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Masses, Matter, and the Politics of Form

in Hanada Kiyoteru's Writings from Wartime to Postwar Japan

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in Asian Languages and Cultures

by

Mariko Takano

2020

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Masses, Matter, and the Politics of Form

in Hanada Kiyoteru's Writings from Wartime to Postwar Japan

by

Mariko Takano

Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2020

Professor Seiji Mizuta Lippit, Chair

This dissertation aims to unpack the critic Hanada Kiyoteru (1909–1974)'s conceptualization of

mass organization throughout the wartime and postwar periods, focusing on his formalist approach.

Hanada is known for leading the theory of avant-garde art (*abangyarudo geijyutsu*) in postwar Japan. His

idea of avant-garde art consists of the proximity between art and politics, the renewal of realism, a critical

break with surrealism, and contiguity between mass movements and artists. While these ideas were

widely shared among literary critics, artists, and filmmakers who engaged with radical politics during the

1950s, 1960s and 1970s, Hanada's writings have only recently begun to receive scholarly attention due to

the abstractness of his ideas and the anecdotal and interdisciplinary nature of his writings. My dissertation

provides a perspective to understand the interdisciplinary discussion of politics and art around Hanada by

scrutinizing his trajectory of conceptualizing mass organization, focusing on his interest in

form/matter/object as method. I historicize Hanada's writings on mass organization in three historical

junctures: the wartime, the immediate postwar, and around 1960. Preceding scholarship tends to

contextualize Hanada's writings alongside postwar radical politics, but I argue that his writings on mass

organization started within the context of national mobilization during the wartime, and that it also

inherits the discussions on the proletarian cultural movement in the interwar period. I examine Hanada's continued and modified conceptualization of mass organization in the immediate postwar period and around 1960, and its proximity to discourses on modern art. I read Hanada's writings as an intersection where discussions about art and politics in the literary field cross paths with discourses of modern art, and I present his formalist conceptualization of the masses as a way to rethink the historical periodization and categorization of cultural history in 20th century Japan.

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The dissertation of Mariko Takano is approved.

Torquil Duthie

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Seiji Mizuta Lippit, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles
2020

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Acknowledgement

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Introduction

Written over the decades spanning from wartime to the postwar era, critic Hanada

Kiyoteru's (花田清輝 1909–1974) discourse reads like concentric circles or reverberating echoes

rather than as thought developed diachronically. It is not easy to discern what Hanada is talking

about in each of his essays. A scholar once called his discourse a "never ending collage" of

freely associated examples taken from everything.[1] However, certain motives and concepts recur

again and again in his body of texts, donned in different, yet resonating, looks. This dissertation

explores the recurring idea of organizing *the masses* and the intervention of realism found in

Hanada's essays throughout the 1940s to the late 1950s, alongside three historical junctures:

wartime, the U.S. occupation, and the surge of dismay regarding postwar leftist cultural politics

that was prevalent circa 1960. I start with an analysis of Hanada's formalist conceptualization of

organizing the masses with contemporary discussions of mobilizing the masses and propaganda

for the war effort. I then examine Hanada's conceptualization of *the masses* (*taishū*) that

emphasizes matter (*busshitsu* 物質) and object (*buttai* 物体), which continued into the postwar

era. I map out the contingent continuity between Hanada's formalist conceptualization of the

masses and mass organization under the wartime regime and his postwar idea of masses as

matter/object, vis-à-vis postwar controversies on politics and art across the literary and art fields.

Finally, I examine how Hanada's thinking of the masses as matter resonates with the practices

and thinking of experimental artists circa 1960, offering perspectives on Hanada's work in the

cultural terrain of the 1960s that differs from preceding accounts.

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[1] Justin Jesty, "Arts of Engagement: Art and Social Movements in Japan's Early Postwar" Phd diss., Chicago University, 2010.

Focusing on the articulation of the masses provides the perspective necessary to understand Hanada, whose thoughts had been considered dispersed and "nonsystematic."[2] It also contributes to bridging historical/disciplinary disjunctures in the accounts of modern Japanese cultural history, such as literary/intellectual discourse and art discourse, Marxism and formalism, wartime cultural politics, and postwar cultural politics.

State of the Field and Methodology

Hanada's career is filled with contingency. Born in 1909 in Fukuoka, he was an avid reader of literature and the Kyoto School of philosophy from a young age. After dropping out of the Kyoto University English department because he could not afford the tuition, he moved to Tokyo in 1933 and supported himself, hopping from job to job, which included him working as a translator and serving as a secretary for a Korean journalist Yi Tong Hwa (李東華) who was leading an independence movement.[3] He started a writing and editing career under right-wing journalist and politician Nakano Seigō (中野正剛 1886–1943), serving as editor of *Tōtairiku* (*Eastern continent* 東大陸)**,** the organ journal of Seigō's fascist group *Tōhōkai* (*Eastern society* 東方会). Through Seigō, he met Nakano Hideto (中野秀人 1898–1966), Seigō's younger brother who was a painter and poet. From 1940 to 1943, Hideto and Hanada started a group

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[2] Justin Jesty, *Art and Engagement in Early Postwar Japan* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018), 91.

[3] Information about Hanada's earlier life, including his is available in Fukuokashi bungakukan, *Undōzoku hanada kiyoteru: hone o kirasete niku o kiru nisenjūyon fukuokashi bungakukan kikakuten* (Fukuoka: Fukuokashibungakukan, 2014). As to Hanada's involvement with Yi Tong Hwa see Arima Manabu "*Tōtairiku* shijō ni okeru Hanada Kiyoteru 'kokka' o megutte" in *Undōzoku hanada kiyoteru: hone o kirasete niku o kiru nisenjūyon fukuokashi bungakukan kikakuten.*

Bunka saishuppatsu no kai (Association for Restarting Culture 文化再出発の会) and published

the journal *Bunka soshiki* (*Cultural Organization*『文化組織』), where Hanada first published

essays later compiled into *Fukkōki no seishin* (*The Renaissance Spirit*, 1946) and *Sakuran no*

ronri (*The Logic of Derangement*, 1947), which attracted readers in the immediate postwar years.

He was not directly involved in the proletarian literary movement in the prewar period, but he

was an avid reader of Marxist literature during the war, and joined Japanese Communist Party

after the war.[4] In the immediate postwar period, Hanada met modernist painter Okamoto Tarō

(岡本太郎 1911–1996) and started advocating avant-garde art with him. His writings on the

theme of the avant-garde had a large impact on artists, film makers and art critics. Besides being

a prolific critic writing about literature, art and film, Hanada was an active editor and publisher,

bringing literary writers and artists together. He created multiple associations, such as The Night

Society (*Yoru no kai* 夜の会), The Association of Syncretic Culture (*Sōgō bunka kyōkai* 綜合文

化協会), and The Society of Documentary Arts (*Kiroku geijutsu no kai* 記録芸術の会) and

organ journals, where literary writers and artists exchanged ideas about art and possibility of

working together across different genre and media. From 1952 to 1954, Hanada was a chief

editor of *Shin Nihon bungaku* (*The New Japan Literature* 新日本文学), the organ paper of a

major group of leftist writers The New Japan Literature Association (*Shin Nihon bungakukai* 新

日本文学会). However, his presence in cultural history fades in the 1960s, especially after a

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[4] In the postwar Hanada wrote short essays on his reading history. See "Dokushoteki jishukuden" and "Watashi no dokusho henreki" in *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.6 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1978)

young leftist critic, Yoshimoto Takaaki (吉本隆明 1924–2012), called Hanada a fascist for his wartime involvement with a fascist group *Tōhōkai*.

Hanada's path, as well as his versatile writings, make him a difficult fit for existing narratives and categories in the cultural history of modern Japan. Is he a Marxist or a Fascist? Is he a Marxist or modernist? Is his writing literary criticism or art criticism? Throughout his winding path, Hanada consistently advocated the masses and the artist's role in organizing the masses to transform the social order as collective. Examining Hanada's articulation of the masses contributes to bridging disjunctures among disciplines and categories in the accounts of modern Japanese cultural history, such as Marxism and modernism, Marxism and surrealism, wartime cultural politics and postwar cultural politics, literary/intellectual discourse and art discourse.

In looking at English scholarship, Hanada's name can be often found in studies of postwar Japanese art and film. Among recent works, the study of postwar art and engagement by Justin Jesty[5] refers to Hanada's writings as a theory behind the reportage art movement in the 1950s. Furuhata Yuriko's study of politically committed avant-garde films mentions avant-garde art movement around Hanada in the 1950s, as a precedent for the avant-garde filmmaking of the 1960s.[6] Junko Yamazaki's inquiry into the historicity of *jidaigeki* period film in postwar Japan refers to Hanada's essay that advocated *jidaigeki* as a new form of realism.[7]

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[5] Justin Jesty, *Art and Engagement in Early Postwar Japan* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018)

[6] Furuhata Yuriko, *Cinema of actuality: Japanese avant-garde filmmaking in the season of image politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013)

[7] Yamazaki Junko, "Jidaigeki's Postwar: Visions of the Present in Japanese Period Films" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2016)

These works of scholarship suggest Hanada's multi-faceted significance in postwar cultural history across the genres, but they are not studies of Hanada's writings themselves. Turning to Japan, a handful of accounts of Hanada are available, many of which are situated in the field of literary study. Perhaps the most prevalent view of Hanada is as a unique and refined rhetorician with radical politics, quite different from contemporary postwar leftist critics.[8] In recent years, several art historians and critics have mentioned Hanada in the context of postwar art and art criticism, to which I will refer in a later chapter. Conversations between those who see Hanada as belonging to literary history and those who see Hanada as belonging to art history are lacking.

As noted by scholars, Hanada's dispersed discourse was formed from his wide range of reading as well as historical contingency. As a result of the difficulty of placing his writings according to any disciplinary compartmentalization, Hanada has been often "relegated to interstices and margins of multiple humanistic disciplines."[9] Presenting Hanada beyond an eccentric rhetorician with highly held political stakes requires reconfiguration of cultural and historical mapping. In recent years, Ken Yoshida has been taking on the challenge of grappling with Hanada's thought itself, as well as opening up a perspective that accounts for Hanada's thinking. Yoshida's dissertation and articles open a trans-media perspective of postwar cultural history, in which Hanada's thought is brought into conversation with contemporary intellectual and art discourses through his analysis of terms such as *totality* (*sōgō* 総合) and *inorganic*.

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[8] For example, Satō Izumi's recent book on critical discourses in Japan during the 1950s, Satō spare a chapter for Hanada. The chapter starts from Satō's note emphasizing how Hanada's critical language was different from other immediate postwar critical discourse, namely those from journal *Kindai bungaku* which critical language was based upon strong affirmation of "I." Satō Izumi, *1950-nendai, hihyō no seijigaku* (Tokyo: Chūō kōron shinsha, 2018)

[9] Ken Yoshida, "Interstitial Movements in the Works of Hanada Kiyoteru: A Preliminary Study" *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique.* 22 (4), 782.

Adding on to Yoshida's perspective, my examination of Hanada's concept of the masses provides a perspective encompassing the discussion of politics and aesthetics in the prewar period, wartime, immediate postwar and late 1950s. Preceding studies tend to contextualize Hanada's ideas of avant-garde art alongside postwar radical politics, leaving out the wartime. Since Yoshimoto Takaaki questioned Hanada's involvement in the fascist group *Tōhōkai* in the late 1950s, Hanada's wartime had been usually framed as a question of whether he was a part of the resistance or was a conformist, without close examination of the wartime context. Instead of this dichotomous framework, I suggest that the wartime call for organization (*soshiki*) and the ideas around propaganda were the points around which Hanada started thinking about mass organization in formalist terms. Hanada's thoughts on propaganda are crucial to understanding his idea of the mass organization as aesthetic/political transformation in collective, which will be carried over into the postwar period. Upon examining Hanada's continued thought of mass organization as aesthetic/political transformation in the postwar, I make comparison with the context of momentum toward revolution and the rethinking of the prewar proletarian literary movement shared among literary critics. Instead of isolating Hanada from other literati, I try to map out recurring discussions on politics and art in the leftist literary field from the prewar proletarian literary movement to the immediate postwar period and the late 1950s, vis-à-vis Hanada's conceptualization of the masses.

The Masses

The masses (*taishū*) were a politically significant category in critical discourses in Japan in the mid-1920s. As Seiji Lippit notes, the 1920s saw an "unprecedented spread of mass

culture"[10] on the one hand and the politicization of literature on the other. Who are *the masses*? The implication of the masses varies, such as the consumer of mass-produced cultural commodities, the proletariat that should be organized to become a politically subversive force, those without sensibility and intellect, the Japanese nation, the unknown mob, or all of them. Whether by endorsement or critique, different agents spoke about *taishū* to establish their own political and cultural narratives.

In general, Hanada's writings followed the legacy of the leftist political avant-garde (*zen'ei* 前衛) discourses that emerged in the 1920s and 30s, aiming to organize the proletariat masses for the revolution. Hanada consistently advocated that the artist's role was to organize the masses and to create avant-garde art for the masses, taking the element of the art of the masses. Yet, the affiliation of the masses in Hanada's writings fluctuated over time. Hanada started writing about organizing the masses during the war, and his writings then were situated on the margin of the war effort of National Total Mobilization. In the early postwar era, Hanada's writings touched upon the theme of organizing workers who worked in mass production to carry out a general strike. In the late 1950s, Hanada talked about *the masses* in cultural terms, responding to surging theories about mass society. Straddling the beginning and ending of the war, Hanada's *masses* do not fit into the dichotomized classification of right wing or left wing. However, with its swaying political context, the task of "organizing the masses" in transforming the social-order-as-collective remained consistent, and such a political challenge was always also an aesthetic/formal one.

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[10] Seiji Lippit, *Topographies of Japanese Modernism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 19.

Political vying for the masses accompanied the controversies over cultural and aesthetic coding. While Hanada's advocacy of the masses complied with Marxist political ideology, the way he wrote about the masses was quite different from the orthodox Marxist cultural criticism that had been established in the prewar proletarian literary movement. When we look back at the history of proletarian cultural movements, versatile art and culture were considered important ways of bringing the proletariat masses together to share ideas and practices.[11] On the other hand, the theoretical leader of the proletarian literary movement, Kurahara Korehito (蔵原惟人 1902–1991), endorsed a developmental historical view where art reflected class struggle, and required proletarian realism to overcome bourgeois realism and to educate the masses. Kurahara tasked writers with succeeding the realist mode of expression that came from nineteenth-century literature, with more social scope. The exploration of the variety of ways to connect the masses with art, with attention to new media experiences, such as film, were eventually narrowed into proletarian literary policies, in which the goal was to inculcate the working class.[12] Kurahara encouraged writers and artists to learn from actual proletarian workers, chastised different modes of expression, such as surrealism, and called out their association with the bourgeois paradigm of "art for art's sake" without political scope. Hanada's concept of avant-garde attempts renewal of Kurahara's idea of socialist realism, as well as the lineage of naturalist realism in I-novels, and

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[11] As to versatile earlier proletarian cultural movement, see Nakagawa Shigemi and Murata Hirokazu, *Kakumei geijutsu puroretaria bunka undo,* (Tokyo: Shinwa sha, 2019)

[12] This was especially true after the Japan Proltarian Writers League (Nihon puroretaria sakka dōmei also known as NALP) took "Bolshevism in Literature" as its slogan in 1930. See Wada Takashi, "*Kanikōsen* no yomenai rōdōsha – Kishi Yamaji to Tokunaga Sunao no geijutsu taishuka ron no isō," (Workers who cannot read "Kanikosen(crab-cannery boat)": phases of Kishi Yamaji and Tokunaga Sunao's theories for popularizing art), *Ristumeikan bungaku* Vol 614.

the category of the masses played a key role in this endeavor. I suggest that the experimental

practices of artists circa 1960 follow Hanada's challenge to realism with the idea of the masses.

Perhaps Frederic Jameson's note on the Realism and Modernism debate between

German-Marxist cultural critics can help us to understand Hanada's disagreement with orthodox

realism. Jameson notes; "The originality of the concept of realism, however, lies in its claim to

cognitive as well as aesthetic status. A new value, contemporaneous with the secularization of

the world under capitalism, the ideal of realism presupposes a form of aesthetic experience

which yet claims to a binding relationship to the real itself, that is to say, to those realms of

knowledge and praxis which had traditionally been differentiated from the realm of the aesthetic,

with its disinterested judgements and its constitution as sheer appearance."[13]

The question of "cognitive" and "aesthetic experience which yet claims to a binding

relationship to the real" seems especially relevant to Hanada's writings on mass organization. In

Hanada's essays, the proletariat masses were not people who had poor intellect and taste and

needed to be educated, nor were they the object of realist representation. Instead, his mass

organization stands on the liminal threshold between real and ideal, conscious and unconscious,

sameness and transformation. Hanada's fine line of separating and connecting aesthetics and

praxis can be explained by historical conditions. Hanada started writing about mass organization

during the war, after the proletarian literary movement was smashed by the state. He continued

the project in the occupation period, where one could talk about revolution, but kept out of the

act of general strike. While Kurahara's realism set up a fairly limiting boundary of "real" and

dismissed what did not count as "real," such as surrealism, Hanada opened up the question of the

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[13] Frederic Jameson, "Reflections in Conclusion," in Theodor W. Adorno, Walter Benjamin, Ernst Bloch, Bertolt Brecht, György Lukács, and Fredric Jameson, *Aesthetics and Politics* (Brooklyn: Verso 2007), 198.

aesthetic's relationship to the real, walking a fine line between separating the two realms and bringing them together, negotiating within historical limitations.

Organization and Form

In Hanada's essays, the proletariat masses primarily meant a quantitative many, the collective. Transformation takes place through the organized collective. Hanada's idea of transformation by the collective was different than the representational democracy that pictures an aggregation of individual human voices. In the essay on the collective, written in 1942, Hanada noted: "When an organization becomes into being, the idea of human is already replaced with functional notion, instead of substantial notion. Under such a condition, the human body and spirit were no longer integrated but cut off from each other. Hence it is more proper to call organization a non-humanistic connection, rather than humanistic connection"[14]

Hanada repeatedly broke away from humanism in conceptualizing the organization of the masses. His emphasis on quantity and relation was a breakaway from the human-centered representational mode to write the masses. In what way is this non-humanism important to political organizing? Ken Yoshida evaluates Hanada's emphasis on inorganic "matter" instead of organic human in term of inclusivity. Yoshida notes that the category of human "worked to exclude and define a strict (moral) parameter (nation, society, and history are usually narrated

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[14] 組織がなりたつばあい、人間という概念は、すでに実体概念から函数概念へと置き換えられているのではあるまいか。その時、もはや人間の魂と肉体は切断されているのではないか。それならば、組織を人間的結合と呼ぶよりも非人間的結合と呼んだ方が適切である。Hanada Kiyoteru, "Gunron," *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.2 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977), 311.

through biological metaphor), rather than to guarantee collective politics." [15] Yoshida continues:

"If the idea of common were to be possible, it would have to be taken to the extreme where even

the lowest category, the inorganic matter can be included."[16]

       While I agree with Yoshida, I would add that close relation between organization and

matter comes from the idea that organization embraced contradiction; as he wrote, "human spirit

and body are separated."[17] Hanada's stake of the masses in organization was not about turning

right to left or vice versa overnight. Rather than instant turnover from one status to another, or

from being obedient and conforming to being resistant, "ellipse"—another important motif in

Hanada's writing—might be a more adequate term for the transformation Hanada envisioned.

Hanada writes: "As long as an ellipse remains an ellipse, it signifies a state of wakeful dormancy

and dormant wakefulness, crying while laughing, and laughing while crying, believing while

doubting, and doubting yet still believing."[18] Yoshida notes that Hanada's "ellipsoidal" thinking

"maintains irresolvable division and parity," instead of "synthetic unity."[19] I would read the

"ellipse" with two focal points instead of one, in formal terms. Hanada wrote about

transformation around ideas such as duplication, double, copy, mimicry, farce, and analogy,

always teetering between sameness and difference, instead of picturing transformation as

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[15] Kenichi Yoshida, "Between Matter and Ecology: Art in Postwar Japan and the Question of Totality (1954–1975)" PhD diss., University of California Irvine 2011, 21.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Hanada Kiyoteru, "Gunron," *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.2

[18] Hanada Kiyoteru "Daen Gensō," *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.2 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977), 395. Translation is Ken Yoshida's translation from "Interstitial Movements in the Works of Hanada Kiyoteru: A Preliminary Study" *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique.* 22 (4): 781-808, 2014, 789.

[19] Ken Yoshida, "Interstitial Movements in the Works of Hanada Kiyoteru: A Preliminary Study" *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique.* 22 (4): 781-808, 2014, 789.

flipping from one state to another. Two focal points are inviting to think the transformation and history in form, such as duplication, analogy, the fine line between sameness and difference, multiplication, and transmission. I argue that Hanada's concept of the masses was a subversive methodology against the human-centered representational paradigm that belittles formal variety and multiplication, which remained as a venerated ethos of art in the mainstream Marxist cultural paradigm.

Chapter Breakdown

Each chapter examines historical moments where Hanada started, continued and modified his conceptualization of mass organization as collective transformative action, and analyzes the way the masses and form/matter are connected.

Chapter One examines Hanada's formalist approach to the idea of organizing the masses circa 1940, the year when he started the journal *Bunka soshiki*. Although the term *avant-garde* cannot be found in his essays yet, the set of concepts Hanada deployed to define avant-garde art in the postwar period—such as the pursuit of the political and the aesthetic vanguard, the renewal of realism, and the preference for the collective over the individual—were already apparent in his wartime writings. Examining the discussion on *soshiki* as national mobilization and the theorization of propaganda written by media researcher Koyama Eizō (1899–1983), I show how the idea of *soshiki* became the ground for talking about methodology of art and form.

Chapter Two examines the immediate postwar period, when Hanada's formalist approach to mass organization became the idea of avant-garde art. The end of the war and the U.S. occupation of Japan allowed Hanada and other literati to openly discuss Marxist ideas of organizing the proletariat masses for the revolution, as well as more limited collective subversive

action, such as general strike. I examine how Hanada incorporated the concepts taken from surrealism and modern art such as the unconscious and the object, to address the organized masses as collective, transformative force.

Chapter Three offers a remapping of Hanada's position in the late 1950s to circa 1960, when art and politics became a controversial question in the art field. Following JCP's renunciation of their progressive policy in favor of "peaceful" policy in 1955, a younger generation of writers and artists started a critical examination of the prescribed leftist framework of art and politics, and embarked on their own theorization and practice. While Hanada's idea of avant-garde art was influential among writers and artists in the 1950s, his relevance to the contemporary cultural terrain receded in the 1960s, especially after Yoshimoto Takaaki criticized Hanada's theory on art and politics and called out him as a fascist in the late 1950s. To suggest the direct and indirect relevance of Hanada's idea of masses and matter in the context of art and politics in the 1960s, I examine the emerging practice and thinking of art and masses by artist Nakamura Hiroshi (中村宏 1932–) and Imaizumi Yoshihiko (今泉省彦 1931–2010).

Chapter One: Between Political and Critical Categories —The Formal Turn of Mass Organization in Hanada Kiyoteru's Writings in the Early 1940s

 Introduction

In the postwar period, Hanada became known as a proponent of the idea of avant-garde art (*abangyarudo geijutsu*). The distinguishing feature of Hanada's idea of avant-garde was the tight interrelation between political vanguardism and the artistic avant-garde. Organizing and politicizing the masses and the overcoming of conventional realism were inseparable tasks around which Hanada evolved his writings. Even without the arrival of transformation in administrative system, art and mass culture served as the index of potential revolution in Hanada's writings in the postwar. The question is, how did Hanada connect mass organization and art so closely? What did Hanada mean by mass organization and revolution? Revisiting the early 1940s, I examine Hanada's formalist approach to mass organization.

Hanada started his career in publishing and writing in the late 1930s, when he wrote articles and edited *Tōtairiku* (『東大陸』)*,* an organ journal of a fascist group *Tōhōkai* (東方会), led by journalist and politician Nakano Seigō. Through Seigō, Hanada met poet and artist Nakano Hideto (1898–1966), a younger brother of Seigō, and they started *Bunka saishuppatsu no kai* (文化再出発の会) and the organ journal *Bunka soshiki* (『文化組織』) in 1940, which continued until 1943. Most of his essays published on *Bunka soshiki* were later compiled into *Fukkōki no seishin* (*The Renaissance Spirit*, 1946) and *Sakuran no ronri* (*The Logic of*

Derangement, 1947),[1] two volumes that made his name known as an up and coming critic in the immediate postwar period.

While Hanada's writings and publishing activities have usually been contextualized within postwar cultural discourse, their relation to the wartime context is yet to be scrutinized. Assessments of Hanada's writings during wartime tend to revolve around the question of whether he was a collaborator or not, first sparked by critic Yoshimoto Takaaki(1924–2012) in the late 1950s. In his critical examination of postwar literature, Yoshimoto called out Hanada for his involvement in *Tōtairiku*, calling him a fascist. Preceding studies[2] suggest that Hanada's wartime activities can not be easily judged to be either collaborationist or resistant, and they often credit Hanada for his splendid and esoteric rhetoric, which camouflaged Hanada's critical thoughts toward fascism, slipping them past the eyes of wartime thought police.[3]

These comments and assessments of Hanada's wartime activity have limits, for they retroactively try to sort whether he was a collaborator or resister in the guise of a collaborator from the postwar viewpoint, without much examination of the wartime contexts in which he was writing. Instead of assessing Hanada's wartime in a dichotomous framework of whether he was a collaborator or not, I examine Hanada's wartime writings as formative of his conceptualization of the masses in formalist terms as well as of his questioning of realism, which we will see more straightforwardly in the idea of avant-garde art that Hanada advocated in the postwar. This

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[1] *Sakuran no ronri* combined essays from *Jimei no ri,* the collection of essays Hanada published from Bunka saishuppatsu no kai in 1941 and short essays he published in the postwar period. Hanada notes that *Jimei no ri* didn't sell at all when it was first published. See *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.1 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977), 434–435

[2] For example, see Satō Izumi, *Senkyūhyakugojūnendai hihyō no seijigaku* (Tokyo: Chūōkōronshinsha, 2018)

[3] Until today one of the most accepted idea about Hanada is his complicated rhetoric. Such view could be found in Honda Shugo's *Monogatari sengo bungakushi*.

chapter and next examine Hanada's continuous and modified conceptualization of organization

of the masses, through the wartime and immediate postwar periods.

The close study of the historical contexts around the term *soshiki* (組織 organization/to

organize), as well as Hanada and Nakano's writings on *soshiki* circa 1940, help us to understand

why the topics of art and mass organization are brought up side by side in Hanada's postwar

writings. Mass organization and renewing realism stood as quasi-equivalent, almost

interchangeable tasks in Hanada's postwar writings on avant-garde. Hanada's claim that art has

to be close to the masses and mass culture might remind us of the discourse of democratization

of art, but Hanada was against representing actual people living and working in conventional

realist terms, such as socialist realism, nor did he encourage the working class to write. In

Hanada's postwar writings, the masses (*taishū*) as a collective is given the property of

matter/object (物質 busshitsu/物体 buttai), with metaphors such as *sand* and *informel*.[4] Referred

to as an collective and defined as an ever-transforming object, Hanada's *taishū*, an elusive yet

potent index of revolution, was conceived as a formal property, conjuring proximity to modern

art.[5] The examination of *soshiki* in wartime, especially the context of propaganda, will help

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[4] See Hanada "Suna no youna taishū" ("The Masses as Sand") , originally published as a part of his book *Taishū no Enerugi* (*The Energy of the Masses*, 1957). The essay is included in *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.6 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1978)

[5] Art critic Sawayama Ryō notes the prominent postwar art critic Hariu Ichirō (1925–2010) inherited the framework of his criticism, such as the concept of *busshitsu* (matter, material), from the preceding critics, such as Hanada Kiyoteru; aesthetician Nakai Masakazu (1909–1952); and art critic Takiguchi Shūzō (1903–1979). All of them formed their theories vis-à-vis the surge of Marxism in the early Shōwa period. Sawayama notes that "the three primary concepts in Hanada and Hariu's criticism, '*busshitsu* (materialism),' '*minshū* (people)' and '*zenei* (avant-garde)' appeared simultaneously in the early Shōwa period" as well as the tide of abstract paintings and surrealist art in the 1930s. Although Sawayama shows historical contemporaneity between Marxist materialism and artistic modernism/avant-garde in the 1920s and 1930s, the relation among matter, people, and avant-garde, as well as the connection between the political avant-garde and the artistic avant-garde remains unclear. Sawayama Ryō "A Repeat Performance of Thought–The State of Japanese Art Criticism," in *Critical Archive Vol. 3 Before/After Japanese Art Criticism Succession and Severance* (Tokyo: Yumiko Chiba Associates, 2017)

elucidate such a unique conceptualization of mass organization and revolution as political and

formal properties. In addition, Hanada and his fellow writer Nakano Hideto's approach to *soshiki*

in the wartime help us understand the methodology of avant-garde art production that Hanada

repeated in the postwar era, including the collective production of art, the destruction of genre,

and the totalization (*sōgō-ka*) of art. Four years after publishing the final issue of *Bunka soshiki*

in 1943, Hanada created *Sōgō bunka kyōkai* (綜合文化協会)and its organ journal *Sōgō bunka*

(綜合文化), where artist and literati across genre difference shared the discussions of avant-

garde art. In a way, *soshiki* in wartime was a precursor of the idea of *sōgō*. [6]

The term s*oshiki* could be found among slogans for the war effort and national

mobilization around 1940, but it could be also found in the leftist context as well. Organizing the

masses for revolution was the ultimate task to be carried out for Marxist thinkers in the 1920s,

and a handful of Marxist thinkers, such as Miki Kiyoshi (三木清 1897–1945), were involved in

founding a theoretical ground for national mobilization after Marxism was strictly restricted.[7] In

order to give more specific context to Hanada's ambiguous take on the masses and organization,

I start by introducing Nakano Seigō.

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Nakano Seigō and Hanada Kiyoteru

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[6] On Hanada's idea of totalization of art, see Ken Yoshida "The undulating contours of sōgō geijutsu (total work of art), or Hanada Kiyoteru's thoughts on transmedia in postwar Japan". *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*. 13 (1)

[7] Miki Kiyoshi was a member of Shōwa kenkyu kai, a brain of Konoe Cabinet. See William Miles Fletcher, *The Search for a New Order: Intellectuals and Fascism in Prewar Japan,* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1982)

As a pretext for the ambiguity of the term *soshiki* (organization) as well as *bunka* (culture), used by Hanada, I first introduce Nakano Seigō (1886–1943), a journalist turned politician known as the founder and head of the fascist group Tōhōkai. It was at *Tōtairiku*, the organ journal of Tōhōkai, where Hanada started his writing and publishing career. Through Seigō, Hanada knew his younger brother, poet and painter Nakano Hideto (1898–1966), who would become Hanada's partner in organizing *Bunka saishuppatsu no kai*. Nakano Seigō embraced nationalism, fascism, and Asianism, but at the same time he did not fit the mold of a typical wartime ultra-nationalist.

