall 2004.

²¹ A note on the term reportage painting. Reportage was originally a French word referring to news reporting. In the 1920s, however, Czech and German left wing writers began to use the word to refer to a new kind of literature, which they envisioned as a hybrid between reporting and established literary forms. This usage spread internationally through the proletarian movements of the 1920s and 30s. In Japan also “reportage” was at first used to refer only to this kind of writing. Around 1950, however, young artists began to explore the possibilities of applying the term to painting. Although some critics and historians have claimed that “reportage painting (ルポルタージュ絵画)” is an ex-post-facto art historical label, contemporary documents show that artists were beginning to imagine a reportage

contiguity among artist, subject, painting and viewer means that reportage always claims to be, more or less, of and about the here and now. This had little to do with verisimilitude: theories of artistic representation and practice through the 1950s did not maintain that reportage could or should represent an externally existent world from a transcendent subject position. Nor did they operate on the positivistic assumption that surface appearance was the privileged arbiter of reality. Art criticism almost never focused on a painter's (in)ability to paint encountered reality faithfully enough: in fact, criticism that an artist relied too heavily on the crutch of verisimilitude was far more common. Rather than visual resemblance, the burning question of the period was how both artists and their art work could participate fully in the historical reality unfolding around them. Far from a journey to a vantage point from which the landscape would open out with the clarity and stillness of distance, the journey the reportage artists undertook was to find the deep structures of the world and their own subjectivity, and most importantly, how these two became enmeshed on the very edge of the present as it was coming into being. The successful work would spring from a transfer between the artist and the event he or she hoped to depict,²² and would itself be such a compelling crystallization of this communion that it would provide the opportunity for the viewer of the work to share in the shock of historical experience. Although the painting was the medium for this, the experience itself was not isomorphic to the shapes on the canvas: the experience was something beyond the immediately visible. All this will become clearer below, but as a first step it will be helpful to introduce how the reportage artists saw their historical present, before moving into their attempts to participate in it.²³

In sketching the history the reportage artists saw, we can begin with the end of the war. In an amazing coincidence, Ikeda Tatsuo's birthday is August 15th, the very day Japan surrendered to the US. Ikeda had been drafted into the *tokkotai*, the corps of pilots who were trained to fly their explosive-laden planes into US ships. As the war ended he was at a forward operating base on the southern island of Kyushu, probably no more than a few days from death. This notwithstanding, his rebirth at the age of seventeen is remembered as more trauma than joy. "Young people had grown up being fed lessons that sacrifice for the country and becoming a god enshrined at Yasukuni [i.e. dying in the war] was the road to eternal righteousness. We were all hurtling down that road with no time to think. When the road suddenly cut off, it led to great sorrow and confusion."²⁴

form of painting as early as 1952. Ikeda Tatsuo's article "Kaiga ni okeru Roporutaju no Mondai (The Problem of Reportage in Painting)," in particular, is one of the first, if not the first attempt, to think through the issues raised in applying reportage practice to painting. Katsuragawa Hiroshi, *Haikyo no Zenei: Kaiso no Sengo Bijutsu (Avant-garde of the Ruins: Recollections of Postwar Art)* (Tokyo: Ichiyosha, 2004), 142-3; Ikeda Tatsuo, "Kaiga ni okeru Roporutaju no Mondai (The Problem of Reportage in Painting)," *Konnichi no Bijutsu*, no. 2 (May-June 1953), 12; Nakamura Hiroshi, *Zuga Jiken 1953-2007 (Pictorial Disturbances 1953-2007)*, exh. cat. (Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art, 2007), 17-18.

²² Though I have put "he or she" here, participants in reportage were almost all male. A notable exception is Katsura Yukiko, whose work is introduced below.

²³ In accounting for how the young reportage artists encountered their present, I rely on a number of sources written by the artists themselves. Among the most important are, Ikeda Tatsuo's *Mu/Gen/Ki: Ichigaka no Jidai e no Shogen* (Dream/Present/Writing: One Artist's Testimony to an Era) (Tokyo: Gendai Kikakushitsu, 1990). This work is based on a diary that Ikeda kept from 1946 to 1960. Also, Katsuragawa Hiroshi's *Haikyo no Zenei: Kaiso no Sengo Bijutsu (Avant-garde of the Ruins: Recollections of Postwar Art)* (Tokyo: Ichiyosha, 2004).

²⁴ Ikeda, *Mu*, 12.

Almost a year after the war ended, Ikeda wrote in his diary, "And what's time, and what's the universe, and what's space, and what's life, aren't they all but nothingness?"²⁵ Though this could be the maudlin lament of many an adolescent, it is important to realize what a blow the war's end was for people of Ikeda's generation, a generation known as the "wartime faction (*senchuha*)."²⁶ In their late teens and early twenties at war's end, they knew little other than official indoctrination, had no contact with liberalism or Marxism, and lost out on much of their formal schooling due to near total mobilization at the end of the war. Mixed with the trauma of such a sudden end to their world, was a survivor's guilt stemming from the fact that so many of those sent to death in the final stages of the war had been their classmates. The wartime faction had been too young to influence the war, and therefore didn't face the question of collaboration or responsibility. From their vantage point, the sudden flip whereby people who had so recently been sending the young off to become gods, now extolled democracy, cast doubt over *both* the imperial ideology *and* democracy. The resultant extreme suspicion towards older generations and social institutions is one of the keys to understanding the ceaseless work they put into realizing their own terms of organization and interaction. Experiments in organizing non-hierarchical, directly democratic, open ended groups, that demanded creative engagement and participation from all members, were so widespread because of the lesson, learnt through war and occupation, that there was no one else to trust with such all important tasks.

Although the enthusiasm for self-governing organization was in some ways a celebration of freedoms forbidden during the war, freedom during the occupation was not an open and uncontested field. Collectivities competed for political space with survivals of wartime institutions and with a US occupation policy that grew steadily more conservative. One revealing example is production control. Production control was an action in which workers seized control of a factory, locking their managers out. But unlike strikes, which usually aim to disrupt production as a bargaining tool, production control endeavored to continue normal running of the enterprise without managers at all. In the year following the end of the war, instances of production control skyrocketed, reaching a peak of approximately fifty instances per month in spring 1946. But production and creation without the long-standing division of labor were much more radical propositions than strikes. Joe Moore concludes in his study of production control, that taken together, these actions constituted a revolutionary situation in Japan in the period 1945-46. The Occupation authorities soon stamped them out.²⁷ The enthusiasm for self governance was therefore not only a reaction against the past, but a struggle for the present.

A major Occupation policy change occurred in 1947, when SCAP (Supreme Command for the Allied Powers) definitively broke with its previous policy of tolerating far left wing parties, particularly the communist party. By 1948, Occupation officials such as Bonner Fellers were openly defending the emperor as the best bulwark

²⁵ Ibid., 12.

²⁶ I rely mainly on Oguma Eiji for my understanding of this generation. *Minshu to Aikoku*, 598-610.

²⁷ Joe Moore, *Japanese Workers and the Struggle for Power, 1945-1947* (Madison: U. of Wisconsin Press, 1983).

against communism.²⁸ Where one sees the exact turning point in this “reverse course” is a matter of discussion, but clearly, over the period from 1945 to the end of the Occupation, the American interest in, and policy towards Japan changed in at least two significant ways. First, as communism became the next big enemy, limits had to be placed on Japanese democracy: communists had to be dissuaded from confrontational tactics, or removed from the process completely. Second, Japan had to be strengthened as a political, economic and military bastion in East Asia. The weak Japan policy of the first two years had been designed to prevent Japan from ever waging war again. But the need for a strong Japan against communism, brought previously purged wartime bureaucrats back to their posts, and gave a huge stimulus to heavy industry, bringing a two-tier economy back into existence.²⁹

For the reportage artists, these changes were crucial, but the events which crystallized their ire were the red purges and the Korean War, which both began in earnest in 1950. These assaulted a number of concepts that had attained almost unquestioned value during the occupation: democracy, peace, and subjectivity. The red purges saw 12,000 people fired for suspected communist affiliation, which recalled persecutions under the wartime regime. Peace movements were also persecuted. In early 1950, for instance, a signature campaign for the anti-atomic Stockholm Appeal was suppressed by SCAP. After the Korean War started, under occupation ordinance 325, *all* public declarations against war or in support of peace were to be treated as “interference with the aims of the occupation.”³⁰ This presented a clear problem for citizen participation in polity and policy, and so brought to light the limits of the democracy the US was willing to put up with. They confirmed that democracy, championed even by the “loveable” version of the Communist Party, in fact had its limits, and this posed the first practical test of the new postwar subjectivity. These developments also complicated Japan’s relation with the professed ideal of peace: as Michiba has shown, the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) line (from 1950 to 1955) saw the Korean War as a wider regional war, with Japan as one of its battlegrounds. For them Japan was not in a cold war: the war was still hot, and there were only two sides, one which fought for regional democratic revolution and one which fought against it.³¹ Thus peace would only occur after the war was justly settled. Would intellectuals, writers, artists, filmmakers, etc., whose wartime failures had become one of the occasions for the debates on subjectivity in the first place, be able to do anything differently this time around? The wartime faction already had their doubts.

To summarize, the fast and perilous world the reportage artists found themselves in in the early 1950s, was one not of development, but repetition. Not five years after the end of militarism and war in Asia, Japan was again involved in an invasion of Korea. Though prime minister Yoshida Shigeru successfully resisted American pressure to send Japanese troops into Korea, a moral quandary remained. War profiting was both morally suspect, and reanimated industrial patterns that had built Japan’s own war

²⁸ John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1999), 270; 328.

²⁹ Dower, 526-46.

³⁰ Michiba Chikanobu, *Senryo to Heiwa: Sengo to iu Keiken (Occupation and Peace: Experience of the Postwar)* (Tokyo: Seidosha, 2005), 282-83; 296.

³¹ Michiba, 304.

machine: large scale heavy industry with close ties to government. Finally, all of this was enforced by a combination of zealous Japanese policing, and American military might. Again, all just five years after the previous cycle had ended. What was a person, especially an artist, to do?

I will return to the important question of subjectivity below. Before doing so it would be productive to narrow down this historical moment. While the issue of national and personal subjectivity within the repetition of war, injustice and oppression was an overarching theme, the reportage artists had to focus this into things they could paint. Reportage is relentlessly synoptic, focusing on certain features of the historical moment to stand for larger structures. These I call "theaters." The most important theaters were US military facilities in Japan. These were the actual staging points for the war in Korea, but were also symbols for the larger forces of imperialism, and colonization. Next came factories, particularly factories that supplied the US military. These embodied the interdependence of industrial capitalism and war, and guarded as they were by US military police, they provided potent symbols for an international capitalist/colonialist exploitation. Finally there were instances of protest and repression: clashes between what was usually represented as a non-urban populace, and the police or local power structure. [Images 2-4] Theaters crystallized large historical forces at real points within Japan. Theaters were theaters of war. But also, as with revolutionary theater, the artists saw their work as happening at a liminal juncture: it was framed representation, but was also extremely close to spilling beyond its borders into reality. Charles A. Laughlin, in his study of Chinese literary reportage, productively employs Henri Lefebvre's concept of "social space" to show how these symbolic figures are metonymically articulated with the reality they represent.

The spatial environments of human activity encompass more than the physical contours of the spaces in which human activity takes place; they include the subjective perception of those environments by their inhabitants. Lefebvre's concept of social space embodies the dialectic between the physical environment and our perception of it.³²

As I show below this was one of the explicit hopes of the reportage artists. But it was not automatic that the dialectic process would be completed satisfactorily. This required their own intervention.

Reportage: Avant-Garde Realism

In this section I introduce the theory and criticism that participated in the reportage movement. I will also take this opportunity to introduce a selection of representative reportage works. Below I closely examine the work of Katsuragawa, Ikeda and Nakamura, but before doing that it is necessary to represent the wider movement. As I lay theory and criticism side by side with works of art, I hope that the concerns of this community of artists and critics can be seen to play off one another in a way that was not unidirectional, but mutually provocative. [Images 5-7]

³² Charles A. Laughlin, *Chinese Reportage: the Aesthetics of Historical Experience* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 29.

As stated at the beginning of the chapter, realism, for the reportage critics and painters, was not a matter of verisimilitude. Successful realism, *real* realism, would actually be a generative participant in historical reality. How can we understand that? As a way in, I offer an anonymous quote, a mission statement of sorts, that came on the back page of most of the nine books that make up the *Testimonies of Japan Reportage Series* (*Nihon no Shogen Raporutaju Shirizu*), published in 1955.³³

It is now our task to set out into the depths of the land of our ancestors to recapture the future that has been taken from us. We slip into our shoes of language – words that fly and words that crawl. It is still dark where we go. Invisible walls have been thrown up, between factory and factory, town and town, person and person, soul and soul. Into this darkness we cast our torch of light, and we draft a map for this place that has none.

The authors of this statement invoke the idea of a map: a new set of relations that would be able to fly and crawl, over and around the walls hardening around them. Though the statement is signed by a corporate author, the Genzai no Kai (Present Society), the idea of words creating a map almost definitely comes from Abe Kobo, who was a prominent member of the group.³⁴ Abe theorized that words and song came into being as people moved around the physical world with each other: song was linked to places, and passed from person to person, pointing the way through the world.³⁵ In today's parlance, Abe viewed song, and language more widely, as indexical. The resulting map is therefore not a map like a page in an atlas, but a map in the way a road, a path, or a pointing finger is a map: it crosses and gestures real distances between here and there, but exists only because it is among people, and has the power to beckon. The paths of sympathy and communication, built and trodden through language, light, and bodily motion would be both deep in the past, and part of a hopeful future. It was the present that was the problem.

This layering of actual places and events with the investments people pour into them is analogous to the multifunctional and multifaceted theaters discussed above. But Abe is talking about language, and artists found themselves in a slightly different position. Literature assumed intellectual pride of place in Japan's (and East Asia's) modern period. Painters using the modern idiom of the oil on canvas have been afforded no such space. It has never been forgotten that the very term art (美術) was invented in

³³ This mission statement is signed by a corporate author, the Present Society (現在の会): a large group of writers, artists and publishers, many of whom were part of the reportage network. Each book in the series contained text accompanied by illustrations. The titles are a good index of some of the theaters of struggle, and the list of authors also affords a partial list of reportage writers and artists. 1. Masaki Kyosuke, *Genshiryoku* (*Nuclear Power*), ill. Ikeda Tatsuo; 2. Ando Tsuguo, *Nishin: Kogyo Chitai o Yuku* (*Herring: Through the Barren Fishing Grounds*), ill. Abe Machi; 3. Saito Yoshio, *Beisaku Chitai* (*Rice Cultivation Zone*), ill. Nakaya Yasushi; 4. Toishi Taiichi, *Yagakusei* (*Night Students*); 5. Kobayashi Masaru, *Keimusho* (*Jail*), ill. Teshigawara Hiroshi; 6. Sekine Hiroshi, *Tetsu: Omocha no Sekai* (*Iron: the World of Toys*), ill. Ikeda Tatsuo; 7. Ueno Eishin, *Senpurisenji ga Waratta* (*Senpurisenji Laughed*), ill. Senda Umeji; 8. Sugiura Minpei, *Mura no Senkyo* (*Village Election*), ill. Ikeda Tatsuo; 9. Present Society, *Raporutaju to wa Nanika* (*What is Reportage?*).

³⁴ Thomas Schnellbacher, *Abe Kobo, Literary Strategist: The Evolution of His Agenda and Rhetoric in the Context of Postwar Japanese Avant-garde and Communist Artists' Movements* (Munich: Iudicium, 2004), 202.

³⁵ Abe Kobo, "Abata no Myuzu (The Pockmarked Muse)," *Bungakukai* (October 1952). Translation by Schnellbacher, 321.

the Meiji period to designate the western category, and that modern art in particular existed only insofar as it was part of the state's modern glory.³⁶ The question of modern art's very legitimacy runs through countless discussions, reviews, and essays throughout the late '40s and '50s.³⁷ Thus for the reportage artists, the urgency of participating artistically in their historical moment, was doubled with the urgency of finding a way for modern art to find a place outside the state.

Many theorists and artists participated in the work of finding a way for painting and drawing to participate actively in history. In my discussion I will be relying mostly on two: Hanada Kiyoteru and Haryu Ichiro. Among the network of critics admired by reportage painters, none was more important than Hanada Kiyoteru. Born in 1909, he was quite a lot older than the wartime generation, and was among the few people who were adults during the war that young people in the reportage movement responded to positively. Hanada is a famously non-systematic thinker. One interpreter has even written of the impossibility of theorizing Hanada (花田論の不可能性).³⁸ His writing is a cobweb of double meanings, abrupt reversals, jumps of perspective, a dizzying range of intertexts, and humor. He develops his discourse through examples taken from everything from Reformation history to contemporary popular ghost dramas, pasting them side by side so that not just one, but many resonances build up in a seemingly never ending collage. He frequently reverses himself, and the people he is quoting. This style in itself demonstrates the centrality of dialogue and contingency, and a realism that can be considered as such precisely through its rhetorical effect. Hanada's practice and theory of art shared much with the indexical hope that Abe expresses above. Hanada is always teaching something, and unevenness of exposition is not an impediment, if in the end he succeeds in pointing the way.

One of his most often repeated lessons, and this perhaps recapitulates what I have just said, is the need to break through inherited forms of seeing and being. Specifically in relation to art, Hanada divided the western modern tradition into a few tendencies: abstraction, surrealism, naturalism. These approaches failed historically because they concentrated too much either on the outer world in the case of naturalism, or the inner world in the case of abstraction (conscious; rational) and surrealism (unconscious; irrational).³⁹ The problem that Hanada had with them is that they were ossified as forms, and so were unable to tap reality. Surrealism remained trapped within the subject's subconscious, ignoring its interaction with the rest of the universe. Naturalism interestingly suffered from a similar assumption: the independence of the looking and

³⁶ Kikuhata Mokuma for instance, himself an artist in the modern idiom, begins his well known history of war paintings from World War II (戦争画) with the declaration that war painting, in its tragic subservience to the state, represents the very epitome of modern art in Japan. Kikuhata Mokuma, *Tenno no Bijutsu (The Emperor's Art)*, in *Kikuhata Mokuma Chosakushu*, vol. 1 (Fukuoka: Kaichosha, 1993), 91-99.

³⁷ One example out of many, is the roundtable discussion of the "Chusho to Genso-ten (Abstraction and Fantasy Exhibition)" at the National Museum of Modern Art in 1954. Saito Yoshishige, Tsuruoka Masao, et al., "'Koto' de ha naku 'mono' o Egaku to iu Koto (Painting 'Physical Things,' not 'Mental Things')," discussion in *Bijutsu Hihyo* (February 1954): 13-24.

³⁸ Kogawa Senya, "Mono e no Henshin, Mono kara no Dasshutsu: 'Avangyarudo Geijutsu' no Chihei (Metamorphosis into Things, Escape from Things: The Horizon of 'Avant-garde Art')," *Shin Nihon Bungaku* (New Japan Literature), no. 447 (December 1984): 61.

³⁹ Hanada's most complete collection of thoughts on art is his 1954 *Avangyarudo Geijutsu (Avant-garde Art)* (Tokyo: Miraisha), reprinted in *Hanada Kiyoteru Chosakushu*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1970). The basic concerns that I introduce here, however, can be found scattered throughout much of his writing in the 1950s.

transcribing subject from the outer world. Hanada's repeated injunction was to ameliorate this division and bring the inside and the outside worlds back together, to unite them in a tense dialectic. Form was what stood in the way, so had to be dismantled. It is in their mutual rejection of form, that realism and the avant-garde came to be inseparably linked for Hanada. In perhaps his first piece explicitly about the avant-garde, Hanada writes, "In the avant-garde position that we profess, we generally take the stance of being somehow in opposition to realism, but I also believe that our avant-garde position is one of pursuing the unresolved questions implicit in realism. Hence, I think our intention is also to claim to be an advanced form of realism."⁴⁰

As Peter Zusi has shown, a wide range of avant-garde positions rely implicitly or explicitly on the rhetorical other of historicism, which can be broadly defined as a crusty conceptual formalism that misses the living immediacy of historical change. Zusi traces part of this heritage back to Nietzsche and Marx who both, in different registers, observed the process by which a vital, de-alienated present begins to ossify into forms as soon as it is past, and falls even further away as one endeavors to think consciously about it and one's own relation to it.⁴¹ In one of his most oft cited and discussed essays, "Ringo ni tsuite no ichikosatsu (An Examination of Apples)," Hanada offers a thought experiment on how one could avoid, or pierce through, this ossification of form.⁴² As the title indicates, the essay is about apples, and how modern artists have tried to represent them. Dali, in his depiction of instinct, Cezanne in his depiction of rationality, and the naturalists in their superficial depiction of the world, all miss the point, and fail to hit the apple. What they depict instead is a thought and value system in the skin of an apple: they use the instance of an apple as an opportunity to represent an idea and in so doing miss the present itself. William Tell, however, hits the apple with an arrow, and this forever alters history. He writes, "They [the putative artists] should try imagining for a moment, standing a hundred paces off holding the bow string drawn taught, bathed in the dazzling light of the sun, and aiming resolutely at the bright red apple on top of their child's head. It is only in this situation that the apple in itself is revealed."⁴³ In other words, it is only at this moment of great risk, when everything hangs on a fragile and desperate contingency, that the apple, and one's relation to it, becomes actual. It is only this extreme investment, this extreme pressure on the relation between inside and outside that can break inherited forms and allow things to stand facing each other. Even further, this moment, if achieved, is a moment when the artist becomes political: with forms broken, "seeing" becomes an immediate relation between inside and outside, an ontological involvement. As Hanada puts it, "at that moment [the moment the arrow flies], the artistic avant-garde is transformed into a political avant-garde."⁴⁴

Hanada's thought experiment does not evoke totality or panopticism, but precise motion and synopsis. Like the arrow left in midair at the end of Camus' *The Rebel*,

⁴⁰ Hanada Kiyoteru, "Riarizumu Josetsu (Introduction to Realism)," in *Atarashii Geijutsu no Tankyu (Search for a New Art)* ed., Yoru no Kai (Night Society) (Tokyo: Getsuyo Shobo), 145. Translation by Schnellbacher, 142.

⁴¹ Peter A. Zusi, "The Present 'As it Really Is' Historicism and the Theory of the Avant-Garde" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2001), 53-66.

⁴² In *Avangyaruado Geijutsu (Avant-garde Art)*, in *Hanada Kiyoteru chosakushu*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1970), 109-188.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 114.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 114.

Hanada's arrow is unsatisfying, but understandable. He does not claim any vision of the future, only the certainty that there is one. The way to become part of it is in sympathetic motion with the erupting present. If we take a landscape as a configuration that opens a panorama of width and height over the assumed real, Hanada's arrow shrinks that panorama down to a highly concentrated point, which does not aim to cover reality, but pierce into the future, thus becoming part of reality's unfolding of itself.

This is all very abstract. Haryu will bring us closer to earth in the paragraphs below, but before moving on, there are a few more important contributions from Hanada to underline. First is the centrality of crisis to his aesthetics. Desperate productivity on the verge of death is a recurrent theme, especially in his earlier works. A quote from Hanada's first work, *Fukkoki no Seishin (The Spirit of Renaissance)*, shows this. Although *Fukkoki no Seishin* was published in book form in October 1946, all of the essays in it but one were written during the war, between 1941 and 1943.

There's no room for sentimentality. Words like wise and foolish are of little consequence. *Like one being driven*, the person who has been abandoned to face the question of being possessed by life or beckoned by death, *simply moves forward, and forward again*, and everything that turns up along the way, the sea, the plains, the animals, and plants, that follow one after another, become separated like the base and acid of water, according to a certain rhythm, be it of life or of death.⁴⁵ [My italics.]

Or in a later essay in *Fukkoki*, in a discussion of Poe: "The turning points in history are merciless, leaving no recourse but regeneration through a desperate resistance."⁴⁶ Discussions of Christopher Columbus and Hans Christian Andersen, lead to similar ruminations about how meaning is formed through the desperate lunge forward when nothing else is possible but death.⁴⁷ The existential crisis at the root of creativity is also present in William Tell: he cannot not shoot. What brings him face to face with the apple is multiple crises that he cannot refuse: crises political and familial, public and bodily, that ride on the arrow as it flies. It is easy to see why this particular sensitivity found such an enthusiastic reception among the young generation in the early postwar, for their crisis of repetition was equally complex and inescapable.

Another aspect of Hanada's thought that has resonance with the work of the reportage artists is his sensitivity towards the corruptions of absolutism. The most colorful example of absolutism is Louis XI, who Hanada characterizes as so mad with paranoia, that he must raze all of the trees and gardens around his palace, and forbid all adult visitors, just to be sure nothing is sneaking up on him. The king thus traps himself within his own walls, his garden denuded, and only animals and toys around him to keep him company.⁴⁸ Written under military rule, it is hard not to see this as a caricature

⁴⁵ Hanada Kiyoteru, *Fukkoki no Seishin (The Spirit of Renaissance)*, in *Za Kiyoteru (The Kiyoteru)* (Tokyo: Daisan Shokan, 1986), 644.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 657.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 653; 673.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 697.

of the insanity of absolutism. Against this, Hanada raises the virtue of dialogue and exchange. "So what exactly does the term 'seeing' indicate? It entails eschewing all preconceptions, and any urge to understand the meaning of the thing, it is *receiving the thing as a thing openly*, as a thing in motion, neither good nor bad, beautiful nor ugly."⁴⁹ [My italics.] Rather than a naive materialism, I read this as a call for receptivity and exchange, a call to open oneself up to the movement of the world, to become part of the historical present. William Tell's relationship with the apple is perhaps the opposite of Louis XI's: it is pure positionality, which becomes the conduit for change.

But what does this mean? In a neat rebuttal to Hanada's William Tell thought experiment, Haryu Ichiro objected that William Tell's fine marksmanship was not born of some epiphany where forms fell away, but stemmed from the fact that he was, by profession, a hunter.⁵⁰ In other words, his ability to see was part and parcel of his concrete location in a system of production. This will bring us a little closer to seeing how Hanada's thinking on realism and the avant-garde could be applied to actually producing paintings.

Haryu Ichiro was a young art critic. While Hanada was eclectic and interested in cultural production in general, Haryu's bread and butter was art journalism. In terms of his loyalties and logic, Haryu is similar to Lukács, though even more than Lukács, he was interested in how art and artists (as opposed to just genres and texts) could relate to mass movements. Let us look at one of his essays on reportage painting.⁵¹ He begins with a dire present.

Japan. That miserable and crushed reality and spirit. Yet, no matter how poor, no matter how warped it may be, we cannot separate the basis of creativity in painting from the inescapable experience of our daily lives. We often talk about the things that exist prior to a painting and the things that exist after it, but as yet we haven't found a way to join these things together.⁵²

This echoes the urge to find a way for painting to mediate relations, to be on the edge between past and future, and inside and outside. But Haryu goes into some more detail about how this was supposed to happen, and as he does he offers an account of why painting in particular had such an important contribution to make to reportage.

Documentary film (ニュース映画) often exposes unusually dramatic contradictions from within the stuff of reality itself, beyond the intention of the cameraman. ... But compared to this, all of the images in a painting are expressed with the tint and tone of the artist's emotions and thought. Therefore, to a much greater degree than is the case in the

⁴⁹ Fukkoki, 650.

⁵⁰ Haryu Ichiro, "Viruherumu teru no ringo (William Tell's Apple)," *Bijutsu Hihyo* (April 1956): 26.

⁵¹ Haryu Ichiro, "Kirokusei (Documentary)," *Bijutsu Hihyo* (January 1955): 51-59. As discussed earlier, reportage was not the only term used to designate the movement under consideration here. Though Haryu uses the term documentary, the works he chooses to illustrate his arguments show that he is speaking about the same movement.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 52.

cameraman's pursuit of reality, a complete grasp of reality on the part of the painter must necessarily be coupled with a revolution of the self.⁵³

The dialectical union of the inside and outside, the reopening of the channel between psyche and the historical world, is a refrain echoed at some point or another by almost everyone in the reportage movement, and by many beyond as well. For Hanada it was the promise of William Tell's arrow, and the key by which Japanese art would overcome the inherited traditions of surrealism, abstraction and naturalism, and come into full reality in the historical present. Here, Haryu proposes a reason why painting was the medium and practice through which the reopening of correspondence would occur. The artist's work necessarily entailed the artist's own inner state, so if the artist was successful in painting a realistic, or rather a real, painting, that would be more than just a struggle to understand the twisted structures of the outer world, but also become an index of having struggled with and externalized the structures of the inner. The artist would only succeed if she could make the interpenetration of these worlds visible.

Although this hardly sounds more concrete than Hanada, Haryu suggests *some* practical procedures for bringing the outer and inner worlds into dialogue. First, by giving an account of why research and personal involvement with the subject one aims to depict is so important. Reportage does not depict only physical landscapes and human figures, but rather the layering of these things with human emotion, interest and value. In order to understand how the emotions of say, farmers fighting an air base, intertwine to weave both the space and time of the theater of struggle, one has to go there and experience the social and physical landscape in a way that links it with the inner turmoil of the farmers. Going to a place, speaking with people, participating in struggle, are therefore vital parts of the reality of any eventual painting. But Haryu presses even further. Speaking and watching are not enough: the artist has to align their own inner being to the same position and historical arc as the subject he hopes to relay. Haryu sometimes phrases this as uniting the motif (the motivation for painting) with the painting's subject. In portraying the struggle of the fishermen of Uchinada against an artillery testing range in their fishing grounds, the artist would have to grind down his own subjectivity, share in their starvation and desperation, put himself in the position of fighting for life and livelihood. In a word the artist needs radical sympathy. "If [the artist] has thoroughly demolished his everyday self in that reality [of the theater], when he begins to paint the subject on a canvas, the form and color will not spring only from similarity with the subject matter, nor will they be aimed only for visual effect, but rather become none other than the trace (しるし) of the artist's deep human emotion."⁵⁴ Thus the whole *process* of reportage, the bodily, mental and emotional involvement of the painter in dialogue and sympathy, is the guarantor of documentary relevance. It alone can guarantee the painting the "right of existence,"⁵⁵ as a document of the meshing of the inner and outer worlds, as a trace of an ethical involvement, that would find reality by dint of its revolutionary simultaneity.

⁵³ Ibid., 56-7.

⁵⁴ Haryu Ichiro, "Shakaiteki Shudai to Riarizumu (Social Subject Matter and Realism)," *Bijutsu Hihyo* (January 1954): 9.

⁵⁵ Haryu, "Kirokusci," 55.

In addition to the theoretical account, Haryu discusses actual works. Though never one to let his enthusiasm get the better of him, he does manage an endorsement of Yamashita Kikuji's *Tale of Akebono Village* (あけぼの村物語) and a few others.

Being as messy as it is, it's certainly not a great success. But it is unusually graphic and raw in the way it portrays the complex tangle of feudalism and exploitation in rural villages by mingling fantasy (幻想) with realism (写実). It might well be that this method will lead the way to works which bitterly expose the crushed and oppressed life and psyche of Japan, and the drama of a reality overrun by feudalism and false democracy. I place my hopes in works like Tsuruoka Masao's deformed and inorganically assembled human figures, Hamada Chimei's grotesque and cruel scenes, Katsura Yukiko's velvety textures, and works that incorporate strands of ceremonial rope into depictions of political incidents.⁵⁶

Though this does give us some indication of what marked successful documentary for Haryu: mingling of fantasy with realism, deformation, grotesquery, cruelty, and velvet, it does not actually go very far. Why were these works so real? In other reviews and criticism, Haryu does not offer anything in the way of a poetics of the art work: there is no sustained effort to establish how it achieves its reality effect. There is only the claim that the successful painting would have that effect, and become a "thing (もの)."⁵⁷

Before moving on to the organizational and educational work the reportage artists involved themselves in, let us recap the issues from this section. In doing so it will be useful to speak explicitly about the importance of the embodied subject. The physical hardship of war and occupation itself, the guilt of accidental survival, the need to *redeem* this survival through a new value system and course of concrete action, the search for new futures that could find ways forward apart from US-Japan cold war interests, these all come to bear on the place and role of the embodied subject, or person. Though I have introduced the theaters and incidents that are important attractors in the reportage mapping of the world, what we see in the paintings introduced here, is not so much the colonial factory, US base, or suspicious police tactics themselves: the central motif is rather the *effect* of these places and things on people. It is the intersection of inside and outside that Hanada and Haryu and so many other critics repeatedly call for. Usually the effect is violent and grim, and one would be forgiven for thinking them unlikely to inspire concerted action, much less subjective identification. But this also is consistent with the aesthetic/ethic being espoused. As both Hanada and Haryu insist, the moment of creativity and commitment is also the moment of crisis. The artist, in going to the theater of struggle, must dig deep, both in the outside and inside world, to dredge up the festering structures that underlie the repetition of violence. But in doing this it seems the artists' own person (body, emotion, intellect), will become the field over which these structures and their exorcism will play out. Though critics espouse the depth and complexity of the outside and inside worlds, and repeat that both extend well

⁵⁶ Ibid., 58.

⁵⁷ Haryu Ichiro, "Shin Gusho no Hoko (The Direction of New Figurative Painting)," *Bijutsu Hihyo* (December 1954): 10.

beyond rational consciousness, it would seem that if these two worlds are to meet and exchange and interact, that interaction must be occurring somewhere close to the surface of the individual person. The embodied subject, William Tell, is still the guarantor of the meeting of inside and outside, of historical necessity, of reality, even if we're saying that reality must come through the person's dissolution into history. Likewise, the arbiter of a work's reality is in whether it can produce a moment of global sympathy, a full bodied shock, that will give insight into the truth of the deep structures of reality. This is why Haryu and no other critic at the time can explain exactly what formal or material bits of a painting are (un)successful and why. To do so would be to create an alienating structure of judgment, which would stray from the real touchstone: the moment of involvement in the present.

Escaping the "Closet Avant-Garde"⁵⁸

Though the depictions of human figures in reportage paintings are distinctly bleak on the possibility of an active political subjectivity, they were in fact painted in dialogue with a number of movements which demonstrate more optimism on the efficacy of action. As with *The Hiroshima Panels*, the paintings and words do not stand by themselves. Artists formed their own groups and organizations as an alternative to the established art societies inherited from the prewar. They participated in the political struggles, they joined together with worker art circles to teach drawing and painting, they organized their own exhibitions, and published their own journals. All to inscribe, in their own action, a different map. As related above they saw themselves as living through an awful repetition, and the space for expression was contested. How did they attempt to form the new paths that would break the cycle of oppression? Building their own communities is the general answer. Below I give a brief overview of the postwar flowering of experiments in local organization, collective initiative, and creative expression. I then move into this phenomenon as it pertained to art.

Production control, mentioned above, was a particularly radical type of collective that sought to bring local resources and productive power under local control. But many other, less confrontational forms of grassroots activity, thrived during and after the Occupation. The active search for knowledge, the desire to educate oneself and have culture become part of one's daily life, are well documented features of Japanese life in the early postwar. Flower arranging, music appreciation, woodcut making, film viewing, singing, even square-dancing brought people together. But nothing was more popular than poetry. One estimate puts the number of poetry circles nationwide in the early 1950s in the thousands, with two hundred such circles in southern Tokyo alone.⁵⁹ A look through titles in the Prange Collection database shows that within the category of entertainment and culture, the largest number of titles goes to literary magazines (879), followed by *haiku* (673), followed by *tanka* poetry (497). Sports, by contrast racks up

⁵⁸ This phrase comes from an article by Katsuragawa Hiroshi, "Watashi no Sengo Bijutsu: Misshitsu no Avangyarudo kara Ruponutaju Undo e (What Postwar Art was for Me: From the Closet Avant-garde to the Reportage Movement)," *Shakai Hyoron*, vol. 15 no. 2 (March 1989): 110-25.

⁵⁹ This estimate comes from Shibasaki Kosaburo, former editor of *Jinmin Bungaku* (*The People's Literature*). In Inokawa Kyo, *Shi ga Atta!* (*There Was Poetry!*) (Tokyo: Ichiyosha, 2005), 22.

only 133 titles.⁶⁰

The scholar who has done the most work investigating such grassroots groups in English is Wesley Sasaki-Uemura.⁶¹ His study introduces the Poets of Oi (大井の詩人), a group that started in the Japan National Rail repair facilities in Oi, an area of industrial southern Tokyo. Though culture circles were sometimes platforms for management to introduce quality control initiatives and improve worker discipline, the Poets of Oi refused any relationship with management or unions. As Sasaki-Uemura writes, it and similar circles, “constituted an important alternative to hierarchic forms of community found in corporate management, the government, and even the union.”⁶² This form of alternative community always harbors political potential, and when the huge protests against the renewal of the US-Japan Joint Security Treaty (Anpo) erupted in 1960, the Poets of Oi were there to participate.

Another group that used expression to create communities of their own was the Mountain Range Association (山並の会). This group’s primary activity was exchanging memories of the war. They did this through direct dialogue and writing and their work came to counteract the gathering national narrative of victim-hood. As the group expanded it also came to include non-veterans, so the newsletter featured both war memories, and accounts of everyday events in the lives of the members. “Writers consciously injected themselves into these records, so the magazine featured numerous pieces that contained the words, ‘and me,’ such as ‘Anpo and me.’”⁶³ The activity of writing oneself into history and current events, on scales both large and small, is a core practice shared by a number of grassroots movements at this time, including the Writing Daily Life Movement (生活つづり方運動), and the Documenting Daily Life Movement (生活記録運動), which encouraged children and female factory workers respectively, to compose poetry and essays as a way to form their own conscious communities. The crest of these movements led to a conference of National Association for Writing Education in 1952, which attracted 1,300 teachers.⁶⁴ In all of these groups, individual experience gained permanence and reality through mutual recognition in reading groups and newsletters, where the writings were shared, discussed, and sometimes published to wider audiences.⁶⁵ These communities of writing, in poetry, autobiography and written reportage, were a place where individual writers could discover a form of historical participation and agency, and where the writing itself dared to describe a narrated world of experience and value not subject to the violent silence of cold war

⁶⁰ The Prange collection includes 16,500 newspaper titles, and 13,000 magazine titles, collected in Japan between 1945 and 1949. The above statistics were compiled by Kitagawa Kenzo in *Sengo no Shuppatsu: Bunka Undo, Seinendan, Senso Mibojin (The Beginning of the Postwar: Culture Movements, Youth Groups, War Widows)* (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 2000), 18-20.