As previous studies point out, Nakano was right-wing, but he did not subscribe to emperor-centric nationalism,[8] but rather held critical views of bureaucracy and advocated the idea of mass mobilization to overcome such bureaucracy. Chisaka Kyōji differentiates Nakano's fascism from typical "Japanese fascism," represented by Kita Ikki's emperor ideology and points out that Tōhōkai served as an asylum for leftists during the war. [9] Nakano had a penchant for European fascism[10] and was critical of prime minister Tōjō Hideki.

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[8] For example, Tetsuo Najita points out that "although couched in traditionalistic vocabulary (such as tamashii), Nakano's nationalism was not in the tradition of irrational hisoticism)" but he " sought an explanation for national distinctiveness in the intellectual background of the Meiji Restoration." *Tetsuo Najita*, "*Nakano Seigo and the Spirit of the Meiji Restoration in Twentieth- Century Japan*," in James Morley, ed., *Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971), pp.380. In recent studies, Stefano von Lo*ë also notes the approximity between Nakano's idea and Fascism in Germany and Italy. See* Stefano von Loë "Nakano Seigō and the Politics of Democracy, *Empire and Fascism in Prewar and Wartime Japan.*" PhD diss, Harvard University, 2011.

[9] Chisaka Kyōji, *Shisō to shite no fashizumu: daitōa sensō to senkyūhyakurokujūhachi* (Tokyo: Sairyūsha, 2015)

[10] From 1937 to 1938, Nakano visited Italy and Germany and met Mussolini and Hitler. Nakano had a strong admiration for the Nazi party, and introduced uniforms and insignias for Tōhōkai members that simulated the Nazi party's. Hanada mentions that he wore the uniform of Tōhōkai, and that Hayashi Fusao critiqued Nakano Seigō for "mimicking" the Nazi party. Hanada Kiyoteru, "Omoide," in *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.6 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1978), 293–294

Nakano's political career ran parallel to his career in journalism and media, which might be formative of his ideas about *soshiki*.[11] Born in Fukuoka and having had contact with Asianism and Nationalism from his early days,[12] Nakano had been an active writer since he was a student. While studying at Waseda University, he contributed to *Nihon oyobi Nihonjin*, a journal the nationalist thinker Miyake Setsurei (1860–1945) had created. Nakano worked for the *Asahi shinbun,* then followed by becoming the head of *Tōhō jiron* in 1916, a journal led by Higashi Norimasa (1886–1976), a writer Nakano knew from his Waseda days. That same year, Nakano lost his first election for a spot in the House of Representatives. His visit to Europe to cover the Versailles Peace Conference in 1918 sparked his career as a politician. He published a small pamphlet titled "Witnessing the Peace Conference," where he eloquently conveyed his disappointment with the Japanese delegation and advocated the necessity of renovating national politics. The pamphlet became widely popular, and he was elected to the House of Representatives in 1920. As a politician, Nakano was consistently invested in the idea of social reconstruction. After joining and quitting several liberalist parties, he gradually came to embrace the idea of national socialism and nationalist political action, and he formed Tōhōkai in 1937. Sympathizing with the *shintaisei* (new order 新体制) movement led by Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro (1891–1945) Nakano joined the Imperial Rule Assistance Assoiation (IRAA) in 1940. But he gradually came to hold critical views against the despotism of Tōjō Hideki, and he left two years later. In 1943, Nakano was arrested for criticizing Tōjō and commited suicide.

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[11] For Nakano's biographical information in English, see Leslie R. Oates, *Populist Nationalism in Prewar Japan: a Biography of Nakano Seigō* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1985)

[12] Fukuoka produced major nationalist groups in the prewar period, such as *Genyōsha*. Originally found in 1881 by Fukuoka domain clansmen, the group had a large influence in the parliament and the military.

Nakano kept publishing along with building his career as a politician. He continued publishing the journal *Gakan* with Miyake Setsurei since 1923. With the establishment of Tōhōkai, Nakano changed the title from *Gakan* to *Tōtairiku*. *Tōtairiku* was published monthly from November 1936 to October 1943, carrying mainly articles on sociopolitical and economic issues, including critical reports on governmental policy regarding diplomacy, economy, culture, and national movements.

While Nakano was building his career as a politician, Hanada Kiyoteru—who also was of Fukuoka origin—was attending Kyoto University, majoring in English. He had to quit in 1931, for he could not afford the tuition. Yet, when a professor of Kyoto university was purged by the Ministry of Education in 1933,[13] Hanada was involved in student-led resistence against the state interference with the university, along with Nakai Masakazu[14] and Kuno Osamu.[15] After moving to Tokyo, Hanada did odd jobs, including translating and assisting a Korean journalist named Yi Tong Ha, who was leading the independence movement. Eventually, he also became acquainted with Nakano Seigō through his secretary, Shindō Kazuma*,* and started contributing articles to Seigō's magazine *Gakan*. In May 1939, Hanada joined *Tōtairiku* as an editor, and took charge of the journal as chief editor between June 1939 and October 1940. At the same time, he also co-organized the Association for Restarting of Culture (*Bunka saishuppatsu no kai*) with Nakano Hideto, a younger brother of Seigō, who was a painter and poet and connected to anarchist poets. They started their own journal, *Bunka soshiki* (*Cultural Organization*), in 1940. Hanada

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[13] This incident is known as Takigawa incident.

[14] For Nakai Masakazu, see foot note 5.

[15] Kuno Osamu (久野収 1910–1999) is a critic and philosopher. He was involved in the group Scienece of Thought (思想の科学) in the postwar.

withdrew from editing *Tōtairiku* and left Tōhōkai in 1940, but he continued publishing *Bunka soshiki* until he had to cease publication in 1943 due to tightening printing-paper regulations.

Historical contexts around Organization and Mobilization

Around 1940, the Konoe Fumimaro cabinet was calling for a *shintaisei* (新体制 new order), a state-led national movement to "reorganize" (再組織 *saisoshiki*) the total nation for the sake of total mobilization. In implementing organization as policy and practice, culture（文化 *bunka*）was another important concept. Organizing and the role of culture were widely discussed topics among politicians and journalists. Hanada too dealt with these topics, as he put together the Association for Restarting of Culture (Bunka saishuppatsu no kai) and the organ journal titled *Bunka Soshiki.* Here, I examine the concepts of *soshiki* (association, organization, collective) and *bunka* (culture)—terms widely shared among politicians and journalists circa 1940, delineating different approaches to *soshiki* among members of the Konoe government, Nakano Seigō's Tōhōkai and *Tōtairiku*, and Hanada.

First, I show the process of the governmental argument about *soshiki* from the late-1930s, leading to the creation of the IRAA in 1940. Upon entering the Second Sino-Japanese War, the mid- and late-1930s saw a surge of discussion about the need for political mobilization to keep up with the growing economic and material needs to supply the war and maintain national support for the government. The ideas of dissolving existing political parties and establishing a new national cooperation body around Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro to enable

total national mobilization were brought to the table.[16] This attempt of *kokumin soshiki* (national organization)—which had various iterations, such as the Konoe New Party Movement (*Konoe shintō undō* 近衛新党運動), National Reorganizing Movement (*Kokumin saisoshiki undo* 国民再組織運動), New Order Movement (*Shintaisei undō* 新体制運動), and One Nation One Party Movement (*Ikkoku Ittō undō* 一国一党運動)—eventually led to the establishment of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association (IRAA 大政翼賛会) in 1940.[17] The Konoe Cabinet was initially reluctant about proceeding with administrative reform, and instead started the Spiritual Mobilization Law (精神総動員 *seishin sōdōin*) in 1937. The law was more about ideology than actual institutional reform, fostering the spirit of emperor nationalism and self-sacrifice with political slogans such as *kyokoku icchi* (挙国一致 national unity) and *hakkō ichiu*（八紘一宇）. While the discussion about national organization focused on the bigger picture, such as the remodeling of the relationship between different sectors—including parliament, the military, the private sector, and local organizations—the Spiritual Mobilization Law set the tone for discussion about organization in term of permeating the ideology to a mass level, leading to the proposal of national movement (国民運動 *kokumin undō*). In contrast with the proposal of national organization focusing on the grand scheme, the discussion of *kokumin undō* was about how to actually organize people in local communities—explored mainly by the *Kokumin undō kenkyū kai* (the research group of national movement), a sibling group of *Shōwa kenkyū kai*

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[16] Regarding discussion about national mobilization, see "Political Mobilization" in William Miles Fletcher, *The Search for a New Order: Intellectuals and Fascism in Prewar Japan,* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1982)

[17] Imai Seiichi, and Takashi Itō, *Kokka sōdōin 2 Gendai shi shiryō* (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō. 1974)

(Shōwa research group*).*[18] Kokumin undō kenkyū kai explored how to mobilize actual people, with a focus on the organization of agrarian masses and the encouragement of the agrarian community.

The Role of Culture

In October 1940, all existing political parties resolved into the Imperial Rule Assistance Association. The idea of the IRAA was to reorganize the entire nation under the prime minister, down even to the micro-level local community, such as neighborhood associations. Konoe put emphasis on culture in his policy and created a cultural division upon establishing the IRAA. The surge of cultural-essentialist discourses had already been seen since the 1930s, but I'd like to shed light on how the culture was worked into actual organizing policy and practice under the Konoe cabinet. Although the task of cultural division was not clearly fleshed out upon launch, the note by Kishida Kunio (1890–1950), an acclaimed playwright who served as the head of the cultural branch of the IRAA during the early 1940s, shows his excitement about culture being given equal importance as politics and science under Konoe's new regime.[19] In an article published in 1941, Kishida lists possible areas to be covered by the cultural division as follows: "… considering economic and politic does not belong to this block, our work would contain education, religion, science, technology, literature, art, newspaper, journal, broadcasting, publishing. And in term of welfare, assuming labor issue belongs to the realm of economy, other issues such as medical care, health care, physical activity, and entertainment, should be covered

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[18] "Shiryo kaisetsu" Imai Seiichi, and Takashi Itō. *Kokka sōdōin. 2. 2 Gendai shi shiryō*. (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō. 1974), xxxiv.

[19] Kishida served as the chief of cultural division from Oct. 1940 to July.1942.

by cultural division." [20] As we can see from this remark, "culture" did not only connote cultural

production, but also included the implementation of participatory activities, such as radio

calisthenics and conferences.[21] Also, the cultural and spiritual policies were implemented in

expectation of increasing the production, rather than for the sake of culture itself. The agenda of

cultural division notes: "The strongest emphasis needs to be put on spiritual control of the nation,

to watch out the psychology of the people, in order to improve material productivity such as

increase in the food productivity."[22] Hence, the emphasis was on rural culture with a focus on its

collective lifestyle. In 1941, the IRAA cultural department published "The Fundamental

Principle of Constructing Rural Culture and the Policy for the Time Being,"[23] stating that the

legitimate culture of Japan lies in rural culture, and not in the culture of the metropole developed

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[20] Kishida Kunio, "Taisei yokusankai to bunka mondai," in *Kishida Kunio zenshū* vol 25 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1991), 221.

[21] Research by Harry Harootunian showed how the category of culture served as the repository of time, and timeless "Japanese spirit" that surpasses the modernity of Western origin. Such ideas of culture and essential Japaneseness were carried over in the postwar. But at the same time, culture did not only mean tradition but included various practical organization through everyday practice, and creation of the "new" culture. Barak Kushner approaches wartime Japanese propaganda with more emphasis on dissemination and newness. Kushner notes that Japanese propaganda was less emperor centered, and was more about the progress and modernity that lead entire Asia. Examining propaganda in various fields such as tourism and entertainment, Kushner argued that propaganda was one sided but reciprocal nature. See Barak Kushner, *The thought war: Japanese imperial propaganda*.(Honolulu:University of Hawaii Press, 2006)

[22] It was established around 1941. Original reads: 最後に文化部として最も力点を置くべきは、時局下に於ける国民の精神的統制にして、民衆心理の動向を慮り、適切有効なる指導と錬成とを加へ、以て生産力拡充、食糧増産等の物的生産の原動力たらしむるものにして、これが為め文化諸昨日の活潑なる運動を促し、国民生活の全面に亙ろ希望と慰安を与へつつ国家総力戦の基本たる国民個々の積極性と持続性とを発揮せしむるよう努力す"Bunkabu shokan jimu gaiyō" Kitagawa Kenzō and Hiroyuki Takaoka, *Shiryōshū sōryokusen to bunka* (Tokyo: Ōtsuki shoten, 2000), 5 and 504.

[23] "Chihō bunka shin kensetsu no konpon rinen to tōmen no hōsaku" (地方文化新建設の根本理念と当面の方策), in *Shiryōshū sōryokusen to bunka,* 6.

under foreign influence. The policy encouraged: 1. The emphasis of the tradition and particularity of each region, instead of redistributing culture of the metropole; 2. The negation of individualist culture and the revitalization of the collective relationship that characterizes the rural agricultural community, and finally; 3. The correction of the imbalance of culture, industry, politics, and administration between the metropole and the provincial areas. To carry out this policy in actual rural areas, the program fused professional organizations, administrative systems, and local organizations, making them all connect to each other under the IRAA. The IRAA reorganized existing professional organizations into varied divisions such as a science faction, a literary faction, a theater/film faction, a music/dance faction, an education faction, a health care faction, a religious faction, and so on.[24]

Soshiki and *Bunka* in *Tōtairiku*

The topic of *kokumin soshiki* was widely discussed in journalism from the late 1930s to the 1940s—and *Tōtairiku,* the orginal journal of Tōhōkai, was not an exception. However, Nakano Seigō had his own ideas about mass-political movements and the critique of bureaucracy before the governmental discussion of national mobilization arose, which originated from his frustration about Japan's diplomatic policy regarding the Versailles Treaty in 1920. Carrying this strand of Nakano's interest in mass movements, articles in *Tōtairiku* critically examined the government-led mobilization policy and explored alternative means and channels of mass organization and mass movements. For example, in the November 1937 issue, we can find a critique of the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement by journalist Sekiyama Shigetarō, which questioned

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[24] See *Shiryōshū sōryokusen to bunka.*

empty slogans such as *chochiku kenyaku* (save and be frugal) at a time when people were already living under tight budgets.

Although Tōhōkai was invested in *kokumin undō*, Nakano rather emphasized a popular based movement as a critique of bureacracy, rather than support of top-down national mobilization. The *Tōtairiku* July 1939 issue published a small feature titled "Declaration of the National Movement" (*Kokumin undō sengen*). In an article titled "The Historical Significance of the National Movement," journalist Satō Yoshikuma stressed that the *kokumin undō* led by Tōhōkai is not a movement led by party politics, but a movement based on activities such as lectures, signature-collecting campaigns, and lobbying. [25] Compared to the Kokumin undō kenkyukai, where the discussion focused on rural communities and organizing the rural populace, Nakano seemed less interested in actual community/organization than in mediated enthusiasm and heroic speech, especially after he met Hitler and Mussolini. [26]

Soshiki and *bunka* in Hanada's Writings

Hanada Kiyoteru was first involved in *Tōtairiku* as a contributor in 1936, and served as its chief editor from June 1939 to October 1940. He contributed articles on socio-political topics such as the price of silver and the class system in China as well as an annual analysis of the economic situation under his own name, and published essays with a satirical tone using the

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[25] Satō Yoshikuma (佐藤吉熊), "Kokumin undō no rekishiteki igi," *Tōtairiku* Vol.17 No.7.

[26] Nakano visited Europe in 1937 to 1938 and arranged meeting with them. For detail of Nakano's meeting with Hitler and Mussolini, See Leslie R. Oates, *Populist Nationalism in Prewar Japan: a Biography of Nakano Seigō* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1985).

pseudonym Kosugi Yūji (小杉雄二).[27] As chief editor of *Tōtairiku*, Hanada brought in literary

writers such as Matsuda Tokiko, the novelist who was also active in the labor movement,

anarchist poet Okamoto Jun, and modernist poet Yoshida Issui.[28]

Tōtairiku, under Hanada's direction, expanded the idea of *soshiki* beyond the nationalist

moral-sentiment-based mobilization, and explored collectivity and mobilization as mediated

phenomena. During the period Hanada served as its chief editor, *Tōtairiku* published issues with

tokushū (featured topics with multiple articles) on media and collectivity, such as "What Is

Propaganda" (*Senden to wa nanika,* March 1940), "The Characteristic of Public Emotions,"

(*Yoron no seikaku*, May 1940), and "The Structure of Collectivity"（*Shūdan no kōzō*, August

1940.

For example, the "The Structure of Collectivity" takes a variety of approaches to the idea

of collectivity beyond national community. "Collectivity and Environment" (*Shūdan to kankyō*

by sociologist Sakurai Shōtarō[29] questions the idea that the collective is subject to the

surrounding environment, arguing that the collective could bring change to natural and social

environments. "Group/Organization/Leader" (*Shūdan・soshiki・shidōsha*) by journalist

Miyazaki Yoshimasa[30] compares the spontaneously emerged organization to achieve a certain

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[27] See Kōno Toshirō, *Tōtairiku sōmokuji,* (Tokyo: Yushōdō Shuppan 2003) for the table of content of *Tōtairiku*.

[28] Matsuda Tokiko (松田解子1905–2004) was a novelist and was active in the labor movement. Okamoto Jun (岡本潤1901–1978) was a poet associated with anarchism. Yoshida Issui (吉田一穂1898–1973) was a modernist poet.

[29] 櫻井庄太郎

[30] 宮崎吉政

goal, and man-made organizations, such as state-made organizations. Among the essays

examining the collectivity in socio-historic terms, an article titled "Collective and art" (Sh*ūdan*

to geijutsu) by literary critic Harada Isamu's[31] essay about the relationship between the

individual and the collective in terms of art stands out as unique. Referring to the Unanimisme

movement in France at the turn of the century, Harada shows the possibility of the collective in

art movements without relying on the communist or totalitarian regimes. Following the transition

from "static description to dynamic expression" found in French poet Jules Romains'[32] work,

where "trains and cars starts running in his verse," Harada suggests the exploration of mass

psychology in urban settings.

The propaganda feature explores the mechanism of propaganda. Among articles

emphasizing the importance of propaganda in total mobilization, an article by Asano Sō[33]

questions the presumption that propaganda can inculcate the masses. Asano laments that

propaganda and advertisement, running rampant, have mystified politics for those receiving the

propaganda. Reflecting back on his own involvement in spreading propaganda to the masses[34],

Asano admits that he was merely applying a single philosophy to politics and art, and that he

himself was nothing but an instrument to repeat such a pattern. Asano notes that the only way to

fight against the mystification of propaganda is for receivers of propaganda to turn on those who

spread the propaganda themselves. Asano concludes the essay with a satirical tone, describing a

situation where the propagandees have turned themselves into propagandists, thinking they can

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[31] 原田勇

[32] Jule Romain (1885–1972) is a French Poet.

[33] Asano Sō (浅野荘), " 'Senden' no Shōtai," *Tōtairiku*, Vol.18 No. 3

[34] This could imply Asano's involvement in Marxist movement.

manipulate others. It is also notable that in the issue, the editor's note criticized the presumed intellectual hierarchy behind the propaganda: "… the bureaucrats and their prolocutors always talk down to the masses from above. They would use esoteric language when they want to get away from them, and accessible language when patronizing. Books written by professors are 'difficult' for the masses. *Ie no hikari* and *Kingu*[35] are easy to understand. So folks read these understandable publications, think they understand, and are tamed. No matter how understandable they are, their language comes from above."[36] It is fair to say that these issues not only advocate collectivity and propaganda, but left room to explore various approach to collectivity, including aesthetic sensibility, and question the assumption that the intellectuals can incalculate the masses by propaganda.

A month after he joined *Tōtairiku* as chief editor, Hanada organized the Association for Restarting of Culture (*Bunka saishuppatsu no kai*) with Nakano Hideto, a journalist turned poet and painter,[37] and its organ journal *Bunka soshiki*. The Association for Restarting of Culture consisted of members with various left and right-wing political backgrounds, ranging from journalists at *Tōhōkai* to anarchist poets who had connections with Nakano Hideto.[38] Compared

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[35] *Ie no hikari* and *Kingu* were titles of popular magazines.

[36] *Tōtairiku*, Vol.18 No. 3 (March 1940)

[37] Nakano Hideto followed quite different path from his brother. He first became famous with his essay "The Literature of the Fourth Class," published as early as 1920. During the mid-1930s, Hideto started the journal *Ecrivan* (*Ekuriban*), dedicated mainly to anarchist poetry. As to Nakano Hideto see Nakano Hideto, *Nakano Hideto sakuhinshū* (Fukuoka: Fukuokashi bungakukgan, 2015)

[38] As to Bunka saishuppatsu no kai, see "Bunka saishuppatsu no kai," in *Undōzoku Hanada Kiyoteru* (Fukuoka: Fukuokashi Bungaku kan, 2014) 26, Sekine Hiroshi, "Bunka soshiki no koro," *Bungei* Vol.13 No.12, Fukuchi Tateo, "Tōtairiku・Bunka saishuppatsu no kai・Hanada Kiyoteru," *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū Vol1. Gep*pō *16* (Tokyo:Kōdansha, 1979), Okamoto Jun, "Senzen no hanada san, " *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū Vol10. Gep*pō *9* (Tokyo:Kōdansha, 1978).

to the socio-political journalistic characteristic of *Tōtairiku*, cultural content carried more weight

in *Bunka soshiki*, including cultural-critical essays, poetry, novels, and translated literature. The

first issue of *Bunka soshiki* published the manifesto of the group, claiming "recreating culture" as

its goal, with programs such as publishing organ journals and pamphlets and holding public

lectures. In the first issue of *Bunka soshiki,* literary critic Nakatani Hiroshi wrote that the group

did not necessarily have a specific direction to where "restart" and "organize" would lead, and in

that sense, they did not intend to be political.[39] While he echoed the necessity to mobilize every

faction, Nakatani lamented how the narrow minded, who insisted their own idea of culture as the

only culture, silenced any other. Nakano Hideto's essay titled "From the Politics to the Art"

(*Seiji kara geijutsu e*) in the second issue, evinced suspicion for the demands that the arts should

be useful for something else. Nakano insisted that the important role of culture is to connect and

associate, and art plays a critical role of mediation. While these statements stood against the idea

of art and organization as means to achieve specific political goals, I wish to stress that they were

not claiming the art for art's sake. The inside cover of *Bunka soshiki* carried their manifeso,

which stated that "The aim of *Bunka soshiki* is to complete the systematization and organizing of

the new culture." Maintaining distance from the idea of state-centered mobilization, *Bunka*

soshiki kept the discussion of *soshiki* open for exploring the idea of organizing and collective

political force, in term of the mediated sensibility produced by a cross-media experience.

Sensorial Mobilization

       Several essays published in *Bunka soshiki* by Hanada and Nakano circa 1940 explored

the idea of mass organization in terms of agitation and the mediated sense of collective force.

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[39] Nakatani Hiroshi, "Bunka no soshiki." *Bunka soshiki*, Vol.1 No.1.

These writings touch upon topics such as the relationship between the organizer and the masses, collective action of the masses enticed by agitation, and a moment of dynamic transformation from one given social relation to another. The political positionality of these pieces is ambiguous. They can be read as approval of total mobilization and totalitarianism, and at the same time, Hanada's essay could also be read alongside the idea of revolution subverting the existing power structure. As much as their ambiguity in political position, I emphasize that the idea of mass organization as political force is presented as a rather obscure property of aesthetic sensibility. Nakano's exploration of collectivity and renouncement of the individual emphasized mediated sensibility rather than totalitarian power structure. Hanada's essay describes the transformation of social relations that is to be carried out by the masses (*gunshū*) as something in between ordinary and extraordinary, compared with theatrical staging.

In the essay titled "The God" (*kami*) published in *Bunka soshiki* Oct. 1940, Nakano explores the possibility of "the god," or the epistemology of totality that would reconcile the fragmentation resulting from the division of labor. In addition, Nakano speculates what mediates between an individual and the collective: "We know that terms such as collective, society, and nation have been rampant these days. But are we part of the society? When we feel pain in our feet, would the society also feel pain in its feet?"[40] "If we are the part of society, it is so apart from our body, through something abstract that we can't see." [41]For Nakano, the total unity

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[40] われわれは、集団、社会、国家、というような言葉が耳を聾するほどに鳴り響いているのを知っている。だが、われわれははたして社会の一員であるであろうか。われわれの脚が痛いときに、はたして社会の脚が痛いであろうか？ Nakano Hideto, "Kami." *Bunka soshiki*, Vol.1, No.10. 58.

[41] もしも、われわれが社会の一員であるとするなら、「肉体」を離れて、眼には見ることの出来ない抽象化されたるものによって、一員なのであろう。Ibid.

meant the state of being apart from one's own body and also something unrecognizable.

Nakano's lengthy expounding about totality and unity as state is difficult to fully understand, but I'd like to note Nakano's denial of totality as unmediated experience. Admitting that he could not tell whether there is a god or not, Nakano concludes that he approached the epistemology of God, or the epistemology of something that is similar to God. He warns of the danger of understanding "unity as something as is and attainable by humans."[42] For Nakano, totality is not the state of nature; rather, an incessant reconfiguration of relation is the only way to project the totality in the future.

Nakano's search for totality as mediated state and reconfiguring relation leads to the idea of artistic synthesis. His essay series titled "Painting and Literature"[43] (*Kaiga to bungaku*), published in *Bunka soshiki* from 1940 to 1941, argues that artistic expression is always indirect, for it is about replacing the object with specific methods such as writing and painting. Noting that each method has its own capacity and limitation of expressing relations, such as painting being capable of expressing spatial relations and literature being capable of expressing temporal relations, the series proposes possible resynthesis of a different genre, which Nakano calls "synthesization" (*sōgō-ka* 総合化).

Hanada's somewhat agitative essay "Modern Apollo" portrays the mass organization as a politically subversive force and demonstrates the relationship between the masses and "them." [44]

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[42] 「渾然たる一つ」を、人のものとし、あるがままのものとすること For Nakano, the aim for absolute unity and the denial of the individual revolved around attaining unity before the divison of labor. Although such unity is defined as impossible task, Nakano keeps the point that incessant reconfiguration of relation is the only way to project such totality in the future.

[43] Nakano Hideto, "Kaiga to bungaku," *Bunka Soshiki* Vol.1 No.12, Vol.2 No.1, 2 and 3.

[44] The essay is revised and published with the title "The Sketch of Leaders" ("Shidōsha no sobyō") in the postwar, which I will explain in Chapter Two. Watanabe Shirō points out varieties of unnoted quotes and

The essay reads like a collage work, a patchwork of fragmented anecdotes and images of mass

organization and the organizer. As Watanabe Shirō notes, what Hanada meant by "them" is

unclear but it seems to refer to the organizer of the masses. The essay describes the relation

between "them" and the masses as something like chemical reaction rather than social

hierarchical relationship. "Them" is also differentiated from the glorification of the collective

found in both socialism and fascism. This essay could be read as an attempt to write about mass

organization and the organizer in a different way from existing mass-organizing tactics of the left

and the right. Hanada writes:

> They do not distance themselves from the masses, they do not look down on the
> masses. They do not self-righteously defend their solitude. They do not disdain the
> intoxication of the masses. Among the masses they are a spiritual battery, and as they
> touch the masses, the electricity will be released. It will give intense shock to the
> masses, like material electricity given to a cat. The masses perceptible to the faint
> electricity and opens its blue eyes.[45]

Hanada's explanation of the *them* and *the masses* continues, as he describes the movement as

exchange of electrical energy between them and the masses. Orderliness and disorderliness in

thic process is not problem for *them*, for *them* turns the orderliness (秩序) that's on the surface

into disorder (混乱)and disorder that's on the surface into order. Hanada criticizes both the ultra-

right-wing and the ultra-left-wing, noting that ultra-right-wing is obsessed with old form and is

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references in this essay, including Georges Sorel's *Reflection on Violence*, *Introduction to the Method of Leonardo Da Vinci* by Paul Valery, Kobayashi Hideo's translation of *Mr. Teste* by Valery, and more. Watanabe Shirō, ""'Karera' no mythos" Hanada Kiyoteru "Gendai no Aporo," *Kōhon Kindai Bungaku* Vol.28, 2003.

[45] かれらは群集から遠ざかりはしない。かれらは群集を見くだしもしない。敢えて自分の孤独を尊重もしなければ、群集の陶酔を嫌悪するのでもない。群集のなかにあって、かれらは歩きまわる一つの精神的な電池。群集と接触するたびごとに、かならずかれらの電流が放射される。そうして物質的な電流が猫にあたえるように、それが群集の心にはげしい衝撃をあたえる。平日は猫のように眠っている群集。しかし、ささやかな電流のながれにも感じて、その青い眼をひらく群集。*Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.2 158.

oblivious of new content, and the ultra-left-wing unconditionally refuses any kind of the old form. Hanada emphasizes that the creation is to practically overcome these extremist stances with various forms.[46]

In relation to the focus on form, this mass organization and transformative force is described ambiguously, located between the visible and the invisible, between sameness and transformation. This ambiguous register of transformation—it might not be seen, but it is felt—is explained with reference to the theatrical staging of the play *Emperor Jones* by Eugene O'Neill, which is about the pursuit of Emperor Jones by the rebel army through the dark jungle. Hanada mentions the use of drumming sounds in the play to suggest the existence of a rebel army, unseen in the pitch-black jungle. According to Hanada, this running sound of the drum is a "physical and metaphysical" index of the new relationship.

The closing part of the essay is a zenith of conflation of mass organization and formal transformation, of the ambiguity between sameness and transformation, the real and the false. The passage describes the moment of transformation, alongside with "myth," which seemingly conflates mass mobilization, agitation, and propaganda.

> Everything stays as is, but a distinctive tune echoes. The tune rises higher, sharper, and deafeningly loud. The decisive moment. Hot wind blows across the area.
>   At that moment, something is cut off in the heart of the masses. Everything is renewed at once, and the familiar, mundane scenery start to bright up with unseen beauty, and start developing with extraordinary attraction. Order and chaos in the real world turns into a passage of mythos.
>   Mythos. Today's mythos owned by the new power. Mythos of the twentieth century. Logos and mythos. Truth and false. Perhaps not false, but something felt instinctively rather than by means of the reason. Examining old mythos and changing it to reasonable one, that can bear the inspection of the logos. The birth of science. Critical mind. Ionian science, for example. We can think mythos in logos, too. The feature of mythos. It is told, not written. Rumor. There are something living, no matter it is truth or false. Under current. The belief of the masses.

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[46] *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.2 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977), 159.

The relation between them and myth. It can be said that myth brings them and the masses together. The myth for primitives is something that consider to be truth. The creator of myth today should not compromise with false or deception, they can be pure and clean. The love for the truth. The myth is the means to prompt on the real, based on such love. Dynamic aspect, As Čapek says, the myth is staged ideal.