⁶¹ Wesley Sasaki-Uemura, *Organizing the Spontaneous: Citizen Protest in Postwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001).

⁶² *Ibid.*, 84.

⁶³ Sasaki-Uemura, 68. Anpo is the Japanese abbreviation for the US-Japan Joint Security Treaty, which tied Japan closely to the US’s cold war interests. The treaty had to be renewed by both Japan and the US every ten years. The enormous public protest that erupted in 1960, in opposition to the treaty’s revision, is one of the major landmarks of Japan’s postwar history.

⁶⁴ Gerald Figal, “How to *jibunshi*: Making and Marketing Self-Histories of Showa among the Masses in Postwar Japan,” *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 55 no. 4 (Nov., 1996): 907.

⁶⁵ Sato Izumi, “50-nendai Dokyumentari Undo: Seikatsu no Tsuzurikata (The 1950s Documentary Movement: Writing Daily Life),” *Showa Bungaku Kenkyu*, no. 44 (2002): 13-26.

instrumentalization, or the careerism of class inflected hierarchies of literary taste. Michiba Chikanobu has argued that although these movements might be taken as a reaction to what the JCP called Japan's "colonization," it would be more accurate to see them in an wider political context, as "an expansion of the opportunities for self-expression and emancipated subjectivity, brought about through the liberation promised in the postwar constitution."⁶⁶

This project: the search for a non-hierarchical form of communication, and the ceaseless, shared, externalization of experience, is something these grass roots activities shared with reportage painting. In the field of modern art specifically, many artists worked to form groups, organize exhibitions, publish newsletters and journals, make research trips, and of course produce works of art. To give some idea of the number of small, non-affiliated groups that came into existence and evaporated in Tokyo in this period, I will simply list those that Katsuragawa, Ikeda, and Nakamura were part of between 1949 and 1955. Katsuragawa joins the Century (世紀) in October 1949. This group splits in spring 1950, but Katsuragawa stays on with a small group that includes Abe Kobo and Teshigawara Hiroshi. The reduced Century has a brief period of collaboration with the Avant-garde Art Society (前衛美術会) in late 1950, before dispersing completely in 1951. In summer 1951, Katsuragawa joins the JCP, and in 1952 also joins the Avant-garde Art Society permanently. In spring 1953, he and a few other members of the Avant-garde Art Society join the Youth Art League (青年美術連合; 青美連), but in the process change their group name to the Bread and Roses Society (パンと薔薇の会). Ikeda for his part, joins the Century in November 1948, but leaves in spring 1950. After leaving the Century he co-founds Pouvoire, but leaves less than a year later in March 1951. The next group he co-founds is NON. At the founding of this group, all members agreed that it would disband exactly one year later, and this happened according to schedule in July 1952. Influenced by the work of Katsuragawa and Yamashita Kikui from the Avant-garde Art Society, he starts Energy (エネルギー) in late 1952 as a reportage group. Energy also becomes one of the member groups of the Youth Art League in March 1953. Nakamura Hiroshi, begins school at Nihon University in 1951, joining the nationwide student organization, Zengakuren (全学連), in 1953. In the same year, as a precondition to joining Zengakuren, he founds an organization focused specifically on mobilizing art school students, called the Art School Cooperative (美学協). Also in 1953, he joins the Youth Art League, and in 1955, the Avant-garde Art Society.

One lesson to be drawn from these lists is that the groups were various and fluid. Memberships were constantly changing, as were groups' missions. Activities included talking and debating, translating, publishing, exhibition organizing, protesting, and of course artistic production from music to painting to poetry. Organizational styles ranged from carefully egalitarian and collaborative in the case of NON, which painstakingly diagrammed schedules on the basis of chance to decide who was doing what jobs, to more informal but hierarchical salons like the Night Society. Missions ranged from the extremely specific, like getting Abe Kobo to Poland to represent Japan in the World

⁶⁶ Michiba Chikanobu, "Shimomaruko Bunka Shudan to sono Jidai (The Shimomaruko Culture Group and its Times)," *Gendai Shiso*, vol. 35 no. 17 (December 2007, special issue), 41. See also, 44-49.

Youth and Student Festival of Peace and Friendship (世界青年学生平和友好祭), in the case of the People's Art Collective, to the vastly open, as in the case of the Youth Art Alliance, whose central mission was to have no stated mission. The phenomenon attests to the desire to find new modes of organization, ones that were short-lived, provisional, non-hierarchical, and most importantly, not limited by boundaries such as genre, style or membership associations.

As mentioned, these experiments in collectivity did not occur in empty political space. Together with these very small groups, many larger exhibition societies that had existed in the prewar, began to reappear after their wartime hiatus. These exhibition societies, the Nika-kai (二科会) being the largest, had rigid hierarchical structures that in fact did not change much between the pre- and post-war. Admission into the societies depended on an introduction from a current member, which encouraged master-disciple relationships. Along with these societies, came even less palatable beasts. Almost immediately with the end of the war, the Culture Ministry of the Japanese government attempted to reassert the control they had had during the war, organizing the first Nitten Exhibition (日本美術展; Japan Art Exhibition).⁶⁷

The youth networks and experiments in boundary-crossing collectivities that the reportage artists pioneered, thus developed both against a backdrop of specifically discredited art-institutional forms, such as the Nitten, and also against the larger backdrop which put a question to the artist's role in a society that seemed to be heading back down the path towards war and oppression. Below I will focus on two groups that were the most important parts of the reportage project: the Avant-garde Art Society and the Youth Art Alliance. These groups, both in their organizational spirit, and in their actual support of the reportage movement, were critical. In the section after this, I look in greater detail at how Katsuragawa, Ikeda, and Nakamura interacted with these groups and others. The discussion in this section will be general.

In finding a way for art and artist to participate fully in the unfolding of history, the most pressing problem was to build institutions in place of those, like the Nitten and the large exhibition societies, and the art universities, that held art apart from its social present. Ikeda recalls a moment of truth when he saw a painting by one of his university professors featured in a magazine: it was a portrait of the imperial crown prince on ski holiday.⁶⁸ Ikeda soon dropped out. But the reason he was able to quit university and continue pursuing art, was that there was an alternative: the thriving independent study culture of the time. It was one of these study circles, the Night Society, that became a school for Ikeda, Katsuragawa, and many others in this cohort.⁶⁹ Without this informal institution of learning, the choice would have been between art as

⁶⁷ Segi Shinichi, *Kuhakuki no Sengo Bijutsu (Postwar Art in a Period of Vacuum)* (Tokyo: Shichosha, 1996), 40-45. Also, Segi Shinichi, *Nihon no Zenei 1945-1999 (Japanese Avant-Garde 1945-1999)* (Tokyo: Seikatsu no Tomosha, 2000), 135-7; 373.

⁶⁸ The artist was Ihara Usaburo. Ikeda Tatsuo, *Geijutsu Avangyarudo no Senaka (The Back of the Artistic Avant-Garde)* (Tokyo: Chusekisha, 2001), 13-14.

⁶⁹ Although the Night Society itself existed for only a year from 1948 to 1949, the Society's members stayed in similar orbits through the 1950s, and comprise one of the most influential groups of people during this decade, including Noma Hiroshi, Sekine Hiroshi, Haryu Ichiro, and Abe Kobo. For a detailed account of the Night Society, see Thomas Schnellbacher, 135-51.

the art university wanted it, or not art. The two founders of the Night Society were Okamoto Taro and Hanada Kiyoteru. It was through this self-organized collectivity that young artists and critics came into contact with Marxism, existentialism, the French resistance, and theories of realism, surrealism, and the avant-garde which I discuss above.

The Avant-garde Art Society was formed in 1947, and included Maruki Iri, Yamashita Kikuji, and Bito Yutaka among its two dozen or so members. In their manifesto, they declare their artistic goal to be to “fight with all our might against the flighty and decadent tendency to flirt with all that is novel, and at the same time avoid falling into the trap of the narrow leftist artistic understanding inherited from of the proletarian arts movement.”⁷⁰ Their approach, hinted at here and confirmed by their artwork, shows that they were producing the avant-garde realism described in the section above: something which overcame both traditional realism, with its faithful rendition of surface appearance, and abstraction and surrealism in their decadent concentration on the inner world. More than simply a group of like-minded artists, however, the Society sought to expand the reach of art, and to find a place for it in social movements. Other goals include: “The creative advancement of avant-garde art through exchange with the working masses,” and, “The comradely joining of professional artists, artists in the workplace, and art critics, in order to raise and widen the avant-garde arts movement.”⁷¹ What these meant concretely was involvement in the numerous art circles that existed in factories throughout Tokyo in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Though there is little documentation on the exact structure of these interactions, members of the Society visited worker groups, giving guest lessons on a weekly or monthly basis. These contacts with worker circles were also learning experiences for Society members: an integral part of the dialogue that was necessary for their particular practice of realism, based as it was on attempts at deep sympathy.

In addition to the attempts to cross boundaries, and to spread art not simply as something to be consumed but as something to participate in, the Society was instrumental in organizing a major exhibition in the early 1950s: the Art Exhibition for Peace (平和のための美術展). The success of this event is testimony to the power of the Korean War in bringing artists together who normally did not move in the same circles. Participants came from all variety of rival groups, such as the two parts of the recently split JCP, old guard and complete newcomers, young and old, *nihonga* and *yoga*, etc.⁷² Although participation in the exhibition did not bring participants together for much longer than the duration of the exhibition itself, it did provide a mode for a style of exhibition where the contents would not be arranged according to formal similarity, or because of membership in a specific group (i.e. the Nika-kai). It was rather a grouping of artists who shared a particular goal, and a faith (or perhaps an appeal) that art and exhibition could be part of reaching that goal. In addition, it should be pointed out that the organization for the exhibition was ad hoc (with different people and groups taking on various responsibilities for themselves), egalitarian, and temporary (dissolving after

⁷⁰ “Avant-garde Art Society Manifesto,” in *Sengo Nihon no Riarizumu 1945-1960 (Postwar Japanese Realism 1945-1960)*, exh. cat. (Nagoya: Nagoya Municipal Museum of Art, 1998), 29.

⁷¹ Manifesto, *Ibid.*

⁷² Katsuragawa, 112.

the exhibition).⁷³ There are noteworthy differences from established exhibition societies, like the Nika-kai. The societies had strict membership requirements, but once a member, participation in the exhibition was almost automatic, a predictable annual cycle. The Art Exhibition for Peace relied on no such cycle: participation was based only on the desire to speak to the theme of the exhibit, and required the individual initiative of the artist. In addition, groups as large as the Nika-kai had permanent office staff, and could afford to hire professionals for the mundane aspects of exhibition production. The Art Exhibition for Peace, however, relied on the work of artists themselves to take care of these functions, especially the artists in the Avant-garde Art Society.

The exhibit was an important moment for Ikeda and Katsuragawa also, because it provided a hands-on learning experience for these artists: they would soon take the lessons they learned from this exhibition, and put it to use in the formation of the Youth Art Alliance. Up until the formation of the Alliance, Ikeda, Katsuragawa, and Nakamura had been experimenting with group organization on a very small scale. After the experience with the Peace Exhibition, however, the size, ambition, and staying power of the reportage groups increase. No one group or person was initiator of the Alliance: it came about almost spontaneously, coalescing around a shared group of interests, much like the Exhibition for Peace. As Katsuragawa would later write (in 1960, a few years after the Alliance had dissolved),

The Heiwaten in 1952, and following this, the reportage movement initiated by artists of the younger generation, had already laid the ground for the coalescence of this generation of artists into a group. In addition to this, even among the general majority of young artists who did not participate in the [reportage] movement, the political and social crisis of the Korean War, together with the reemergence of the old guard ... with its old value system and authority ... [populated by] an older generation who devoted themselves to painting war pictures during the war, but in the postwar made another easy switch of allegiance to modernism, these things all sowed a suspicion of the shameful older generation ...⁷⁴

It is clear that the threat of war, a return to the oppression of old values, and the untrustworthy behavior of those in authority loomed large, and these all came together in the concept of generation. Beyond this limit on generation, however, it is remarkable how careful the group is *not* to exclude possible participants. In one telling exchange, Takeuchi Kingo contributed to the first issue of the group's small journal, with his call for a defining line on the question of what kind of art would be appropriate for this new generation. His essay, "Against Tableau," was a call to abandon the two-dimensional picture plane as an outdated convention, one not up to the task of representing present-day reality.⁷⁵ This was immediately criticized in the following issue for being too mechanistic, too dogmatic. Ono Saiji argued that no style or medium could be ruled out:

⁷³ In a personal interview, Katsuragawa confirmed that there was no hierarchy among the participants involved with this exhibition. Recorded interview March 30, 2006.

⁷⁴ Katsuragawa Hiroshi, "Koyo to Botsuraku no Sedai 1950-1955 (The Generation of Rise and Fall 1950-1955)," *Keisho* no. 4 (July 1960): 17.

⁷⁵ Takeuchi Kingo, "Taburo Hitei no Ron (Against Tableau)," *Konnichi no Bijutsu*, no.1 (April 1953).

any road might potentially be the one that would lead the producer and viewer towards an understanding of reality.⁷⁶ Any road, equally, might fail. The goal then was shared, but the means were left up to the artists.

There were two main activities the Alliance members cooperated in: one was publishing the journal *Konnichi no Bijutsu* (*Art of Today*), the other was organizing an annual exhibition, the Nippon-ten. Both of these provided a medium for the far-flung members of the group to interact and share in each other's work, while simultaneously becoming vehicles for the group to establish communication with the public they were hoping to reach. The Alliance umbrella included dozens of smaller groups, that worked in different styles, media and locations. The journal thus served partly as a publicity board, so that member groups could see each other and what they were doing. This puts it in a class with many other small journals and newsletters developed by various citizens' groups in the 1950s: it was the medium of shared information that could form the basis of a community. It introduced members' work in reviews, published the names of new members as they joined, and included articles from group members. The fact that members (all young, struggling, concerned artists) wrote these articles gives them a certain intimacy. One example of a straightforward discussion, is a reader survey that bears the title, "What can you do when people say they don't understand?" A few members give possible answers to this most frustrating of questions.⁷⁷ Thus the contents were practical (even mundane), but also self-conscious. All but the last issue ask the question of what the Alliance should be. This question about what the group itself should do had the effect of eliciting continuing participation from members in shaping the organization.

The journal was physically produced by the artists themselves. The first three issues were mimeographed, meaning the text and the pictures had to be handwritten onto a printing template. The artists did this, assembled and stapled the printed pages, and did all the distribution. It is worth pausing to emphasize that the early 1950s was a time when paper was so scarce that Katsuragawa had to lug roles of the stuff across Tokyo, from the black market to the printers, to get his newsletters out. The words that survive to us today were inked one sheet at a time, pressed through incisions etched by hand into the waxy templates of the mimeograph (ガリ版). It is testimony wrung from scarcity. A celebration of freedom perhaps, but a freedom hard fought and hard won. The process of writing, editing, and physically making *Konnichi no Bijutsu* was part of the collective effort that cemented the community and affirmed a common cause.

The second mode of organization that brought the Alliance together was the exhibition. The Nippon-ten started in 1953 and continued annually for seven years. At first glance a bombastic title, the idea behind it in fact reconfirms the themes that have been emphasized so far: orientation towards present day reality, the importance of positionality, an openness towards artistic forms, but nevertheless an extreme self-consciousness towards issues of both organization and representation.

⁷⁶ Ono Saiji, "Hitotsu no Hanron (One Rebuttal)," *Konnichi no Bijutsu*, no.2 (May-June 1953): 7-8.

⁷⁷ *Konnichi no Bijutsu*, no.3 (July-August 1953), 4-5.

We must build ourselves up to the point where the intentions, actions, and expression of our group, our “group artist,” become equal to the task of dredging up that old energy that is the deep source of war, and changing it into a new energy. So what can we do towards this? We must dredge up that cause that in so many forms has brought us up over the past twenty years, has driven us towards a hateful war, has so decisively eaten away our youth, we have to get inside this and express it, and this will be a moment of change. This bodily mass “Nippon” contains a terrible ancientness but at the same time is what forms the categories of all our thoughts and determines the nature of our expressions. ... [To capture this] we need to have an exhibition based around a “theme without a theme,” for example, “Exhibition of Japan’s Conscience,” or “The Theme Without Theme Nippon.”⁷⁸

This was written by Katsuragawa Hiroshi for the first issue of *Konnichi no Bijutsu*. His idea, “The Theme Without Theme, Nippon,” is the one that stuck. Though this seems a mystifying phrase, it turns on the double use of the word theme, one as a unifying concern or idea, the other a specific content of a painting. The first one was there, but indeed was so large and amorphous, that the second type of theme could not be dictated. Thus the Nippon-ten was unjuried for the Alliance affiliates. Like the journal, the members themselves organized all aspects of the show held at the Municipal Museum in Ueno, and publicity. At the first exhibition in 1953, there were around 170 pieces, mostly paintings and drawings. It was the forum for two works that have since become part of the canon of art history, Yamashita Kikuji’s *Story of Akebono Village* (あけぼの村物語), and Kawara On’s *Bathroom Series* (浴室シリーズ). Many of the paintings were reportage works, attesting both to the themes they depicted, and functioning as missives from disparate locations.

Below, I examine the work of three prominent figures in the reportage movement: Katsuragawa Hiroshi, Ikeda Tatsuo, and Nakamura Hiroshi. Because the ferment of the early postwar is difficult to represent in anything like totality, I use the experience of these artists within the networks introduced above, to portray the attempts at forming new social maps in more detail. Their work to realize their art within these networks and within society at large provides a representative example of the reportage articulation of art and activism.

Katsuragawa and Bunka Kosaku

Katsuragawa was born in 1924 and grew up on the northern island of Hokkaido. Of the three artists I look at, he was the only one who seemed destined for a career in fine arts from an early age. His first submission to an art exhibition came in 1937, when he was still thirteen.⁷⁹ He submitted four or five works before being drafted into the army. Katsuragawa was spared being sent to the front lines, but it was because his

⁷⁸ Katsuragawa Hiroshi, “‘Shudan toshite no Bijutsuka’ ha Nani wo Subekika? (What is the “Artist as Group” to Do?), *Konnichi no Bijutsu*, no. 1 (April 1953).

⁷⁹ He submitted to the Hokkaido Exhibition (北海道展; 道展), a juried exhibition open to artists in Hokkaido. *Haikyo*, 15.

physical and mental health had been broken by army training.⁸⁰ After a period of recovery, he finally came to Tokyo to attend Tama Art University in 1948, selling his books to scrape together enough money, four years older than his nearest classmate.