"…In the end, mythos is the word that one who saw the truth tells to those who have not seen it. Agitation. Propaganda. Mythos brings devotion and sacrifice among the masses."[47]

As Watanabe Shirō pointed out, the association between myth and social transformation in the quoted passage is taken from French philosopher George Sorel's writing on general strike.[48] I will not delve into detail about the influence of Sorel on Hanada too much, but rather I

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[47] そこではすべてが当り前だが、それをつらぬいて何か独特の調子がひびく。独特の調子は次第に高くなり、するどくなり、やがて耳を聾するばかりになる。決定的な時機。熱風が、あたりを吹きすさぶ。

　そのとき、群集の心のなかで或るものが断ちきられる。たちまち、すべてが新しくなり、見なれた日常の風景が、未知のうつくしさをもってかがやきはじめ、異様な魅力をもって展開しはじめる。現実の秩序や混乱が、偉大な神話の一節に変る。

　神話（ミュートス）。新興勢力のもつ今日の神話。二十世紀の神話。ロゴスとミュートス。真理と虚偽。虚偽というよりも、理解によらず、本能によって感得されるもの。昔のミュートスを吟味して、合理的なミュートス、ロゴスの吟味に堪えるミュートスとする。科学の発生。批判的精神。たとえばイオニアの科学。逆にロゴスの含むミュートスについても考えられる。ミュートスの特徴。文字化されず、語られる。流言蜚語。そこには、真偽を超越して生きているものがある。アンダー・カレント。群集の信念。

かれらと神話との関係。かれらと群集とを結合するものは、神話であるともいえる。原始人の神話は真とみなす何ものか。したがって、今日の神話の創始者もまた、虚偽乃至は欺瞞にたいして譲歩する必要はない。純粋、清潔であっていい。真理への愛。神話とは、その愛の上に立つ現実への働きかけの手段。ダイナミックな要素。チャペックいうように、神話とは演出された理想である。

結局、真理をみたものが、みたことのない者に語る言葉—それがミュートス。アジテーション。プロパガンダ。神話は、群集の間に、献身と犠牲との慣習をもたらす。*Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.2 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977), 170-171.

[48] As Watanabe points out, Hanada quotes (without reference) a passage from Sorel's *Reflection on Violence*: "Men who are participating in great social movements always piture their coming action in the form of images of battle in which their cause is certain to triumph." After the quoted sentence, Sorel

wish to emphasize the ambiguous register of myth between sameness and transformation. In the moment of myth, "everything stays as is," yet the "familiar mundane scenery" "starts to brighten up with unseen beauty." True or false is not a problem in mythos, for Myth is a "means to prompt the real" that brings "devotion and sacrifice among the masses." Myth is defined as something that is transmitted from one to another, not in written language, but as rumor that transmits between one mouth and another. "[I]t is felt instinctively rather than by means of reason." It is aligned with agitation and propaganda. The organization of the masses and subversion is conceptualized as mediated sensation, obfuscating its register. Keeping ambiguity between the unchanging and that which transforms, written language and non-linguistic communication, Hanada portrays mass organization through images of transformation, which might not be conspicuous or written, but rather undulate under the surface, like the running sound of a beating drum.

Nakano Hideto's writings deal with the search for the absolute and the overcoming of the individual. These topics look like a step toward totalitarianism; however, they also keep "totality" as an unknown field that should be explored by criticism. The play "The Progress" (*Zenshin*), published in the *Bunka soshiki* June 1941 issue, consists of dialogue on the pursuit for the "common voice." The protagonist Kenji has a desire "to say a thing by borrowing other's mouth rather than his own," but when asked by his friend what he wants to say in such a manner, Kenji replies that he does not know. Kenji searches for the "communal voice" that is "political and direct," but denies party politics or having a specific voice represented. Kenji seeks for

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continues, "I proposed to give the name of 'myths' to these constructions, knowledge of which is so important for historians: the general strike of the syndicalists and Marx's catastrophic revolution are such myths." Sorel also notes that it's important "not to make any comparison between the outcomes and the picture people had formed for themselves before the action." For Sorel, a general strike of the proletariat is considered alongside the category of "myth."

"politics that makes human inhuman, like an automatic machine that lives after the death of an individual."[49] It is notable that this search for the "communal" is not based upon nationalism or nativism. What the protagonist means by "politics" remains unclear, but a "political and direct" voice that speaks for oneself makes the human beyond human—like automatic machine sounds, or a machine-mediated voice.

A formalist approach to the organization of the masses can be also found in the essay "The New Culture and the Old Culture,"[50] in which Hanada proposes the renewal of art and the role of artists, arguing that new artists should actively take a role in organizing the masses. Hanada starts the essay by casting doubt upon recent policies that aim to control the spirit, such as the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement, and control over culture (*bunka tōsei* 文化統制). Even though the intellectuals warn of a "spiritual crisis," confusion in spirit is much less than material and economical confusion. Keeping his materialist position, Hanada evinces skepticism toward spirit-focused efforts, for they would not ameliorate social defunction nor help establish national cooperation.[51]

Hanada then argues the necessity of new art that should aim for establishing external order (*gaiteki chitsujo* 外的秩序), in contrast to old and existing art that expresses the artist's internal order (*naiteki chitsujo* 内的秩序). Hanada does not clarify what he means by internal and external. From his critique of defunct, material production and consumption under capitalism

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[49] Nakano Hideto, "Zenshin," *Bunka soshiki*, Vol.1 No.10.

[50] "Atarashii bunka to furui bunka"was first published in *Bunka Soshiki* Vol.1 Issue.2. It is compiled in *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.2 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977)

[51] *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.2 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977), 137.

in the essay, internal could be interpreted as individual spiritual life and external as socio-

political state. [52] My interest here is how the category of internal and external work in Hanada's

proposal of the "new art," rather than to clarify and solidify these categories. The framework of

external versus internal reappears again in Hanada's postwar writings on the avant-garde, where

he claims that avant-garde artists should apply the method of avant-garde art used to give form to

artists' internal reality, to the project of giving form to external reality. Hanada explains "new

art" in term of its ethos and expected role. He writes:

> Since the new art today aims to establish new external order, it should be needless to
> say that new art is not art for art's sake and hence it would not aim for the artistic
> completion. It will be distorted, undone, unbalanced, in a word, bad art. But it should be
> at least equipped with some dynamic function that directly helps to give external
> order. [53]

He further argues that "new art" should elicit action: "It takes action to give order to

external disorder. Hence, new art should elicit action. Or, it should be a product of such action.

And such action, of course is not an individual action. How could individual action overcome

external disorder?" [54] Hanada notes that new art needs to have "*sendenteki kōka*" (propagandistic

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[52] The framework of external vs internal reappears again in Hanada's postwar writings on avant-garde art, which will be examined in the chapter two.

[53] 今日の新しい芸術が、新しい外的秩序の建設を目指す以上、それが芸術のための芸術ではなく、したがって、またなんら芸術的完成を意図するものではないことは、ここにあらためて断るまでもあるまい。それはいびつな、未完成な、均衡のとれぬ、一言にして言えば下手くそな芸術であろう。しかし、何か直接に現実の秩序づけに役立つ、ダイナミックな機能だけはそなえているに違いない。*Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.2 ,138.

[54] 外部の混乱を秩序づけるには行動しなければならぬ。したがって、新しい芸術は行動を導くものでなければならぬ。或いはそういう行動の結果生まれたものでなければならぬ。その行動とは、むろん、個人的な行動ではない。ひとりの人間の行動で、どうして外的な混乱を克服することができようか。Ibid*.,* 139, 140.

effect　宣伝的効果) and be understood by the masses, but unrealistic propaganda pandering to

the masses would go against the interest of the masses. Artists need to be "aware of interest of

the masses, even more than the masses, and claim the interest of the masses by reflecting what he

thought."[55] Hanada further claims that "new artists need to organize the masses by means of

organizing culture, always need to be within the organized masses, and organize culture as one of

the masses with the masses, develop collectively, and make efforts to establish external order and

overcome external disorder"[56]

Hanada's conflation of the imperative of mass organization and that of creating new art

does not specify the medium or genre of art—perhaps traversing across different genres/media is

the method of exploring mass organization/new art as a question of mediated sensibility. Hanada

makes a point about new realism, which he would repeat more assertively as avant-garde realism

in the postwar. He mentions *Madame Bovary* as an example of the perfection of the artist's

internal order, while suggesting Futurism and Surrealism in modern art as the possible method of

the new realism:

> In an attempt to gain propagandistic effect, probably a new form of realism shall be
> born. It might not be the one that portrays the real —this disorderly and torn real, in a
> precise manner. It might not grasp the totality of the real dialectically and express it
> artistically. (But see how such over the top and idealistic phrases had been repeated
> without shame! See how the disorder in the real had been compartmentalized in one's
> head and offered in the old artistic outfits!)
>   New realism might not express the confusion of the real dialectically, but rather might
> cut it up and express it spatially, not temporally. The vivid cut out, fragmentary
> expression of the real would entice action at once. It might be achieved through actively

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[55] 新しい芸術家は大衆の利害に大衆以上に敏感でなければならず、またその作品にかれの感じ
とったところのものを反映することによって、率直に大衆の利害を主張して行かねばならぬ 。
Ibid., 141.

[56] 新しい芸術家は、文化を組織することによって大衆を組織し、そうしてまた、絶えず組織さ
れた大衆の中にあって、大衆と共に、大衆の一人として文化を組織し、集団的に生長しなが
ら、外的秩序の建設に一外部的混乱の克服に努めなければならぬ。Ibid., 141.

utilizing the bold method of modern art found in futurism, leading to surrealism. Of course, we still need to be vigilant about psychological tendencies in modern art. [57]

This statement still is abstract, but we might read here the renewal of realism explained as a shift from the literal to the visual, or the metaphorical to the material.

As we have seen, in Hanada's essays, mass organization was imagined like art, and art was defined as organization. "The New Culture and the Old Culture" might read like a schematic conflation of art and politics; the blurred boundary between "art" and "politics" might make it difficult to figure out what exactly Hanada is talking about. As I will further discuss in the next chapter, when Hanada's progressive conflation of art and organization was brought to the immediate postwar literary milieu, where the relation between politics and literature had become a contentious topic, several leftist literary writers responded negatively to Hanada's idea for being too politically progressive and sacrificing art. But unlike other critics who took part in discussions about politics and literature in the immediate postwar, art and politics were not mutually exclusive realms for Hanada. [58] Rather, mass organization and the renewal of art are

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[57] おそらく宣伝的効果をねらうというところから、新しいリアリズムの一形式が生れることであろう。それは現実を―この混乱に混乱をかさね、支離滅裂にひきさかれている現実を、精密に、周到に、隅から隅まであますところなく物語るものではないかも知れぬ。いわば現実の全体性を、弁証法的に把握し、これを芸術的に表現しはしないだろう。（なんと屢々かかる大袈裟な、観念的な文句が、恥ずかし気もなく繰返されたことか！しかも亦、なんと簡単に現実の混乱が頭のなかで割り切られ、古い芸術的衣装をきせて提供されたことか！）
　新しいリアリズムは、案外、現実の混乱を弁証法的にではなく、形式論理的方法によって切りはなち、時間的にではなく、空間的に表現するものであるかも知れぬ。かくて、切断された現実の断片的表現は、あくまで生々しいものであり、直ちに行動を触発するものとなるだろう。それは未来派以来シュールに至る、あの近代芸術のもつ大胆な手法を、積極的に生かすことによって達成されるかも知れぬ。もちろん、近代芸術のなかに根をはっている心理主義的傾向にたいしては、あくまで警戒することが必要であるが。Ibid., 140.

[58] In the "politics and literature" debate that erupted around *Kindai bungaku* in late 1940s, the younger critics from *Kindai bungaku* casted critical view toward prewar proletarian literary movement for making literature and individual mere tool for the communist party policy. They made claim to defend art as expansion of individual self, not yielding to the politics.

inseparable. This might conjure Benjamin's famous note on the aestheticization of politics in fascist Germany, but one should remind oneself that this "art" does not mean *sacred*, as Hanada defines the new art, which has the "dynamic function" of giving order, as "undone, unbalanced, in a word, bad art."[59]

Organization as Form —Phenomenological Formation of Public Opinion

Hanada and Nakano's exploration of mass organization as political force at ambiguous register between sameness and difference, perceptible and imperceptible, physical and metaphysical suggests that mass organization was also a question about sensibility. In Hanada's conflation of art and mass organization, the idea of *senden* (propaganda) seems to be the key where the idea of organization turns to the question of art and new realism. Here I'd like to look at a discourse on *senden* written in the mid-1930s by media scholar Koyama Eizō (1899–1983). The relationship between Hanada and Koyama is rather tangential. A passage from Koyama's book *On Propaganda Techniques* (*Senden gijutsu ron*) quoted in Hanada's essay "Mask of Laughter" (*Warai no kamen*), where Hanada points out the similarity between art and propaganda, is the only visible connection between Hanada and Koyama. Yet Koyama's constructivist approach to explain public opinion and the masses, where *senden*, defined as the repetition of form, plays a critical role, helps us to understand Hanada's association between mass organization and art. Koyama's ideas on the mechanism of the creation and manipulation of the collective psyche through *senden* heavily relies on the idea that *senden* is *form*. The conflation of mobilization and form is where I see a crossover between Koyama and Hanada.

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[59] Perhaps one could think of Hanada's praise of painter Okamoto Tarō's bellicose critique that rejected the technical refinement of art in the postwar.

As Barak Kushner notes, the term *senden* originally meant advertisement, and later came to denote propaganda and publicity beginning in the early 1930s, when Japanese government embarked on translating propaganda studies in German and English. Kushner argues that Japanese wartime propaganda constituted discursive activities with a goal to "create a symbiotic relationship between soldiers at the front and civilians throughout the empire in imperial expansion,"[60] rather than as demagogy or indoctrination. According to Kushner, the discussion on propaganda shifted from the idea of *kyōka* (moral suasion) during the 1880s to a "more scientifically savvy system of social management"[61] in the 1930s.

Published in the mid-1930s, Koyama's discussion of *senden* was not about indoctrinating the masses with wartime demagogy, but evolved around the attempt to clarify the function and mechanism of *senden* to organize. While *senden* would potentially function to bring people together, in what way would *senden* do so? Koyama's theorization of *senden*, as an instrument for mobilization but also as an amorphous and opaque medium, might fill in the blank around the conflation of mass organization and art found in *Bunka soshiki*.

Koyama studied media and social management in the mid-1930s.[62] He was involved in the study of newspapers at Tokyo Imperial University—the budding field that examined the press and its formation of public opinion using the methodology of contemporary German press

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[60] Barak Kushner, *The thought war: Japanese imperial propaganda.* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006) , 6.

[61] Ibid., 22.

[62] Kushner shows Japanese wartime propaganda as a discursive activity that had a goal to "create a symbiotic relationship between soldiers at the front and civilians throughout the empire in imperial expansion," rather than as a demagogy or through indoctrination. Kushner points out the transition of propaganda from the idea of *kyōka* (moral persuasion) during 1880 to "more scientifically savvy system of social management." Barak Kushner, *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda.* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006)

study.[63] Koyama had an interest in theorizing the formation of *yoron* (輿論 public opinion)[64] and

the role of the press in it. His study was fructified in a large volume titled *Newspaper Studies*

(*Shinbungaku*, 1935), followed by two theories of *senden* (propaganda): *On Propaganda*

Techniques (*Senden gijutsu ron*, 1937) and *Theory of Wartime Senden* (*Senji senden ron*, 1942).

Published upon the outbreak of second Sino-Japanese war, *On Propaganda Techniques*

examines the mechanism of propaganda generating the collective psyche and action (*yoron* 輿

論) and is deeply invested in utilizing propaganda for the war effort. The importance of *senden*

is set on the premise that the current war is a "thought war." Noting that Western countries were

disseminating propaganda to degrade Japan for its China invasion, Koyama argued the necessity

for *senden* targeted to Chinese people to cultivate their spiritual alliance with Japan and rebel

against Western countries. Similar to the idea of the Spiritual Mobilization movement, Koyama

argues for converting the formation of the collective psyche into an organized war effort.

Aside from its dedication to the imperialist war effort, I wish to look at Koyama's

formalist explanation of the mechanism of *senden*. Koyama defined *senden* as a function of

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[63] The field was led by Ono Hideo (1885–1977). On transnational context of study on press and public opinion during the interwar period, see chaper two in Fabian Schafer, *Public Opinion, Propaganda, Ideology* (Boston: Brill, 2012)

[64] Fabian Schafer nicely summarizes several different understandings of *yoron*, such as "Will of the People," by Ono Hideo, "Abstract Idea," by Koyama Eizō, "Bourgeoirs Ideology," by Tosaka Jun, and "Certain Social Group with Specific Interest," by Shimizu Ikutarō. (Schafer 31) For Koyama, *yoron* itself was non-existent, and in that regard is ideology, similar to nationalism or spirit of Japan as ideology. But at the same time, for Koyama, it was not just an abstract idea, because *yoron* can affect one's thoughts. Satō Takumi notes that Koyama learned a lot from rising academic field of *Publizistik* (*Publicism*), advanced by Koyama's contemporary Hans Amandus Münster (1901–1963). *Publizistik* (*Publicism*) expanded the existing study of newspapers to include examination of radio, film, poster, mass demonstration, and so on. Satō also notes the differentiation between 輿論 and 世論. See Satō, Takumi., *Yoron to Seron: Nihon-teki min'i no keifugaku (*Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 2008)

reproducing ideas and desire. Koyama writes: "The particularity of *senden* lies in externalizing

one's thoughts or attitude toward reality, by means of figurative construction, assimilating other's

different thoughts and attitude with it, and controlling their action. Gathered thoughts are not

mere thoughts anymore but possess social organizing power."[65] Propaganda disseminates,

reproduces, and transmits certain psyches and hence produces collective force.[66] Through the

reproduction and transmission of desire, *senden* expands individual or local ideas to a wider

society, overcoming the constraint of time and space.

Throughout his argument, Koyama emphasizes that *senden* is form, and obsessively uses

terms related to form and figure such as *keitai* (form 形態)*, keishō*（figure 形象）*, and keisei*

（formation 形成）. The collective will be "formed" through propaganda, and propaganda

requires form since the ideas cannot be shared nor reproduced directly. Koyama writes:

"Unfortunately humans cannot transmit one's spirit directly to the other. Because of this,

propaganda —as one's idea in the most sharpened form—and to solve problems in the

ideological struggle—needs sensory material, such as light and sound as media."[67]

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[65] 宣伝の特殊性は表現の形象的な構成によって自分の又は一定の思想なり、現実に対する態度
なりを客観化し、異質的な他人の思想なり、態度なりをそれに同化せしめて行動を支配しよう
とすることである。集結された思想は単なる思想に止まらずに力学的な社会組織力を持つ。
Koyama Eizō, *Senden Gijytusu Ron* (Tokyo: Kōyō Shoin, 1937) , 1.

[66] Koyama notes that "the publicum formed by *senden* is formal society" in which "consisting individuals
are different, separated both in term of time and space but gains representation of a unit of numerous
people, connected both spatially and temporalily, within the effect of senden."すなはち宣伝によって構
成されるいはゆる公衆圏 Publicum と云ふものは形態社会であって、その成員である各個人は相
互に非常に異なった存在であり、且つ空間的にも相互に分離しているにもかかはらず、この宣
伝の作用する限りにおいては、常に同様な単位の、且つ空間的に又は時間的に結合された多数
の人間という集団表象を興へる。Ibid., 7.

[67] 人間は不幸にして、精神を「直接」人に伝え得ないから、宣伝も自己の観念の最も鋭利に集
中された形態として―観念闘争に於ける課題を解決するために―或る感性的な物質―

One of the paradoxical characteristics of propaganda as form is originality. Koyama argues that originality makes the propaganda form poignant and effective, while a hackneyed form would be less effective. However, the importance of originality in propaganda does not lie in itself, but in its capability to become stereotype, the pattern or framework that prescribes a way to see the world. Koyama notes the role of stereotype in the similar way he explains the necessity of form to externalize the idea as follows: "Naturally our understanding possesses a fixed angle, and it is unable to project the true image (*eizō* 映像) of existence onto our mind. Hence we construct the shape (*keishō* 形象) of existence, with subjective association of meanings, and even tend to pigeonhole the actual existence to this construction. If we call such representation *concept*, concept could predominate the actual existence, to the extent that we evaluate existence according to this concept."[68] Koyama writes that the importance of propaganda is to provide a strong first impression "because it becomes stereotype (*jōdōteki inshō* 常同的印象)" which "not only persists as a residual image, but becomes the system of thinking according to which one interprets things. The sentiment attached to this impression could transfer itself, such as hatred toward a monk could lead to hatred of his robe."[69] Not only is propaganda about bringing people

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光、音響等を媒体としなければならない。 Ibid., 131.

[68] 本来我々の認識は一定の角度を持っているものであって、実在の真の映像を意識に投射することは出来ないものである。従って我々は実在の形態を主観的意味関連に於て構成することになるのであって、この構成された思惟的形象にあてはめて、実在自体をさえ制約しようとする傾向がある。 Ibid.,180.

[69] かかる印象は記憶的残像であるに止まらず総てのものを、それによって解釈する一種の思想体系になることである。又この印象に附着した感情は坊主が憎けりゃ袈裟まで憎いように感情移行又は感情転移を起すものである。Ibid.,181.

together through the reproduction of purpose, but it is also about forming an epistemological association.

Koyama's idea of coining stereotypes leads to the issue of the veracity of propaganda. According to him, "the fundamental purpose of propaganda is to entice action, and authenticity is a condition to bring forth such situation" and that "the content of propaganda is more or less intentional fabrication."[70] What is important is not veracity but rather repeated iteration, because repetition molds the sterotype. This does not simply mean that the more widely propagated propaganda becomes more closer to the truth–but the point is how one's thought is structured or formalized. Koyama defines *senden*'s function as "reproducing and spreading purpose by the means of form," but also as sheer form that reproduce itself in tautology.

Art and Propaganda in Hanada's Writings

In Hanada's essays, Koyama's formalist and tautological charactalization of the *senden* gains critical antithesis to the ethos of originality. Here I examine two essays, "Cultural Issues Under the Wartime" (*Senjika in okeru bunka mondai*, 1938) and "Mask of Laughter" ("Warai no kamen," *Bunka soshiki,* 1940), where Hanada juxtaposes cultural production and propaganda and points out their shared obsession for originality.

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[70] 「宣伝の究極の且つ本来の目的は行動させること並に行動を可能ならしめることであって、真実性とはかかる状態を持ち来す一つの条件である。」「だから宣伝の内容は大なり小なり意識された虚偽の事実で充たされている。」Ibid., 140.

In "Cultural Issues in Wartime,"[71] Hanada notes the synergy between war and cultural production. Production in journalism, radio, films, plays, and records were expanding and profiting through the production of propaganda. Hanada refers to Terada Torahiko,[72] a scientist and writer who was obsessed with the study of cracking patterns, such as cracks on the wall, floor, dishes—even giraffe skin patterns—in order to investigate the mechanism of material destruction. For Hanada, this is an example of an obsessive tendency toward cultural production in wartime, where the smallest phenomenon was connected to the war effort and charged with signification to be studied. Noting that such expansion of cultural production would only profit the bourgeoisie and has nothing to do with the working class, Hanada concludes the essay with an ironic remark that such obsession surely raises the quantity and quality of culture, and there is no way for bourgeois culture to further develop without war.

The performative language of "Masks of Laughter" maneuvers between the imperative of art and propaganda to be original, and suggests mimicry and laughter as a possible antidote to the myth of originality. Hanada first points out the problem in the pursuit of the original in art production, connecting it to the overflow of propaganda. Then, he brings triteness and tautology as antidotes to the imperative of originality, explained alongside the concept of laughter.[73]

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[71] Hanada Kiyoteru, "Senjika ni okeru bunka mondai," *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.1 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1979), 169.

[72] Terada Torahiko (1878–1935) was a physicist and an essayist.

[73] Previous scholarship on this essay focused on the concept of "mask." For example, Suga Hidemi reads this essay as Hanada's attempt to deny the dichotomy of "mask" and "real." Suga argues that although Hanada denies the dichotomy, "his attempt of promoting mask (mimicry) in the attempt of alienating real, in the end drew himself closer to the real." Suga notes that Hanada's attempt could not break the "politicalness" of literature. Perhaps the limit of Suga's argument is his obsession to the question of whether Hanada could renounce the transcendental level (超越性) that guarantees the truthfulness of literature. Suga's answer is that Hanada also was not free from transcendentalness. For me, whether he could fret or not, is not the important question. Suga Hidemi, *Hanada Kiyoteru: suna no perusona*. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1982)

Hanada starts with a quote of a humorously artless line, followed up with a lighthearted, apologetic note on the failure of coming up with something more philosophical.

> When I try to think about what is laughter, a phrase comes up from deep in my memory.
> "I'm sad my father is dead."
>
> I would first like to explain why it came up in relation to laughter. Baudelaire opened his famous essay "The Essence of Laughter" with the phrase "The wise man never laughs but he trembles." [74]
>
> However, I am not trying to emulate Baudelaire. There is no way I can be comparable to him. Why not? The phrase that recurred to him sounds thoughtful and grand. On the contrary, the phrase that haunts me is banal at best. It is flimsy. On top of that, these days people say that my writing lacks of grandeur and is frivolous. In no way am I entitled to enact Baudelaire. Alas, I hoped to wash away such derision with this essay, but alas, that hope is unlikely to be attained. [75]

Hanada then moves to analyze artlessness and artfulness in the realm of art. "I'm sad because my father is dead" in the play is "accurate," but too straightforward that it would ruin the sorrowful sentiment—the audience would burst into laughter instead of tears. Hanada contrasts it

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[74] 笑のいかなるものであるかを考えるとき、きまって一つの言葉が、私の記憶の底から浮び上がってくる。
「お父さんが死んであたし悲しいわ。」
私はまずこのばかばかしい言葉が、私自身に、いかなる理由で笑と関連して思い出されるのか、その点を説明することからはじめたい。私は知っている。ボードレールが、かれの有名な論文『笑の本質』を、「賢者は竦然としてしか笑わぬ」という言葉の解釈をもってはじめていることを。 Hanada Kiyoteru, "Warai no kamen," *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* Vol.1 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977) 52.

[75] かくいえばとて、もちろん私は、ボードレールを気どるものではない。どうにも比較にならない。そうではないか。かれの心に終始戻ってきた言葉は、見るからに意味ありげで堂々としていた。しかるにこれに反して、私にとり憑いて離れない言葉は、どう贔屓目に見ても平凡である。みすぼらしい。のみならずー
　のみならず、近来、私の書くものには重厚さが足りない、つまり軽薄だという評判がある。どうして私に、ボードレールを気どる資格があろうか。残念。できれば私は、この論文で一挙にそうした汚名をすすぎたい考えたのだが、ああ！所詮それも叶わぬ望であるらしい。Ibid., 53.

with an "artful" line from Eugene O'Neil's play, *Strange Interlude*, where the daughter grieves the death of her father: "Yes, he's dead—my father—whose passion created me—who started me—he has ended. There is only the end of his living—his death. It lives now to draw nearer me, to draw me nearer, to become my end! How we poor monkeys hide from ourselves behind the sounds called words!" [76] Comparing the two lines upon the death of the father, Hanada comments that, although the line by O'Neill would work better as art, it would also sound overly dramatic and funny when uttered in the real world. *Truth* and *falseness* works in opposite ways in the realms of the real and of art, for artists use falseness as a means to tell the truth in art. However, Hanada complains that such artistic realism had become the dominant mode, not only within the realm of art, but also by invading real life, hence making it impossible to differentiate between real and fictional. Hanada writes: "To the artists looking for the extraordinary language, our world is already too extraordinary, and we are tired of extraordinary. Why don't we take the other way around, and use trite and hackneyed language."[77]

Hanada compares the overflow of "artistic realism" and propaganda. "The biggest reason why fiction and truth have been indistinguishable in the real world today is because art, or to be more accurate, propaganda, has become too dominant around us. Propaganda (*puropaganda*) aims to figure the stereotype to suit one's own purpose."[78] Quoting a passage

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[76] *Strange Interlude* is an experimental play written in 1923 by American Playwright Eugene O'Neill. As Hanada notes, O'Neill received the Novel Literature Prize in 1936.

[77] 奇妙な文句を探す芸術家よ、それでなくても今日の世界は、私たちにとって十分に奇抜すぎる。そうして私たちは奇抜さに食傷している。逆の道を行こうではないか。平凡な文句を―つかいふるされた言葉を、私たちはひたすら求めようではないか。*Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* Vol.1, 58.

[78] 今日、この現実の世界で、虚偽と真実の相違が見わけがたくなっている最大の原因は、芸術が―ヨリ正確にいうならば、プロパガンダが、私たちの周囲であまりに幅をきかせているせい

about the importance of first impressions in making a stereotype from Koyama's *Senden gijutsu ron*, Hanada continues that propaganda is all about making the first impression and iterating it, and truth and false is not the question. In such a world, those who desire to know the truth would easily bite the bait and fall victim to propaganda. What is needed in such a world is the pursuit of the hackneyed stereotype instead of originality. Hanada writes: "divulging the truth through killing the false with creative way, or to kill the truth with another truth to reveal the falseness would not work, because we live in the world where truth or falsehood do not matter anymore. We live in the world of stereotype. The answer is simple. The only way left for us is to kill stereotypes with stereotypes!"[79]

Such a statement does not merely imply total relativism, where truth and falseness became contingent to propaganda, but rather redirects the tautological nature of propaganda to the critique of the perpetual desire for originality and truth. Instead of the pursuit for what is truer, superior, and ultimately original, Hanada endorses triteness and imitation as a critical response to the flood of the "original" and "true."

Hanada mentions several examples. First is a parody poem by Meiji-period poet Saitō Ryokū, which he notes as an example of "axiomatic, tautologic, and lines of trite phrases." [80] Tautology

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であろうが、このプロパガンダの目ざすところは、実にこの常同性印象を、自分に都合のいいように、いかにして形づくるかということにあるのである。Ibid.

[79] 独創的に、虚偽をもって虚偽を殺し、真実の何ものであるかを明らかにすることも、真実をもって真実を殺し、虚偽のいかなるものであるかを示すことも、同様に大した効果を期待することはできない。結局、私たちは真偽を超越した世界に住んでいるからだ。紋切型の世界に住んでいるからだ。答は簡単である。紋切型を持って紋切型を殺す以外に手はない筈だ。Ibid., 59.

[80] Here is the poem Hanada quoted: A pot in brazier/is left but without asking/taking someone's belonging/is definitely count as a theft and/theft is unlawful/so if the thief run away at full speed /quick, twine the rope, run after/and seize the culprit 火鉢の上に鉄瓶が/落ちているとて無断にて/他人の物を持ち行くは/取も直さず泥棒で/泥棒元来不正なり/雲を霞と逃ぐるとも/早く縄ない追駆けて/縛せや縛せ犯罪人 The quoted poem is taken from "The Catalogue of New Style Poem" (Shintai shi mihon, 1894), by Saitō Ryokū (斎藤緑雨1868–1994). Ryokū parodied the style of poets who explored the Western style poetry in Meiji period.

over tautology generates a "crafty kind of laughter" and self-criticism, which digress from the idealism of "all or nothing."[81] Then he contrasts the sense of polarized ideal and failings found in Henrik Ibsen's play with a playful anonymous poem about acting like an old man even when he thinks less of this world. He also quotes Chinese writer Lin Yutang's *My Country and My People*,[82] where Yutang contrasts the Chinese way of making funerals into farce with the European way of dignifying funerals. With these examples, Hanada turns the tautological method of propaganda into a tautologic practice of farcifying. Digressing from the iterative and tautologic mechanism of propaganda to inculcate and fix a certain idea, tautologic practices repeat the form and farcifies. The farcifying does not imply "truth" behind it, but is about sheer formalization through repetition of form. Whereas the iteration in propaganda is about identifying and communicating so-called "truth," this formalization is about farcifying and performing, not identifying and fixing the truth but rather turning something into sheer form and mimicry.

With this formalization, Hanada suspends the qualitative, or hierarchical, difference between the true and the false, or the ideal and the failing—the structure that propels the desire for the "truth" with the original look. Toward the closing of the essay, Hanada ponders upon Aristotle's words that "tragedy is mimetic practice," questioning the meaning of "mimesis praxeos." Noting that the Greek verb "mimoumai" can be translated as either "imitate" or "mimic," Hanada notes that mimesis could be translated as the biological term *mimicry*. Hanada does not explain the difference between imitation and mimicry, but the distinction is important. The goal of imitating is to become identical to the object being imitated. Imitation is defined by delay, lack, or the qualitative inferiority from what it is imitating, and meets the desire to divulge its imitation-ness. On the other hand, the purpose of mimicry is self-defense by looking like something else, rather than fully becoming what it mimics. If imitate is about qualitative difference, mimicry is about being a look-alike, in its form. Hanada explains mimicry as follows:

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[81] Henrik Ibsen's *Brand* is a play published in 1865 about an idealist priest who lives by the motto of "all or nothing."

[82] Lin Yutang (林語堂 1895 – 1976) is a Chinese writer.

"What is mimicry. The butterfly mimicking a leaf. The balance on the rope. Clever

defensiveness. There is something empathetic, pitiful and comedic. The unconscious mimicry."[83]

Returning to the opening of the essay, the performatively apologetic tone about a line

"I'm sad because my father is dead," could be read as a practice of turning the writer's desire for

original and grandiose language, like that by Baudelaire, into a farce. The practice of mimicry, a

tautological[84] practice, suspends the qualitative and hierarchical relationship between the true

and false, delay, or lack, that propels the desire for the "truth," or propaganda.

Perhaps the satiric poems featured in *Tōtairiku*'s December 1939 issue could be read as

putting in practice Hanada's idea of formal repetition. The issue features satirical poems from

various writers. With humorous tones, contributed poems sketch a landscape of a rapidly

changing urban scenery where total mobilization, economic control, and heated debate about

politics have become a part of everyday life. Among more "serious" articles on domestic and

international sociopolitics, this feature looks oddly out of place. What to make of these poems?

Given that many of them are by anarchist poets, it is tempting to read them as a critical caricature

of the wartime regime, or "disguised" resistance. But instead of hastily crediting them as

resistance poems, I wish to draw on the sense of farce in the "Mask of Laughter" and focus on

the use of the incongruous mode of language to talk about the sociopolitical issues, found among

the more straightforwardly journalistic articles in *Tōtairiku*. These poems do not either approve

or overtly criticize the social scenery, but nevertheless show the index of rapidly politicized

everyday practice and language under the wartime regime. Kikuoka Kuri's "A Poem Full of

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[83] 擬態とは何か。木の葉蝶。張り詰めた綱の上の踊り子の均衡。明哲保身の術。そこには同情と憐憫と笑を誘う何かがある。無意識の擬態。*Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* Vol.1,63.

[84] I use the term tautological, instead of performative to emphasize the sense of formal repetition. I also want to note that I use the word mimicry for 擬態, which does not necessarily connote ridicule.

Politics" writes that he "hasn't heard that the politics for youth was changed by anything about ethnicity" [85]and that for young people everyday pettiness is loaded with politics. Yamamoto Kazuo's "Tobacco Stand Already out of Tobacco"[86] describes two young men staring at the street in hope of coming across a wallet left there, noting that the same young men were debating over Hitler and Stalin at a cheap eatery the night before. Within the more serious sociopolitical articles, these poems farcify journalistic/critical commentary, or pontifications. What has been satirized is the sense of political urgency created by journalism. Instead of using the language of criticism, these poems recreate the scene where the discourse of political urgency is reproduced in a petty way, and are farcifying such discourses.

From Wartime to the Postwar*: Soshiki* as a Critical Category

As we get close to conclusion, I wish to explain the critical quality of Hanada's writings in comparison with contemporary cultural discourse at the time. In the last issue of *Bunka soshiki* published in 1943, Hanada contributed an essay titled "Ellisoidal Fantasy" (*Daen gensō*),[87] in which he expounded on drawing an ellipse. For Hanada, the ellipse, with two focal points, was a metaphor for embracing contradiction. Hanada writes:

> Needless to say, depending on the position of its focal points an ellipse could draw
> closer to a circle or a straight line, but as long as an ellipse remains an ellipse, it means

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[85] 別段、民族性の何とやらで/青年の政治が/変わったためしは聴いたことない Kikuoka Kuri (菊岡久利), "*Seiji darake no shi*" *Tōtairku Vol.17 No.2.*

[86] Yamamoto Kazuo (山本和夫), "Tabako ya ni tabako shinagire," *Tōtairku Vol.17 No.2.*

[87] Hanada Kiyoteru, "Daen Gensō," in *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū,* vol.1 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977).

dormant while awake and awake while dormant, laughing while crying, and crying while laughing, believing while doubting, and doubting yet still believing. If this looks ambivalent, something should not be possible, and loathsome, it is beause you are still haunted by the ghost of a circle. [88]

This essay is understood as representative of Hanada's embracing of contradiction over unification.[89] The logic of having double focal points could be read along with his thesis on opposition and struggle, the dialectic without the synthesis, which Hanada repeated in the postwar era. For instance, one could think of Hanada's postwar writings that riled against a dichotomized understanding of war responsibility and the categorization of writers into either collaboration or resistance. I would also suggest that contradiction and two focal points could be read alongside Hanada's idea of mimicry – or the doubled form, inviting to the formal thinking that counters the desire for singularity of "original" or "truth."

Hanada's formalist method of criticism makes a stark contrast with critic Kobayashi Hideo (小林秀雄 1902–1983).[90] Hanada's "The Tip of a Sword" (*Tachisaki no mikiri*, 1944), points out Kobayashi's essentialist ethos of "not being deluded by reasons and grasping the

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[88] いうまでもなく楕円は、焦点の位置次第で、無限に円に近づくこともできれば、直線に近づくこともできようが、その形がいかに変化しようとも、依然として、楕円が楕円である限り、それは、醒めながら眠り、眠りながら醒め、泣きながら笑い、笑いながら泣き、信じながら疑い、疑いながら信ずることを意味する。これが曖昧であり、何か有り得べからざるもののように思われ、しかも、みにくい印象を君にあたえるとすれば、それは君が、いまもなお、円の亡霊に憑かれているためであろう。*Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū,* vol.1 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977), 395.

[89] For example, see Ken Yoshida's "Interstitial Movements in the Works of Hanada Kiyoteru: A Preliminary Study," *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique,* 22.4 (2014): 781-808.

[90] Also see the dissertation by Ken Yoshida.Yoshida contrasts Hanada's idea of transgenre and focus on matter carried over from Takiguchi Shuzo, to Kobayashi's spiritual definition of modernity and inclination for purity. See "Between Matter and Ecology: Art in Postwar Japan and the Question of Totality (1954–1975)." 27,28.

things as it is."[91] Noting that Kobayashi's criticism consists only of conclusions, Hanada compares such writing to a sword master who cuts through the opponent's body, but affirms that Kobayashi is not a critic. "A master only needs to show the conclusion, but that will not do for a critic,"[92] Hanada writes: "for me, a critic is not someone who sees bright eyes behind a tremendous theory, but rather someone who dreams of tremendous theory even in the blinking of an eye." [93]

As preceding studies note, Kobayashi Hideo's critical writings are known for their attempts to recover the "essence" of literature, which has been lost to modernity. Upon seeing the overflow of journalistic and critical writings, Kobayashi, circa 1940, was aiming toward "bodily" criticism with "true" meaning.[94] As Alan Tansman notes, for Kobayashi, "it was not that language had become unclear but that in becoming too clear it had lost its texture and its ability to render the density of objects." [95] In the essay "Olympia" (1940),[96] Kobayashi talks about his favorable impression of the 1938 film *Olympia,* directed by Leni Riefenstahl.

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[91] 理屈などに幻惑されず、自らの肉眼をもって、あるがままの対象のすがたを、的確にとらえることのできる *zenshū*.Vol.1., 219.

[92] 達人は結論だけを示せばいいであろうが、批評家はそうもゆかない Ibid., 221.

[93] 私は、批評家というものを、膨大な理論の背後に、かがやいている眸をみいだすような人物ではなく、眸のひらめきにさえ膨大な理論を夢みるような人物を考えているわけだが…Ibid., 220.

[94] Harry Harootunian critically examines the "overcoming modernity" roundtable that took place in 1942 and the interwar intellectual discourse. Harootunian points out the intellectuals' effort to recuperate the essential lived experience, frozen in ahistorical time. Harry Harootunian, *Overcome by modernity: history, culture, and community in interwar Japan*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

[95] Alan Tansman, *The aesthetics of Japanese fascism,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 195.

[96] Kobayashi Hideo, "Olympia," in *Kobayashi Hideo zenshū,* vol.7 (Tokyo: Shinchō sha, 2001).

Kobayashi praises the beauty of the human body in the scene where a shot-putter is about to fling a shot, noting that the athlete is throwing away the shot obstructing the unification of body and mind. Kobayashi assimilates the shot with thoughts and concepts that are alien to the body, cautioning that language flow is loose and disseminates from its origin, the body. Hanada, responding to this essay in "The Tip of a Sword" noted that the very role of the critic was to make this "iron ball" that would be forged into a sword, handed down to people to people and become the tool for struggle.[97] In contrast to Kobayashi's "bodily" (as Tansman says) criticism that seeks for an unmediated and transcendental sense of self identity, Hanada's formal and aesthetic approach to *soshiki* was about transformation and sensory transformation. The favoring of a mediated voice over representation by Nakano, and Hanada's encouragement of mimicry and caricature poems, showed something similar, or a mediated version of the truth, and took a critical distance from any mystical truth that is only accessible to the writer.

Hanada's writings and activity around 1940 erodes the conformist/resistance scale, which became a standardized way to evaluate writers during the wartime era. His proximity to fascism is indelible. Yet, at the same time, he kept critical perspective on essentialism as a mode of journalistic/cultural production under fascism. In an essay written in the late 1950s, Hanada riled against the anti-war and anti-revolutionary ethos found in postwar literary discourse, noting that he was secretly expecting the moment when war would turn into revolution.[98] Although Hanada's idea of the masses and its politically subversive potential is often associated with the postwar, I would argue that the idea of the masses as a collective with subversive potential started within the context of wartime. As I will explain in the next chapter, the postwar situation

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[97] Hanada "Tachisaki no mikiri," in *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū,* vol.1 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977)

[98] Hanada Kiyoteru, "Futatsu no e," in *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū,* vol.8 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1978), 169.

enabled Hanada to openly talk about the proletarian revolution, picking up the lineage of prewar Marxist cultural movement, but also with certain limitations. In the second chapter, I examine Hanada's continued conceptualization of the masses in formalist terms and its intersections with the context of modern art in the late 1940s.

Chapter Two: Writing the Proletarian Revolution and Modern Art in the Immediate Postwar

Following the previous chapter, this chapter examines Hanada's conceptualization of the masses as collective subversive force in the immediate postwar period. I argue how art-related topics, such as realism, surrealism and abstract art, as well as the concept of objects, were utilized as ways to conceptualize the masses in Hanada's writings. I also demonstrate how this conceptualization is both a modification of yet continuous with Hanada's wartime thinking, and also was situated in the ongoing discussion of art and politics after the war. Hanada's framework of connecting art and the masses complicates the mainstream understanding of the postwar discussion of politics and art in the cultural field, which is often reduced to the debate between orthodox socialist realism and and artists' independence from the political cause.

In English-language scholarship, Hanada in the postwar is often discussed with his avant-garde art theory, which draws a close correlation between leftist politics and art. For example, Justin Jesty's extensive research on art and political engagement in postwar Japan refers to Hanada as the theoretical backbone of the reportage painting movement in the 1950s, where artists visited the sites of political struggles and made painting from the scenes.[1] Although there is no question, as Jesty notes, that art and politics were inseparable categories in Hanada's writings, and that his essays had an influence on politically committed artists of the 1950s, Jesty's framework of art and politics, which revolves around social engagement and commitment, does not entirely account for Hanada's writings themselves.

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[1]Justin Jesty, "Avant-Garde Realism," in *Art and Engagement in Early Postwar Japan* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018)

For instance, unlike writer Noma Hiroshi, a fellow member of Sōgō bunka kyōkai who taught writing to amateur writers from the working class in the 1950s, or reportage painters who visited the sites of political struggle and made art works themed on them, Hanada had less contact with the actual working class in the postwar. Hanada did not always support the cultural initiatives led by JCP, such as encouraging workers to document their lives. This is because he considered that these projects did not challenge the conventional scheme of realism.[2] Hanada conceived revolution and mass organization strictly through the idea of the new realism.[3] As I will demonstrate, this task conjured issues carried over from the prewar controversies, such as the opposition between modernists and Marxists.

Here arises the second question: how should we locate Hanada's unique way of discussing politics and art in postwar literary and art history? Preceding studies often point out Hanada's deviance from the extolment of subjectivity found in postwar intellectual discourses. For example, Satō Izumi contrasts the trope evolved around the individual subjectivity endorsed by the Kindai Bungaku group, and Hanada's trope of avoiding the essentialization of self.[4]

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[2] In "Rakugaki seishin" (Spirit of Doodling) and "Kiroku geijutsu undō no hōkō" (Method of Documentary Art Movement) Hanada criticizes documentary art and practices encouraged for working class population, such as *Seikatsu tsuzurikata undō.* Hanada Kiyoteru, "Rakugaki seishin," *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* Vol.6 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1978); "Kiroku geijutsu undō no hōkō," *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* Vol.721 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1978).

[3] Sakamoto Hirofumi notes that Hanada did not directly participate in politics, but utilized the methodology of the avant-garde art to pick up the agility of the masses at the art and cultural movement, and organize them into a social movement. ("政治への直接的参与 というかたちをとらず、アヴァンギャルド芸術の方法を使用して、芸術・文化運動のレベルにおいて大衆の運動性を拾いあげ、社会的なレベルでの運動性に向けて組織する。") Sakamoto Hirofumi, "Henkaku suru shutai sengo abangyarudo geijutsu to zenei kiroku eiga" *Hakuchūmu Matsumoto Toshio no Sekai* (Chōritsu Kuma Bijutsukan, 2012).

[4] Satō Izumi, *1950 nendai hihyō no seijigaku*, (Tokyo: Chuō Kōron Shinsha, 2018)

Kenichi Yoshida focuses on the concept of matter (*busshitsu*) in Hanada's writings as the key for

ultimate inclusiveness, which challenges the humanism that prevailed in the postwar intellectual

milieu.[5] While I generally agree with the preceding studies noting Hanada's break from the

emphasis on humanism and subjectivity shared among critics in the early postwar period, I

examine Hanada's emphasis of object in relation to the lineage of literary discourse, instead of in

isolation from it.

Hanada's emphasis on *matter* was influential to art critics such as Hariu Ichirō (針生一郎

1925–2010). The terms Hanada used, such as *object, concrete,* and *matter,* can be also found

throughout postwar art discourse. For example, art historian Mitsuda Yuri notes[6] that *Gutai,* a

group of artists formed in 1954 by Yoshihara Jirō (吉原治良 1905–1972), was also expressing

manifestoes about *busshitsu* around the same time when Hanada was writing about *busshitsu*

(material). Ken Yoshida notes that Hanada's politicization of *object* could be also found in the

writings and practice around *object* by Akasegawa Genpei (赤瀬川源平 1937–2014) in the

1960s. [7] How do we interpret his non-subject-centered and non-humanist approach, which

prefers "object" over "subject," a critical view toward socialist realism, and his use of the lexicon

of modern art such as abstract art and surrealism? What to make of his praise of Mickey Mouse

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[5]Kenichi Yoshida, "Between Matter and Ecology: Art in Postwar Japan and the Question of Totality (1954–1975)." Ph.D diss, University of California Irvine, 2011. Fujii Takashi also focuses on the subversion of human-centered hierarchy through the examination of inorganic matter. See Fujii Takashi, "<Ningyō> no rejisutansu Hanada Kiyoteru no <Kōbutsu chūshin shugi teki> motifu to <kakumei> no bijon," *Nihon kindai bungaku* Vol.95, 2016.

[6]Mitsuda Yuri, "Hanada Kiyoteru to Takiguchi Shūzō 'busshitsu' o megutte," in *Histories of Modern and Contemporary Japan through Art: Institutions, Discourse, Practice* (Tokyo: Tokyo bijutsu, 2014) 554–556.

[7] For Akasegawa Genpei and his object-related practices, See William Marotti, *Money, Trains, and Guillotines: Art and Revolution in 1960s Japan*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

and puppet plays, and his degradation of Tolstoy? Examining Hanada's concepts such as

object/concrete/material will answer these questions and help understand the intersection of

literary discourse and art discourse.

War and Hanada Kiyoteru

Between "Ellipsoidal Fantasy" (1943), in the last issue of *Bunka soshiki*, and "Tales of

Mutations" (*Henkeitan*, 1946), in the first issue of *Kindai bungaku,* there are not any writings of

Hanada remaining. This does not mean Hanada was not writing at all. Besides *Bunka soshiki*,

Hanada managed to land reporter jobs with several publishers, with the help of fellow

worker/writers, and he wrote about woods and tuberculosis that permeated workers.[8] Unlike

other prominent leftist writers, he did not commit conversion (for he was not involved in the

prewar Japanese Communist Party), and he managed to avoid the draft. Hanada met the end of

the war in Kamakura. As soon as the war ended in 1945, the children of Nakano Seigo asked for

Hanada's help in publishing the journal *Shin zen bi* (真善美 *Truth Virtue Beauty*), which

succeeded the legacy of *Tōtairiku.[9]*

Tropes of loss or liberation are not to be found in Hanada's postwar writings. His style

and his interest in mass organizing remained more or less the same. During the wartime call for

total war and national mobilization, Hanada's concept of mass organization (*soshiki*) sat

ambiguously between the right wing and left wing, and it also straddled across political and

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[8] Hanada briefly mentions his experience as a newspaper reporter in following essays. "Shinbunshi," in
Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū vol.3 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977), "Watashi no dokusho henreki," in *Hanada
Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.6 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977). Also See Okamoto Jun, "Senzen no hanada san,"
Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū vol 10. *Gep*pō *9* (Tokyo:Kōdansha, 1978)

[9] See Nakano Tatsuhiko, "*Fukkōki no seishin kankō made,*" *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū vol.2 Gep*pō *1*
(Tokyo: Kōdan sha, 1977)

sensorial registers. Hanada's postwar essays continue to deal with the organization of the masses (*taishū*) as something with politically subversive potential. I demonstrate how Hanada maneuvered the ambiguous register between the unconscious and action in writing about mass organization, framed as a methodological question of art.

Although Hanada did not stress the defeat as a historical cornerstone, the context surrounding Hanada underwent a major shift in the postwar, affecting his writings. Perhaps the most important shift brought about by the defeat was the legalization of the Japanese Communist Party (JCP), enabling Hanada and many of his contemporary leftist critics to be openly Marxist and to discuss class struggle and revolution. While Hanada's publications were mostly limited to *Tōtairiku* and *Bunka soshiki* during the war, he was actively involved in exchanges with leftist writers in the postwar period. He joined *Shin Nihon bungaku* and *Kindai bungaku*,[10] the two major literary journals that were started immediately after Japan's defeat, contributed to a number of journals and newspapers and participated in roundtables and dialogues, and became known as an up-and-coming postwar critic. Hanada himself organized groups of writers and artists, including Sōgō Bunka Kyōkai and Yoru no Kai, and ran the publishing house Shin zen bi sha, where he published books by a wide variety of writers, including contemporary literary critics, film critics, and Marxist historians.[11]

The late 1940s was a time when many leftist literary writers took up the project of democratic revolution—borrowing from a recent study on the intellectual discourses and debates

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[10]*Shin nihon bungakukai* was a group of leftist writers newly established in1945 by those who led the proletarian literary movements in the prewar period, such as Kurahara Korehito (1902–1991), Miyamoto Yuriko (宮本百合子 1899–1951), and Nakano Shigeharu (中野重治 1902–1979). *Kindai bungaku* was a group of writers founded by critics who were in their twenties during the prewar proletarian literary movement.

[11] See *Undōzoku Hanada Kiyoteru,* (Fukuoka: Fukuoka shi bungaku kan, 2014)

during the time, "their questions never became 'What is literature?' but always 'What can literature do?'"[12]; however, their positions and ideas were divided rather than unified. On the one hand, imprisoned leaders of JCP were released and rose back to positions of authority. Kurahara Korehito (1902–1991), who led the proletarian literary movement in the 1920s and early 1930s and spent wartime in the prison, encouraged writers to resume the cultural work toward the revolution. Younger critics from *Kindai bungaku,* responded to this move with questions about writers' war responsibility and resistance, assessment of the prewar proletarian literary movement, and the relationship between the proletariat and the intellectual, often leading to heated discussions with older leftists from the prewar proletarian literary movement.[13] In addition, the roadmap for the revolution set within the prewar JCP regime faced difficulty under the U.S. occupation, which first encouraged democratization but soon became vigilant of the spread of communism in Japan. Although his sovereignty was removed, the emperor was kept intact as "the symbol of the state" in the new Constitution of Japan, and the general strike planned in 1947 was aborted by the order of SCAP.

Surging discussion about revolution among the literati, reflection on the framework from the prewar proletarian cultural movement, and restraints under the U.S. occupation were all important contexts to understand Hanada's call for "avant-garde art," exhorting that revolution in art will lead to the art of revolution. Hanada is often referred to in postwar art history as an influential theorist for young postwar artists and art critics. I examine Hanada's "avant-garde art" as a unique configuration of art and politics that carries over from Hanada's wartime thinking

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[12]*Politics and Literature Debate in Postwar Japanese Criticism,1945–1952* (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2018) xiii.

[13] See *Politics and Literature Debate in Postwar Japanese Criticism,1945–1952* and J. Victor Koschmann, *Revolution and Subjectivity in Postwar Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.)

and connects with prewar and immediate postwar discussions of art and politics. In the postwar

era, Hanada's concept of mass politicization became more clearly aligned with the Marxist

vanguard position, following the lineage of discourses of art for revolution from the prewar

proletarian literary movement.[14] At the same time, Hanada's use of the lexicon of modern art

such as surrealism and abstract art to talk about the masses makes his writings different from the

orthodox Marxist literary discourse.

The first half of the chapter focuses on the context of the literary field. I first situate

Hanada alongside the "politics and literature" discussion, which focused on revolution and

questions regarding the prewar Marxist literary movement, led by literary critics from *Kindai*

bungaku in the late 1940s. Then I analyze the relationship between revolution and the question of

realism, examining Hanada's "On Realism" (*Riarizumu josetsu*) presented in the Night Society

in 1948. I demonstrate Hanada's critical inheritance of the theory of realism by Kurahara

Korehito that was proposed in the 1930s.

The latter half of the chapter examines how the concepts of realism theory merge with the

contexts and concepts of modern art in Hanada's writings. Hanada inherits the pursuit of realism

from Kurahara, who stressed the importance of materialist realism over idealism. However,

Hanada's logic slides off Kurahara's framework, tapping visual art and the context of surrealism

in his pursuit of the "material" and "concrete" against the "ideal" (*kan'nen*). I demonstrate how

Hanada conjoined the discourse of modern art, which he might have gotten from Okamoto Tarō

and Takiguchi Shūzō, with the discourse of "realism" charged with leftist political stakes.

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[14] As to the continuity between proletarian literary movement and Hanada, See Takeuchi Emiko, "Puroretaria bungaku undō kara sengo bunka undō e Nakano Shigeharu・Honda Shūgo・Hanada Kiyoteru," *Shōwa bungaku kenkyū* vol.74, 89.

Stake for the Revolution and Question on Proletarian Realism

With the legalization of the Japan Communist Party, the revolution became widely shared topic in the intellectual field, including the literary field at the time.[15] Hanada's writings and his manifesto of avant-garde art could be situated in the context of Leftist writers fervently discussing revolution and social change. Hanada actively contributed to a number of journals, besides running a journal and running a publishing house himself. In 1946, Hanada joined Shin nihon bungaku kai, a group founded by leaders of the prewar proletarian literature movement. He also joined Kindai bungaku in 1947, a group established by writers of a younger generation who saw the defeat of Marxism in their youth. Aside from these two journals representative of the early postwar literary discorse, Hanada also participated in numerous roundtables and dialogues and contributed to numerous different journals.

Given the shared momentum for the revolution and social change, leftist writers often disagreed about how to connect literature and the political stake. Probably the most well-known example of such disagreement is the so-called "politics and literature debate," where coteries from journal *Kindai bungaku* critically reflected on the prewar proletarian literary movements, pointing out it's dogmatized methodology of literary production and criticism established by the theoretical leaders, as well as issues of the war responsibility.

When Kurahara Korehito, the theoretical leader of the proletarian literary movement during the prewar period, came back from prison, he immediately came back into authority and called writers to resume the cultural work toward the revolution that had been hampered by the

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[15]For the overview of See J. Victor Koschmann, *Revolution and Subjectivity in Postwar Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.)

war. Kurahara's "The Departure of New Literature" (*Shinbungaku e no shuppatsu*), published in *Tokyo shinbun* on November 10th and 11th in 1945, exhorted the unchanged doctrine of literary creation—that is, "scientific"[16] content should come first and then such content should be "formalized" (*keishōka*) properly. *Kindai Bungaku* coteries questioned the very policy of Kurahara and the proletarian literature movement. Honda Shūgo (本多秋五 1908–2001) questioned the historical determinism of Kurahara in defense of the artist's individual sense of self as the most important agency of the history,[17] Hirano Ken (平野謙 1907–1978) drew a parallel between the wartime state and prewar JCP for forcing individual sacrifice for the greater political good, and Ara Masahito questioned the indoctrinated imperative of writing the "people" with a cookie-cutter concept, claiming it necessary to ground oneself in order to write the "people." Hirano and Ara's essay met harsh criticism by Nakano Shigeharu (中野重治 1902–1979) a prominent figure in the proletarian literary movement.

However the debate looked like altercation between *Shin nihon bungaku*—who weighed in on politics—and younger writers, who stood for the autonomy of literature, studies suggests their shared framework of argument. Victor Koschman noted that the *Kindai bungaku* coterie's emphasis on subjectivity and questioning of the prewar proletarian literary movement did not overturn the meta-historical frame of unilinear timeframe aim for the future revolution. In Koschman's word, they "remained under the spell of historical necessity,"[18] of the revolution set

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[16] This "scientific" means Marxist social science.

[17] See Honda Shūgo, "Art, History, Humanity," Hirano Ken, "An Antithesis," in *Politics and Literature Debate in Postwar Japanese Criticism,* 1945–1952 (Lexington Books, 2018). The essay was first published as the inaugural volume of *Kindai bungaku*.

[18] Victor Koschmann, *Revolution and Subjectivity in Postwar Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 87.

by JCP, and subjectivity was supplemental trope to keep that timeframe moving forward in the postwar period. In addition to a unilateral developmental framework toward the revolution, recent study of the politics and literature debate suggests shared beliefs found in both sides, include a confidence in the potency of literature, and a heavy reliance on humanism and modernization.[19]

Situating Hanada in the above context, he did share the momentum for the revolution, and questioning of the pristine authority of JCP and Kurahara's theory. Hanada's early postwar essays questioned the impeccable legitimacy of the communist party leaders premised upon their persistent adherence to the communism in the prion during the war. Hanada was especially skeptical about their condescending tone that reproached the masses' apathy during and after the war. He also called for overcoming the dogmatic sense of realism defined by Kurahara and argued against a predetermined and developmental temporal frame toward the proletarian revolution. But Hanada was not fully on board with the *Kindai bungaku* coterie's strong emphasis on individual subjectivity and humanism, either. While *Kindai bungaku* coteries emphasis of the subjectivity was centered around writers themselves as individual human, Hanada's stake was to establish the subjectivity of the proletariat as collective, carrying over his interest in mass organization as aesthetic and formalist question. It is also worth remembering that Hanada also actively honed in on cross-genre and trans-media collective production of art, rather than endorsing the virtue of artist as individual genius.[20]

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[19] See Introduction in *Politics and Literature Debate in Postwar Japanese Criticism,* 1945–1952 (Lexington Books, 2018) The introduction of this volume also points out that structurally, this debate omitted the question of Japan's colonization of Asia in wartime.

[20] See Ken Yoshida "The undulating contours of sōgō geijutsu (total work of art), or Hanada Kiyoteru's thoughts on transmedia in postwar Japan" and "Artists' Groups and Collectives in Postwar Japan" in *From Postwar to Postmodern Art in Japan 1945–1989* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2012)

"Peace revolution and Intelligentsia,"[21] a roundtable published in *Kindai bungaku* in its April 1947 issue, exemplifies shared discussion about revolution, with a varied take. The premise of the roundtable was to discuss the peace revolution that Japan was facing, which was different from armed revolutions, such as the French Revolution and the October Revolution, and to discuss the role of the intelligentsia in it.

In the roundtable, a critic Ara Masahito (荒正人 1913–1979), claimed that the revolution in current Japan would be a peaceful and democratic revolution, differentiating it from the armed revolutions presupposed in the prewar JCP policy. Ara emphasized the difference between the prewar revolutionary movement and the democratic revolution. According to him, any democratic revolution would require the full participation of intellectuals, unlike the prewar revolutionary movement. He also emphasizes the importance of establishing individualism, arguing that the lack of individualism had led to intellectuals yielding to fascism. Ara consistently endorsed the idea of all-inclusive civil democracy, rather than a working class hegemony. He stressed the intellectual's full participation in realizing such form of revolution.