Ikeda Tatsuo was one of those classmates. It was through Ikeda that he began to have contact with the Night Society. Shortly after the dissolution of the Night Society, two younger members, Abe Kobo and Sekine Hiroshi, formed a group defined by their youth, called the Century (世紀).⁸¹ As Thomas Schnellbacher notes, the Century was an important institutional development because, "It is in this group that the question of autonomy becomes a pressing issue for the first time, because of discursive pressure to use art to take up current social and political issues." To this end, the group established three basic principles: first, that it should include "comrades" over thirty despite its focus on youth, second, that the administrative positions should be assigned based on ability not "name value," and finally, that the character of the group should not be determined by the personality of its functionaries. This last principle especially, shows that the young artists were thinking of the group as an institution, and trying to set the groundwork for an enduring structure, beyond patronage and personality.⁸² The second step for the Century was in providing the young members with their first experience in independent publishing. In addition to a newsletter, they published a series of small books called the *Seikigun (Century Collection)*.⁸³ [Image 8] These featured translations, along with original poetry and fiction. Each was also illustrated by members of the Century. Abe, Katsuragawa, Teshigawara Hiroshi, Segi Shinichi et al., each tried their hands at different tasks, drawing, writing, and actually producing the books. This experience would serve them well in their next task.

With the start of the Korean war in June 1950, this group became increasingly political. Following Abe's lead, head brimming with existentialism, communism, and the potential of a new avant-garde realism, Katsuragawa joined the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) in the spring or summer of 1951. It is worth taking a moment to discuss the JCP here. How did the JCP fit into the field of open, expanding, and relatively non-hierarchical networks, which I outline in the previous section? No organization has become more consistently vilified, especially on the left, than the JCP. The JCP certainly did fail on a number of counts in the 1950s, but the birth of the "new left" has meant that ever since this period, no one in the various cultural industries such

⁸⁰ Recorded interview with author, March 30, 2006, Tokyo.

⁸¹ The Century started at some point in 1947, as the Association of Writers in their Twenties (二十代文学者の会). The name Century was eventually adopted, apparently modeled on the magazine *Epoha*, edited by Fyodor Dostoyevsky. Abe, Sekine, Haryu Ichiro, Segi Shinichi seem to have been among its early members, but there was no official membership list at this first instantiation. The Century revamped itself in 1949 and began publishing a newsletter, along with *Seikigun (The Century Collection)*. See Schnellbacher, 125-134; 151-160.

⁸² Schnellbacher, 152-153.

⁸³ The series includes: 1. Franz Kafka, *Kafuka Shohinshu (Kafka Short Story Collection)*, trans. Hanada Kiyoteru, ill. Katsuragawa Hiroshi and Teshigawara Hiroshi; 2. Suzuki Hidetaro, *Kamigire (Scraps of Paper)*, ill. Ono Saiji; 3. Piet Mondrian, *Amerika no Chusho Geijutsu (American Abstract Art)*, trans. Segi Shinichi, ill. Segi Shinichi; 4. Abe Kobo, *Maho no Choku (The Magic Chalk)*, ill. Abe Machi and Teshigawara Hiroshi; 5. Abe Kobo, *Jigyo (The Enterprise)*, ill. Katsuragawa Hiroshi; 6. Sekine Hiroshi, *Sabaku no Ki Shishu (Desert Tree Poetry Collection)*, ill. Katsuragawa Hiroshi; 7. Aleksandr A. Fadeyev, *Bungei Hyoron no Kadai ni tsuite (On Questions of Literary Criticism)*, trans. anon., ill. Segi Shinichi. In addition to this series, the Century published a *Gashu (Picture Collection)* featuring the art of Abe Kobo, Abe Machi, Katsuragawa, Ono, Segi, Suzuki, and Teshigawara. Further issues were also planned, but the group disbanded before completion. See Katsuragawa, *Haikyo*, 26-84.

as publishing, film making, or art, publicly defends JCP behavior. Nothing is more consistent in the narrative of the new left and the 1960s, than the disavowal of its bureaucratic and dastardly foil, the JCP. But a reevaluation is necessary, especially since the standard narrative has no way to account for the vast popularity of the JCP up until 1955-56.

Immediately following the war, the JCP enjoyed significant authority across much of Japanese society. Its view of history had been proved tragically correct, and a few of its top leaders had spent the entire Fifteen Year War in jail: it promised a robust alternative narrative to the one that had just been shattered. Its platform of peaceful revolution and accommodation of the US Occupation, along with an open cultural policy made it palatable to a wide range of people. As the occupation progressed, however, many initial adherents began to fall away from the Party as it became more dogmatic. But the year 1950 represents another turning point. Early in 1950 the JCP strategy of peaceful revolution was criticized by the Cominform (Communist Information Bureau) in Moscow. The Party split over how to react to the criticism. The group that advocated acknowledging the criticism and denouncing the Occupation, became known as the international faction (国際派). This was the smaller of the two groups, but it contained many of the most prolific writers in the JCP, centering around the editorial board of the literary journal *Shin Nihon Bungaku* (*New Japan Literature*). Among these were many former members of the proletarian literature and arts movement in the early 1930s. The group that took a nationalist stance, and advocated ignoring the criticism called itself the mainstream faction (主流派). This group was in the significant majority and controlled most of the party apparatus. But within weeks, China's Communist Party echoed the Cominform critique, and this caused the mainstream faction to change their position. Thus both factions of the JCP ended up advocating a break with the peaceful revolution strategy, but the split had already occurred, and the two factions remained antagonistic for a number of years.⁸⁴

Narita Ryuichi has argued in his article "Danso no Jidai (The Disconnected Era)," that the international-mainstream split was more than a petty power struggle. The split brought about a shift in Party policy towards worker and farmer culture at the grassroots. In particular, the significance of the mainstream party cannot be understood without taking stock of its relationship with countryside, grassroots, circle (サークル) movements.⁸⁵ The circle phenomenon presented a huge, uncoordinated flowering of cultural and political involvement among the working classes, and perhaps the most important defining characteristic of the mainstream faction was its outgoing involvement in these circles. The editorial policy and structure of the mainstream faction's journal, *Jinmin Bungaku* (*People's Literature*), heavily emphasized interaction between intellectuals and artists from all walks of life: it regularly featured submissions from working class writers. It provided a forum for wider publication of the best poems from the small poetry writing circles, like the one that published *Shishu Shimomaru*

⁸⁴ See Schnellbacher, 83-109; 173-206.

⁸⁵ Narita, 96. For an account of the circles of south Tokyo, see December, 2007 special issue of *Gendai Shiso*, titled *Sengo Minshu Seishinshi* (*People's Spirit in the Postwar Era*), *Gendai Shiso*, vol. 35 no. 17 (December 2007).

(*Shimomaruko Poetry Collection*), discussed below.⁸⁶ The people tasked with establishing these connections to local and worker culture included Katsuragawa and Abe.

Thomas Schnellbacher has argued another reason the mainstream-international split cannot be passed over so easily. As mentioned above, starting in 1947, members of the prewar proletarian movement (who went on to form the international faction), began a campaign against modernist forms of artistic expression. Among those on the sharp end of this were members of the Avant-garde Art Society. But during the period of split, the prewar proletarians, who distrusted surrealism and other forms of modernism, lost control over JCP cultural policy: they became merely one faction.

The aesthetic dominance of the proletarians was broken, and this was to provide an opportunity for 'modernists' like Abe Kobo to gain a foothold in the party, and eventually in the democratic literature movement. ... Culture and ego are both in themselves totalities of substance. ... The movements between 1950 and 1955, based on Stalinist and Maoist doctrines, tended towards totalities of action. ... The change broke the deadlock between two kinds of identity [modernism and realism] that had characterized the first five postwar years of the literature movement.⁸⁷

Thus the JCP during the 1950-55 period, had an open policy towards artistic form. The emphasis was on action and placement, on participation in a social and political movement, and there were any number of artistic ways up that mountain. There is a strong argument to be made that the JCP, rather than brainwashing and bullying young artists and writers, provided them with a structure for what they wanted to do anyway, that is, be directly and actively involved in ways that their elders had not been during the war and weren't at present. It promised not only to break the cycle of war and oppression, but to admit artistic knowledge and ability as part of the project.

As members of the JCP, Katsuragawa, Abe and Teshigawara became involved in *bunka kosaku*, which can be roughly translated as cultural activism. Young artists, writers and students were sent out to industrial areas and farming villages to educate, organize, assist, and mobilize the people living there. The nature of this work varied widely, as did the experience of it.⁸⁸ The first assignment was to Shimomaruko, a community on the industrial south side of Tokyo, just a few neighborhoods southwest of Oi. The poetry circle there predated the arrival of JCP activists, and was already quite radical.⁸⁹ Shimomaruko was home to the factories of Mitsubishi and Hokushin Denki,

⁸⁶ There were a number of journals that brought together submissions from poetry circles. Another significant one was *Retto (Archipelago)*, edited by Sekine Hiroshi, and often illustrated by Ikeda Tatsuo.

⁸⁷ Schnellbacher, 87; 108-109.

⁸⁸ The question of whether people were forced into the movement is still an extremely important one. Based on the scant evidence at hand, the only answer I can venture is that the experience varies greatly from person to person. In the case of the Ogochi group, discussed below, Katsuragawa has changed his opinion over time, writing in 1989 that he felt forced to go (*Shakai Hyoron*, 119), but then adding in 2004 that when he actually got there, he did experience a sense of freedom and enjoyment (*Haikyo*, 128). Bito Yutaka recalls his participation was completely voluntary, while Irino Tatsuya felt he was forced (*Haikyo*, 119).

⁸⁹ For a detailed history of this circle, see, Michiba Chikanobu, "Shimomaruko Bunka Shudan to sono Jidai (The Shimomaruko Culture Group and its Times)," *Gendai Shiso*, vol. 35 no. 17 (December 2007, special issue), 38-101.

factories manufacturing military supplies for the Korean war. Katsuragawa, Abe and Teshigawara worked closely with the circle of workers there for over six months, meeting with them a number of times each week. Abe even rented a room in the area. Putting his experience from the Century to use, Katsuragawa made the woodcuts for the covers of their first two poetry collections (discussed below), and helped assemble the publication. Abe taught classes on poetry writing and literary theory. Though fleeting, Shimomaruko was a place where people met who didn't usually meet, both sides reaching across the lines of class, to work on a project together. What this project was may have varied from participant to participant, but it involved everyone in writing, artwork, publishing and speaking.

How did Katsuragawa's artwork in this context function as part of a collaborative project? Katsuragawa's cover to the group's second poetry collection is informative. It relies on what we assume is a familiar landscape: an industrial neighborhood of jaunty houses, people overflowing into the street, smokestacks smoking, the sun shining. Whether this picture was visually accurate is redundant, as the recipients were familiar enough with the appearance of their neighborhood. The task was to represent something more. In this, Katsuragawa succeeds in creating a tremendous potential energy out of visual rhythm, a feature that marks many of his drawings and woodcuts. The trails of smoke, the smokestacks, the shadows cast in the evening sun, the lines of surface texture, repeat themselves, and in repetition create vibration: a pattern to hold visual interest. Surfaces jostle each other almost playfully, and the people outside add life to the formal dynamism. A comparison can be made to *City of the Flood* (洪水の町), an oil painting from 1950 that Katsuragawa produced before his involvement in *bunka kosaku*. [Image 9] The painting shares the structure of the *Poetry Collection* cover: there is a vertical axis running down its middle and elements of a cityscape rear off to either side. The center is a twisting road underground, with two waifs floating down it towards a forlorn umbrella. The buildings at the top lean backwards forbiddingly, and offer no sign of life. On the *Poetry Collection*, however, the road leads into a bustling community whose buildings and inhabitants we can see. Taking up the central axis is a man walking home with some energy in his step. This change, over one year, from lonely souls being washed away in an alienated landscape, to a dynamic community energy, is testimony to what the structure of cultural work provided for Katsuragawa and others. Whereas many of the young people of the wartime faction felt the urge to do *something*, the JCP grassroots strength provided a way they could connect with other classes, and become involved with them in a creative process of social engagement through expression and mutual recognition.

The cover of the *Poetry Collection* invites us to fall in with the man on the road, and have a look inside. This is appropriate being that the image is a book cover. In honor of the community authorship of the work, I will try to represent some of the voices inside the collection. The poets of Shimomaruko were nothing if not filled with voice. This *Collection* alone runs to 68 pages, with 26 poems by 24 people, and there are many more collections.⁹⁰ Providing a synopsis of this is challenging, but I have

⁹⁰ See Kido Noboru, *Tokyo Nanbu Sengo Sakuru Undoshi Nenpyo: Haisen kara 60-nen Anpo Toso Made* (Tokyo Southside Postwar Circle Movement Timeline: From Defeat to the Anpo Protests of 1960) (Tokyo: Me no Kai, 1992).

chosen to excerpt a poem which is itself a work of reportage. In choosing this I intend to show that reportage was not only a movement where cultural elites took it upon themselves to take heed of people outside their station: it was a practice available to people of all classes, a practice of establishing a shared historical understanding of one's place within the world.⁹¹ I have chosen a poem by Inoue Yotaro (井上与太郎), "Rinjiko (Temporary Work)."⁹² The narrator of this poem is a temporary worker who goes to the Mitsubishi munitions factory for a day. The "you" he addresses refers to the full time workers, who he, as a temporary worker, is separate from. The selections here represent about one eighth of the poem.

Today for just one day I worked as a temporary at Mitsubishi
Heavy Industry
and clipped the slave badge to my chest.
It was the first time in my life
but when I passed the guard men armed so sternly
my chest swelled.

...

In your waiting room
the walls, the desks
were all painted yellow in foreign paint
but your sweat sunk in as you sat there
staining your clothes black.
The haughty yellow walls and desks
were miserable that morning
in the room filled with the stench
of your sweat.

...

I sat next to one of your old friends
a man sparkling with silver stubble
leaned over and whispered that
they didn't need old gads
like him no more.
Chased from your workplace
I felt that whisper
grow into a terrible storm
shrieking of the future.

...

When I passed the guards

⁹¹ Documentary and reportage were practiced by a huge range of actors in the 1950s, from filmmakers to school children. The Shimomaruko group produced much, including a two volume epic poem based on the plight of the communist activists framed in the Matsukawa Incident (a suspicious train derailment in 1949). Literary scholar Toba Koshi outlines eight separate strands that make the 1950s, the "age of documentary." These are: documentaries of war experience; daily life documentary, including the Writing Daily Life Movement (Seikatsu no Tsuzurikata) and workplace documentary; investigative journalism; efforts to document regional ways of life, exemplified by the work of Ueno Eishin and *Circle Village* (サークル村); documentary film; television documentary (starting from 1953); reportage painting and drawing; and efforts to theorize new horizons for documentary. "Kiroku Sareru Genjitsu o Tsukuru Kiroku: 1950-nendai no Damu to Ruponutaju (Documentary that Creates a Documented Reality: Dam Reportage in the 1950s)," *Shiso (Thought)*, no. 980 (December 2005): 129-30.

⁹² *Shishu Shimokaruko (Shimomaruko Poetry Collection)* (Tokyo: Shimomaruko Shudan, 1951), 31-35.

to return the slave badge, I was searched
 down to the bone, but still my chest swelled full
 of all that I would sing
 about my day with you.

The poem goes through a number of vignettes, two of which I've quoted, and at the end of each one, the excited narrator, his chest swelling, must calm himself before he bursts into a song of rage. He keeps telling himself to "let it go." But in his final line he pledges to sing those things he couldn't sing inside the walls of the munitions plant, to carry the old man's whisper, even the stench of the sweat, beyond the yellow walls the US had painted them into (this is almost certainly a conscious reference to the racial slur). The Shimomaruko collections contain many voices of work, daily life, outrage, protest, and occasionally hope. Together, and together with the words and images of Katsuragawa, Abe and Teshigawara, they form a chorus trying to realize a world of values over and beyond the very visible walls of the factories around them fueling the war. Though Katsuragawa, Abe and Teshigawara left the circle after only a little more than half a year, the Shimomaruko group continued to produce poetry, fiction, and a substantial volume of critical work through the end of the 1950s.

After Shimomaruko, Katsuragawa's next assignment was Ogochi. Ogochi was a town in the remote mountains of western Tokyo. It was the site of a new hydroelectric dam, and a group of young students and artists were sent there in the summer of 1952, originally with the idea of mobilizing residents who were going to be displaced by the dam. When the group arrived though, very few of the original inhabitants remained, and their attempted mobilization of the workers failed. The work that Katsuragawa and his companions in Ogochi then, was not for exhibition, but rather meant to function within the (largely fantasized) context of a community that would recognize itself in the representations being produced. Together they lugged a mimeograph machine, waxed templates, ink and paper deep into the mountains. They worked in a lean-to, making newsletters which they distributed to workers outside the workers' mess hall. Though they were ignored, the works that come out of the project are interesting.

One of the newsletters the group produced was a small booklet, depicting the story of a strike unfolding. [Image 10] Each of the images had a small caption underneath, either narrating the story, or portraying the voice of one of the characters. With two exceptions, the people in these pictures are facing each other, and in a couple, the viewer seems left decisively outside of the circle. Tang Xiaobing has noted that in Chinese revolutionary woodcuts, the depicted subjects rarely make eye contact with the viewer. It is assumed that "the voice comes through as even more proactive and more visceral than that constituted by eye contact [so that] the deepest conviction ... is that the conventional poetic of seeing must be translated and transformed into an empowering politics of speaking and voicing."⁹³ Here also, the lack of inclusion of the viewer through eye contact, reveals an assumption or hope that the conversations in the pictures extended to the audience through shared *voice*. The intended audience, the workers themselves, were to find themselves within the pictures of the narrative, not

⁹³ "Echoes of *Roar China!* On Vision and Voice in Modern Chinese Art," *positions: east asia, cultures, critique*, vol. 14 no. 2 (Fall 2006): 479.

simply establish and nurture an emotional relationship with the image. The visual representation, invoking pieces of the river valley, the mess hall and the bridge, and then connecting these both visually and verbally to other narrative arcs, pin reality down to recognizable places and people, and thus provide, if everything goes right, moments of communion between the narrative and the lived world. The pictures were thus indexes, pointed towards places in the audience/character's actual life, instigating speaking and action. Unlike the case with Chinese woodcuts, however, the political structure that might have made the connection possible, was completely lacking.

There are a number of striking differences between the pieces Katsuragawa produced for exhibition and the ones made for *Ogochi* itself: they clearly have a different audience and a different logistics in mind. *Ogochi Village* (小河内村) and *The Evicted* (立ち退く人), were exhibited in 1953 in Tokyo. [Image 11] This was not a huge geographical remove from *Ogochi*, but the two works seem to register the significance of the gap. Katsuragawa returned to his home, and produced these works based on sketches and woodcuts he made on the scene. The process of painting involved a redrawing of time and space, amalgamating a number of venues. *Ogochi Village* (小河内村) for instance, includes both a man with an eye patch that featured in Katsuragawa's woodcut in the *Weekly Ogochi* pamphlet, and a man with a chest injury, that Bito Yutaka used for the cover. But there are some obvious differences in the mode of address. The people in the exhibited works have stopped talking to each other and now face the viewer directly. Individuals take front and center, while their living space is diminished in the background. This is particularly notable with the woman and child, who are dwarfed by the house in Katsuragawa's sketch, but become the primary focus in the final work. The narrative has also disappeared, and unless the viewer knew the history of production, they would have no way of knowing why *The Evicted* are being evicted, or why *Ogochi Village* is behind barbed wire.⁹⁴ A more pervasive difference, however, is how still the exhibition works appear. The inhabitants to *Ogochi Village* stand dumbstruck, and the mother and child do not seem to be doing anything in particular, whereas in the sketch the mother tends a fire while her child demands attention. Though the viewer has been put decisively into a relationship with the characters in the painted version, it seems the price of that has been to make the subjects motionless. This translation reveals some of the different interests and expectations running through the works, and I read the pose of eternal waiting as a testament to the limits of the exhibition. The eyes looking directly out of the paintings impel the viewer into a relationship of caring, or at least interest. The meeting of gazes might establish a momentary exchange, a communication or sympathy, but without the surrounding narrative, it is unclear what the viewer could be expected to do. While the exhibited paintings represent an accumulation of effort, going to and coming back from a place, laden with equipment and dreams, the actual coordinates of that journey are effaced in the final pieces, and the works seem to register the difficulty in conveying a strong indexical direction from a work to be exhibited on a museum wall.