Hanada's picture of the revolution differed from Ara's. For Hanada, revolution should be proletariat revolution, where intellectuals take on the role of organizing the proletariat. Critic Katō Shūichi (加藤周一 1919–2008) questioned Hanada whether a small number of intellectuals organizing the masses would contradict the idea of democracy. Echoing Katō, Ara added that the *petit-bourgeois* taking the leading role could even turn the project into fascism. Refuting Katō and Ara, Hanada contended that fascist relationships would be formed through economic

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[21] The roundtable participants were Ara Masahito (荒正人1913–1979), Hanada Kiyoteru, Katō Shūichi (加藤周一1919–2008), Sasaki Kiichi (佐々木基一 1914–1993), Haniya Yutaka (埴谷雄高 1909–1997), Hidaka Rokurō (日高六郎 1917–2018), and Fukuda Tsuneari (福田恆存 1912–1994). "Heiwa kakumei to interigencha," *Kindai Bungaku*, April 1947.

relationship, hence intellectuals need to counter the economism. Hanada also urged to pay attention to the material condition that enables individualism and humanism, responding to Ara's remark on the lack of interiority and the necessity of establishing individuality. He maintained that the organizing power of the politician and the organizing power of artists should be considered equally.

The varied pictures of the revolution, as well as differing views about the role of the intelligentsias, not only suggests participants' ideological difference, but also reflect the situation where the "revolution" scenario set in the prewar context would be difficult to achieve. While the removal of restrictions on political, civil, and religious liberties, ordered by the U.S. occupation forces, resuscitated the Japanese communist party and allowed the intellectuals to openly discuss the revolution, the revolution required reimagination. The revolution prescribed in the 1932 theses by Japanese communist party policy included the abolition of the emperor system, but it the new constitution drafted under the U.S. occupation kept the emperor intact. The heightened momentum for the general strike to overthrow the Yoshida cabinet planned on February 1, 1947, was aborted by order of the supreme commanders of allied powers. Hanada did not say a lot about the failed general strike at the moment, but in the mid 1950s mentions it couple of times as a tragic cornerstone of the postwar labor movement. [22]

Hanada's Art Movement

To examine Hanada's thinking on revolution and it's relation to art under the occupation, I examine two materials. One is Hanada's presentation on realism titled "On Realism"

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[22] Hanada mentions the failed general strike in the several essays he wrote during he was involved in the debate with fellow literary critics regarding critique of Stalin and postwar See Hanada Kiyoteru, "Tandai shōshin roku," "Morarisuto hihan" in *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.6 (Tokyo:Kōdansha, 1978).

(*Riarizumu josetsu*) and another is a roundtable "The Role of Unconscious in the Literature"

(*Bungaku ni okeru muishiki no yakuwari*). Both took place around June 1948, in the two groups

Hanada organized. Examining them side by side will show a connection between Hanada's take

on revolution, realism, and the unconscious, and his attempts to write a revolution when the

revolution is suppressed, drawing to his experience in the wartime.

The presentation and roundtable took place in the context of Hanada's "art movements."

In 1947 and 1948, Hanada actively organized groups of writers and artists, calling for the

exploration of new art. In the summer of 1947, Hanada met Okamoto Tarō, a painter who

strongly sympathized with Hanada since he had picked up Hanada's *Sakuran no Ronri*. The two

agreed to start an avant-garde art movement and started The Night Society (*Yoru no kai*). At the

same time, Hanada also started Association of Syncretic Culture (*Sōgō bunka kyōkai*) and the

organ journal *Sōgō bunka*. The main activity of these two groups were lecture series and

roundtable discussions about the methodology of art; participants had mixed disciplinary

backgrounds. Selected presentations and discussions at Yoru no kai were publicized as *Atarashii*

Geijutsu no Taknkyū, (*The Search for New Art*, 1949) and those at Sōgō bunka kyōkai were

published in their monthly journal *Sōgō bunka*. Hanada made a presentation on realism in June

1948 as a part of series presentations and discussion in Yoru no kai. The roundtable about the

unconscious was published in the *Sōgō bunka* June 1948 issue.

Realism and the Unconscious

In "On Realism," Hanada notes that avant-garde is the way to solve the issues in realism,

rather than an opposition to realism. Critically inheriting the Kurahara Korehito's prewar theory

of realism that exhorts the class struggle as the central theme of the works, Hanada mentions the

insufficiency of Kurahara's theory of realism to capture the momentum of rupture and revolution. Hanada encourages to rethink the existing mode of realism with the sense of ongoing rupture and revolution, rather than keeping revolution as future goal on a developmental time frame.

Hanada starts with the sense of rupture and disconnection. This "rupture" is not explained with the end of the war, but with the idea that a society go over the cycle of evolutionary period and revolutionary period, comparing it to the cycle of the organic state of life and the inorganic state of death. Hanada writes that since "the society we live in has outgrown the state of evolution, and entered the state of revolution," [23] the task is to reorganize the dead and inorganic elements, into organic relationships.[24] Together with the sense of rupture, Hanada also notes the growing skepticism on the surface reality and a surging interest in unconscious, subconscious, and preconscious lying under the consciousness shared among the postwar generation. Hanada questions "realist"—probably referring to the dogmatic policy of Kurahara Korehito and JCP's cultural policy—and warns that it is wrong to dismiss Freud and existentialism as petit-bourgeois tendencies.[25] He argues that the "realists" who believe in the uninterrupted and unilinear development of the history are far from realist but rather bound to idealism.

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[23] Hanada Kiyoteru, "Riarizumu josetsu" in *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū vol.3* (Tokyo:Kōdansha, 1977), 176.

[24] This framework could be found in Hanada's wartime essays.

[25] For example, in a note titled "Bunka mondai ni kansuru hōkoku"(A Report on Cultural Issues) Kurahara wrote a skeptical view on *Kindai shugi* (modernism) in a cultural world that calls for the necessity in establishing a modern sense of self, which calls for individualism, skepticism, and decadence. See Kurahara Korehito, "Bunka mondai ni kansuru hōkoku," *Kurahara Korehito hyōronshū vol.6* (Tokyo: Shin nihon shuppansha 1969). Also Sekine Hiroshi contributed an article criticizing the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers for their denial of psychology in the *Sōgō Bunka* vol.2 no.6, where the roundtable about the unconscious was published.

Hanada contends the necessity to plunge into the unconscious and subconscious beneath the perceived reality, while mentioning the issue of wartime resistance. He notes that intellectuals took on varied forms and methodologies of resistance during the war. Turning to his own experiences or struggles, Hanada admits although it was sporadic, anarchistic, and unorganized resistance, their flexibility and agitating skills could be used in the postwar period. I emphasize that Hanada is not arguing that resistance was done on the unconscious level. For Hanada, the resistance was not the matter of individual subjectivity or interiority, but was about collective move. While Kurahara relegated literature dealing with unconscious or psychology as subjective, individualistic, and petit-bourgeois in favor of "realism, " unconscious was a way to see the momentum of collective resistance for Hanada.

The roundtable "The Role of the Unconscious in Literature" supplements Hanada's stake in the unconscious in relation to the revolution.[26] The participants included social psychologist Minami Hiroshi (1914–2001), philosopher and critic Yanaihara Isaku (1918–1989), novelist Noma Hiroshi (1915–1991), critic Sasaki Kiichi (1914–1993), and Hanada. The roundtable hints at Hanada's interest in the unconscious as a possible locus to imagine the mass organization.

The premise of the discussion was to rethink the unconscious as literary method, for literary works dealing with the unconscious, such as James Joyce and Proust, had been labeled as petit bourgeois and dismissed by the leftist camp. The participants discussed mainly Euro-American literature and historic conditions where the unconscious became a shared interest. For example, novelist Noma Hiroshi expressed that the unconscious was important for a more complete grasp of the human. Hanada's interest in the unconscious was double. For one, the

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[26] "Bungaku ni okeru muishiki no yakuwari," *Sōgō Bunka* Vol.2 No.6. It was one of a roundtable series published on *Sōgō bunka.* The other topics were tragedy ("Higeki ni tsuite"), avant-garde ("Abangyarudo no seishin"), and novels ("Shosetstu no omoshirosa").

unconscious was the extension of action. Hanada expressed his interest in extending action into consciousness as possible action, and the unconscious as the driving force behind consciousness. The extension of action into the terrain of the unconscious could be read as an attempt to see the possibility of revolution, even when the general strike was suppressed. Hanada noted that the literati needed to explore the momentum of the tide change tucked in under the consciousness and bring it into the surface. Second, Hanada related the unconscious to the situation where humans act without agency and become action itself. With the association between motion and the unconscious—one might conjure automatism in surrealism—Hanada referred to the state of the factory workers and the Taylor system, where the labor is broken down and fragmented into movements. Hanada suggested thinking about the unconscious alongside organization and production, rather than associating it with the romantic urge to break free from conventions. Avoiding violence and anarchism, Hanada's question was how to break the social system by way of *organization,* without resorting to anarchist uprisings. He also mentioned exploring the psychology of the workers. Noting the tendency where the psychology of the proletariat is often examined through their personal family life and their position as consumers, Hanada argued the necessity of exploring the psychology of proletariat at the time of production, not in their private lives.

Perhaps the suppression of the general strike in 1947 might have cast a shadow on Hanada's interest in the unconscious as a way to imagine revolution and his preference for a constructive way of imagining the unconscious alongside the image of workers in organized labor at factories. The preliminary remark by the editorial team that opens the roundtable mentioned that "today is the time of mythos of general strike," but Hanada expresses his hesitance about the general strike in the roundtable. Prior to the roundtable in 1947, Hanada published "The Sketch of a Leader"

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(*Shidōsha no sobyō*),[27] a rewritten version of "Modern Apollo," which I examined in the previous chapter. The postwar version makes a clearer statement about mass-based social reformation and the relationship between the leader and the masses. The masses were defined as the "masses yet to be organized" (*misoshiki taishū* 未組織大衆), a term that dates back to the prewar proletarian revolution context, and the reference to mythos, agitation, and propaganda found in "Gendai no Aporo" was deleted.

Method of Exploration Between Thesis and Anti-thesis

Going back to "On Realism," Hanada stressed the necessity of exploring the "dark area" (*ankoku chitai*) between thesis and antithesis. Perhaps Hanada's interest in the unconscious could be read as the terrain that lies between revolution and status quo. Comparing the sense of disruption to the "leap" and the transformation of quality into quantity and vice versa in Hegelian dialectics, Hanada extols the new realism as the imperative of the mass organization, instead of succeeding the nineteenth century sense of realism.

Hanada's method of exploring the "dark area" between a thesis and antithesis seems to take circuit of anatomizing and synthesizing. On the one hand, Hanada claims necessity of the scientific and empirical method to anatomize the dark area. But he also notes that such detailed and precice anatomization requires synthesis and reorganization. It is at this juncture of reorganizing the atomized workers that Hanada brings up the term avant-garde. Hanada writes: "…the question is, if such extremely detailed realism itself, which keeps developing toward more refinement and scientific rigor, is worth preserving. Of course, it needs to be refined more,

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[27] Hanada Kiyoteru, *"Shidōsha no sobyō"* in *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū,* vol.3 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977).

but I prefer to see it as dead, as one point of data, and what I think about in that context is the avant-garde."[28]

Hanada then mentions three non-literal examples of what he considers avant-garde—Mickey mouse, the Egyptian mummy, and Okamoto Tarō's paintings. According to Hanada, a Mickey Mouse cartoon is not realistic, but the making of this unrealistic cartoon started with minute observations and the dissection of the movement of an actual mouse. The dissected observation is then reorganized into the unrealistic, animated image of Micky Mouse.[29] Egyptian mummies were produced out of the idea of immortality, but they involved an actual corpse in its production. Hanada stressed that overcoming realism should not be something strange and not inscrutable like surrealism or abstract art. Instead of art that only pleases specialists, new art should aim for simplified expression and be directly understood by the masses. Hanada mentions Okamoto as a maker of such art.

The above quoted passage and nonliteral examples of avant-garde realism is a good place to unpack Hanada's penchant for matter and visual art in his thinking of the avant-garde. I argue that Hanada wrote the stake of the masses in term of matter. As I mentioned earlier, the

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[28] そういう風にして非常に精密化していったリアリズム自体が、果して今後存続して、ますます精密化し、ますます科学的に確立されていって、なお持続する価値があるかどうかという問題が最後に出てくる。むろん継承発展という立場からいったらどこまでもそれを精密化してゆくことが必要ですが、ぼく自身はそういうものを一つのデータとして、やはり死んだものとしてどこまでも見たいわけで、そういう場合に僕の考えているものが、アヴァンギャルドなんです。*Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū Vol.3*,185,186.

[29]We can see the trace of film critic Imamura Taihei's theorization of cartoon *Manga eiga ron*, which was published from *Shin zen bi sha*. Furuhata Yuriko examines Hanada and film critic Imamura Taihei's interest in Disney cartoons. Furuhata notes that Disney adopted the Fordism process as a method of production, and sees the parallel between Fordism "forming" the workers and the images being produced. Furuhata notes the opposing mode of plasticity, "form-receiving" and "form-giving." Furuhata Yuriko, "Rethinking Plasticity: The Politics and Production of the Animated Image," *Animation: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol.6 No.1.

mainstream leftist cultural theory tended to downplay surrealism and abstract art, relegating art form outside narrowly defined social realism as mere reveling in art for art sake without social scope. Breaking away from the configuration of leftist vanguardism and modernism as mutually exclusive, I demonstrate how Hanada inherited the logic and concept from Kurahara Korehito's theory of realism, fusing it with that of modern art discourses, including those by Takiguchi Shuzō and Okamoto Tarō.

Formalist Realism?

I start by examining Hanada's critique of Kurahara's realism as being idealistic, then moving to Hanada's proximity to art discourse in the postwar period. In "On Realism," Hanada notes that Kurahara had exhorted materialist realism as opposed to idealism, mentioning several of Kurahara's essays from circa 1930.[30] One of Kurahara's essays that Hanada mentions is "The Road to Proletarian Realism" (*Puroretaria rearizumu e no michi*, 1928), in which Kurahara defined "proletarian realism" in contrast to "bourgeois realism."

> "What is realism in general? In the theory of art, realism is something opposed to idealism, but both arise from artists' attitude to reality. If artists have an *a priori* idea about reality, and reform reality according to this idea and depict it, the art of idealism will be born. On the contrary, if artists do not have any *a priori* or subjective idea of reality, and try to objectively depict reality as it is, there will be the art of realism. Hence, idealist art is characterized as subjective, fantastic, idealistic, and abstract, while realist art is objective, realistic, actual, and concrete. Generally speaking, idealism is the art of the declining class and realism is the art of the rising class."[31]

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[30]Hanada mentions "Puroretaria rearizumu e no michi,"(1928) "Futatabi puroretaria rearizumu ni tsuite," (1929) "Geijyutsututeki hōhō ni tsuite no kansō" (1931)

[31]一般にレアリズムとは何であるか？芸術論上におけるレアリズムとはイデアリズムに対立するものであって、等しく現実に対する芸術家の態度から生まれている。もしも芸術家が現実に対するに先験的な観念をもってこれに望み、このイデーに従って現実を改造し、そしてそれを描き出したならば、そこに生まれてくる芸術はイデアリズムの芸術である。これに反して芸術家が現実に対する何等先験的な主観的な観念をもたずして、現実を現実としてそれを客観的に

From here, Kurahara develops the history of art as the succession of a newly rising class

replacing the obsolete—from the art of landlords to bourgeois realism, petit-bourgeois realism,

and finally proletarian realism—but the details are not too relevant here. The important point is

that Hanada inherited from Kurahara the logic that opposes "subjective, fantastic, idealistic, and

abstract" (*shukanteki, kūsōteki, kan'nenteki chūshōteki* 主観的、空想的、観念的、抽象的)

idealist art and "objective, realistic, actual, and concrete" (*kyakkanteki, genjitsuteki, jitsuzaiteki,*

gutaiteki 客観的、現実的、実在的、具体的) art. Hanada's criticism was that no matter

whether he self-proclaimed to be materialist, the realism exhorted by Kurahara is highly

idealistic, charged with a supremacy of politics, and disregards the difference between the artistic

method and a scientific worldview. Inheriting the logic of Kurahara, Hanada's essay repeatedly

seeks out a physical (*sokubutusteki* 即物的) , material (*bussitsuteki* 物質的), and concrete

(*gutaiteki* 具体的) realism, instead of one that is idealistic (*kan'nen teki* 観念的).

It is in this pursuit of the physical/material/concrete against the idealistic that Hanada

draws on visual and material elements. "Two Worlds" (*Futatsu no sekai,* 1948)[32] points out

Kurahara's idealized sense of history, which extols historical materialism yet leaves out actual

material objects. Instead, Hanada tries to read the rupture inscribed in visual and material

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描き出そうとするならば、そこにはレアリズムの芸術が生まれてくるであろう。したがって、その特徴は、イデアリズムの芸術は主観的、空想的、観念的、抽象的であり、レアリズムの芸術は客観的、現実的、実在的、具体的である。そしてごく一般的に言うならば、イデアリズムは没落しつつある階級の芸術態度であるに対して、レアリズムは勃興しつつある階級の芸術態度であると言うことができる。Kurahara Korehito, "Puroretaria rearizumu e no michi," in *Kurahara Korehito Hyōron shū vol.1* (Tokyo: Shin nihon shuppansha, 1966), 135-136.

[32]Hanada Kiyoteru, "Futatsu no sekai," in *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* Vol.3 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977)

objects. Hanada mentions a drastic change in the patterns inscribed in ancient Chinese bronzes, and notes that although "realists" might dismiss it merely as the formal change of the decorative pattern, it is a concrete manifestation of transformation in Chinese society. Egyptian mummies are another example of ideal realism for Hanada, for the maker dealt with life and death materially with statues and corpses instead of the mere idea of life and death. In prioritizing the physical over the metaphysical, Hanada extends the formal rupture found in the artistic avant-garde into a sense of discontinuity and of revolution.

As I mentioned earlier, Hanada's "art movement" encouraged discussion about art with participants of mixed background, including literati and artists. The methodology of cross-genre was already present in Hanada's wartime writings on *soshiki* as well as in Bunka saishuppatsu no kai, where the members were mixture of literati and artist. The exchange between literati and fine artists around Hanada became more active, with the notable presence of Okamoto Tarō and his strong ushering in of the avant-garde in the late 1940s to circa 1950. For example, the roundtable "Spirit of the Avant-garde" in *Sōgō bunka* included painters such as Nagai Kiyoshi (永井潔 1916–2008), Ueno Shōsaku (上野省作), and Okamoto, as well as the novelist Noma Hiroshi(野間宏 1915–1991), the critic Sasaki Kiichi (1914–1993) and Hanada.[33] Besides participants from different genres in the discussions, Hanada's language and logic itself incorporated more reference to twentieth-century art in the postwar period. As I will later explain, Hanada's essays graft the language about surrealism and abstract art on the search for realism, taken from Kurahara. In this vein, in addition to Okamoto, art critic and poet Takiguchi

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[33]Justin Jesty has study on this debate. See Justin Jesty, "The realism debate and the politics of modern art in early postwar Japan," *Japan Forum* Vol.26 no.4.

Shūzō (瀧口修造 1903–1979), who introduced the theory of surrealism to Japan in the 1930s,

was also an important source of imagination for Hanada. Although Hanada does not refer to

Takiguchi until later, [34] Takiguchi's *Kindai geijutsu* (*Modern Art*), a collection of his essays on

modern art published in 1938 at the request of Tosaka Jun (戸坂潤 1900–1945), had long been a

source of imagination for Hanada since the wartime.[35] While the corpus of modern art discourse

is beyond the scope of this project, below I argue how Hanada fused the narrative about

twentieth-century modern art, shared with Okamoto and Takiguchi, with the realism question of

Kurahara, searching for a "concrete, objective, and materialist" realism charged with the stakes

of class struggle. In doing so, I examine three propositions: deformation; surrealism and abstract

art as two main modes; [36] and the shifting focus from subject and object.

Leap, Deformation and Simplified Expression

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[34]Hanada refers to Takiguchi in "Koronbusu no tamago" ("The Egg of Columbus"), originally published in *Bijutsu Hihyo* in 1955 and included in *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* Vol.5. According to *zenshū*, Hanada tried to publish Takiguchi's essay collection in 1948. *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.5 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977), 500.

[35]As to Takiguchi and Hanada, see Mitsuda Yuri, "*Bijytutsu hihyō* (1952–1957) shi to sono jidai: 'gendai bijutsu' to 'gendai bijutsu hihyō' no seiritsu," *Fuji Xerox Art Bulletin* 2 (2006). Mitsuda notes that Hanada quotes Takiguchi in his "Douwa kō" ("On Children's Stories").

[36]As art historian Ōtani Shōgo notes, the idea of explaining twentieth-century art with bifurcating lineage has been widely shared beyond and within Japan. Ōtani notes that a chart (Fig.1), which shows the development of modern art, made by American art historian Alfred H. Barr, Jr. in 1936, that made this view available to a wide audience. The chart, published in the catalog of *Cubism and Abstract Art*, in an exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, curated by Barr Jr., shows that different art movements eventually bifurcate into geometrical abstract art and non-geometrical abstract art. The chart was translated into Japanese in 1937 and became a standardized way to contextualize avant-garde art through the prewar and the postwar eras. Ōtani Shōgo, "Okamoto Tarō no 'taikyoku shugi' no seiritsu o megutte," *Tokyo kokuritsu kindai bijutsukan kenkyū kiyō* Vol. 13, 2009.

One of the discourses Hanada and Okamoto expanded into a political stake was the sense

of deformation and the break from conventional realism. In a meeting of Yoru no kai in June

1948, Okamoto gave the lecture titled "On Deformation" (*Deforumasion ni tsuite*)[37] adressing

the lineages of deformation in modern art, starting with Cézanne.[38] Explaining the shift from

empirical realism in the nineteenth-century to realism based on spiritual elements, such as

intellect and psychology in modern art, Okamoto stressesd Cézanne's turning from the recreation

of the subject to the deformation, abstraction, simplification and reconstruction of the subject.

For Okamoto, such deformation was an important antithesis to technical refinement in fine art.

He lists Dada as the antithesis of bourgeois culture, Picasso's integration of primitive art, and

Henri Rousseau's "childish" style as antitheses to the refined form of beauty prevalent in prior

European fine art. For Okamoto, these examples all have inclinations toward nonsense and "pre-

logic," as opposed to logic.

In his essays published in 1948 and 1949, Hanada too exhorted extremely simplified

expression to defy nineteenth-century realism and to create new art for the masses, not for the

intellectuals. Joining the Japanese Communist Party in 1949[39], Hanada's argument was adjacent

to the discussion on art and politics in JCP. Around then, JCP members were starting to use

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[37]Okamoto Tarō "Deforumasion nit suite," in *Gabunshū abangyarudo* (Tokyo: Getsuyō shobō, 1948).

[38]As to the narrative that identifies Cézanne as the origin of modern art, see Nagai Takanori, "'Zōkei' no Cézanne juyō to sono shisō kankyō" ("Reception of Cézanne from the Viewpoint of Zokei ('Plastic', 'Plastique', 'Plastik') and the Intellectual Environment"), *Memoirs, Faculty of Industrial Arts, Kyoto Technical University. Humanistic and Social Sciences Vol.53,* 2004.

[39]Aoyama Toshio (青山敏夫), who has been writing film criticisms and is also a member of Sōgō bunka kyōkai, recommended to Hanada that he join JCP. Takei Teruo, "Geijutsu undō ka to shiteno Hanada Kiyoteru," *Shakaihyoron* 23.6 (1997) Accessible through http://www3.gimmig.co.jp/hanada/takei.html . Also see Hanada Kiyoteru, "Funikuri Funikura," in *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū,* vol.6 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1978), 507.

forms such as *kamishibai* (paper shows), magic lanterns, and puppet plays to appeal JCP to the

public and gain local support, including children and mothers.[40] This was the moment where

spontaneously budding, do-it-yourself style cultural activities were about to be officially

organized and implemented as *Bunka kōsaku*.[41] Hanada wrote that literati should take these

forms seriously, claiming that a political task should also be an artistic challenge to overcome

traditional realism. In his short essay "Reformism and Fascism," (Kairyō shugi to fasizumu

1948), a contribution to the JCP-affiliate group-ran newspaper *Bunka taimuzu,*[42] Hanada derides

the contemporary debate over whether to prioritize art or politics in the literary field.[43] Both

Odagiri Hideo,[44] who calls for the supremacy of politics, and Ara Masahito, who calls for the

autonomy of literature are not far from each other for their notion of "art" is unchanged from the

conventional nineteenth-century realism. For Hanada, socialist realism, within the framework of

conventional realism, was no different than conceiving socialism as the extension of

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[40] Several articles on journal *Zen'ei* (前衛) published from the Central Committee of Japanese
Communist Party reports these activity. See Aoyama Toshio, "Bunka kōsaku tai ni tsuite," *Zen'ei*
vol.34(1949), Nosaka Ryō and Matsuzaki Hamako, "Fujin no aida ni okeru katsudō ni tsuite," *Zen'ei*
vol.34.

[41]Visual forms, including kamishibai, puppet performances, and magic lantern shows were made and
performed in the cultural circle movements during the 1950s. See Michiba Chikaobu, *Shimomaruko
bunka shūdan to sono jidai: 1950-nendai sākuru bunka undō no kōbō* (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō 2016).

[42]*Bunka taimuzu* was run by Bunka Renmei, an affiliate group of JCP, which had made criticism against
the Kindai bungaku group for their defense of art for art's sake. Hanada's essay is part of the title and
asks whether *Kindai bungaku* is inclined toward fascism. About *Bunka taimuzu*, see Masuyama Taisuke,
Sengoki sayoku jinshi gunzō (Tokyo: Tsuge Shobō Shinsha, 2000).

[43]Ara Masahito and Odagiri Hideo were both *Kindai bungaku* members. But after the "Politics and
Literature" debate, Odagiri left the *Kindai bungaku* group, committing to *Shin Nihon bungaku*.

[44] Odagiri Hideo (小田切秀雄 1916–2000) is a literary critic.

capitalism—to his mind, revolutionary art ought be premised upon revolution in art.[45] For

Hanada, prioritizing politics as a literati does not mean creating art to meet the need of

politicians, but to take political tasks as the momentum to push the boundary of art. Arguing that

artistic value of puppet plays and *kamishibai* are much higher than Tolstoy's Anna Karenina,

Hanada declares that only those who have overcome the nineteenth-century realism could take

puppet and paper shows seriously as art form aimed for the masses. Hanada concludes that only

avant-garde artists could take up the cultural work for the party seriously, and art of revolution

should sublate realism and aim for "excessively simplified expression." Hanada repeatedly

expresses his support of simplified expressions such as puppet plays and *kamishibai*, instead of

the intricate expression exemplified in *Anna Karenina* in several other essays.[46]

Responding to Hanada, both Odagiri Hideo and another leftist critic Kubokawa

Tsurujirōwere skeptical of Hanada's avant-garde movement for meddling in cultural policy

material and art. In responding to "Reformism and Fascism," Kubokawa expressed his concern

that Hanada's radicalism would end up "robbing Tolstoy from the masses, instead of making

Tolstoy accessible to the masses." [47] For Kubokawa, art and creation for cultural initiative

(*bunka kōsaku*) were different, for the latter limits its subject to politically educational ones,

while art should freely pursue the subject. Hanada responded to Kubokawa by declaring that his

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[45]Behind Hanada's emphasis of aesthetic rupture was the cultural policy exhorted by Kurahara Korehito. For example, in his report "Bunka kakumei to chishikisō no ninmu" (Originally published in *Sekai* June, 1947, included in *Kurahara Korehito hyōron shū* Vol.6). Kurahara notes that the role of intellectuals is to uplift the masses culturally, so that the masses can succeed in the highest culture.

[46] For example see "Madamu to nyōbō" (1948) and "Dōbutsu,shokubutsu, kōbutsu" (1949) in *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.3.

[47]窪川鶴次郎(1903–1974) Kubokawa Tsurujirō, "Seikyuu na shisō no kokuhuku," *Shin nihon bungaku* Vol.4, No.4.

preference for paper show and puppet plays over *Anna Karenina* is purely from the viewpoint of art, rather than politics. Claiming that he wishes to use politics to destroy bourgeois realism, Hanada compares his preference for the forms found in *kamishibai* and puppet plays, to Picasso and Dali's penchant for primitive art and art by schizophrenics. In disavowing *Anna Karenina*, Hanada notes his interest "not only in puppet plays and paper screen, but also in Haniwa, Hakkenden epic stories, Disney cartoons."[48] Hanada's homing in on the "simple form" was the point where his denial of nineteenth-century realism, the political stake of organizing the masses, and the shifting of the cultural program in JCP after legalization converged. We could also note that Hanada's idea of politics and art is framed with mass organization and agitation,[49] where intellectuals provided art to the masses to agitate them.

Hanada's extolling of Okamoto Tarō's paintings runs parallels with his exhortation for simplicity. In his short comment on Okamoto's painting *Gunzō* (1949, Fig.1), Hanada associates the laughing and dancing figures with Disney's cartoons that attract both adults and children. Hanada also takes importance in Okamoto's paintings being appreciated intuitively by middle schoolers and female students. Such a comment might sound patronizing, but it echoes with Okamoto's endorsement of play as an important antithesis to technical refinery. Okamoto maintained that painting could be made by everybody, and he stressed the aspect of play. In the roundtable discussion on the avant-garde published in *Sōgō bunka* in 1949, Okamoto mentioned the aspect of playfulness in the avant-garde movement that cannot be reduced to theoretical

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[48] Hanada Kiyoteru, "Hango teki ni," (1949) in *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.3 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977).

[49] For Hanada, "politics" were always an imperative that artist could use. In "Inu mo kuwanai hanashi" (1947), Hanada stated that politics and literature and form and content are always in conflict without reconciliation, in Marxism literature. According to Hanada, the new form of art would be born through this conflict. Hanada Kiyoteru, "Inu mo kuwanai hanashi" in *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.3 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977)

understanding. He expressed that in terms of theory, "impressionism is a childish painting theory, Cubism is also immature, Purism is absurd and Dadaism is like child's play, surrealism does not work logically. But it does not mean they were meaningless."[50]

Surrealism and Abstract Art

In the essays published around 1950, compiled into *Avangyarudo geijutsu* (1954), Hanada repeatedly noted that abstract art and surrealism were dealing with the *naibu* (the internal), and calls for "avant-garde" that unifies abstract art and surrealism, and explore the *gaibu* (the external), instead of *naibu*. In Hanada's writings, abstraction and surrealism serve as dialectical frameworks which he mobilizes together with concepts taken from Marxism, rather than reference to actual art works. In *Avangyarudo geijutsu*, the opposition between idealism (subjective, fantastic, idealistic, and abstract) and realism (objective, realistic, actual, and concrete), *naibu* and *gaibu*, and abstract art and surrealism run throughout as dialectic framework. Starting with abstract art and surrealism, I examine the multilayered dialectic at work in Hanada's writings, addressing class struggle and revolution. Although not always explicit, Okamoto Tarō and Takiguchi Shuzō's discourse play important role in the formation of Hanada's framework.