⁹⁴ The reason is that one of the cadres who had left before Katsuragawa arrived, had organized a slide show and speech at the mess hall. The crowd got worked up and the police had to come and disperse it. After that incident, the mess hall had been surrounded by a barbed wire fence and only workers were permitted inside. In *Haikyo*, 126.

Katsuragawa's experience shows us some of the attempts to find a place for art in describing new networks that would be alternatives to the repetition of war and exploitation. Through *bunka kosaku*, Katsuragawa did participate in a brief, though I would argue, significant exchange with worker poets and artists in industrial Tokyo, an exchange that would continue to affect both of them: Katsuragawa in his continued industrial reportage over the next few years, and the worker circle, which continued to produce poetry and criticism collections through the 1950s. The Ogochi project shows however, that the standard institutions of art, the painting or sculpture in the gallery, provide a difficult environment for works that aimed to transfer the motion of political involvement. And this is true even when they are organized independently of established art institutions. It is with this problematic in mind that we take up Ikeda Tatsuo.

Ikeda and Media Experiments

As related above, Ikeda was born on August 15, 1928, making him seventeen the day the war ended. Unlike Katsuragawa, his first dream was not to become an artist, but a teacher. This road was closed off to him by the Occupation, however, because as a member of the *tokkotai*, his rank in the imperial army had been too high for him to hold any public post immediately after the war, including that of teacher. Involved in a small theater group and local culture circles in his home province of Saga, on the southwestern island of Kyushu, he began to become interested in art. He painted his first self-portrait in 1947, and entered Tama Art University in 1948. He would drop out of university just as quickly, after his encounter with the Night Society in late 1948.

In addition to his self-study, and his activities within the network of tiny art groups springing up around 1950, Ikeda held a fascinating variety of part time jobs to make ends meet. He worked in a radio repair shop, sold flavored ice from a box slung over his shoulder, painted the colorful graphics for pachinko machines, and made color portraits of sweethearts for American GI's on their way to Korea, based on black and white snapshots they carried with them. One job in particular, working at a commercial design company, provided him with his first shock at the powers of reproduction: one of his designs was used on a margarine container that then appeared in stores around him.⁹⁵ A more significant instance of mass reproduction was when his work, *Net Boss* (網元), appeared in print in the Yomiuri newspaper as the single representative work for the Yomiuri Independent show in 1954. [Image 12] When Ikeda himself went to the show and saw his small pen drawing hung way up in one corner of a large room, he wrote in his diary that day, "just like I thought, would've been better off not submitting it."⁹⁶ But Abe Kobo, reviewing for the Yomiuri, wrote that the picture had "discovered the face of Japan."⁹⁷ These experiences catalyzed Ikeda's interest in the possibilities of mass print media as a stage for reportage.

The *Shimomaruko Poetry Collection* and other collections like it might be thought of as mini-media (ミニメディア): they were read by a relatively small group of people,

⁹⁵ *Mu*, 106.

⁹⁶ Diary entry February 3, 1954. In *Mu*, 191.

⁹⁷ *Mu*, 192.

including members of the circle, people in other circles around Tokyo, and various writers and editors of higher circulation publications who sought out poetry from among the circles. Ikeda, on the other hand, was fascinated by the potential of mass media, particularly newspapers, books and *manga*. During the period from the early 1950s to the early 1960s, Ikeda constantly came back to the question of art's relation to politics, asking the simple and vexing question of how art, and the single artist, could change the world.⁹⁸ In 1952 he had the chance to see an exhibition of the *Hiroshima Panels*. He wrote in his diary, "I could feel the anger and sorrow that drove them to create these paintings, in other words I could feel their humanism. But the problem was with the *paintings*. Are paintings really enough? How can a picture succeed in resisting reality's slide towards war?"⁹⁹ These were fundamental questions. Though I have argued above that the *Hiroshima Panels* were more than just paintings, but a whole movement, they were, in that, somewhat of an exception. If Abe had not singled out Ikeda's *Net Boss* for the *Yomiuri*, how visible would that work have been? Against the reproductive powers of the mass media, what chance did a single painting have?

What precipitated an answer for Ikeda, was a trip to the Tachikawa air base to prepare a piece for the journal *The People's Literature* (*Jinmin Bungaku*).¹⁰⁰ After this first experience with published reportage, he began to focus much more of his energy on pen drawings.¹⁰¹ Let us take a look at these formative pieces. [Image 13] The Tachikawa base opened in 1922 and after the war, the US military took it over and turned it into an airbase. What has become known as the Sunagawa Struggle (砂川闘争) began in earnest in 1955, when a runway expansion plan came to light. The protestors eventually won. The runway was never extended, and the base was closed in 1977.¹⁰² Therefore at the time Ikeda went there in spring of 1953, he was not reporting on the clashes with the police or the sit-ins that Nakamura Hiroshi would later paint, but on the way the presence of the base affected life in the town. He went together with the other members of the group Energy, Yamano Takuzo and Fukuda Tsuneta, and the poet Sudo Shinichi.

The piece depicts how the base creates a war zone within Japan – the planes take off and head "west, west, west [towards Korea]" in the night, or line up on the runway as they wait for rearmament. It pits some parts of the town against others, threatening farms, while providing employment. It corrupts young women, encouraging them to cover their "yellow Japanese faces" with "poison strawberry" rouge. Finally, it pollutes the air and water: the smell of gasoline greets the narrator as he steps off the train, and

⁹⁸ He comes back to this in *Mu* repeatedly: 34, 79, 105-7, 113, 130-31, 137, 147, 154, 162, 163, 167, 172, 179, 215.

⁹⁹ Diary Aug. 11, 1952. In *Mu*, 160-1.

¹⁰⁰ Ikeda Tatsuo, Fukuda Tsuneta, Sudo Shinichi, Yamano Takuzo, "Tachikawa Kichi (Tachikawa Base)," *Jinmin Bungaku* (July 1953): 46-50.

¹⁰¹ *Mu*, 174. Though Ikeda's pen work includes many works made for exhibition, I include a partial list of his other printed works here. With text by Sekine Hiroshi, "Banchi no nai Machi (Village with no House Numbers)," *Kaizo* (April 1954); "Kakuritsu no Kuni – Jittainaki Hiji no Tanima (Land of Probability: Insubstantiality and the Valley of Rainbows)," *Kaizo* (December 1954). With text by Sugiura Minpei, "Chochosan Fushinnin (No Confidence in the Mayor)," *Kaizo* (February 1955); "Chokai Giin Ichinensei (Freshman on the Town Board)," *Akahata* (January-April 1957). From the *Testimonies of Japan Series*, he illustrated *Genshiryoku* (Nuclear Power); *Tetsu: Omocha no Sekai* (Iron: the World of Toys); *Mura no Senkyo* (Village Election), discussed below.

¹⁰² An account of the struggle from the perspective of a range of participants is available in, Hoshi Kiichi, ed., *Sunagawa Toso 50-nen: Sorezore no Omoi* (Fifty Years From the Sunagawa Struggle: A Collection of Thoughts) (Tokyo: Keyaki Shuppan, 2005).

the water pulled from some wells is so dirty it catches fire when lit. In other words it plays on some of the most familiar tropes used to stir up nationalist sentiment: the landscape, the female body, and the future of children. But it does make some effort to point out the complications that colonialism brings with it: there are people making a profit by selling gasoline from the wells, the laborers at the base have to make a living, and in the case of the women of the cabarets and bars, they are not alone, but are mentioned together with shoe-shines, rickshaw pullers, and students forced to be pimps.

The three pictures Ikeda drew all feature children. The first is a little girl peering through barbed wire. Her eyes have been evacuated and replaced, on the left with a US Air Force insignia, and on the right, with the silhouette of a plane. The second is of two children playing in the road, and the composition is focalized through the gaze of the little girl as she looks up at a serviceman and a (presumably) Japanese woman. The third one does not contain a child, but seems to be drawn from a child's perspective, looking through the legs of a couple, at the multiplying forms of servicemen and Japanese women. Ikeda's three drawings are obsessed by childhood and vision. The simple explanation of course is that children are perennial foci of anxiety as they are both impressionable, and a community's future.¹⁰³ But the composition implies that the viewer too might be childlike, and further, that education and vision are closely linked.

The second picture presents this mechanism most clearly. While the little girl stares up towards the couple, the frame of the picture limits our own vision to the couple's waist. Their posture comes back to us only as a shadow, among the other shadows that blanket the children's world. We can't see the tops of the buildings in the background and so are forced to sit trapped in this place, where the girl's gaze and the shadow of the couple keep pulling us around in a circle, a dynamic which might one day pull the girl up and into the "light" where the couple stands. It's interesting to note the boy so fascinated with his toy plane. Will he one day fly? The tension, both visual and symbolic, is generated by the *pull* of vision. Sight and light do not show, but impel. They arouse interest, curiosity, attention, and this is already happening in Tachikawa, just beyond the frame of the picture. Even if we choose not to look, the sights will multiply, will replicate themselves in our children's eyes, as in a prism. Though the community of voice discussed above is one way for sympathy to propagate, Ikeda's work portrays the physical effects of vision, it's involvement in people's bodies and the worlds they make. Images have mass and gravity: they begin to act on bodies before the person is aware of it, and in this sense the person is constantly growing up and out through vision. This is also one of the assumptions of visual reportage and a key Ikeda's interest in mass media.

Ikeda worked on a few different pen and pencil series through the 1950s, with titles such as *Beast Chronicle Series* (禽獣記シリーズ) and *Mutant Genealogy Series* (化物の系譜シリーズ). [Image 14] The *Mutant Genealogy Series* is essentially a series of portraits: each has one a more or less human figure that illustrates some aspect of the present. Like *Net Boss*, they rely on caricature to carry their critical message. Though

¹⁰³ Children in base towns were somewhat of a topic unto themselves. In 1953, three well known intellectuals, Shimizu Ikutaro, Miyahara Seiichi, and Ueda Shozaburo, published *Kichi no ko: Kono jijitsu o do Kangaetara Yoika* (*Children of the Base: How Can We Think About this Issue?*) (Tokyo: Kobunsha, 1953).

the satire is considerably more ominous than most newspaper cartoons, these portraits aim for the jab of insight that political cartoons do. In addition to taking cues from the genre of caricature, Ikeda's pen work also made it easily transferable to various kinds of printing. This versatility can be illustrated by the image of netted fish, which Ikeda adapts to a number of contexts. The first appearance of this image is in the ink drawing *10,000 Count*. [Image 15] This was first displayed in an Ikeda solo show at Takemiya Gallery in 1954, and the title refers to a Geiger counter reading. The subject was the Lucky Dragon Incident, in which a US hydrogen bomb test showered a fishing vessel (the Lucky Dragon) with radioactive fallout, killing one of the fishermen and causing panic about the safety of the food supply. After exhibition, Ikeda's drawing would go on to adorn the cover of the first volume of the *Testimonies of Japan Reportage Series*, about nuclear power. This series' mission statement was quoted above, at the beginning of the section on reportage theory. It included nine volumes in all and Ikeda illustrated three out of the nine.¹⁰⁴ In *Nuclear Power* his illustrations demonstrate technical things like nuclear shielding, and a number of caricatures. The image also pops up on the pages of *Akahata*, the JCP daily broadsheet. Here the image is part of an 86 piece story, "Freshman on the Town Board (Chokai Giin Ichinensei)," by prominent reportage author, Sugiura Minpei, which ran from January to March, 1957.¹⁰⁵ This replication of a single image, from exhibited pen drawing, to book cover, to newspaper cartoon, shows how versatile the pen drawing format was for Ikeda, allowing him to sow his work beyond the boundaries of the museum or exhibition.

But the cover to the *Testimonies of Japan* series also spells the beginning of the end. In addition to the experiment at finding other routes for art to carry its compelling message, reportage was also a mode of correcting the failures of journalism.¹⁰⁶ Censorship was a fact of life in both wartime and occupation. But over and above the open and obvious censorship, reportage writers distrusted the neutrality policies of the major newspapers, or "Boor Papers (*burushin*)," as they were nicknamed on the left, punning on the Japanese pronunciation of "bourgeois."¹⁰⁷ But by 1955, when *Nuclear Power* came out, there was little for reportage to add. The year 1954 saw a veritable boom in publications on the topic, with around 30 books published.¹⁰⁸ The Occupation was over in 1952, and the ban on publication about nuclear issues gone with it. Paper was no longer scarce, and soon a new genre, the weekly magazine (週刊誌) would emerge to dominate popular visual and print culture. On its heels was TV. The coming wash of visual and written information soon eroded one of the primary functions of reportage. It is from within this wash of the visual that we can think through the work of Nakamura Hiroshi.

¹⁰⁴ See Schnellbacher, 190-207; and Toba Koshi, "Ruporutaju Shirizu: Nihon no Shogen ni tsuite (*The Reportage Series: About Testimonies of Japan*)," *Bungei to Hihyo*, vol. 8 no. 10 (November 1999): 41-57.

¹⁰⁵ *Akahata* (Red Flag), March 1, 1957.

¹⁰⁶ As Ozaki Masato has shown, the reason Yamashita Kikuji's *The Story of Akebono Village* carries that title, is that Yamashita conceived of it as a way to put the story back into an event that had been covered in the major papers as nothing more than an incident of hooliganism on the part of some farmers. "Akebonomura Monogatari kara, soshite Akebonomura Monogatari e (From the Tale of Akebono Village to the Tale of Akebono Village)," exh. cat. *Yamashita Kikuji-ten* (Tokyo: Yamashita Kikiji-ten Jikkoiinkai, 1996), 146-51.

¹⁰⁷ Toba Koshi, "Kiroku Sareru Genjitsu o Tsukuru Kiroku: 1950-nendai no Damu to Ruporutaju (Documentary that Creates a Documented Reality: Dam Reportage in the 1950s)," *Shiso*, no. 980 (December 2005): 130.

¹⁰⁸ Toba Koshi, "Ruporutaju Shirizu," 44.

Nakamura Hiroshi: Pushing the Picture Frame

Nakamura is the youngest of these three artists. Below I will use his work to show how the reportage aesthetic and ethic change and develop into the late 1950s and 1960s. He did not begin painting until 1953 and although his painting *Sunagawa No.5* (砂川 5 番) has become one of the more well known pieces of reportage painting, he did not stick with the idiom for very long. [Image 3] In 1951 he came to Tokyo from Shizuoka to enter the art department of Nihon University. Nihon University was not an art university, which meant paradoxically that Nakamura did not have to drop out to escape the academism of postwar art education, as Katsuragawa and Ikeda had.¹⁰⁹

Being in school did not shelter him from the political polarizations of the time, however. Universities were among the most politically radicalized sites in Japan (partly because police could not enter them), and student networks were significant conduits for news about incidents, events, and demonstrations. As one of Nakamura's classmates, Imaizumi Yoshihiko recalls, on days when the JCP was mobilizing for something or holding a meeting, all of the 3rd and 4th year students were suddenly gone from campus.¹¹⁰ In the early 1950s, members of the Avant-garde Art Society, such as Katsuragawa, toured Tokyo campuses speaking about their experiences doing *bunka kosaku*. It was at one of these meetings that Nakamura first came in contact with the Society and the reportage movement: he soon took part in the first meeting of the Youth Art Alliance in 1953, and he would also go on to join the Avant-garde Art Society in 1955.¹¹¹ True to the movement's straddling of artistic production and activism, Nakamura began to work with a worker painting circle at the National Rail facility in Shinagawa, a major hub in southern Tokyo. He visited them once a week to teach basic painting skills. Unlike Katsuragawa's experience, however, the union based circle he worked with had nothing expressly political about it, and remained mostly about painting.¹¹² What Nakamura got in return was access to people's working lives, and a pass to parts of the facility that were not open to the public. These experiences formed the basis for his first reportage canvases, one of which is pictured here. [Image 16]

Though spare, it demonstrates a number of things about Nakamura's style and direction. First is the dramatic composition. A worker in the foreground and a train in the background hardly seems to hold the potential for drama, but Nakamura employs a number of techniques to heighten interest. The draftsmanship around the edges of the picture has been deliberately smudged, while the rendering of the middle portion of the train has both more detail and more clarity of line. This portion also happens to be the spot the worker is looking at, and mimics the focal point of the eye's natural visual field. If we usually take foreground to mean the part of the painting with greatest visual immediacy, then the "foreground" here is created by the worker and the middle portion of the train, while the rest fades into "background." Another important feature is the cinematic framing: a widescreen ratio cuts the worker at the waist and the pole he's

¹⁰⁹ Imaizumi Yoshihiko, "Nakamura Hiroshi no koto (About Nakamura Hiroshi)," *Kikan (Organ)*, no. 15 (1990): 5.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 6; Nakamura Hiroshi, "Politics, Tableau, Self Criticism," Interview with Kikuhata Mokuma, *Kikan (Organ)*, no. 15 (1990): 20.

¹¹² Recorded interview, February 4, 2007.

carrying at the top. The torsion of the man's body indicates he is walking. Together these create a dramatic capture of motion: the moment of a glance. The worker walking by, turns casually to the train across the yard and for just an instant creates this axis of visual articulation, which both overcomes and preserves distance.

This is a fascinating composition, and no small technical feat for so young an artist, but it is clearly different from the work of Ikeda and Katsuragawa. The interest here is primarily visual and does not gesture towards involvement beyond observation. The worker and the train are indifferent to each other, and we are indifferent to both. The subject of the painting is an industrial workplace, but its motif is something about the operation of vision. Thus if we remember Haryu's stipulation, that the subject and the motif of the painting should be aligned through the artist, this painting is doing something else. To see what, let's take a brief leap forward. A quarter century after *JNR Shinagawa*, Nakamura would paint *Window Scenery Type 7 (Cabin)* (車窓篇 TYPE7 (キャビン)). Here we also have a train.¹¹³ [Image 16] It is in a rather different state and style, but some points of commonality remain: as in *JNR*, the viewer of the painting encounters the back of someone's head looking at something in the painting. This doubling of the viewer's act of looking is subtle in *JNR*, but in *Window* it is brought front and center. The window frame doubles the canvas frame, and the viewer joins the group of floating schoolgirls looking for something inside the rectangle. Nakamura uses the foregrounded frame, combined with deep focus, to create an inversion, or turning inward, of perspective: the distant "outside" of the landscape rendered in the picture's diegesis, turns in on itself to become the depths of the canvas's "inside." This self-consciousness about the institution of the canvas is something Nakamura was developing already in the second half of the 1950s, and is emblematic of a number of changes underway at the same time.