As art historian Ōtani Shōgo notes, explaining the twentieth-century art with the bifurcating lineage has been widely shared within and beyond Japan. Otani notes that a chart (Fig.2) made by American art historian Alfred H. Barr, Jr., showing the development of modern

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[50] 「実際理論的に言えば印象派だって幼稚な絵画理論であるし、キュビスムだって幼稚だ。ピュウリスムも噴飯ものだし、ダダイスムも児戯に類したものだし、シュウルレアリスムもテンで論理的にいって成立たない。だから価値がなかったかというとそうではない。」Nakano Hideto, Okamoto Tarō, Nagai Kiyoshi, Ueno Shōsaku, Sasaki Kiichi, Noma Hiroshi, Hanada Kiyoteru, "Abangyarudo no seishin (zadankai)," *Sōgō Bunka*, Vol.2 No.4.

art made this view available for a wide audience. The chart was published in the catalog of *Cubism and Abstract Art*, an exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in 1936, curated by Barr Jr. It shows different art movements that eventually bifurcate into geometrical abstract art and non-geometrical abstract art. The chart was translated into Japanese in 1937 and became a standardized way to contextualize avant-garde art through the prewar and postwar periods.[51] As Ōtani notes, the chart appears in Okamoto's *Gabunshū abangyarudo* (1948) titled "Inshō ha yori modan āto e" with some modification. While the timeline in Barr Jr.'s original chart extends no further than 1935, the chart in *Gabunshū abangyarudo* extended to 1940, leading to the bifurcation into abstract art and surrealism, replacing the geometrical abstract art and non-geometrical abstract art in the original. (Fig.3) Ōtani suggests Hanada's influence on Okamoto's solidifying of *taikyoku shugi* (対極主義 polarism), where he called for relentless opposition and clashing between abstract art and surrealism. Probably Okamoto and Hanada influenced each other. Here, I review Okamoto's contextualization of abstract art and surrealism to provide context for their utilization by Hanada as a dialectical framework to discuss class struggle and revolution.

Okamoto's essays written in the late 1940s provide readings of the rational and the irrational in abstract art and surrealism, explaining the rational lineage of French intellectual history leading to cubism, and the irrational lineage of German Romanticism leading to Dada and surrealism.[52] Reading the avant-garde as a history of negation, Okamoto compares the negation

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[51]Ōtani Shōgo, "Okamoto taro no taikyoku shugi no seiritsu o megutte", *Tokyo kokuristu bijutsukan kenkyū kiyō,* 2009.

[52] Okamoto Tarō "The Origin of Avant-grade" (1947) in *Gabunshū abangyarudo* (Tokyo: Getsuyō shobō, 1948).

of naturalism and scientism of the nineteenth-century by Dada and surrealism with German Romanticism's negation of the enlightenment. The association of abstract art with the rational and surrealism with the irrational—with some twist—could be found in Hanada's essays in the late 1940s when he first met Okamoto. For instance, in "Two Focal Points" (1947), Hanada writes that twentieth-century art was bifurcated into the ultimate rationalism of abstract art and the ultimate empiricism of surrealism, noting the difficulty in combining the two.[53]

It is worth remembering that for Okamoto, the opposition between abstract art and surrealism was an actual formal question in his own art since his days in Paris during the 1930s, where abstract art and surrealism maintained a rivalry. In 1932, Okamoto joined Abstraction-Création, a group that called for the unification of artists in the search of "pure plasticity and exclusion of any explanatory, anecdotal, literary, naturalist element."[54] Any artist who created works that contained any representational image was not invited. Okamoto contributed paintings to the organ journal *Abstraction-Création Art non-figuratif* but became skeptical about their policy. In 1936, Okamoto contributed two works, one containing ribbon-like images (Fig.4), and another (Fig.5) accompanied by a short note questioning abstract art, saying "abstract art is a way for the youth today to evade the surrounding reality, a way to replace lyric and obsessive

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[53] Hanada Kiyoteru, "Futatsu no shōten" in *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* Vol.3 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977).

[54]Okamoto joined the group around 1932 and left in 1936. The group was formed around 1931 and was based in Paris, but it called for an international union of artists dedicated to non-figurative art. Besides holding exhibitions, the group published five periodical issues *Abstraction-création art non-figuratif* from 1932 to 1936. The first issue of the periodical defined *non-figuratif* as "pure plasticity and exclusion of any explanatory, anecdotal, literary, naturalist element." All five issues of *Abstraction-Création Art Non-Figuratif* are accessible at "Abstraction-Création, " monoskop, https://monoskop.org/Abstraction-création (accessed 7/29/2020). Since around 1935, Okamoto, together with Swiss-American painter Kurt Seligmann, another member of Abstraction-Création, started proposing "neo-concretism." Aki Kusumoto notes that Okamoto's works in mid 1930s sway between figurative and non-figurative expression. See Kusumoto Aki, "Chushō kara genjitsu e pari jidai no Okamoto Tarō" in *Setagaya jidai 1946–1954 no Okamoto Tarō* (Tokyo: Setagaya bijutsukan, 2007).

vision with colors and pure forms." He left the group in 1936 with his completion of *Itamashiki ude* (*Wounded arm*) which contains the figurative image of a woman (Fig.6). As mentioned earlier, Okamoto exhorted the idea of polarism, advocating the relentless clash of abstract and surrealism in the postwar. Okamoto's experience in the 1930s cast a shadow on his visual language as well as his ideas. His postwar works combine abstract shapes in vivid colors with a ¯referential representational scheme. For example, in Okamoto's *Jūkōgyō* (*Heavy Industry* 1949, Fig.7), a bunch of leeks, rendered realistically with details of fibrous roots, stands out among abstracted simplified figures of humans in vivid yellow and a cogwheel in red.

As I will add in a more detailed explanation later, the idea of abstract art and surrealism conjuring the abstract and the concrete, as well as the rational and the irrational, would correspond with Hanada's ideas of revolution and the unconscious. But before that, I will examine another understanding of the twentieth-century art—that is, Takiguchi Shūzō's emphasis on object.

Proletariat as Object

One distinctive feature that makes Hanada's essays unique among his contemporaries is his emphasis on object, developing the stakes of class struggle and revolution around the object rather than subject. According to Hanada, what needed to be done was a subjectification of proletariat through objectification. As Fujii Takashi notes,[55] Hanada's break from human-centrism could be tracked back to his wartime writings—in his essay "Group Theory" (*Gunron* 1943) he wrote, "The important thing is not about making a human through struggle, but to

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[55] Fujii Takashi, "<Obuje>tachi no kakumei – Hanada Kiyoteru to Abe Kōbō'Kabe – S Karuma shi no hanzai'," *Aichi kenritsu daigaku kokubun gakkai*, 2016.

unbecome human, by becoming things itself."[56] Hanada remained skeptical of humanism in the

postwar era, often pointing out the lack of argument on objectivity (客体性 *kyakutaisei*)

compared to an active discussion on subjectivity (主体性 *shutaisei*).

Hanada's object as the site of class struggle is not a simple antithesis to the subjectivity-

centered discussion, but has its own sources of logic that intertwine with a discourse about

surrealism and abstract art. Below, I unpack the logic of "object" where Hanada fuses the stakes

of class struggle and realism with the discourse about surrealism and abstract art.

In his essays published around 1949, including "Objectism" (*Buttai shugi*, 1949)[57] and

"The Prism of Revolution" (*Kakumei no purizumu*, 1949), Hanada connects object, proletariat,

and revolution, comparing proletariat to object. Hanada writes:

> In today's society, the proletariat are things not only because they are reduced to the
> status as if they were things, treated as things, and forced to lead an extremely inhuman
> life, but also because they confront things, acquire the mechanism of things, make
> things via unifying themselves with things. In other words, they are not only things that
> are dominated but also things in that they dominate things. Therefore, if they could not
> bear being torn between themselves as things and themselves as human, and are
> determined to escape from the status as things to that of human, such determination is
> related to the things, and supported with things closely, unlike that of Ibsen or
> Kierkegaard. And their restored humanity would be different from that of bourgeoisie,
> for it fully includes their characteristics of things as dominating things.[58]

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[56] Hanada Kiyoteru, "Gunron," in *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.2 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977).
[57] Also See Yoshida's reading of the essay. Kenichi Yoshida, "Between Matter and Ecology: Art in
Postwar Japan and the Question of Totality (1954–1975)" PhD diss., University of California Irvine 2011,
25-29.

[58]プロレタリアートは、今日の社会においては、物とみまがう状態にまで追いつめられ、物と
しての取扱いをうけ、きわめて非人間的な生活を余儀なくされているという意味において、物
であるばかりでなく、さらにまた、物と対決し、物のメカニズムをわがものとし、物と一体と
なって物をつくっているという意味においても物であり、つまり、支配される物であると同時
に、支配する物としても物であり、したがって、かれらが、物としてのおのれと人間としてお
おのれとの対局的分裂に堪えきれず、物から人間への脱出を企てるばあいの決意は、イプセン
やキェルケゴールのそれとは異なり、密接に物と関連し、物に裏付けられており、その上、回
復されたかれらの人間性は、支配する物としての物の性質を、みずからのなかにあますところ

According to Hanada, the proletariat are *objects* from the perspective of those who try to

differentiate themselves from *objects*, and from their perspective, *objects* are quantified—

dismissed as quality. The concept of proletariat as object could be related to contemporary

discourses. Fujii Takashi points out the trace of Sartre's *Materialism and Revolution,* where

Sartre describes the condition of the workers under Taylorism mass production as "being mere

object" and "a single operation which he repeats a hundred times a day." Fujii[59] also notes the

trace of the Lukacian idea of reification, but also points out that, unlike Lukac's pessimistic view

of reification as a dehumanizing process and argument of "spirit" as the last defending fort of

workers' humanity, Hanada actively endorses the state of being an object, which means leaving

the human spirit behind.

"Objectism" opens with a riddle-like account — "I am simultaneously dominated by

objects, and an object that dominates objects, and I move as an object and stop as an object."[60]

Hanada notes that although the reader might find this rambling about the object bewildering and

abstract, there is nothing abstract about his idea of "object"; but rather it has "extreme

vividness." Hanada mentions twentieth-century artists' methods, including Picasso's Papier

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なく含んでいる点において、ブルジョアジーのそれからは明瞭に区別される。"Kakumei no purizumu," in *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.3 (Tokyo: Kōdan sha, 1977).

[59]Fujii Takashi notes that the translation of Sartre's *Materialism and Revolution* was published in *Sekai bungaku* several months' prior to "Kakumei no purizumu." As Fujii notes, even before the translation of *Materialism and Revolution* was published, Hanada was referencing Taylorism to explain his preference of method to individual human centered view of art. Fujii suggests Hanada's non-sensical picture of revolution, where "dolls" without spirit suddenly start a revolution. Fujii Takashi, "<Ningyō> no rejisutansu Hanada Kiyoteru no <Kōbutsu chūshin shugi teki> motifu to <kakumei> no bijon," *Nihon kindai bungaku* Vol.95, 2016.

[60] わたしは物体に支配されると共に、物体を支配する物体であり、物体として、運動し、かつ静止する。"Buttai shugi," in *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.3 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977) 269.

colle, Max Ernst, and Dali's symbolic objects, claiming that they were obsessed with the object in pursuit of concreteness.

In order to unpack Hanada's logic, Takiguchi Shūzō's object-centered understanding of twentieth-century art, connecting object and the unconscious would be helpful. As Mitsuda Yuri notes,[61] Takiguchi's narrative of modern art, which revolves around the idea of material (*busshitsu*) and object (*buttai*), seems to leave a trace in Hanada's essays.

In his work *Modern Art* (1938), Takiguchi noted that the break from subject to object is what differentiates twentieth-century art from that of the nineteenth century. Takiguchi developed his narrative of twentieth-century art around the ideas of matter and object—which were primarily affiliated with surrealism, but also with abstract art. Takiguchi defined surrealists' idea of the object as objective existence outside subjective existence. He also associates unconscious with object, noting that every object has its conscious side tied to the actual usage of it, and its unconscious side that has potential meaning. Takiguchi wrote "I'd like to think that unconscisous itself has materiality (perhaps this is a strange word)"[62] This gives a hint to Hanada's logic of proletariat as object, as well as his interest in unconscious.

Avan*gyarudo geijutsu*- Logic of Interior and Exterior, Concrete and Abstract

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[61] See Mitsuda Yuri, "Hanada Kiyoteru to Takiguchi Shūzō 'busshitsu' o megutte," in *Histories of Modern and Contemporary Japan through Art: Institutions, Discourse, Practice* (Tokyo: Tokyo bijutsu, 2014)

[62] Original reads: 私は無意識というものは、それ自身向物性（奇妙な言葉かもしれぬ）をもつと考えたいのだ. Takiguchi Shūzō, "Kaigara to shijin" (shell and poet), in Kindai geijutsu (Tokyo: Bijutsu shuppansha, 1962)

Now with these contexts as clues, I examine Hanada's essay collection *Avangyarudo geijutsu* (1954), a compilation of his essays from 1950 through 1954. One of the repeated tropes in *Avangarudo geijutsu* is *naibu* (internal) and *gaibu* (external). Hanada notes that ". . . . the method of avant-garde art has been used to give shape to internal reality, and now we must adopt it again to shape external reality" and ". . . the artistic avant-garde would transform into the political avant-garde right then and there—that is, if they were to turn the gaze that they had directed to the internal world to the external world."[63]

The trope of "internal" and "external" is somewhat unexamined. Often interpreted as subjective psychology and socio-political reality, Hanada's consistent advice to grasp the external is considered as a socio-political endeavor beyond the confinement of art. For example, Suga Hidemi reads Hanada's internal and external alongside the trope of "interiority" by Honda Shūgo, a member of *Kindai bungaku*, who exhorted the idea of the internal self that grapples with the external socio-political circumstance as the limitation for the self.[64] Although Suga tries to differentiate Hanada's discourse from Honda's emphasis on interiority, his interpretation of Hanada's internal and its relation to external relies heavily on Honda's trope. While I agree that Hanada was skeptical of the interior-oriented discourse of the *Kindai bungaku* coterie, it seems that Hanada's "internal" and "external" do not simply signify individual emotion and social reality.

A careful examination of "internal" and "external" is important, because these terms were widely shared in literary discussions throughout several decades, and often became the locus of

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[63]Hanada Kiyoteru, "A Meditation on Apples" (Ringo ni tsuite no
 ichi kōsatsu, 1951) translation from *Chong Doryun, Michio Hayashi and Fumihiko Sumitomo, From Postwar to Postmodern Art in Japan 1945–1989* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2012).

[64]Suga Hidemi, *Hanada Kiyoteru: suna no perusona*. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1982)

contention in postwar literary criticism. For instance, Honda Shūgo celebrated the internal

freedom of the individual against the idea that individuals as being subject to predetermined

historical necessity, as seen in the prewar proletarian literary theory.[65] For Yoshimoto Takaaki,

establishing the internal independent state was one of the central concepts in his critical

assessment of postwar critics, including Hanada. Even if we vaguely take "internal" and

"external" as art and politics, unpacking Hanada's "internal" and "external" would destabilize

the trope where art is associated with freedom of the individual subject and politics as something

that restrains it.

Below, I examine the logic surrounding the internal and external in Hanada's essay

included in *Avangyarudo geijutsu*, combining with contexts I have provided earlier in this

chapter. "The Landscape of the World of the Mirror" (*Kagami no kuni no fuukei*, 1950)

compares the metaphysical "internal" elements such as time, quality, or idea, to physical

"external" elements such as space, quantity, or material. Noting that artists in the eighteenth

century tried to grasp the world of the "external," while nineteenth-century artists tried to grasp

the world of the "internal," Hanada suggests that the task for artists of the twentieth century is to

grasp the correlation between the internal and external. Referring to the strong interest in object

and things shared among twentieth-century artists, such as Picasso's papier colle, use of daily

articles in Dada, and practice of objects by surrealists, Hanada notes that they used matter to

grasp the "internal" with a sense of immediacy.

Then, what is external? On one level, the trope of internal and external overlaps with the

idea of the abstract and concrete, ideal and material. Drawing on surrealism and its discourse,

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[65]See Honda, "Art, History, Humanity," in *Politics and Literature Debate in Postwar Japanese Criticism,1945–1952.*

Hanada associates the "concrete" with the irrational. Hanada quotes a passage from Dali's

Conquest of the Irrational, which had been translated by Takiguchi in 1935:[66]

> My whole ambition in the pictorial domain is to materialise the images of concrete irrationality with the most imperialist fury of precision. – In order that the world of imagination and of concrete irrationality maybe as objectively evident, of the same consistency, of the same durability, of the same persuasive, cognoscitive, and communicable thickness as that of the exterior world of phenomenal reality. – The important thing is what one wishes to communicate: the concrete irrational subject. – the means of pictorial expression are placed at the service of this subject. – In the degree that the images of concrete irrationality approach phenomenal reality the corresponding means of expression approach those of the great realist painters— Velazques and Vermeer of Delft.[67]

Hanada acknowledges Dali's interest in things and his establishment of the object as symbolic function as his effort to grasp the correlation between the internal world and the external world. However, Hanada also points out Dali's naïve credence in the external world. Hanada questions why would one think the external world has "objective evidence, consistency, durability, persuasiveness, cognoscitive and communicate thickness?"[68] and writes "As much as the internal world, the external world is filled with concrete and irrational images like Dali saw, and now we stand on phase of "spiritualize" the irrational side of the material, with the most rigorous imaginative preciseness, if we follows Dali's words"[69] Hanada's critique of a naïve

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[66]As to Takiguchi's translation of Dali in the prewar, see Fujii Takashi, "Abe Kōbō *Kabe* no naka no 'Dali' –<henshukyōtekihihantekihōhō>to<igyō no shintai> hyōshō," *Aichi kenritsu daigaku nihon bunka gakubu ronshu*, 2015.

[67] This quote appears in "Kagamino kuni no fuukei," *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.4, 162. I used English translation from Salvador Dali and David Gascoyne, *Conquest of the irrational; with 35 photographic reproductions and an hors-texte in colours* (New-York: Julien Levy 1935), 12–13.

[68] 客観的な証明力と、密度と、継続性と、説得力と、認識力と、伝達力　Hanada Kiyoteru, "Kagami no kuni no fūkei," *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* Vol.4 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977), 161.

[69] 内部の世界と同様、外部の世界もまた、ダリのみたような具象的な非合理性の影像で溢れており、現在、われわれは、その物質のもつ非合理的な側面を、ダリにならっていうならば、もっとも熾烈厳格な精密さをもって―想像的な精密さをもって、精神化する段階に立っているの

credence of the external echoes his critique of Kurahara's realism, extending the critique of the

real to the rethinking of "matter." External "matter" bears mysterious, unknown potential.

Again, if there is anything new in Hanada's rethinking of the surrealist imagination of the

object, it would be the association of proletariat to the object. Proletariat as *thing* could be read in

two ways: as being a worker who produces a thing, and also as a thing that bears unconscious

potential for collective uprising. One could see the lineage of Takiguchi's concept of object

beyond subjective understanding, associating the unconscious and mysteriousness with the thing,

being tapped into the trope of abstract and concrete in Marx and Kurahara. Hanada quotes a

passage from Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*: "The concrete

concept is concrete because it is a synthesis of many definitions, thus representing the unity of

diverse aspects. It appears therefore in reasoning as a summing-up, a result, and not as the

starting point, although it is the real point of origin, and thus also the point of origin of

perception and imagination."[70] This passage could be also found in Kurahara's essay "Comments

on the Methodology of Art" (*Geijustsuteki hōhō ni tsuite no kansō,* 1931), in which Kurahara

repeatedly notes the necessity to portray *zen'ei* (前衛 vanguard) in art. Kurahara defines

vanguard as "part of the working class, but also leading them, hence they are with the masses but

would not dissolve in the masses, always keeping its position."[71] With this quote of Marx and

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ではあるまいか。 Hanada Kiyoteru, "Kagami no kuni no fūkei," *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* Vol.4 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977), 161.

[70] Karl Marx, "Introduction to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy," Marxist. org* https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1859/critique-pol-economy/appx1.htm (accessed 7/29/2020)

[71] すなわち労働階級の一部分でありながら、しかもその指導者であり、したがって大衆の中にありながら、自己を大衆の中に解消することなく、常に独自的活動を保持しているものーかくのごときが前衛の正しい認識である。 Kurahara Korehito, "Geijustsuteki hōhō ni tsuite no kansō" in *Kurahara Korehito Hyōron shū Vol.2* (Tokyo: Shin nihon shuppansha, 1968), *204-205.*

Kurahara, Hanada critiques the approach to the real and concrete by surrealists like Dali for their naïve belief in things, and he also criticizes the limited sense of the real by "realists"—like Kurahara, perhaps—dismissing the unconscious and irrationality.

In Hanada's writings, the imagination of the proletariat as object oscillates between the polar opposites of abstract and concrete. On the one hand, Hanada assimilates the "abstracted" labor and production alongside the abstraction of modern art. He compares the abstraction of Taylorism breaking down labor into minute movement with Cézanne's abstraction of breaking nature into cones and spheres. Like Cézanne broke nature into cones and spheres, Ford broke living horses into different parts. Hence the abstraction in art and the abstraction in mass production correspond. Following the Soviet avant-garde, mass production was revolutionary for Hanada, expelling individual genius and skill from the production of art.

Critically taking over Kurahara's stake in the proletarian revolution and the pursuit of realism, Hanada's avant-garde was about rendering atomized, abstracted proletarian workers into reorganization. If the abstraction and atomization of workers reduced them into "movement itself" such a state would then require them to be synthesized and become a "concrete thing" (*gutai teki na mono*), where unconscious, dream, and irrationality arise from the object, like Takiguchi and Breton had noted. This idea of abstraction and concretization is also found in Hanada's praise of Micky Mouse cartoon. Going back to "On Realism" Hanada mentioned Disney cartoons as avant-garde, mentioning its production process where the minute examination and breakdown of movement of mouse, is then reorganized into the unrealistic, animated image of Micky Mouse.[72] In Hanada's writings the masses were workers that oscillate between

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[72]Furuhata Yuriko examines Hanada and film critic Imamura Taihei's interest in Disney cartoons. Furuhata notes that Disney adopted the Fordism process as a method of production, and sees the parallel between Fordism "forming" the workers and the images being produced. Furuhata notes the opposing

atomized, abstracted labor which also could be organized into a collective. "On Desert"

(*Sabaku nit suite* 1947) writes about the elusive nature of sand, which could congregate into form

but then disperse into grains. He writes:

> What is sand? It is a grain of rockstone, with a size recognizable with naked eyes. According to the Standard dictionary, sand is a grain with a diameter under one-fifth of an inch, but we do not define sand upon measuring each single grain; rather sand is a segmented rockstone in general, and there is no need to say they are in continuum with rocks, stones, pebbles, clay or mud. Nevertheless, we bring up diameter because, it is the most typical in such continuum and still have clear contour that is simultaneously abstract and very concrete.[73]

For Hanada, the internal and the external, or the metaphysical and the physical, should be

interchangeable, and what is important is to examine the unstable borderline between them. The

physical should not be a mere symbol of the metaphysical ideas, and one should avoid

psychologizing everything. Perhaps this resonates with Hanada's attempt to "subjectify" then

proletarian masses collectively, rather than focusing on individual interiority.

Conclusion

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mode of plasticity, "form-receiving" and "form-giving." Furuhata Yuriko, "Rethinking Plasticity: The Politics and Production of the Animated Image," *Animation: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol.6 No.1.

[73]抑々、砂とはなんであろうか。それは肉眼でみえる程度の岩石の粒であり、スタンダード大辞典によれば、特にそのなかの直接五分の一时以下のものを指すそうだが、必ずしも我々は、一々その直径を計った上で砂を砂と呼んでいるわけではなく、岩石の細分されたものをただ漠然とそう呼ぶにすぎず、岩や石や礫や粘土や泥と、それが完全な連続系を形づくっていることについては、いまここであらためて断るまでもない。にも拘らず、砂の直径が問題になったりするのは、それがその連続系のなかで最も類型的なものであり、粉々に砕かれたものでありながら、しかもなお肉眼で判別することのできる明瞭な輪郭をもっており、いわば抽象的なものであるととともに、またすこぶる具体的なものであるためではないだろうか。"Sabaku ni tsuite," in *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* vol.2 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977).

Grafting the concepts of modern art onto aspiration for the collective action of proletariat, material and visual element served as the locus of writing the potential of the collective action undulating under atomized working bodies of proletariat masses.

I wish to conclude this chapter with briefly mapping Hanada onto the rising of "contemporary art" as discourse. Art critic and historian Mitsuda Yuri notes the journal *Bijutsu hihyō* as the locus where the discourse of contemporary art (*gendai bijutsu*) become into being. As Mitsuda notes, *Bijutsu hihyo*, which translates as art criticism, explored critical language and frameworks to talk about contemporary art in the early 1950s. [74] The contributors came from different genres such as literature and film as well as art, and European aesthetic theory were translated and introduced. Hanada's writings on avant-garde was among critical and polemical exploration of language around art, and some of Hanada's concept were carried over by rising art critic, such as Haryu Ichirō. As Ken Yoshida notes, the concept of "matter" and "object" were widely shared among both writers and artists in the postwar. [75] The final chapter demonstrate how the idea of masses as matter resonates in the experiemental art around 1960. I locate Hanada's discourse on the cultural mapping around 1960, where the critique of the postwar radical politics were brought by younger generation and some artists were turning to more experimental work around "object".

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[74] See Mitsuda Yuri, "*Bijytutsu hihyō* (1952–1957) shi to sono jidai: 'gendai bijutsu' to 'gendai bijutsu hihyō' no seiritsu," *Fuji Xerox Art Bulletin* 2 (2006)

[75] Ken Yoshida, "Busshitsu to geijutsu," in *Tenkeiki no medioroji: Senkyuhyakugojunendai nihon no geijutsu to media no saihensei* (Tokyo: Shinwasha. 2019)

A-23*
《落日》1950年

A-20*
《群像》1949年

Fig.1. Okamoto Tarō, *Gunzō* (1949)
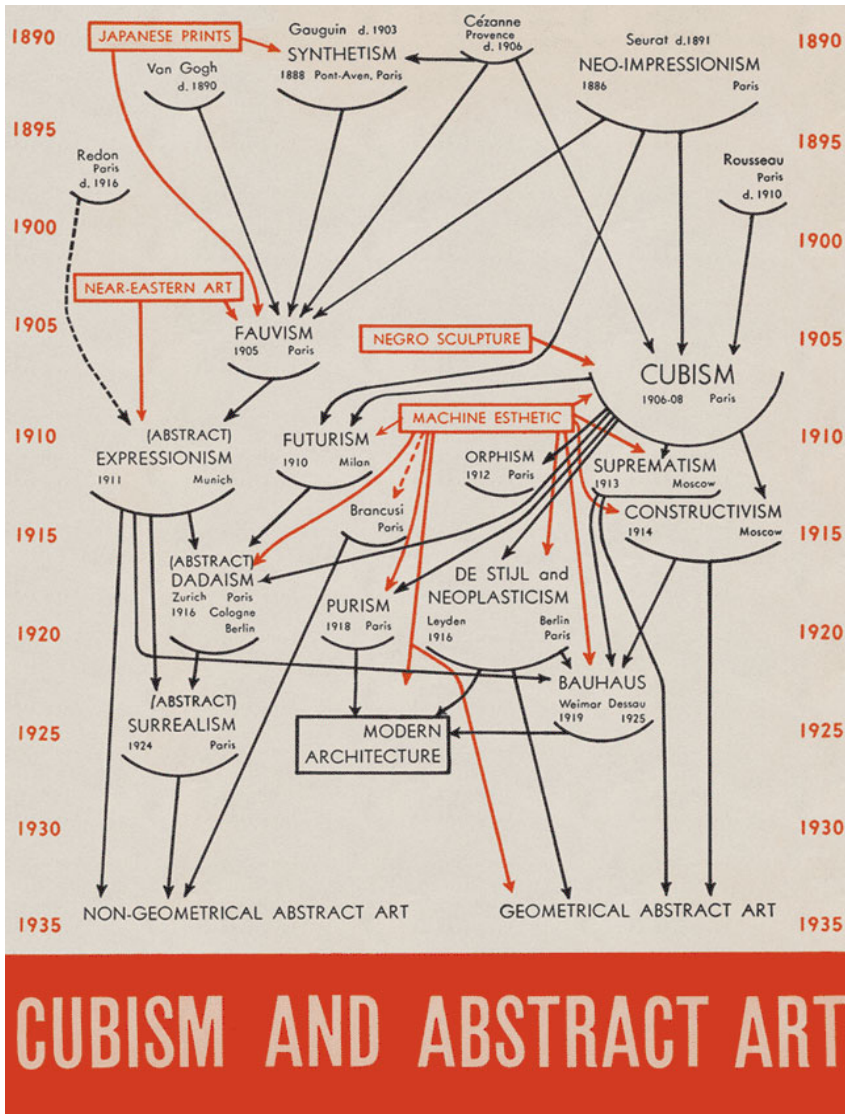
Fig.2 Cubism and Abstract Art Chart by Alfred Barr (1936)

印象派よりモダンアートへ　　△‥‥‥歿

1890　日本浮世繪　　ゴーギャン △1803　セザンヌ　　　スーラ △1891　1890
　　　　　　　　　サンテテイスム　△1906　　　後期印象派
　　ヴァン.ゴッホ　　總合派　　　　　　　　　1886　パリー
　　　△1890　　　1868 パリー

1895　　ルドン　　　　　　　　　　　　　　ルソー　　　　1895
　　　　パリー　　　　　　　　　　　　　　パリー
　　　△1915　　　　　　　　　　　　　　△1910

1900　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　1900
　　近東藝術　　フォービスム
1905　　　　　　　野獸派　←ニグロ彫刻　　立體派　　1905
　　　　　　　　　1905 パリー　　　　　　1906—08 パリー

1910　（抽象）　　未來派←機械美　　　　　　　　　1910
　　　表現派　　　1910 ミラン　　オルフィスム　シュプレマティスム
　　　1911 ミューニッヒ　　　　　1912 パリー　1913 モスコオ
1915　　　　　　　　ブランクウジ　　　　　　構成派　1915
　　　　（抽象）　　パリー　　　　　　　　　1914 モスコオ
　　　ダダイスム　　純粹派　ネオプラスティシスム
　　　チューリッヒ.パリー　1918 パリー　レイデン.ベルリン.パリー
1920　1918 コローニュ　　　　　　　1916　　　　　　1920
　　　　　ベルリン　　　　　　　　　　　バオハウス
　　（抽象）　　　　　　　　　　　　　ワイマール.テッサウ
1925　シュルレアリスム　現代建築　　　1919 1925　1925
　　　1924 パリー

1930　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　1930

1940　シュルレアリスム　　　　アブストラクト.アート 1940

Alfred H Barr. "Cubism and Abstract Art"

Fig.3 "Inshō ha yori modan āto e" in *Gabunshū abangyarudo* (1948)

100

Fig.4 Okamoto's final contribution to of *Abstraction-Création Art Non-Figuratif*

Okamoto

L'art abstrait était pour la jeunesse actuelle le moyen de s'évader de la réalité environnante ; le moyen de la remplacer par la couleur et les formes pures, les visions lyriques obsédantes.

Et si les yeux ne voyaient que la couleur de la joie, ils n'étaient plus des yeux. C'étaient des phares.

La réalité est l'expression perpétuelle du mouvement vital ; la réalité picturale est la révolution permanente de la vision humaine.

Taio OKAMOTO.

Fig.5 Okamoto's final contribution to of *Abstraction-Création Art Non-Figuratif*

A-06
〈傷ましき腕〉1936年／1949年再制作

Fig.6 Okamoto Tarō, *Itamashiki ude* (1936)

A-21*
《重工業》1949年

Fig.7 Okamoto Tarō, *Jyūkōgyō* (1949)

Chapter Three: From Tableau to Object: Echoing Thoughts of Masses, Object and Action around 1960

Introduction

Thus far, I have explained how Hanada wrote the collective transformative potential of the masses during the war and immediate postwar with the concept of form and matter. Moving along to the late 1950s to early 1960s, this chapter examines the resonance of Hanada's bridging of masses, matter, and action found in artists of the younger generation, when the relationship between art and politics was once again questioned around JCP's abrupt policy change in 1955. While Hanada is often referred to in cultural-historical accounts regarding art and politics in the 1950s, his presence recedes in the narratives of experimental art in the 1960s. I offer a different positioning of Hanada in the 1960s through examination of the echoing thinking of masses, object, and action by artist Nakamura Hiroshi (中村宏 1932–) and Imaizumi Yoshihiko (今泉省彦 1931–2010).

Several scholars have pointed out the coincidence between Hanada's emphasis on matter (*busshitsu*) and matter as a key concept for several postwar artists. Art historian Mitsuda Yuri notes contemporaneous interest in "matter" (*busshitsu*) by Yoshihara Jirō (1905–1972), a founding member of the art collective *Gutai*,[1] and Hanada. In "Gutai Art Manifesto" (1956), Yoshihara defined Gutai art as "human spirit and matter shake hands with each other while keeping distance."[2] Ken Yoshida elaborates on the resonance between Hanada's critique of

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[1] Mitsuda Yuri, "From bijutsu hihyō [Art criticism, 1952–1957] and its Era: the Emergence of "Contemporary Art" and "Contemporary Art Criticism,""*Fuji Xerox Art Bulletin*, 2006.

[2] Yoshihara Jirō, "Gutai Art Manifesto," in Kajiya, Kenji, Fumihiko Sumitomo, Michio Hayashi, and Doryun Chong, *From postwar to postmodern: art in Japan 1945-1989 : primary documents* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2012)

human centrism and the discourse of "matter" (*busshitsu*) that became a keyword in Japan's

modern art in the 1950s and after. For Yoshida, Kawara On's (1932–2014) works suggest the

sense of the "inorganic" that resonates with Hanada. Yoshida interprets Kawara's *Yokushitsu*

drawing series, made in 1953 to 1954, where abstracted human figures and their dismembered

bodies float against the endless grid-tiled background. Focusing on the infinite-looking grid and

the dismembered/multiplied bodies, Yoshida reads Kawara's images with terms such as

repetition, *aggregation*, and *proliferation*, and contend that they are antidotes to human

centrism.[3] Yoshida writes that repetition was "actively employed in Kawara's work that

deliberately tried to undermine 'originality' as he subjected the human figure to the same fate of

abstraction."[4] He notes Kawara's "interest in positioning multiple over and against the unified

image of a human artist"[5] that "underminines 'originality' of the artist"[6] over the masses,

exemplified by his "printed pictures." Yoshida closes the analysis with a brief note on the

continued lineage of the inorganic reproduction and replication in the avant-garde art practices in

the 1960s, namely Neo-dada and Hi-Red Center. [7]

  I would like to pick up from where Yoshida stopped. In the late 1950s to early 1960s,

artists trained in painting and practiced picture-(tableau)-making under the influence of Japanese

Communist Party (JCP)-led, leftist politics shifted to more experimental practices of making

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[3] See Yoshida "The Inorganic in Hanada Kiyoteru and Kawara On," in "Between Matter and Ecology: Art in Postwar Japan and the Question of Totality (1954–1975)" PhD diss., University of California Irvine 2011, 50–63.

[4] Ibid., 53.

[5] Ibid.,58.

[6] Ibid.,53.

[7] Ibid.,63.

object works using junk and mundane articles. Studies by William Marotti, Pedro Erber,[8] and

others examine this object turn of experimental art around 1960, characterized by the use of

everyday articles and spectacular events. Among these artists were Akasegawa Genpei (赤瀬川

源平 1937–2014), Nakanishi Natsuyuki (中西夏之 1935–2016), and Takamatsu Jirō (高松次郎

1936–1998), who were later known as "Hi-red Center" for their spectacular performative works

that often went beyond museum settings. As Marotti notes, this tide was not only seen in Japan

but was also seen in the United States.[9]

Connecting Hanada and experimental art around 1960 is a complicated task. Hanada is

often referenced in the context of art and politics in the 1950s, especially in proximity to

politically committed and stylistically experimental reportage art exemplified by artists such as

Katsuragawa Hiroshi (桂川寛 1924 –2011) and Ikeda Tatsuo (池田龍雄 1928–). For instance, in

his memoir, Katsuragawa notes the immense excitement he had felt reading Hanada.[10] However,

Hanada's name fades from the historical narratives in the shift from the politically committed art

of the 1950s, under strong influence of the JCP, to the 1960s experimental art that moved away

from the Japanese Communist Party-led cultural initiatives. While Takiguchi Shūzō remained the

patron-saint of the experimental art scene in the 1960s, Hanada did not have a high profile in the

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[8] See William Marotti, *Money, trains, and guillotines: art and revolution in 1960s Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), Pedro Erber, *Breaching the frame: the rise of contemporary art in Brazil and Japan* (Oakland, California : University of California Press, 2015).

[9] See William Marotti, "The Lives and Afterlives of Art and Potilics in the 1960s, From Anpo/Anpan to Bigakkō," in Maude-Roxby, Alice, and Joan Giroux, *Anti Academy* (John Hansard Gallery: 2013). Marotti refers to Robinson, Julia, and Ágnes Berecz, *New realisms, 1957–1962: object strategies between readymade and spectacle* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2010) as a reference for the U.S. context of the new rise of object art since the late 1950s.

[10] See Justin Jesty, *Art and engagement in early postwar Japan* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018) , Katsuragawa Hiroshi, *Haikyo no zen'ei: kaisō no sengo bijutsu* (Tokyo: Ichiyōsha, 2004)

experimental art scene. Experimental artists were probably familiar with Hanada's texts, but there was not much in-person interaction between Hanada and these artists.[11]

Perhaps such a fading presence of Hanada in the narrative is due to the shifting context around the JCP and his debate with Yoshimoto Takaaki. Following events such as JCP's official denouncement of the progressive policies of 1955, the De-Stalinization and the Hungarian Uprisings, the late 1950s saw surging dismay, confusion and disputes among artists and writers.[12] In 1955, the sixth national party congress (also known as *Rokuzenkyō*) renounced its militant policy that had led the party for several years, such as radicalizing rural villages (*Sanson kōsaku tai*) in favor of more peaceful struggle.[13] Young writers and artists across multiple disciplines responded by critically reflecting on the cultural policies led by the venerated JCP and the related cultural discourses. Criticizing and setting disputes against more established figures, up and coming writers explored their own framework of thinking about art and politics. One such spearheading figure was the poet/critic Yoshimoto Takaaki. Yoshimoto harshly criticized the leftist literary movement throughout the prewar and postwar eras, for their responsibility in the war and their inadequate ideas of politics and art carried over from the

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[11] See Akasegawa Genpei, *Imaya akushon aru nomi!: Yomiuri Andepandan'to iu genshō* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1985.)
 Takiguchi was also involved in Akasegawa's 1000 yen note trial. Interviews with Imaizumi Yoshihiko and Nakamura Hiroshi suggests that they were reading Hanada. See "Imaizumi Yoshihiko Oral History 2010/2/27" *Oral History Archives of Japanese Art*, http://www.oralarthistory.org/archives/imaizumi_yoshihiko/interview_01.php (accessed 7/29/2020) and "Nakamura Hiroshi Oral History 2012/3/10" *Oral History Archives of J panese Art*, http://www.oralarthistory.org/archives/nakamura_hiroshi/interview_01.php (accessed 7/29/2020)

[12] For more information, see Justin Jesty, "Casting Light: Community, Visibility and Historical Presence in Reportage Art of the 1950s," *Quadrante: Areas, Cultures, Positions* 10 (2008).

[13] As to militant policies see Kenji Hasegawa, *Student radicalism and the formation of postwar Japan,* (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019)

prewar era to the postwar era. He criticized Hanada, among other writers, and called out him for

his affiliation with the fascist group Tōhōkai during the war. He also stigmatized Hanada as a

stubborn Stalinist.[14] Accounts about Hanada in the 1950s usually focus on his strife with

Yoshimoto. Although Hanada kept critical perspective on JCP's cultural policies while

committing to the party's cause of organizing the masses, the conflict between Yoshimoto and

Hanada, and young artists' break away from the JCP-driven, committed art for more

experimental practices are often conflated. Yoshimoto is usually considered as a literary critic,

but his writings in the late 1950s could be often found together with the critical writings of

painter Nakamura Hiroshi (1932 –) and the writer Mouri Yuri etc.[15]

Instead of following the trope of the generational clash between Hanada as an old leftist

vs. the new leftists, I juxtapose Hanada's calling for action of the masses, and a reframing of the

relationship between art and the masses by Nakamura, Yoshimoto, Imaizumi, and others. Since

Hanada's essays and writings by younger artists were not written as a direct conversation with

each other, it is difficult to draw a clear causal relation between them. Still, there are signs of

loosely shared interests and concepts. Examining them side by side, I suggest that the afterlife of

Hanada's thinking connecting masses, object, and action carried over into experimental art.

I start by locating Hanada's interest in direct action and agitation in the context of the

JCP and fellow leftist thinkers in the late 1950s. Then I turn to criticism of leftist art movements

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[14] About so called Yoshimoto Hanada debate see Kōmura Fujihiko, *Mahiru no kettō: Hanada Kiyoteru, Yoshimoto Takaaki ronsō* (Tokyo: Shōbunsha, 1986), Suga Hidemi, *Yoshimoto Takaaki no jidai* (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2008)

[15] See Ikegami Yoshihiko, "Kaigateki teikō to nijyū no zasetsu" *Bijutsu Undō,* accessed 7/29/2020, https://www.artmovement.jp/%E5%B1%95%E8%A6%A7%E4%BC%9A%E8%A9%95/%E7%B5%B5%E7%94%BB%E7%9A%84%E6%8A%B5%E6%8A%97%E3%81%A8%E4%BA%8C%E9%87%8D%E3%81%AE%E6%8C%AB%E6%8A%98/

of the late 1950s spurred by artist Nakamura Hiroshi and literary critic Yoshimoto Takaaki.

Nakamura and Yoshimoto reframe the way to think about art and the masses, breaking away

from the dogmatic framework of relating art to the masses that was prescribed by the JCP.[16]

They both emphasized the reception of art, arguing that artworks are nothing more than things

out there to be interpreted by the recipients. Nakamura's idea of tableau as *matter (busshitsu)*,

denying tableau as a vessel that holds intended meaning is important. I introduce the art journal

Keishō (『形象』 *Form*), where the discussion of art and masses and tableau as matter is

continued among Nakamura, Imaizumi, and others including Takamatsu, Akasegawa, and

Nakanishi leading to the Hi-red Center. Closely examining Nakamura and Imaizumi's thinking

that shifts from tableau as representation to tableau as transmittable thing, I wish to demonstrate

the after-life of Hanada's formalist conceptualization of the masses. I demonstrate how Hanada's

methodology of the masses as things, which stressed quantity and transforming relationships,

resonated in actual art practice and discourse in the 1960s, when the significance of the "masses"

was shifting.

Agitation and Direct Action

Hanada's writings in the early 1950s were mostly on art and film and did not touch on

contemporary literary works or discourses. Hanada later noted that he avoided writing critical

essays on literature because he was serving as the chief editor of *Shin Nihon bungaku*, and he

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[16] Jesty's "Casting Light: Community, Visibility and Historical Presence in Reportage Art of the 1950s," paper mentions Yoshimoto.

worried that writers might get upset with his opinions and refuse to contribute to the journal.[17]

After he left *Shin Nihon bungaku* in 1954,[18] Hanada again became more polemical toward

contemporary writers. Responding to the unification of the JCP in 1955 and its shift toward

peaceful policy, Hanada foregrounded the Sorelian notion of myth and general strike and

critiqued JCP for not nurturing it and his contemporary writers for advocating peace and

humanism instead of collective action.

Hanada's frustration toward peace could be found in a roundtable held on *Kindai*

bungaku in 1955, where participants discuss the perspectives for the next 10 years, in

commemoration of the journal's 100th issue. Somewhat echoing his advocacy for the proletarian

revolution in a previous roundtable that took place in the same journal in 1947,[19] Hanada argues

against Ara Masahito's stress on the ultimate prioritization of peace, advocating the "violence" in

the Sorelian sense of strike.

> I think anyone who called for the peaceful revolution is a war criminal. It is wrong to
> think about violent revolution as terrorism and molotov cocktails, for the basis of the
> violence is the strike. The strike should be the foundation. It might take the form of a
> peaceful revolution, but it is different from what is called the postwar peaceful
> revolution, that is, the peaceful revolution set against violent revolution.[20]

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[17] "Morarisuto hihan" in *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* Vol.6 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977).

[18] Hanada served as the chief editor since 1952, but he was purged from the position in 1954, for rejecting the manuscript of Miyamoto Kenji (1908–2007), a leading figure in the JCP.

[19] I mention this round table in chapter 2.

[20] 花田「ぼくは平和革命を唱えたものはみな戦犯だと考えている。つまり暴力革命というもの をテロリズムとか、火炎瓶とか考えているのは間違いで、ヴァイオレンスは根本はストライキ でしょう。つまりそれが根幹になっていかなければならない。それは一つの平和革命の形態を とるかも知れんが、概念的には、いわゆる戦後の平和革命―暴力革命に対する平和革命とは違 う。」 Hanada Kiyoteru, Katō Shūichi, Okuno Takeo, Ara Masato, Honda Shūgo, Sasaki Kiichi, Hotta Yoshie, "Kongo jyūnen o kataru," *Kindai bungaku*Vol.11 (1955)

Throughout the discussion, Hanada persists with the importance of the strike, contending that the strike should be about the reformation of ideology rather than about increasing wages. Strikes do not need to only happen in the workplace. When another participant suggests that ideological changes could be worked out by political groups rather than by workers unions, Hanada answers that he wishes to create the myth of the strike in the Sorelian sense.

As examined in the previous chapter, the language of agitation and propaganda were circumscribed in Hanada's discourse during the occupation period. Instead of agitating and instigating the collective direct action of the masses, the concept of avant-garde and masses as object conceptualized the undulating possibility of the organization and the collective action of the workers. In the late 1950s, however, Hanada again openly supported agitation for direct action. Two essays in 1956, "On Political Animals" (*Seijiteki dōbutsu ni tsuite*, 1956)[21] and "The role of Intellectuals in Japan" (*Nihon ni okeru chishikijin no yakuwari* 1956), criticize the *Kindai bungaku* coterie's humanist tendencies—especially Ara Masahito's call for the peaceful and reasonable "citizen." Making a parallel comparison between the relationship of avant-garde art and socialist realism to that of anarcho-syndicalism and bolshevism, Hanada notes that Japanese communism had failed to grasp the spontaneous and intuitive need for the mass organization, endorsing direct action and agitation. He writes:

> Just like avant-garde art first grasps the movement of our subconscious, anarcho-syndicalism first captures the spontaneous=instinctive desire. Then, like Kōtoku Shūsui did, they put up slogans such as "deny the parliament, direct action!" and agitate the

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[21] This essay was published on *Bijutsu hihyō*. About *Bijutsu hihyō*, see Mitsuda Yuri, "*Bijutsu hihyō* (1952–1957) shi to sono jidai: 'gendai bijutsu' to 'gendai bijutsu hihyō' no seiritsu," *Fuji Xerox Art Bulletin* 2 (2006). Bijutsu hihyō carried wide variety of essays about a wide range of visual material including painting, but also included critique on film and dramas. Sometimes it published poems. There was a debate between Haryu Ichirō and Takei Teruo, known as the "Sukarabe Sakure" debate, regarding the relation between political avant-garde and avant-garde art. The debate was mostly on *Bijutsu hihyō* and also involved art critic Ehara Jun.

unorganized proletariat to stir the general strike. This from the perspective of today's communist, would look rather foolish. How can they carry out the general strike when there is no organization? But it is hard to deny that such a raw agitation gradually led to establishing the subjectivity of the proletariat. In fact, strikes took place one after another without having any organization, and strikes led to the organizing. In a recent roundtable titled "The Next Ten Years" in *Kindai bungaku,* I expressed my expectation for the current tide of proletariat, with examples of local and family level struggle in recent strikes. This is not because I tried to follow Shūsui. I thought Japanese communism is hardly succeeding in capturing spontaneous=instinctive desire, just like socialist realism is failing to capture our inner unconscious.[22]

The way Hanada expanded on the idea of agitation and direct action this time was not the same as the way he expanded on propaganda and mass organization during the wartime. As I have examined in the Chapter One, in the 1940s Hanada articulated the idea of the mass organization as ambiguous, mediated sensory experience. In the late 1950s, Hanada wrote of agitation and propaganda in comparison with cinematic methods of staging such as montage, advocating the contingent momentum for action. As Ken Yoshida demonstrated, in the late 1950s, Hanada encouraged transmedia and trans-genre discussions of art with increased interest

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[22] アヴァンギャルド芸術が、その出発点において、われわれの無意識や下意識のうごきをとらえるように、アナルコ・サンジカリズムもまた、まず第一に、プロレタリアートの自然発生的＝本能的な欲求をとらえる。そして、たとえば幸徳秋水のように、「議会否認・直接行動一本槍」といったようなスローガンをかかげ、未組織のプロレタリアートに向かって、ゼネラル・ストライキをおこすように扇動したりする。これは、むろん、今日のコンミュニストの眼からみれば、阿呆らしいことにちがいない。組織のないところで、ゼネ・ストをおこそうといったところで、おこしようがないではないか。しかし、そんな乱暴な扇動が、その当時の日本のプロレタリアートの主体性を、しだいに確立していったことは否定しがたい。事実、未組織のところに、つぎつぎにストライキがおこり、ストライキがおこることによって、逆に組織ができていったのである。もっとも、ついせんだって『近代文学』の「今後十年を語る」という座談会で、わたしが、最近のストライキにおける地域ぐるみの闘争や家族ぐるみの闘争の例をとりあげて、それらのプロレタリアートのうごきに、大きな期待をかけたのは、べつだん、第二の功徳を気どろうとおもったためではない。日本の社会主義リアリズムが、われわれの内部世界の無意識や下意識のうごきをとらえることができないように、日本のコンミュニズムが、プロレタリアートの自然発生的＝本能的な欲求を、あざやかにとらえているとは、義理にもいえないからだ。Hanada Kiyoteru, "Seijiteki doubutsu nit suite," *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* Vol.6 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977).

in film, documentary, TV and popular theatrical entertainment, such as musical and variety

shows. In 1957, Hanada organized The Society of Documentary Arts (*Kiroku geijutsu no kai*)

together with Okamoto Tarō, writer Abe Kōbō (安部公房, 1924–1993), art critic Nakahara

Yūsuke (中原佑介 1931–2011), film director Hani Susumu (1928–) and others, and published

the journal *Kikan Gendai Geijutsu* (Contemporary Art Quarterly『季刊現代芸術』）, where

they discussed art. [23] In his essay collections such as *The Energy of the Masses* (*Taishū no*

enerugi, 1957) and *Overcoming Modernity* (*Kindai no chōkoku*, 1959), Hanada commented on

various forms of popular culture, such as the live performance of a popular singer before an

enthusiastic audience, and action sequences from films, noting the articulation of the dynamic

energy of the masses in motion. While Hanada's idea of masses as object in the immediate

postwar period revolved around workers at the production site, Hanada's mid to late 1950s

writings locate the masses at cultural sites. Perhaps Hanada's writings of the masses in cultural

terms was responding to the surge of discussion and theorization of mass communication and the

mass society in the 1950s, led by social scientists such as Shimizu Ikutarō (清水幾太郎 1907–

1988).

Among these writings, I would like to focus on "On Chance" (*Gūzen no mondai*, 1957),

which addresses the importance of contingency that sparks the situation for action. In "On

Chance," Hanada draws on "reality" and "actuality" in film and beyond. As Furuhata Yuriko

notes, "reality" and "actuality" were terms used by film critic Tsumura Hideo to distinguish

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[23] As to the Hanada's emphasis of transmedia see Ken Yoshida "The undulating contours of sōgō geijutsu (total work of art), or Hanada Kiyoteru's thoughts on transmedia in postwar Japan". *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*. 13 (1)

fiction films (reality) and documentary films (actuality).[24] Hanada suggests interpreting actuality

as *gūzen* (偶然 contingency), and hw argues that contingency is a crucial aspect to create reality

in film. To explain his favoring of actuality as contingency, Hanada compares two films:

Battleship Potemkin (1925) by Sergei Eisenstein[25] and *Othello*(1956) by Sergei Yutkevic. While

Hanada downplays *Othello* for refined but conventional theatricality, he extols *Battleship*

Potemkin as a documentary antithesis to theatricality. Hanada contrasts Yutkevic's controlled,

scenario driven film making and Eisenstein's film making, using montage techniques and non-

professional actors. Hanada notes how Eisenstein made the most of contingent unique situations,

such as fog setting in upon shooting, or his encounter with the massive staircase, to produce

attractive sequences. Expanding on his penchant for contingency-driven film making to the role

of the contingent present in terms of history, he writes:

> "If the inevitability of 'the past' and the possibility of 'the future' were to be synthesized
> within 'the present' of contingency, Italian realism is charged with its own rich
> temporality, far from being "alienated from temporality" as Sasaki Kiichi said. There,
> because of the intense attempt to capture the transforming figure of the present—the
> present that stretches out to the past and the future—space stands out rather than time."
> [26]

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[24]About actuality and reality, see Furuhata Yuriko, *Cinema of actuality: Japanese avant-garde filmmaking in the season of image politics*c (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 62. Regarding Hanada's endorsement of actuality in the film, Furuhata interpret as Hanada's attempt to intake a journalistic aspect into the film.

[25] Due to prewar and postwar censorships, *Battleship Potemkin* was not commercially released in Japan until 1967. It is possible Hanada saw it at non-commercial screenings or he wrote about it based on other references. Regarding release of *Battleship Potemkin* in Japan, see Ougi Chie, "Senkan pochomukin no nihon jōriku" Муза Vol. 17 (1998) 158-167.

[26] 「過去」の必然と「未来」の可能とを、「現在」の偶然をキッカケにして、みずからのなかに止揚したものが「現実」だとすれば、イタリアン・リアリズムは、佐々木基一のいうように、「時間の要素を疎外」するどころか、すこぶる充実したおのれの時間をもっているのではあるまいか。そこでは、過去と未来とにつらなる現在を—刻々、変化しつつある現在のすがたをとらえようとして極度に緊張しているため、かえって、時間よりも、空間のほうが目だつの

According to Hanada, such a contingent present is predicated on the dynamic action of people, rather than unchanging humanism. Expanding on Eisenstein's cinematic technique of montage leading to the dramatic sequence, he notes the importance of contingent actuality in propaganda and agitation: "What is the most indispensable for propaganda and agitation is actuality, is it not? And if so, is it not the most necessary thing for agitation and propaganda to deny the theatrical element that has become trite, by way of the element of vivid documentary?"[27] As I will discuss more later, Hanada's endorsement of agitation to instigate the action of the masses, as well as idea of contingency sparking the momentum of action echo in younger artists' practice and thought.

How to Think about Art*?*

The late1950s saw a younger generation of writers and artists spurring critical reflection on the JCP-led cultural initiatives and discourses. The threads and consequences of these critiques vary, and it is not my intention here to reduce them to a monolithic narrative. The consequence I focus on is the question of *tableau*, leading to the conceptualization and practice of the *object*, that emerged around Imaizumi Yoshihiko and Nakamura Hiroshi. As a pretext, I introduce arguments addressing the assessment of art and the relationship between art and the

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ではなかろうか。Hanada Kiyoteru, "Gūzen no mondai," in *Hanada Kiyoteru zenshū* Vol.6 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977), 367.

[27] プロパガンダやアジテーションにとって、なにより不可欠なものは、アクチュアリティではないか。もしもそうだとすれば、紋切型と化し去った演劇的なものを、なまなましい記録的なものによって否定していくことこそ、プロパガンダやアジテーションにとって、もっとも必要なことではなかろうか。Ibid., 373.

masses by Nakamura Hiroshi and Yoshimoto Takaaki.[28] Nakamura Hiroshi was a painter involved in the reportage art movement, and Yoshimoto Takaaki was a poet who worked in an ink factory and was involved in workers union activity until the mid-1950s. They both started writing critical essays that questioned the leftist art movement, the category of the masses, and the politicizing of art.

Although it is not clear whether Yoshimoto and Nakamura interacted (it is plausible, at least, that Nakamura was reading Yoshimoto), I examine Yoshimoto and Nakamura Hiroshi's critique of tableau side by side to suggest there was a contemporaneous overlap of thinking around art and the masses at this point. Both argued separating the creative process and the reception process of art, and emphasized the contingent meaning production by the recipient of art, rather than stressing an artist's methodology or intention. Once the artwork is made, it will be freed from the artist's intention, no more than a form/thing lying out there, to which audiences will then contribute to its meaning production. Yoshimoto made this argument by referring to the prewar formalist debate. Nakamura argued that made art could then threaten the intention and context under which art is made. I suggest that, especially, Nakamura's argument is an important pretext of the "object" turn of art, which is continued in the journal *Keishō* with Imaizumi Yoshihiko.

Tableau (Matter) Does Not Criticize Itself

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[28] Yoshimoto later develops his own discourses on the masses but it is not my intent to cover his argument here.

Artist Nakamura Hiroshi[29] was trained in painting and was making reportage paintings in an experimental style influenced by Eisenstein's montage theory in the 1950s. As he witnessed confusion around art and politics in the late 1950s, he endeavored into heavily conceptual writings that reflected on the ontological meaning of *tableau* (picture). In "Doubts on 'Self Critique'" (*Fushin no jiko hihan*, 1957.4),[30] Nakamura drew on art critic Hariu Ichirō's [31] critique of socialist realism and call for an exploration of styles and artists' establishment of subjectivity. Responding to Hariu, Nakamura speaks up for the pictures that were made under the sweeping tide of socialist realism. Nakamura's argument was that the ideology and methodology of socialist realism and the pictures created under such methodology should be two separate things. While critics can repudiate their errors and critique themselves, one can't change the material existence of tableau. Nakamura writes: "tableau, or 'matter', never performs self-criticism."[32]

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[29] As to Nakamura Hiroshi, see Namiko Kunimoto, *The stakes of exposure. Anxious bodies in postwar Japanese art* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), Jesty "Casting Light: Community, Visibility and Historical Presence in Reportage Art of the 1950s." William Marotti, "The Lives and Afterlives of Art and Potilics in the 1960s, From Anpo/Anpan to Bigakkō."

[30] Nakamura Hiroshi, "Fushin no jiko hihan," *Bijutsu undō*, Vol.53, 20–21.

[31] Hariu was already involved into controversy with younger writer. Hariu's presentation on Hanada's *Avangyarudo geijytusu*, was met critique from a critic Takei Teruo (武井昭夫 1927–2010) See Takei Teruo, *Sengo bungaku to avangyarudo: bungakusha no sengo sekinin* (Tokyo: Miraisha 1975)

[32] タブローは、「物質」は絶対に自己批判しないのだ。"Fushin no jiko hihan," *Bijutsu undō*, Vol.53, 21.

Following "Doubts on 'Self Critique'," Nakamura continued to reflect on the relationship

between tableau and the JCP-led reportage art movement.[33] Nakamura did not consider artworks

as victims of erroneous political policy, but argued that they had become critiques of the

politically charged movement once they were born as *matter*. "What I would like to think about

is not to explain the setback of the reportage painting movement through the political shift, but

rather to the consider "matter" (tableau) that destroyed the movement from within,"[34] Nakamura

wrote. "[T]he painting work, tableau, was the product of a political movement, but once they

become "matter" (*busshitsu*) they become critiques of the movement." [35]

As Justin Jesty has noted, Nakamura's concept of tableau was "something independent

of political movements and populism."[36] Independence from the political causes, however, did

not call for the art borne out of development of subjectivity of the artist, like Hariu Ichirō did.

Pointing out the contradiction of the existing framework of thinking about art, Nakamura's main

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[33] Nakamura wrote essays on *Hihyō undō*, a small critical coterie journal he started with several others. On *Hihyo undō* see Nakamura's interview. "Nakamura Hiroshi Oral History," Oral History Archives of J panese Art, http://www.oralarthistory.org/archives/nakamura_hiroshi/interview_01.php, accessed 7/29/2020

[34] ここでなによりも、考えたい事は、ルポルタージュ絵画運動を政治的転換によってその挫折を理由づける事をせず、運動を内部から破壊した「物質」（タブロー）を考える事である。Nakamura Hiroshi, "Keiki to shite," *Hihyō undō* Vol. 14 (1957), 8.

[35] 絵画作品つまりタブローは、運動、まさに政治的運動の生んだタブローであったと同時に、いったん「物質」となったタブローは、また運動への批判者ともなったのである。Ibid.

[36] Jesty writes "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." "Casting Light: Community, Visibility and Historical Presence in Reportage Art of the 1950s." *Quadrante: Areas, Cultures, Positions 10* (2008), 229.

question was how to re-integrate the "picture in isolation." (孤立した絵画)[37], dissociated from

the JCP-prescribed art and politics framework into different relations. Preceding studies on point

out that Nakamura kept making political art after he manifested a break from JCP-prescribed art

and politics methodology. [38] Although I agree with these insights, I would like to examine

Nakamura's theoretical exploration of sociality around the art work. Regarding Nakamura's walk

away from politics prescribed by JCP, Jesty noted that "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."[39] I would like to further examine Nakamura's prioritization

of the tableau as thing. The methodology Nakamura brought up was to break down the creation

of art into a creation route and a reception route.

Nakamura's "Thesis on Tableau Theory" (*Taburō ron tēze*, 1958.7) suggests separating

the process of creation and reception of art works, and bringing the two into a dialectical

relationship. According to Nakamura, a sense of contingency makes the creation and reception of

art different. Nakamura writes:

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[37] Nakamura writes "一つの政治運動を破壊し、それ故に孤立した絵画は、多分真の主体性を所有して行くだろう。「絵画論」はここからしか出されないだろう" Nakamura Hiroshi, "Keiki to shite," *Hihyō undō* Vol. 14(1957), 8.