Nakamura was not the only person moving away from reportage as it had been practiced in the first half of the 1950s. A quick glance at the work of most of the artists mentioned so far, shows that socially concerned figurative painting and drawing was tied less and less to the practice of visiting a specific site. Katsuragawa's *City* (1959), takes the general phenomenon of urban development as its subject matter. [Image 7] Ikeda's *On the Scene* (現場), though it does invoke the amphibiation of the urban body, did not precipitate from any event or place, and title notwithstanding, did not involve any specific research on Ikeda's part. [Image 17] Though the presence or absence of research may seem a small detail, in my conception of the reportage project it is crucial: the journey to and from the theater guaranteed the contiguity of the historical moment and the image. As Haryu and Hanada insisted, the artist had to put themselves completely within the scene in order to break the obfuscating structures springing up both inside and outside. The actual physical transgression of boundaries of geography, class, and expertise, was the necessary pre-work to the rupturing moment of sudden sympathy. Without this process, the indexical function of the work changes dramatically, and the painting could no longer be considered the "trace (しるし)" of the artist's

¹¹³ Nakamura's oeuvre forms its own ecology, as he uses certain figures repeatedly over the course of many years: trains, girls in sailor-style school uniforms, urinals, lenses and airplanes. His constant use of trains, lenses and the window within the picture frame prefigure recent explorations of the industrialization of vision, such as Lynne Kirby's *Parallel Tracks: the Railroad and Silent Cinema* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).

demolition of the everyday self.

In addition to the theoretical difference, however, there was the difference in praxis. As artists ceased to go to the theaters of struggle and the sites of incidents, they ceased to have contact across class and geography, and lost the chance to work with amateur artists. Collaborations such as the *Shimomaruko Poetry Collection* became impossible. That this happened was not the result of a collective change of heart so much as the loss of the single most important organization in engineering these interactions: the JCP. The JCP didn't evaporate of course, but much of its *bunka kosaku* organizing did. At the Sixth Party Congress (六全協) in July of 1955, the feuding international and mainstream factions reunited, and renounced the policy of armed struggle that they had adopted in 1951. As part of the policy change, the JCP abandoned the Chinese inspired *bunka kosaku* experiment. The reverberations of this about-face would go on to affect avant-garde art, literature and film throughout the 1960s. To the young students and artists who had been involved in *bunka kosaku*, the change in policy could be understood only as betrayal: for those who had felt coerced into work for the party, it meant all their sacrifice had been for nothing. For those who had fully believed in the movement, it was a defeat many characterized as being more devastating than that of 1945. Japan had lost its only revolutionary party.

The rhetorical reaction to the JCP's new found conservatism in both politics and art would unfold over the latter half of the 1950s. In relation to poetry and literature, the work of Yoshimoto Takaaki, later joined by Takei Teruo, was groundbreaking. Yoshimoto examined wartime poems alongside postwar poems, showing that style and imagery had not changed at all, only the ideological keywords had flipped.¹¹⁴ In the world of documentary filmmaking, it was Matsumoto Toshio who would rake the older generation over the coals for failing to adequately plumb the depths of their collaborationist subjectivity. Matsumoto also connected postwar classical realism to war documentary and prewar proletarian documentary.¹¹⁵ These young artists and theorists accused the older generation of using political devotion to the postwar communist movement as a shield that protected them from facing up to the shame of their wartime behavior. Their double failure was evidence of a corruption of subjectivity that lay buried somewhere deep within their inner worlds.

One of the people to bring this debate to the art world was Nakamura Hiroshi. Perhaps the best summary of his position comes in a 1960 piece titled, "Tenkanki no Geijutsu Ideorogi (Ideology of Art at the Turning Point)."¹¹⁶ Nakamura focused on the developments in the 1955-60 period, that is, the period after the JCP about face.¹¹⁷ He examines what effect the Sixth Congress policy change had on art, and this was

¹¹⁴ In "Zensedai no Shijintachi (Poets of the Older Generation)," *Shigaku* (November 1955), reprinted in *Yoshimoto Takaaki zenchosakushu* (Tokyo: Kinso shobo), vol. 5, 38-55. Yoshimoto and Takei would publish a book together a year later, *Bungakusha no Senso Sekinin (The War Responsibility of Writers)* (Tokyo: Awaji Shobo, 1956).

¹¹⁵ These articles are collected in *Eizo no Hakken: Avangyarudo to Dokyumentari (The Discovery of the Image: Avant-garde and Documentary)* (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobo, 1979), 109-118; 185-93.

¹¹⁶ Nakamura Hiroshi, "Tenkanki no Geijutsu Ideorogi (Ideology of Art at the Turning Point)," *Keisho*, no. 4 (1960): 24-31. Also reprinted in *Kikan*, 84-89.

¹¹⁷ All of the authors were members of the Avant-garde Art Association. In addition to Nakamura, Katsuragawa Hiroshi and Bito Yutaka write articles.

significant because 1955 brought the more conservative realists of the international faction back to dominance. At the root of Nakamura's criticism is this: "[The turnaround] displayed nothing more nor less than the desire to find a nice safe shelter from the dangers of the Molotov cocktails. Realism's comeback is exactly this: safety, in terms of both politics and art."¹¹⁸ He looks at a number of important exhibitions, the Nippon-ten, the Exhibition for Peace, and the Japan Art Society Independent, to show how flaccid their missions had become following the Sixth Congress. To take one example,

For the Nippon-ten in 1955, just before the Sixth Party Congress, the exhibition organizers were calling on artists to galvanize people for yet another showing in the People's Square [the location of the annual Mayday demonstrations]. They write, "We invite you to the 3rd Nippon-ten, ... those of you who would answer the needs of Japan's critical situation. ... We make our departure from the subject at hand and from there search for ways we may elevate it through art." But for the 4th Nippon-ten, the first one following the Sixth Party Congress, they write, "We look forward to a variety of styles and hope to foster each artist's individuality."¹¹⁹

In addition to a political dumbing-down of exhibition, the JCP began a positive revaluation of the nationwide art societies like the Nika-kai. That the JCP would now find these quiet backwaters of modern art attractive signified a major renunciation of the whole concept of avant-garde art, historical necessity, and artistic subjectivity.

Along with frustration that the spaces for serious exhibition had been lost, was disappointment with the level of critical debate when both politics and art stepped back from the edge of history. Critical questions in *Akahata* now turned on whether kitchens or strikes were the appropriate subject matter for leftwing painters. This shift drove Nakamura to his first ever critical essay in 1957.

When you compare the weakness and falsity of the so-called postwar socialist realist painters with the dissolution of the prewar proletarian arts movement as all the artists committed *tenko* to become war painters, you can't help but notice how many points of similarity there are. The general cause of this was the failure of artists to take on the laws and contradictions of society *as something that was within them*.¹²⁰ [My italics.]

Against the repeated changes in how art was supposed to become part of politics, Nakamura proposed a formulation that would be a rallying cry over the next few years: "the tableau cannot perform self-criticism."¹²¹

¹¹⁸ "Tenkanki," 25.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 25.

¹²⁰ "Fushin no 'Jiko Hihan,'" 14.

¹²¹ Ibid., 15.

This cryptic battle cry brings us back to the point made above, that Nakamura was doing something different in his paintings. Nakamura's concept of "tableau (タブロー)," developed alongside his paintings. The concept functioned as a space that was not affected by changes in the political wind, that was free from any need for political self-criticism. He writes,

If the art movement (芸術運動) is a political movement, the tableau rejects any direct political efficacy in art.

If for the art movement it is recognition and perception, the tableau begins to problematize its own surface.

If for the art movement it is populism, the tableau asserts non-populism.

If for the art movement it is the full relationality of production, the tableau seeks the full vital strength of production.

If for the art movement it is realism, the tableau has become the avant-garde.¹²²

This list shows that Nakamura conceived of the tableau as an alternative to the art movement (by which he meant JCP policy). He establishes it as something independent of political movements and populism, and primarily concerned with "beginning to problematize its own surface." This is the context within which we can understand the difference in Nakamura's canvasses mentioned above. Rather than seeing the canvas as a conduit for emotion to be underwritten by the artist's deep exploration of the outer world and deep self-exploration of the inner world, the canvas itself would become the focal point, and would receive ontological priority. Regarding the artistic production process, Nakamura ventures that even the painter is not prior to the painting. "The tableau has become the avant-garde." The elevation of art, and the assertion of its independence from political movements is a common feature of the post-1955 break with the JCP. Matsumoto Toshio, mentioned above, also asserted repeatedly that film must be independent of direct political interference.¹²³ But it is important not to take these as generalized statements: both Nakamura and Matsumoto were reacting against specific developments on the left. Neither turned their back on political art. Nakamura's work up to the present, in fact, can be viewed as a form of reportage. He paints about the Anpo protests in 1960, lampoons the 1964 Olympics and the drive for development that led up to them, and in the 1970s begins painting scenes through windows that can be read as documents of life inside the television. Most recently he has employed the iconic star from the American flag, and the crescent moon of Islam in paintings and photomontage. He therefore doesn't ignore socially relevant subject matter. What he does break with is the account of subjectivity and vision that Hanada and Haryu laid out. Hanada and Haryu worked to establish vision and image as a direct involvement in the historical present. The example of William Tell was a dramatization of a moment when vision, body, and history were united. Looking and painting could become generative. But Nakamura is not so ready to find ways over or through the alienation of vision, or the constructedness of painting.

¹²² Nakamura, "Kaiga Senden 1: Koritsu suru Taburo (Painting Manifesto 1: Tableau Stands Alone)," in *Kaigasha*, 21.

¹²³ *Eizo no Hakken*, 76-77, 200-201, 221.

Rather than trying to pin vision to a moment of sympathetic transfer between inside and outside, Nakamura puts us all within vision, and in that puts us slightly beside ourselves. Just as the tableau is primary in his painting, vision is also primary, and subjectivity moves in reaction to it. Nakamura is aware of painting's complicity in this. In the late 1960s and 1970s he develops the idea of the "tableau machine (タブロー機械)." The tableau machine is one among many machines that fascinates Nakamura, including trains, lenses, airplanes, and school uniforms.¹²⁴ The tableau machine as a concept foregrounds the way the square of pigment manufactures visual interest, and participates in the process of vision production that construct the viewer as subjects standing in before them. We can see in the photograph of the work, *Problems of Art and Nation as they Relate to Female Students* (女学生に関する芸術と国家の諸問題) from 1967, that the act of looking has multiplied vertiginously. [Image 18] We look at the way a camera lens captured the figure of a mannequin looking through binoculars at a painted lens over a painting of Mt. Fuji. After seeing this it becomes difficult to imagine looking at the canvas as an uncomplicated expanse spread out before us: we become aware of our own perpendicular orientation to it, and the reality of our act of looking into it. Maybe we are the next instantiation in the proliferation of school girls. The perpendicular penetration remains in the form of a double lens in *Circular Train A – Telescope Train*. But vision has also bent into a loop, that we are on the inside of. We are inside of the machine: the train, the lens, the painting. And although we are looking, the machine bends our vision around on itself, a palindrome where the viewer will always remain in the middle no matter how far she moves. This vision, bent around on itself into a self-satisfying loop might seem to be the ultimate repudiation of the ethical trace that Hanada and Haryu yearned for. The ethical trace was to leave its print as a moment when the inside and outside had been brought into dialogue, when the painter overcame the alienation from the painted and established an exchange with the real world. The essence of this moment was also supposed to inhere in the painted canvas, providing the viewer the chance to realize the shock of reality and community. The vision was supposed to have direction, to pierce through the veil of form. Doesn't Nakamura's möbius vision deny that?

Survivals

The answer I will argue, is no. I see Nakamura's project through the late 1960s as being an extension of reportage aesthetics. But before getting into that let us recap. Through Katsuragawa we saw how reportage was one part of a larger political project, which included mobilization, education and collaborative production across class lines. Katsuragawa's art work was in dialogue with this social work. His work changed character based on the context of reception, giving us an indication of how he saw that work interacting with its intended audience. The conclusion, however, was that there was an intractable gap between the "on location" works and the ones prepared for large exhibitions. Though the dream of the *bunka kosaku* project was to share knowledge and empower diverse actors, the institution of art was still not able to fully realize that dream. The reportage artists were not able in the end to make their art of or for the

¹²⁴ Nakamura includes school uniforms among the class of machines because they are so regular. They are applied to every body alike in a few different sizes, always with the same angles and creases. Machines then would seem to be any mass produced object that mediate between body and world.

people they tried to work with. Katsuragawa's rate of production fell through the late fifties. He painted less in terms of quantity through the 1960s and 1970s, moving into collage and political cartoon.

Ikeda embarked on a slightly different project. Though he did participate in anti-base demonstrations, he wasn't part of a long term engagement with local people. He placed more hope in the potential of pen and pencil drawing, and its reproducibility. Alternative publishing is a crucial element of the reportage project in literature and journalism. It was also this way for painters. Working both with elements of surrealist deformation and caricature, Ikeda produced series of simple, legible images, sometimes just single faces, to crystallize a wider complex of situations. As we saw though, the end of censorship and the flood of popular print media over the 1950s washed away any remaining hopes that even this could be effective. Following the failure of the Anpo demonstrations to block the renewal of the US-Japan Security Treaty, and the continuing rise of mass culture, Ikeda became disenchanted with the possibility of political art. He has remained a productive illustrator and painter, passing through a number of distinct phases, but his art did not continue to aim at specific activism.

Finally, through Nakamura, we encountered the 1955 JCP change in policy. This had a devastating effect on reportage as a practice. The shift also led to a disintegration of JCP authority among the younger generation of artists in the reportage movement. Fed up with the unreliability of the JCP and the older generation, they struck out on their own, but in doing so they had to rhetorically eject not just the JCP, but any suggestion that art could or should be linked to an organized social movement. It should be added here that Krushchev's criticism of Stalinism, along with the suppression of the Hungarian revolution added to the distrust of the communist movement.

The above are the reasons why many claim an end to reportage in the late 1950s: the stubbornness of the institution of art itself, the rise of mass image and print culture, and the implosion of the JCP and communism as legitimate cultural forces. But here, I would like to propose a few different ends. First, although many approaches to postwar Japanese art focus on the rise of abstraction, conceptualism and performance in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the figurative arts of painting, drawing and printing also flourish. Within these figurative agendas, one nexus in particular shows how the aesthetic theory surrounding reportage develops into something which at first glance bears little resemblance.

We can pick up where we left off with Nakamura Hiroshi. Though the loop of vision may seem antithetic to William Tell's arrow or to Haryu's sympathy, I argue it isn't. Just as William Tell stands transfixed towards the apple, the school girl in *Problems of Art and Nation*, stands transfixed to the image of the image of the image of Mount Fuji. The difference then, is not on the attachment of vision to the historical moment, but more that for Nakamura working at the end of the 1960s, images were becoming *too* compelling. Tourism and TV had changed the character of the image: it now worked to transfix people, and latch them into extended biomechanical machines. Nakamura was in the position of having to illustrate this process of entrapment itself, but do so visually. His approach therefore relies on making the viewer aware of their own

participation in the extension of the tableau machine.

A major key to this project is an exploration of sexuality and perversion. Sexual transgression, often linked with violence, is a major part of 1960s literature, film, and art. The films of Oshima Nagisa and Wakamatsu Koji habitually rely on rape as a metaphor for generalized rebellion, writers as diverse as Oe Kenzaburo and Murakami Ryu use grotesque realism to perform their transgressions, and sadism is very much present in Nakamura's works. Steven Clark has suggested, "The conspicuous amount of attention paid to the relationship between sex and violence in the late 1960s might best be understood as an attempt to expose the erotics of war, as a first step to deconstructing that relationship." This is an extremely apt way of understanding Nakamura's work. It is no accident that the image worshipped in *Problems of Art and Nation*, is the symbol of nation and empire, Mount Fuji. The suitcase filled with skulls peeking out of the luggage rack at the top of *Circular Train A*, is an important reminder of what gets forgotten when people are attached to the machines of möbius vision. Tableau machines are thus articulated to industry, nation and war. But Clark goes on to point out that, "The focus ... on sadism ... failed in the greater project of decoupling sex from violence, and in fact may have served to further concretize and naturalize that association."¹²⁵ Though Nakamura is adept at creating moments where viewers might be called into realizing their own replication of the looking he wants to make visible, the paintings also work to reinforce the eroticization of school girls and school uniforms, and mechanization more generally.

Why does this happen? Why, with such a keen understanding of how sign systems work through people's bodies and direct their eyes along certain circuits, do Nakamura and so many others in this period, fall back onto this very body to find the key to breaking the repetition? I believe part of the answer lies in the formulation of artistic engagement theorized by Hanada, Haryu, and others in the early postwar. These theories emphasized the central importance of the embodied subject. The surface over which the transfer between inside and outside was supposed to occur was in fact the people themselves. With a deeply problematic historical reality unfolding on the one side, and the memory of the weakness of subjectivity under war on the other, the person became a fraught territory, where two vast unknowns had to be brought together. Within the reportage movement, this came to be connected with direct action, movement to the location of struggles, and work to find sympathy with those one intended to represent. Against the background of realisms that had failed to motivate the inside, and modernisms that had withdrawn from the outside, this theory, and the activism it was tied to, emphasized embodied location, sympathy and exchange, as ways to bring the inside into communication with the outside. As the social movement fell away however, the search for the structures of violence that lurked on the inside began to lose its attachment with the outside world, and were imagined more and more in terms of bodies suffering the ordeal of interpenetration, and the abjection of corrupt subjectivity. War came to be on the inside, and the only way to be rid of it was by purge, which would itself become a repetitious battle of its own.

¹ Steven Clark, "The Poetics of Terayama Shuji" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2005), 160.

In contradistinction to this survival of the reportage aesthetic, which finds a place more or less in art history, we can also highlight another form of continuation, the continuation of the engagement with social movements and marginalized people. Ikeda and Nakamura made many trips to Tachikawa, as did a lot of young art students, like Akasegawa Genpei and Akiyama Yutokutaishi, who would go on to big things in the 1960s. But these young artists didn't stay long. This wasn't true for everyone. Shinkai Kakuo would go to Tachikawa for the first time around 1955, sometimes making the trip as often as once a week. He met and got to know the local people and students fighting against the base over the long haul. He sometimes taught children's art classes and led painting circles, and of course produced leaflets and posters for the protesting groups when they needed them. His own painting project in Tachikawa focused on portraits of the local residents, dozens of them. [Image 19] Though not perhaps revolutionary from an artistic, or political standpoint, after the carnival of tortured bodies, it is refreshing to see someone in one piece. The question of what effect this might have had on the world or even the Sunagawa Struggle, doesn't seem answerable. I am interested though, that Shinkai is the only artist remembered in a book of reminiscences published on the 50th anniversary of the beginning of the struggle.¹²⁶ For all of the dramatic paintings of clashes and turgid landscapes, these are the paintings that people most closely involved in the struggle seem to remember.

Maybe this is appropriate though. It is not necessarily the people who live through a struggle that need to see a version of it infused with the ardor of a young artist. It is the rest of the world that needs to see it. While I feel disappointment that the historical moment that brought together young and old, rich and poor, educated and uneducated people, was so short-lived, and while I am given pause by the realization that the paintings of Uchinada, Tachikawa and Akebono Village never made it back to the people they intended to help, I feel that for all their shortcomings, they have done something in providing access, from the present, to incidents and investments that otherwise might have faded into the anonymity of roads not taken. Insofar as the paintings assert the urgency of their moment, and provide an opening into grassroots networks that vanished with the development of the second postwar, they are performing that public function they set out to achieve – they remind us of our connections, community and contingency, and present their testimony as a struggle to show that, against the grain of history.

Maruki Toshi and Iri, whose lifelong work opened this chapter also continued to work, both as painters and bearers of their paintings, largely ignoring and ignored by the currents of contemporary art. Their work has continued to be reborn in various contexts. From 1953 to 1964, the *Hiroshima Panels* traveled the world visiting dozens of countries. In 1970 they visited the United States for the first time, their journey coordinated by Quakers and other networks of peace activists. In the late 1980s and early 1990s the paintings became an element in discussions of historical memory. The Marukis continued their painting, expanding the series of panels to include American POWs and Korean laborers caught in the bombing. They worked with citizens groups in some of the major movements of Japan's postwar: to recognize and compensate the

¹²⁶ Kiichi Hoshi, ed., *Sunagawa Toso 50-nen: Sorezore no Omoi (The Sunagawa Struggle at 50: a Collection of Thoughts)* (Tachikawa: Keyaki Shuppan, 2005), 89-91.

victims of mercury poisoning in Minamata, to fight land confiscation for the international airport at Sanrizuka, and to work for an independent Okinawa. The moment of the early postwar was one when the two strands that separate so easily now into art history, and just history, were not so easily separated. Young artists threw themselves into the work of bearing witness to the world around them and their own part in that world, perhaps sometimes only half believing in the possibility of success themselves. But not trying was not an option they felt they had. The work that they left us, both in paintings, and in the story of their work to build ways for words and images to reach people, attests to a possibility at least, of different ways for art to relate to the issues and problems that should move us.

I would like to express my great thanks to the following for their kind assistance in this research: Ikeda Tatsuo, Katsuragawa Hiroshi, Nakamura Hiroshi, Yamashita Shoko, and everyone in the Bunka Kosakutai Kenkyukai. The research was made possible by a generous grant from the Japan Foundation.

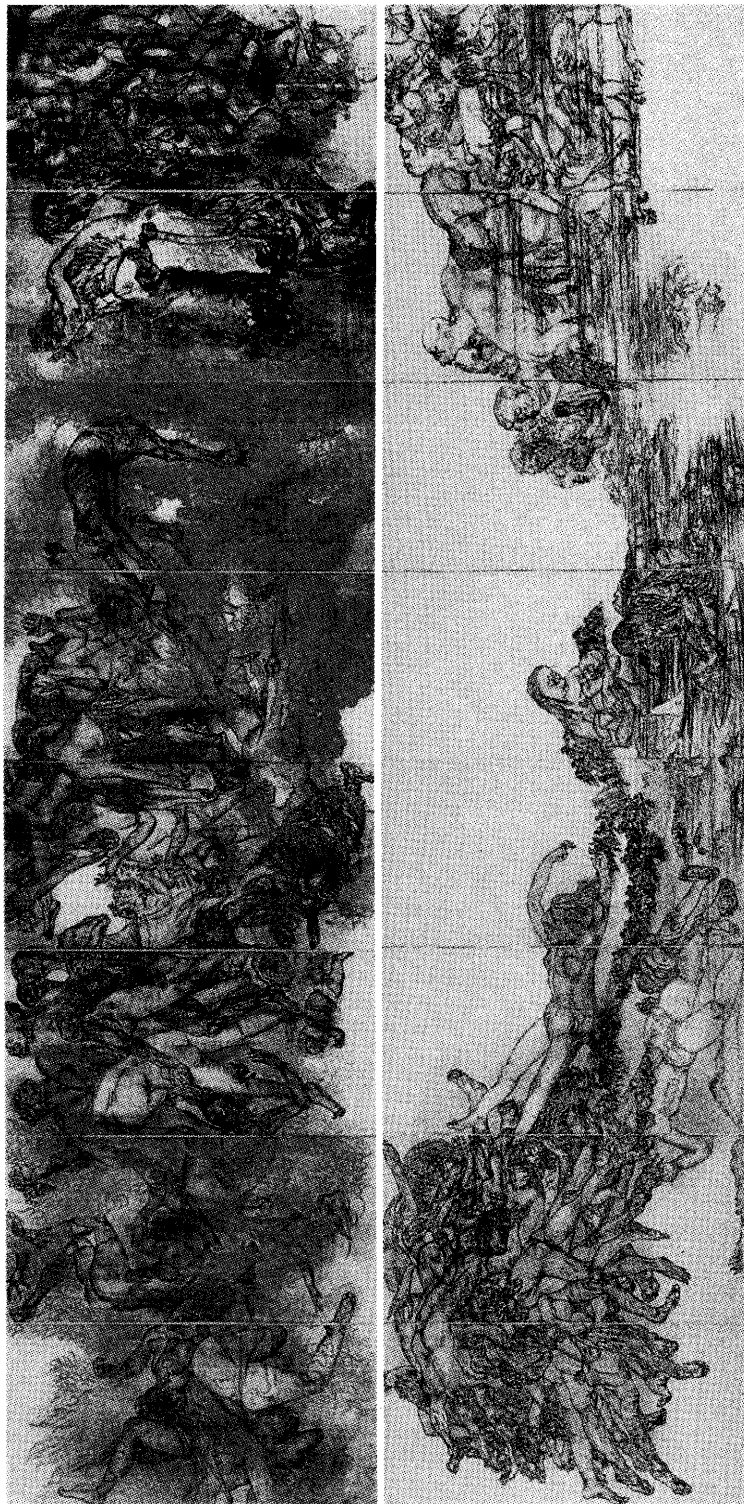
Thanks also to the following for their assistance with images: the Itabashi Art Museum, Maruki Gallery for the Hiroshima Panels, Meguro Museum of Art, Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo, Nagoya City Art Museum, Nerima Art Museum, Setagaya Art Museum, and Urawa Art Museum.

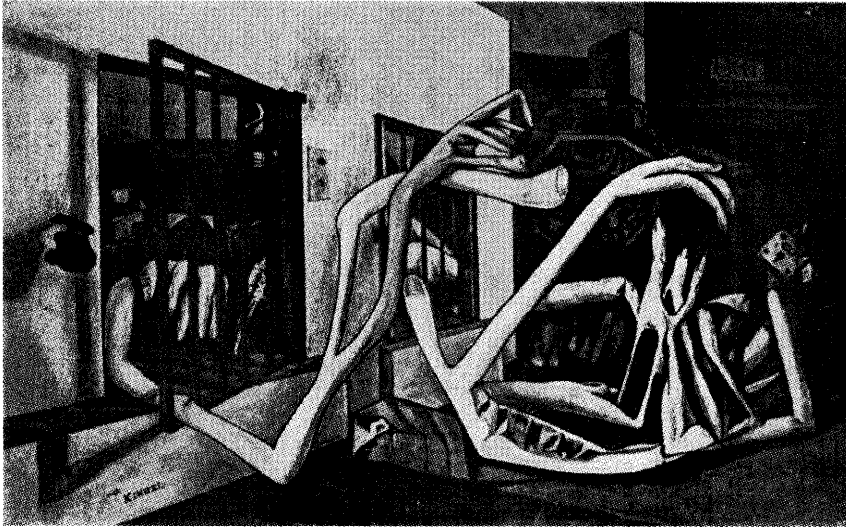
(Justin Jesty Ph.D. Candidate, Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations, University of Chicago)

Image 1

Maruki Iri and Toshi, *The Hiroshima Panels 2: Fire* (原爆の図第二部「火」)

Maruki Iri and Toshi, *The Hiroshima Panels 3: Water* (原爆の図第三部「水」)





Yamashita Kikuji, *Colonial Factory* (植民地工場), 1951.

Appendages, particularly arms and hands are a common trope in the early 1950s. In many of these images, as in *Colonial Factory*, the head and torso are lost into a mutation of limbs and joints. Hands are the most sensitive, articulate, and easily mutilated parts of the body. They are the most innocent and nimble, and the most vicious. Much more than our heads, they seem to carry the scars, guilt and inescapability of our involvement with others and the material world. These hands then, are more than just an allegory of dehumanization to the layered forces of capitalism, colonialism and militarism – they also mutely sign the pain of no longer having the space of a head. They are a consciousness turned inside out upon the world.

Image 2



Nakamura Hiroshi, *Sunagawa No.5* (砂川 5 番), 1955.

Contrasting this painting with the work of older realists shows the differences between the older generation, and people like Nakamura. Nakamura's painting is rough. Body ratios don't make sense, and neither does the space of the runway, and fields. The artists often referred to this irregular space as "medieval." The farmers are both more desperate and more crude than in classical realism, and their dynamism would seem to exceed the clean boundaries of the modern subject. The Sunagawa Struggle is discussed below. It is noteworthy that Nakamura has chosen to show the moment of collision: for all the popularity of protest as a theater for reportage paintings, the depiction of an actual battle is rare.

Image 3



Yamashita Kikuji, *Tale of Akebono Village* (あけぼの村物語), 1953.

This painting has become an icon of the reportage movement, appearing in most surveys and exhibits that cover it. The incident of Akebono Village (a remote farming village in Yamanashi) began when a local landowner built a new access road, destroying one of his tenant's fields. Protests against the landlord broke out. A few days after the most violent of the protests, a communist activist turned up dead in the river. No arrests were made for the murder, though a number of people were arrested for protesting and were to spend the next decade fighting the initial conviction. The fox-like animals in the picture are in fact dogs, which Yamashita used as a symbol for the isolation and inbreeding of remote villages. Much more than the humans, the dogs and fish are the dynamic figures in the painting. We can see none of the human faces.

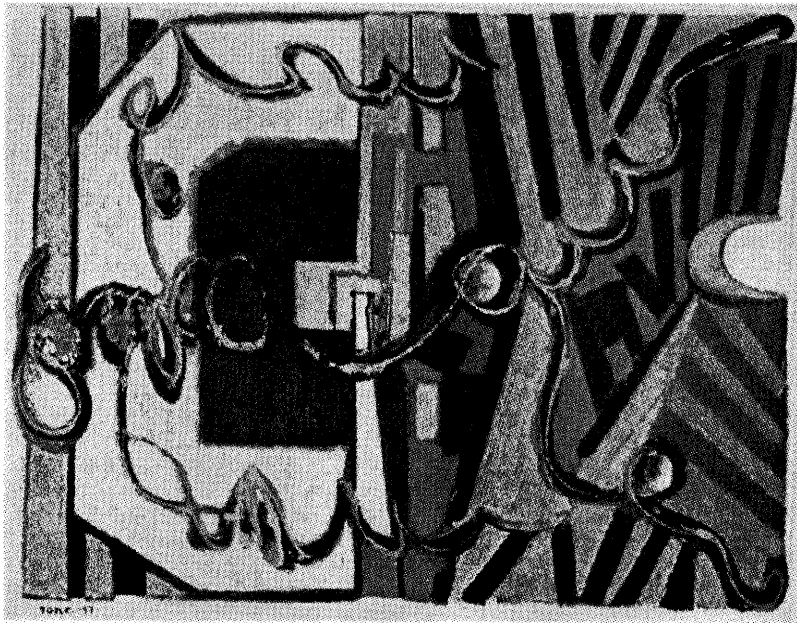
Image 4



Katsuragawa Hiroshi, Cover to *The Shimomaru Poetry Collection 2* (詩集下丸子 2 の表紙), 1951. Woodcut.

This piece, along with the poetry collection, will be discussed further below. I include it here because it dramatizes the concept of language and image as index. The motion of the composition pulls the viewer in, beckoning us down the road towards the tightly packed neighborhood. The man in the foreground looks back as if to check that we're following.

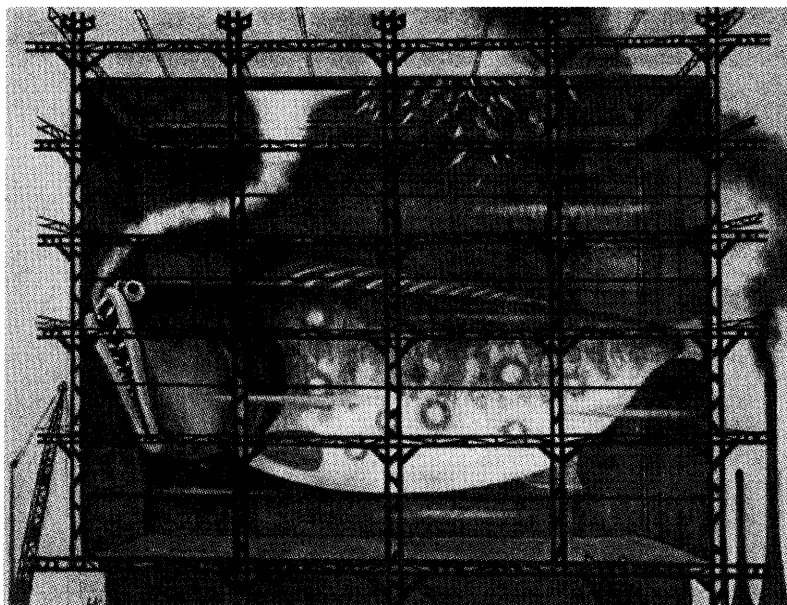
Image 5



Toneyama Kojin, *Firing Range* (射撃場), 1957.

Trying to find a painting that can establish dialogue with something as abstract as William Tell's arrow is a tall order. But it is important to appreciate the range of styles used by reportage artists in their paintings. Toneyama makes heavy use of abstraction, to evoke the dynamism and friction of development. This work came out of Toneyama's visit to the Uchinada artillery test range. In Toneyama's painting, the blue curling paths of the projectiles are eye-catching but oddly ephemeral. What lies beneath these is a tightly packed mass of heavy shapes, whose rigid structure and immobility are emphasized by Toneyama's scraping parallel lines through the material. The struggle of the scattered lines against the black and white bunker moves only at tectonic speeds. The picture frame leaves no way out. There is little movement, apart from the shells whizzing overhead.

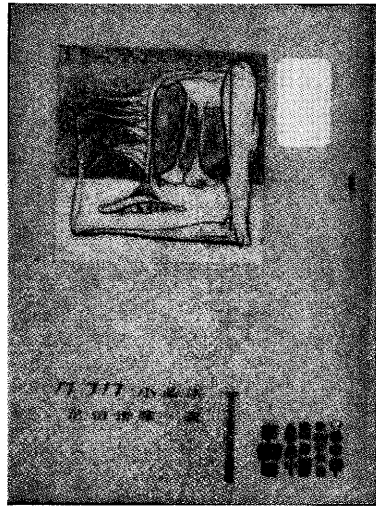
Image 6



Katsuragawa Hiroshi, *City (City VI)* (都市 (都市 VI)), 1959.

The attitude of the reportage artists towards development is ambivalent. Toneyama, in his series on the state-of-the-art Sakuma Dam, is interested in the energy of development itself. Others focus on the environmental devastation and dehumanization that accompanies development. Katsuragawa takes this stance in his *City* series. Here the sea is trapped in a lattice of steel beams. The voluptuous green of the water ends sharply at the four edges of the tank. It is interesting to read this alongside Hanada Kiyoteru's parable of Louis XI, which portrays the insane extremity of the need for hygienic divide.

Image 7



Teshigawara Hiroshi, Cover of *Seikigun 1* (*Century Collection 1*), 1950.

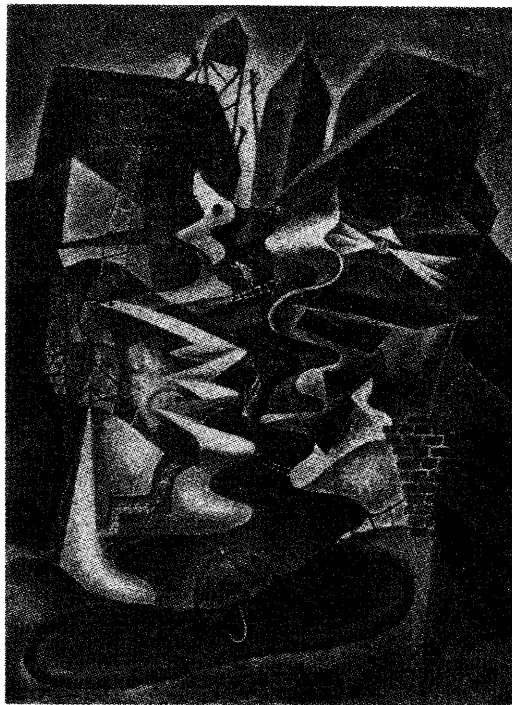


Katsuragawa Hiroshi, Insert from *Seikigun 1* (*Century Collection 1*), 1950.

This was the first volume of *Seikigun*. It was one of the first translations of Franz Kafka into Japanese ever. Teshigawara Hiroshi designed the cover, while Katsuragawa drew the illustrations. In the illustration here, a stretched out person clings by his toenails to an outcropping of rock, trying to form a bridge between this edge of nature and the city buildings below.

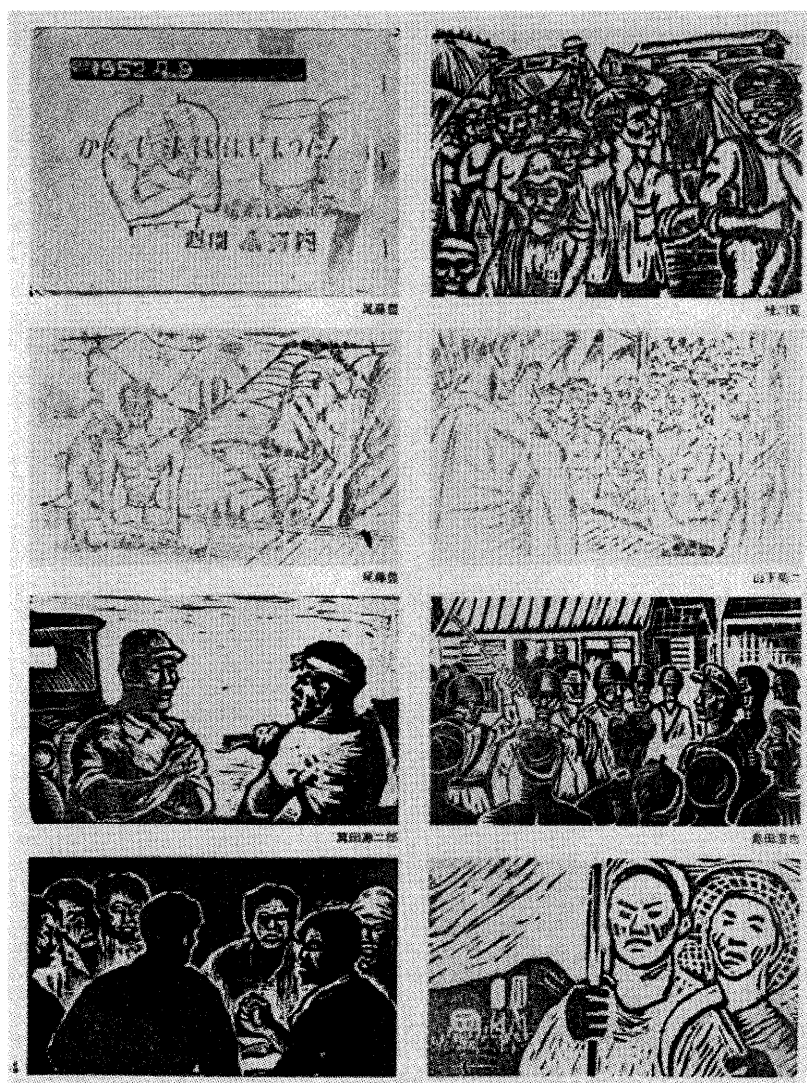


Katsuragawa Hiroshi, Cover to *The Shimomaruko Poetry Collection 2* (詩集下丸子2の表紙), 1951.



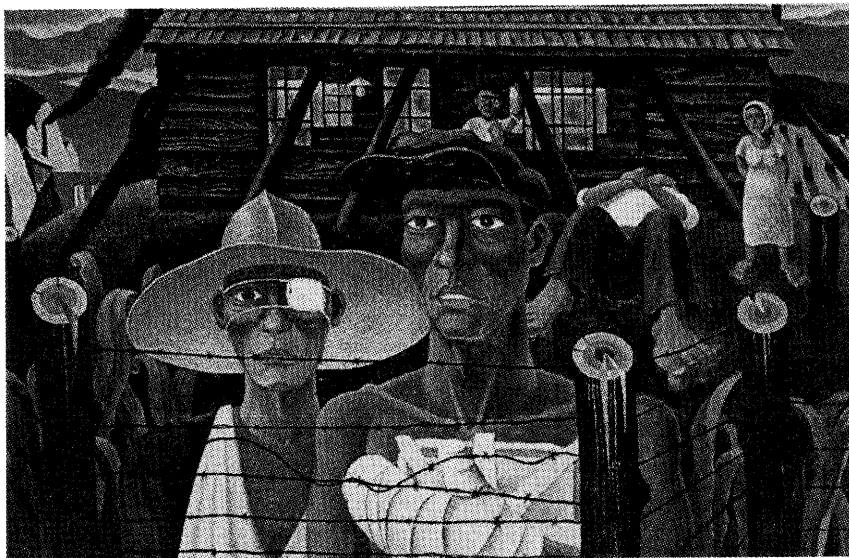
Katsuragawa Hiroshi, *City of the Flood* (洪水の町), 1950.

Image 9



Katsuragawa Hiroshi, et al., *Ogochi Weekly* (週刊小河内), 1952, Woodcut and Mimeograph.

Image 10



Katsuragawa Hiroshi, *Ogochi Village* (小河内村), 1952.



Katsuragawa Hiroshi, *The Evicted* (立ち退く人), 1952.

Katsuragawa Hiroshi, *Sketch*, 1952.

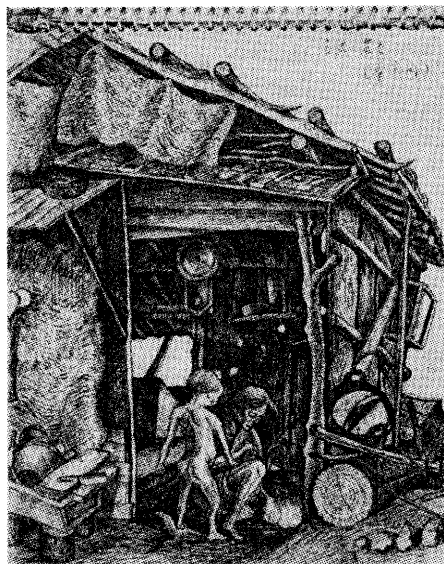


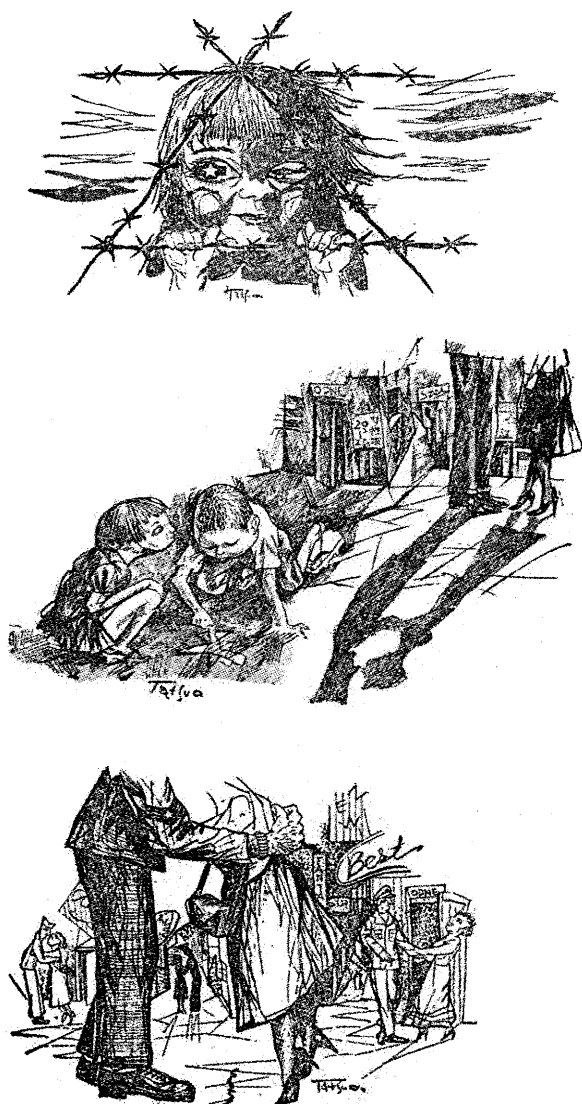
Image 11



Ikeda Tatsuo, *Net Boss – Uchinada Series* (網元－内灘シリーズ), 1953.

Uchinada was a fishing village on the Japan Sea coast, and also the site for an artillery testing range. It became the site of a struggle between local fishermen and the prefectural and national governments when they wanted to expand the testing range to include what had been prime fishing grounds. Uchinada was not a unitary place that could be simply designated as “local,” and the friction over the test range expansion was most immediately between different classes. The owners of the factories who made shells for the US army were in favor of expansion, and were hurt when the test range was shut down by sit-in protests. The town was also split between farmers and fishermen, with fishermen the lower class. Fisherman almost never owned property, but rented their boats and nets from the net boss. For more on Uchinada see, Fukushima Ariyuki, “Uchinada Toso to Teiko no Koe (The ‘Uchinada Struggle’ and the ‘Voice’ of Resistance),” in Hirokawa Tadahide and Yamada Takao, eds., *Sengo Shakai Undo Shiron* (On the History of Social Movements in the Postwar) (Tokyo: Otsuki shoten, 2006), 134-55.

Image 12



Ikeda Tatsuo, *Tachikawa Base* (基地立川), 1953, Pen.

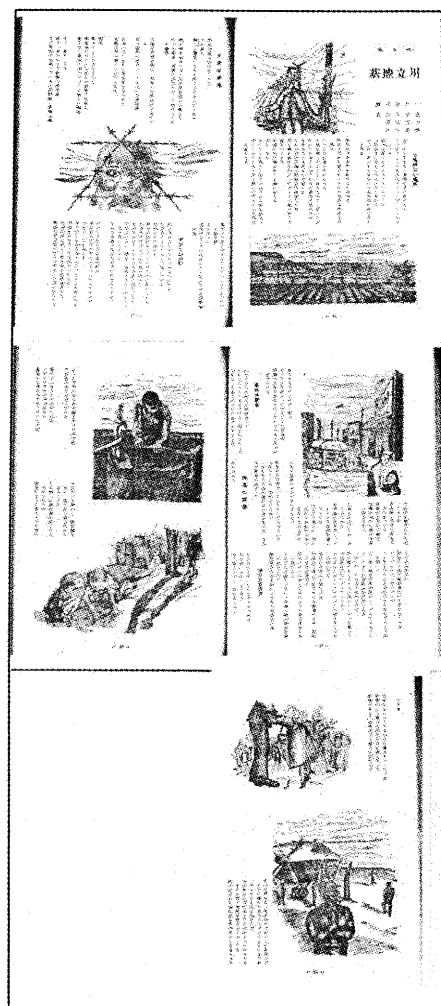
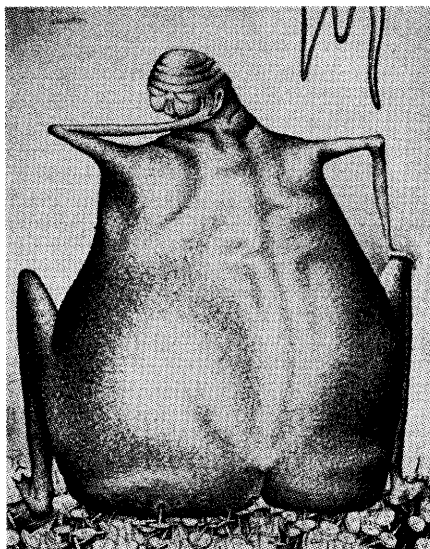
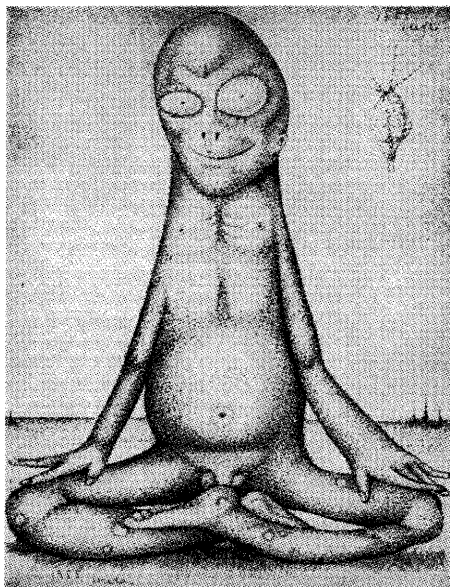


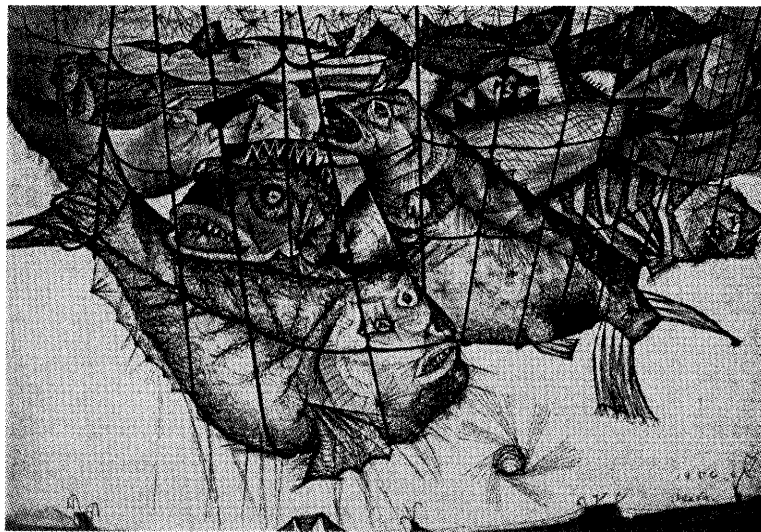
Image 13



Ikeda Tatsuo, *Userer – Mutant Genealogy Series* (高利貸し－化物の系譜シリーズ), 1955.



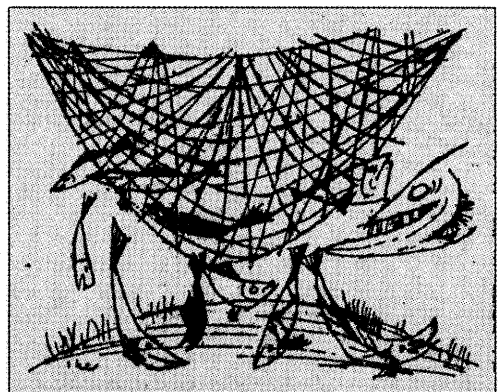
Ikeda Tatsuo, *Witness – Mutant Genealogy Series* (目撃者－化物の系譜シリーズ), 1955.



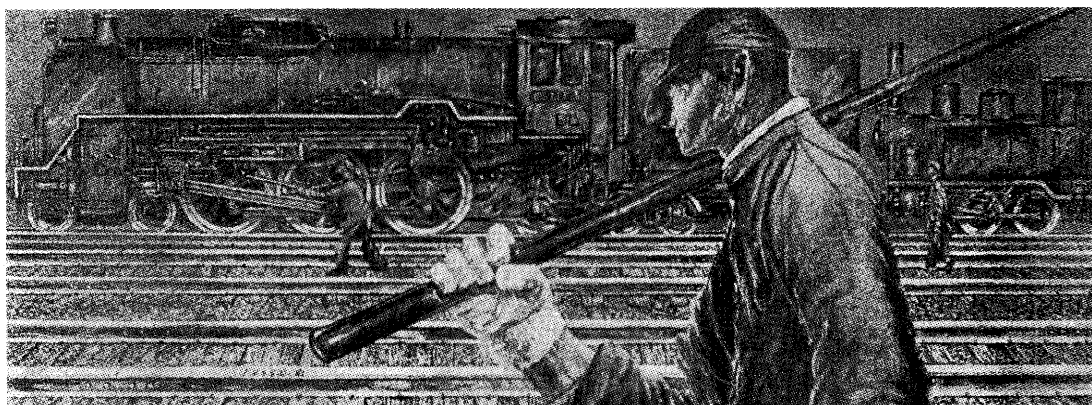
Ikeda Tatsuo, *10,000 Count* (10,000カウント), 1954.



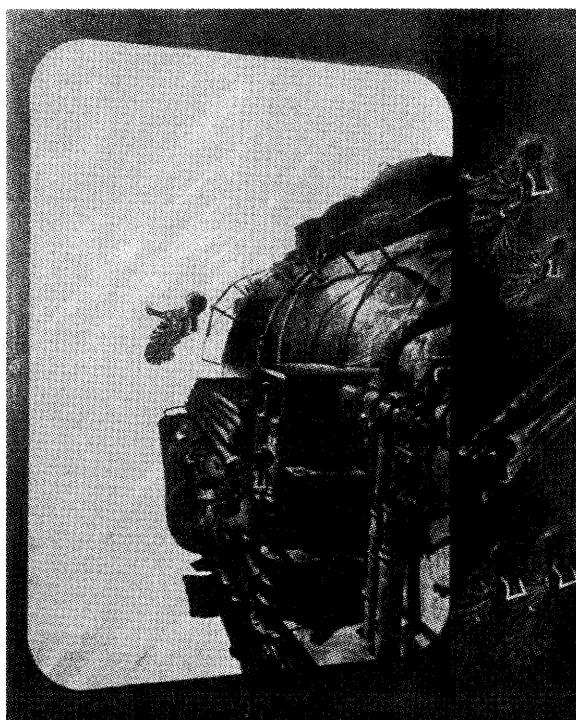
Ikeda Tatsuo, Cover for *Testimonies of Japan Series: Nuclear Power* (日本の証言：原子力), 1955



Ikeda Tatsuo, Illustration for *First Year on the Town Council* (町会議員一年生), in *Akahata*.



Nakamura Hiroshi, *JNR Shinagawa* (国鉄品川), 1955.

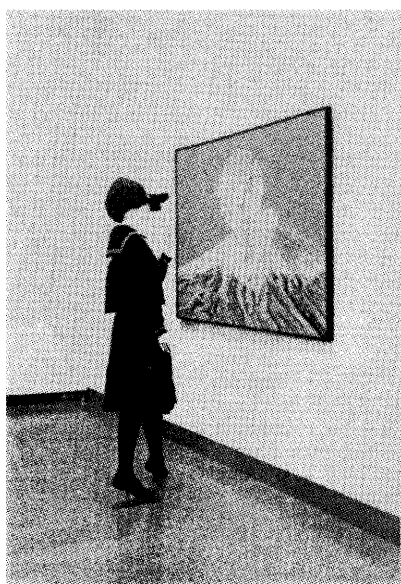


Nakamura Hiroshi, *Window Scenery Type 7 (Cabin)* (車窓篇TYPE 7 (キャビン), 1979.



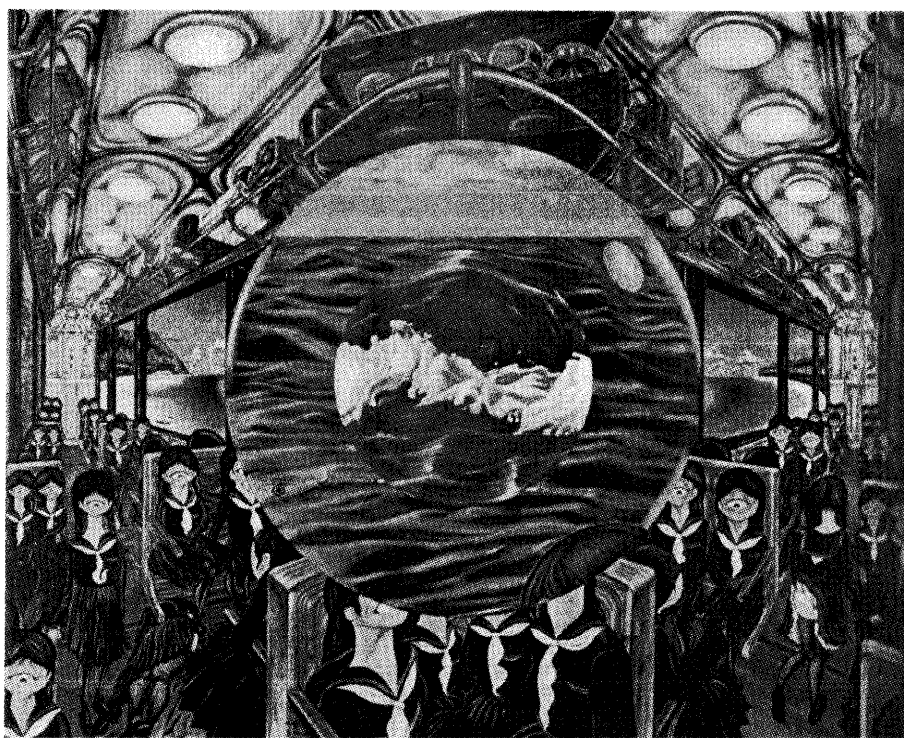
Ikeda Tatsuo, *On the Scene* (現場), 1958.

Image 17



Nakamura Hiroshi, *Problems of Art and Nation as they Relate to School Girls* (女学生に関する芸術と国家の諸問題), 1967.

Photograph of exhibition at the Urawa Art Museum.



Nakamura Hiroshi, *Circular Train A - Telescope Train* (円環列車・A-望遠鏡列車), 1968.



Shinkai Kakuo, Sketches from the Sunagawa Struggle, c. 1956.

Image 19