[38] For example, Jesty notes Nakamura's works after the 1950s could be interpreted as continued lineage of reportage art, taking topics from social issues such as Anpo protest and satire of 1964 Olympic games. "Casting Light: Community, Visibility and Historical Presence in Reportage Art of the 1950s."229. Marotti and Kunimoto also note Nakamura's continued engagement in the political issues. See Marotti "The Lives and Afterlives of Art and Potilics in the 1960s, From Anpo/Anpan to Bigakkō," in Maude-Roxby, Alice, and Joan Giroux, *Anti Academy* (John Hansard Gallery: 2013) and Kunimoto, *The stakes of exposure. Anxious bodies in postwar Japanese art* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017)

[39]Justin Jesty, "Casting Light: Community, Visibility and Historical Presence in Reportage Art of the 1950s." *Quadrante: Areas, Cultures, Positions 10* (2008), 229.

The issue the critic did not engage was the doubling of the creative process and appreciation process of tableau. The former is extremely conceptual, and hence negates most of contingency, weaving in inevitability while becoming schematic. Of course, one experiences limitation in material and skill, but such condition is already known. The latter is extremely intuitive, sensational, and psychological, hence necessity is denied while contingency will be weaved in. The emotion would be dispersed. [40]

According to Nakamura, the creative process and appreciation process negate each other, but the two make a cyclical movement, for the creative process produces sensorial material for appreciation and then the appreciation process will theorize such sensorial material and form methodology. Nakamura notes that artists' creative processes only would not acquire creativity, writing: "The creative momentum of tableaux lies in the sensational object (*kankakubutsu*) that evoke this latter appreciation process[41]" and points out that "theorizing the expression in creation process, without theorizing expression in the appreciation process, would not become creation."[42]

Later, I will demonstrate how the emphasis on the contingent reception of art develops into rethinking of the "art movement" as an enticing action through art. But before that, it is worthwhile to note that the separation of the creation process and appreciation process as

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[40] 常に批評家のなし得なかった問題は、タブロオの創造過程と鑑賞過程の二重化である。前者はきわめて観念的であると言ういわば方法論的課題である。そのために、ほとんどの偶然性は否定され、必然性を組み入れながら図式化されてゆくのである。もちろん材料、技術を終点的に体験してゆくが、あくまで既知のものとしてである。後者はきわめて感覚的であり印象的、心理的である。それ故に必然性は否定され、偶然性を組み入れる。感情的に分散化するのである。Nakamura Hiroshi, "Taburō ron tēze," *Hihyō undo* Vol.17 (1958), 37.

[41] 後者鑑賞過程をつくる感覚物にタブロオの創造的モメントがあり、創造過程にはないと言い得るのである。Nakamura Hiroshi, "Taburō ron tēze," *Hihyō undo* Vol. 17 (1958), 37. This essay is also contained in Nakamura Hiroshi, *Kaigasha* 1957–2002 (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 2003)

[42] 鑑賞過程の表現論を同時に獲得しない限り、創造過程の表現論はそれ単独では創造になり得ないのである。Ibid.

independent loci of meaning production can be also found in Yoshimoto Takaaki's critique of the leftist art movements in the literary field. Although this chapter later focuses more on the art field, Yoshimoto's argument reminds us that the discussion of separating the appreciation process as a locus of meaning production could be also found in the literary field. Yoshimoto's argument is also helpful to show how "independence of art from the politics" at this time differed from the *Kindai bungaku* coterie's critique of orthodox Marxist in the immediate post war.

In "What is Art Movement" (1957) [43] and "Denial of Theory of Massifying Art" (1959),[44] Yoshimoto developed the critique of "art movements" including the prewar proletarian literature movement to the circle movements in the postwar era. Similar to Nakamura, Yoshimoto critiques the assumption that art could be utilized for the political cause. Yoshimoto argues that, because of the hasty application of Marxist ideas onto art, without consideration of the complicated relationship between art and politics, these movements always ended at an impasse. Referring to Hanada's theses that art should belong to the masses (*taishū*), Yoshimoto criticizes that Hanada's idea of the masses were nothing but abstract concepts, noting the gap between the artists and the masses.

In the "Denying the Theory of the Massification of Art," Yoshimoto makes the point of going back to the prewar debate on the massification (*taishūka*) of literature in the 1920s. Mentioning the significance of the 1920s as the advent of the mass audience that resulted from the development of technology, Yoshimoto notes that the proletarian literary theories at the time

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[43] Yoshimoto Takaaki, "*geijutsu undō to wa nanika,*" in *Yoshimoto Takaaki zenshū* vol.4 (Tokyo: Shōbun sha, 2014)

[44] Yoshimoto Takaaki "Geijutsu taishūka ron no hitei," (1959) in *Yoshimoto Takaaki Zenshū* vol.5 (Tokyo: Shōbun sha, 2014)

had misconstrued the advent of the mass receiver with the rise of political cause. Yoshimoto

points out there is an erroneous understanding of massification, where the aesthetic sensibility of

the newly appeared mass receiver and the rising political awareness in social movements were

considered equal. Yoshimoto extends his critique to Hanada's advocacy for the possibility of

popular culture and synthetic art (*Sōgō geijjutsu*). He writes:

> The widespread view among proletarian literati is that the masses who flock around
> vulgar literature have low political awareness and would not appreciate proletarian
> literature with higher political awareness. Hence it needs to be vulgarized,
> compromising its political awareness, or boosting the political movement, to draw the
> masses toward proletarian literature, with aspects outside literature. Such a basic style
> of the massification of art has not changed today. The masses flock around TV, cinema,
> musical, and popular novels. Hence one should make "synthetic art" taking the
> methodology of image thinking from TV and films, songs and dances from musicals,
> the plot structure from the popular novels. Moreover, literati should abandon the novel
> form and try venturing into TV/radio drama or film making, using communication
> mode that appeals to mass audience. The only thing that makes a difference between the
> era of proletarian literature and massification of art in the current moment is that the
> former tried to popularize the content while the latter is popularizing the communication
> form.[45]

Yoshimoto critiques both the proletarian literary movement and postwar leftists, such as

Hanada, for merely encouraging the dumbing down of content or modes of artistic

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[45] プロレタリア文学者の常識的な見解は、通俗文学のまわりにあつまっている大衆は、政治的
な意識が低いから、高度の政治意識をもったプロレタリア文学にはついてくるはずがない。ひ
とまず政治的意識を低めて作品を通俗化するか、さもなければ政治運動を強化して、文学外の
要因とあいまって大衆をプロレタリア文学の方へひきよせる外はないのではないかという点に
おかれた。このような芸術大衆化論の共通様式は、もちろん現在もかわっていない。大衆は、
テレビにあつまり、映画にあつまり、ミュージカルにあつまり、大衆小説にあつまってくる。
テレビや映画からは映像思考の方法を、ミュージカルからは、歌と踊りを、大衆小説からはプ
ロットの運びを、かきあつめてきて総合芸術なるものを作りあげたらどうか。もっと素朴に
は、文学者が小説形式をすてて、テレビ・ドラマやラジオ・ドラマや映画製作を試みて、大量
の大衆を対象とする伝達手段を利用したらどうか、という形で提起されざるをえない。プロレ
タリア文学時代と現在との芸術大衆化論のコモン・センスのちがいは、前者が内容の通俗化を
目論んだのにたいし、後者が伝達手段（形式）の通俗化を目論んでいるだけで、俗論であるこ
とはかわりがない。Ibid., 445.

communication, so that art would become more accessible to the masses and hence nurture their political awareness. Instead of raising political awareness, those theorists should have aimed to raise aesthetic awareness among the masses. To further elaborate on political awareness and aesthetic awareness, Yoshimoto refers to the debate between Kurahara Korehito and the modernist writer Yokomitsu Riichi (横光利一 1898–1947) in the 1920s over the form and content of literature. In the debate, Kurahara, a Marxist literary critic, insisted that socio-historical contents decide the form of literary work, to which Yokomitsu refuted that literary content never precedes form, since literature, after all, is all printed letters. Yoshimoto notes that although Yokomitsu's argument of printed letters as "form" does not make much sense, his remark provides a meaningful standpoint. This is because, while Kurahara prioritized content over form from the viewpoint of art making, Yokomitsu's affirmation of "form" is premised on his focus on appreciation process, in which receivers of art make meaning out of form. Yoshimoto argues that there is no way to guarantee that receivers will nurture political awareness through art. Instead, Yoshimoto conceptualized the making of meaning as a two-way dialectical process where creation of the form and interpreting of the form mutually form the meaning. Although Yoshimoto's argument is aimed at literary field and Nakamura's at art field, they both questioned the locus of meaning production of the art, contesting the presumed configuration of art and politics. [46]

From Tableau to Object– discussions around *Keishō*

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[46] That said, I do think Yoshimoto's reading of Hanada's idea of the masses and art is rather schematic, and not a good reading.

Starting with Nakamura and Yoshimoto's emphasis on the appreciation process and the

conceptualization of art as *thing*, I further expand my analysis to a thinking process around art

and the art movement found in the journal *Keishō,* and the writings of artist Imaizumi

Yoshihiko.[47] Started by art teachers Endō Akira (遠藤昭), Imaizumi Yoshihiko, Satō Kazuo,

Kawani Hiroshi (川仁宏), and others in 1958, *Keishō* initially carried rather orthodox left-wing

articles on art, such as woodcut printing, then turned to a more progressive approach, questioning

the institutionalized framework of art. In the fourth issue of *Keishō*, published in June 1960, Bitō

Yutaka (尾藤豊 1926–1998), Katsuragawa Hiroshi (1924–2011), Nakamura Hiroshi(1932–), and

Mouri Yuri (毛利ユリ) each published a chronological reflection on the postwar leftist art

discourses and movements led by Nihon Bijutsu kai,[48] starting from 1945 and ending with the

confusion in the evaluation criteria of art, accompanying JCP's sudden repudiation of

progressive policy. In his look back on how leftist artist groups had approached various workers

unions in the late 1940s, painter Bitō questions the relationship between artists and workers. Bitō

regrets that leftist artists only taught the technique of art to the masses. He writes; "For art, the

masses exist as the axiomatic level and has profound meaning for the creators as the momentum

to clarify the appreciation side of the tableaux. But the movement back then did not take this

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[47] Regarding *Keishō*, and Hi-red center, see William Marotti, *Money, trains, and guillotines: art and revolution in 1960s Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013)

[48] About Nihon bijutsu kai, see Justin Jesty, "Nihon bijutsu kai no aidentiti mondai," *Bijutsu undō,* https://www.artmovement.jp/%E5%B1%95%E8%A6%A7%E4%BC%9A%E8%A9%95/%E6%97%A5 %E6%9C%AC%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E4%BC%9A%E3%81%AE%E3%82%A2%E3%82%A4 %E3%83%87%E3%83%B3%E3%83%86%E3%82%A3%E3%83%86%E3%82%A3%E3%83%BC%E5 %95%8F%E9%A1%8C/ accessed 7/29/2020.

principle to think of creating the new art and the masses as its basis. Only absolutizing the political side of the masses was forced."[49]

After Vol. 4, *Keishō* became quite different from previous issues. Contributing members started using pseudonyms, freely explored various modes of writing, and engaged in rethinking art. Some articles read as straight argument, others read more like performative writings or agitation, somewhat resembling Hanada's playful and performative style. Articles tried to think without the categorical identity and privilege of art. Stepping back from categorical identity and privilege of art, as two-dimensional works hang in museums and galleries, articles often questioned and explored the ontological ground of the elements of art such as production, product, space, institution, and the making of meanings. It is in the interstices of breaking down and re-examining the process and component of art where political subversiveness slipped in. For instance, Endō Akira, using the moniker Oumi Ryō, wrote essay series "Theory of the Weapon"[50] from 1962 to 1964. Oumi expressed frustration with the idea of receding from the struggle into a self-isolated state of art after the JCP repudiated militant policies. Against demilitarization, Oumi re-explores the idea of active combat, sorcery as indirect combat, and the sense of seizing power back, exploring the way art could be a weapon. Pointing out the limitation of socialist realism in art, Oumi concludes that a "weapon" should not be something categorized as art and stored in galleries and museums.[51] He concludes: "The weapon, in my art as weapon

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[49] 芸術にとって大衆とは原理的な関係において存在し、創造者にとっても大衆はタブロオの鑑賞的側面への究明の契機として深い意味をもつものである。ところが当時の運動にとってはこの原理性を梃子として、新しい美術とその基盤としての大衆を創造することが意識されず、その政治的側面の絶対化のみがいたずらに強要されたのであった。Bitō Yutaka, "Gensō no naka no gensō(1945~1949)-'bunka kakumei' to 'minshu shugi geijutsu'," *Keishō* Vol.4, 6.

[50] Oumi Ryō, "Bukiron," *Keishō* Vol. 5, Vol.6, Vol.7, *Kikan* Vol.9

[51] Oumi Ryō, "Bukiron," *Kikan* Vol. 9(1964), 50. *Keishō* changed its name to *Kikan* after *Keishō* Vol. 8.

theory, must be "thing" that does not belong to any category and still achieves the goal."[52]

Imaizumi Yoshihiko, using the moniker Nagara Tō, lays out "Equipment Plan" (1962), an

elaborate plan to install a self-made guillotine in front of the imperial palace.[53] As Marotti notes,

"Equipment Plan," reads "ambiguously an art project, a terrorist plan, or perhaps both." [54]

Nakamura Hiroshi and Imaizumi Yoshihiko exchange ideas on *tableau*,[55] questioning the

institutionalized framework of "art" within which tableaux are made. Nakamura and Imaizumi

thought of art as thing, stressing its circulation and mediation function, rather than

representation.

Imaizumiʻs writings suggest that, somewhat similar to Nakamura's argument about

tableau, he also explored the independence of tableau, frustrated at how tableau become a

personal statement, as well as an institutionalized setting around art, which he calls *gadan* (画

壇). For Imaizumi, independence of tableau meant to not reduce tableaux into motive, or artist's

statements. In his critique of leftist artist group Japan Art Society (*Nihon bijutsu kai*), Imaizumi

explains his dissatisfaction with "political art" as follows:

> At the exhibition where tableaux are independent, what viewers see is tableaux and not
> the motives. Political subjects ostensibly look like theme, but they are motives. And
> through seeing tableaux, what we see is the producer of the tableau**.** And as long as it is
> a motive, political motive would only display the producer, same as scenic motives or

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[52] 私の芸術武器論における武器とはあらゆる範疇に属せず、しかもなお目的を達し得る「もの」でなくてはならない。Ibid.

[53] Nagara Tō, "Ekuippumento puran," *Keishō* Vol.5, 5–9. Also See Marotti, *Money, trains, and guillotines: art and revolution in 1960s Japan*.

[54] Marotti, *Money, trains, and guillotines: art and revolution in 1960s Japan,* 211.

[55] Nakamura Hiroshi and Imaizumi Yoshihiko, "Taburō ni tsuite," *Keishō* Vol. 5 (1962) 16–22.

still life motives. Nevertheless, creators misunderstand them as political statement, and hence the more creators over invest in the politics, bringing confusion to the tableau.[56]

Drawing on Nakamura's idea that the audience forms ideas upon viewing the thing, and in turn projects those formed ideas onto the thing, Imaizumi conceptualizes *tableau* as the struggle between the thing and the idea. In "On the Movement of Artworks"[57] (*Geijutsu sakuhin no undō ni tsuite,* 1964), he notes that if one foregrounds the idea, the tableau as thing becomes the vessel or the catalyst of the idea. Under such a condition, what is displayed at exhibition is not independent tableau but image, and tableau as catalyst of the image. Imaizumi calls such tableau as "sign or model of the tableau as tableau illusion or tableau image,"[58] where tableau is nothing but vessels carrying image. According to Imaizumi, then what can be done is to expand tableau as medium.

> The tableau that do not establish itself, tableau to which we can glimpse at as an illusion, it is a sign or model of the tableau as tableau illusion or tableau image, and its exhibition is an exhibition of embodiment of illusion, or the object as the medium of the image, and the only break through is to bet on how much one can expand tableau as medium.[59]

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[56] タブロー自立の展覧会において観客がみるのは、タブローをであってモティフをではない。政治主題は一見テーマとみえ、実はそれはモティフである。そしてタブローをみつつタブローを通過してタブロー作家を吾々はみるのである。そしてモティフであるかぎり政治主題は風景主題、静物主題と変ることなく作家を示すことしかしないであろう。にもかかわらず、作家はそれを政治的発言として誤解しており、したがって作家の政治にかけるウェイトが過大であればあるほど、それはタブローに混乱を持ち込むのだ。 Imaizumi Yoshihiko, "Nihon bijutsu kai kaizō an," *Keishō,*Vol.6 (1962), 27.

[57] Imaizumi Yoshihiko, "Geijutsu sakuhin no undō ni tsuite," *Kikan* vol.9 (1964).

[58] " タブローイリュージョン又はイメージとしてのそれの符号あるいは模型" Ibid., 29.

[59]遂に成立せず、イリュージョンとしてわずかにうかがえるタブローとはタブローイリュージョン又はイメージとしてのそれの符号あるいは模型であって、その展示とは実体としてのイリュージョン又はイメージの媒体としてのオブジェの展示のことであって、この媒体性をさらにどこまで拡大出来るかという点に賭けることにしか血路は恐くないのです。Ibid.

By expanding tableau as medium, Imaizumi was thinking of things functioning as a catalyst and method of action. Mentioning Oumi Ryō's essay about art as weapon, Imaizumi expounds on making the artwork a catalyst of action rather than a self-contained art work, and he notes the necessity of destroying art museums, galleries and even independent exhibitions.

Perhaps Imaizumi's idea of "expanding tableau as medium" was formed through discussion and interaction with fellow artists, some of them embarking on experimental practices with objects. In October 1962, Nakanishi and Takamatsu carried out an action where they boarded a Yamanote loop train with objects they have created in hand, caressing them and interacting with them while on the train and at stations. As Marotti's study points out, this act took place before the *happening* became popular and recognized as an art form.[60] Following this incident, Imaizumi convened a round table to discuss the act, published as "Signs of Discourse on Direct Action- Concerning One Experiment," in *Keishō* Vol.7 and 8. [61] Participants fumbled to find a way to conceptualize their act, thinking through art product, action, space, consequence and relations borne out of this action. One of the focal points was the question of the purpose or lack of purpose of the action. Nakanishi mentions that he chose the train as the space where people congregate without shared purpose, as contrasted to theater or museum as a gathering space with designated purpose.[62] Discussion also touches upon the ambivalent role of

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[60] *Money, trains, and guillotines: art and revolution in 1960s Japan,* 232.

[61] "Chokusetsu k*ōdōron no kizashi – Hitotsu no jikkenrei nit suite*" *Keishō* Vol.7,15–23, Satsu Jitō, Nakaishi Natsuyuki, Takamatsu Jirō, Akasegawa Genpei, Urobon.K, Nagara Tō "Zadankai Chokusetsu kōdōron no kizashi" *Keishō* Vol.8,1–18. Also see Marotti's meticulous reading of the roundtable in "Beyond the Guillotine Speaking of art/Art Speaking" in *Money, trains, and guillotines: art and revolution in 1960s Japan.*

[62] "Chokusetsu k*ōdōron no kizashi – Hitotsu no jikkenrei nit suite*" *Keishō* Vol.7, 18–19.

passengers, between purposelessness and bringing purposefulness to their action. Passengers were a group of people without designated purpose to share the space, but relations of spectator and actor arose as the artists acted out with the objects. Besides, the presence of those taking photographs of their action had made the whole scene into a pre-designated space of performance, like a theater.[63]

The discussion oscillates between the object as means for artists to make an event and to agitate, and the object as something that starts a movement on its own. Nakanishi notes that once his object was made, it was not completed but it required "lived space."[64] Imaizumi, under the pseudonym of Nagara notes that the Object is something to be transmitted, and transmission would turn receiver into object.[65] The discussion brings up different direction of agency and movement among objet, artist and anonymous masses.

At the Yomiuri Independent Exhibition in 1963, Nakanishi contributed *Clothespins Assert Agitating Action* (*Sentaku basami wa kakuha kōdō o shuchō suru*), a piece that featured an aggregation of clothespins attached to the surface of a large-sized canvass and cloth. Takamatsu contributed *Cord,* in which household sundries were attached to a cord and painted in black. [66] As Marotti notes, these works were expansive. The scattered clothespins were also attached to Nakanishi and to the passersby. [67] Upon seeing Nakanishi's clothespins and Takamatsu's cord,

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[63] The second half of the round table talk, "Zadankai Chokusetsu kōdōron no kizashi" develops around the role and function of spectator. "Zadankai Chokusetsu kōdōron no kizashi" *Keishō* Vol.8, 13.

[64] Ibid., 10.

[65] Ibid., 6.

[66] Imaizumi Yoshihiko "Takamatsu Akasegawa Nakanishi o temochi kādo ni shite yomiuri anpan ni shibō senkoku o" *Chris* Vol.8 (1986) http://www.asahi-net.or.jp/~ee1s-ari/imaizumi2.html (accessed 7/29/2020)

[67] *Money, trains, and guillotines: art and revolution in 1960s Japan,* 171.

Imaizumi told them that the cord should extend itself beyond the museum to Ueno station, and

further extend itself all over on the railway. Several days before the closing of exhibition, the

idea of extending the cord to the station was carried out by Nakanishi.[68]

For artist Akasegawa Genpei, the concept of "model" and "sign" seems to bear a critical

aspect in the idea of the expansion of thing and trespassing the threshold of space set aside for

art. Akasegawa had been making objects using the printed image of a 1000-yen banknote, such

as the invitation to his exhibition printed on the back of a mono-color print of a 1000-yen note

sent out using registered mail for cash. In January 1964, Akasegawa was suspected of

counterfeiting for his variety of works using the image of the 1000-yen note ̄and prosecuted for

counterfeiting in 1965, leading to the 1000-yen note case that continued until he was acquitted in

1970.[69] During these years, Akasegawa wrote essays reflecting and theorizing his practice,

compiled into a *A Proletariat Carrying An Object* (*Obuje o motta musan sha*, 1970).

As preceding studies note, during the trial and these writings, Akasegawa defended his

practice as making a model (mokei 模型) of 1000 yen, instead of a counterfeit bill.[70] Marotti

reads Akasegawa's 1000-yen note as "one of simulacrum to simulation, or the copy that declares

its own falsehood, in contradistinction to the copy that attempts to pass as the original object." [71]

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[68] Imaizumi Yoshihiko "Yomiuri anpan de takamatsu no himo o ueno eki made nobashitano wa watashi da" *Chris* Vol.9 (1986) http://www.asahi-net.or.jp/~ee1s-ari/imaizumi2.html (accessed 7/29/2020). As to the detail of the1963 Yomiuri independent see Marotti *Money Trains Guillotines: Art and Revolution in 1960s Japan*.

[69] As to the detail of the incident see William Marotti, *Money Trains Guillotines: Art and Revolution in 1960s Japan,* Pedro Erber, *Breaching the frame: the rise of contemporary art in Brazil and Japan,* "Introduction to Akasegawa Genpei's 'The Objet after Stalin'"*ARTMargins*, 4 (3): 103-114 (2015)

[70] In addition to Marotti and Erber, see Kawai Daisuke, "<Mokei Senensatsu> riron no keisei shutai ni kansuru kōsatsu Akasegawa Genpei chosaku no bunseki o chushin ni," *Seijō bigaku bijutsu shi*, Vol.24(2018), 1-16.

[71] Marotti, *Money Trains Guillotines: Art and Revolution in 1960s Japan,* 100.

In his reading of Akasegawa's various works, Marotti notes that Akasegawa "is far from the stereotypical revolutionary type"[72] who instead objectifies and makes a "model" of revolution in his works.

Conclusion

Although Hanada was not directly involved with the younger generation of artists, I would like to point out several common threads running between Hanada's form/matter centered thinking of the masses as revolutionary site and the theoretical exploration of the younger artists. One common thread is Hanada's emphasis on contingency and action and artists' aspiration for immediacy in thing. Although Hanada talked about film and the *Keishō* roundtable was talking about ambiguous action, Hanada's priveleging of contingency over designated theatricality resonates in the *Keishō* roundtable trying to avoid their action becoming designated performance.

Object seems to entice contingent moment of action. While Hanada emphasized contingency as the key element for agitation, artists considered the object and things (*mono*) to be the catalyst of action. Oumi Ryō's note calling for the "thing" defined by both directness and enigmatic status without category ("The weapon, in my art as weapon theory, must be a "thing" that does not belong to any category, and still achieves the goal."[73]) even somewhat resembles Hanada' search for "new art" in the wartime characterized by its political immediacy and obscurity. One concept I wish to note is the object's enigmatic immediacy and opacity, railing against representation. In his memoir describing his frustration with socialist realism and the

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[72] Ibid.

[73] Oumi Ryō, "Bukiron," *Kikan* Vol. 9. 1964 *Keishō* changed its name to *Kikan* after *Keishō* Vol. 8, 50.

turn to object art, Akasegawa noted that he wanted immediacy.[74] Marotti theorizes Akasegawa's

frustration as follows: "a single work might be given credit for the sincerity of the political

impulse behind it and defer the problem of formal inadequacy as a merely incidental issue for the

work at hand (with the hope that perhaps another work might get closer to the political sentiment

or even represented through stronger commitment and a more faithful rendering of the sense of

struggle)[75] The search for immediacy was a flight from the representational framework of art

(art is a representation of something), contiguous with the exploration of the non-categorizable

thing. Immediacy could mean artist's engagement with immediate action, but it also could be

considered from the perspective of reception. Like Akasegawa's banknote the object or thing

freed from the artist without the robe of "art" would contingently evoke reaction and create a

situation. Imaizumi's question of tableau as vessel of motif and expanding tableau as medium

reminds us of Hanada's commentary on the resemblance between art and propaganda, pointing

to art's endless desire to show unique truth. Echoing Hanada's break from the idea of the

originality of art and his turn to formal repetition, Akasegawa turned to the "model," as seen in

the form of the banknote, in which the surface serves to represent endless exchangeablility.

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[74] Akasegawa Genpei, Imaya akushon arunomi! <Yomiuri andepandan> to iu genshō (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1985) 67,68.

[75] Marotti, *Money Trains Guillotines: Art and Revolution in 1960s Japan*.147.

Epilogue: Between Immediacy and Medium, Form as Method of History

Object and spectacle-centered art practice in the 1960s has been historicized and theorized in several previous studies. Studies by William Marotti and Pedro Erber suggest this object turn as the response to the ossified cultural policy of the JCP and the shift of the political locus to the everyday. Erber notes "that the transposition of the term objet into Japanese performs an operation similar to the method of objet art itself, in that it isolates the term from its everyday usage and gives it the almost magical meaning conferred on it by Surrealism. In the early 1960s, when avant-garde painters transitioned into creating three-dimensional, object-based art, the term objet fit perfectly the need for a conceptual understanding and genealogy of their new experiments."[1] Marotti's meticulous research sheds light on art and direct action in the 1960s as the re-thinking of political action after the failure of the security treaty (安保 Anpo) protests. Marotti notes that in the aftermath of the political event, artists turned to the "everyday" as the key locus of politics. Regarding Akasegawa and Nakanishi's object practice, Marotti writes: "the objects could thus be thought of as models, synecdochic figurings of the whole procedure, providing a miniature articulation of the conceptions of the spatial relations within the everyday world that were to be dramatized through action, and an additional clue for observers as to what these actions are about."[2]

Next to object art works in the 1960s looms discussion of *matter* (*busshitsu*), which Ken Yoshida argues as a critical category against human centrism. Yoshida argues that discussion on *busshitsu* shared in the postwar art and critical discourse functioned to question the human

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[1] Pedro Erber, "Introduction to Akasegawa Genpei's 'The Objet after Stalin,'"*ARTMargins*, 4 (3): 103-114 (2015)

[2] Marotti, *Money Trains Guillotines: Art and Revolution in 1960s Japan* 265.

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centrism and discuss the realm beyond human consciousness and cognition.[3] By examining

Hanada and his contemporaries' writings in the wartime, immediate postwar and around 1960, I

tried to extend the "materialist" concepts in postwar art into wartime and thinking of "form."[4]

From form to matter to object, this dissertation has tried to map out a formalist trajectory

of conceptualizing the masses around Hanada Kiyoteru. I would like to conclude with a

discussion of the stakes of "form" as methodology. Critic Suga Hidemi notes that Hanada's

writings cannot be reduced to an allegory of Hanada's thought. One of pitfall of discussion about

the masses and art is falling into the representation/allegory model.[5] Given the political

connotation of the masses as a category, it is easy to see Hanada's writings, especially with his

extolling of popular culture, as allegorical celebration of the political potential of the masses. But

Hanada's writings resist such a temptation of drawing an ahistorical, allegorical relation between

art and the masses. [6] The masses in Hanada's writings deny petrification in representation.

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[3] Ken Yoshida, "Busshitsu to geijutsu," in *Tenkeiki no medioroji: Senkyuhyakugojunendai nihon no geijutsu to media no saihensei* (Tokyo: Shinwasha. 2019)

[4] Sawayama Ryō notes that "postwar art criticism came into existence on the basis of the perverted anachronism of establishing contemporary art criticism as art journalism by repeathing what had existed 'prewar'," mentioning that "'matter (materialism)' 'the masses' and 'the avant-garde' all appeared more or less simultaneously in the early Shōwa period." Sawayama, "A Repeat Performance of Thought–The State of Japanese Art Criticism," in *Critical Archive Vol. 3 Before/After Japanese Art Criticism Succession and Severance* (Tokyo: Yumiko Chiba Associates, 2017), 8, 10.

[5] Suga Hidemi, *Hanada Kiyoteru: suna no perusona*. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1982)

[6] Perhaps "allegorical" here, is close to Walter Benjamin's idea of symbol, in contrast to allegory. The difference between two is projected upon temporality. In his reading of Benjamin Frederic Jameson notes that the symbol is "instantaneous, the lyrical, the single moment in time; and this temporal limitation perhaps expresses the historical impossibility in the modern world for genuine reconciliation to endure in time, for it to be anything more than a lyrical, accidental present. Allegory is, on the contrary, the privileged mode of our own life in time, a clumsy deciphering of meaning from moment to moment, the painful attempt to restore a continuity to heterogeneous, disconnected instants." Frederic Jameson, *Marxism and Form: 20th-Century Dialectical Theories of Literature* (Princeton University Press 1971) 72.

Hanada's reference to art, film, and theater serves as scaffolding toward a sense of masses as an immediate yet unknown collective transformation. By unpacking and historicizing form/matter/object as registers for the masses in Hanada's writing, I read Hanada's writings like an object against representation.

I would like to stress that it is not my intention to solidify the category of matter/form through this dissertation. As a methodology to read Hanada, form registers as a loose analogy, as a repetition and association of ideas over the time rather than a solid category. Form can be borrowed elsewhere, or replicated from something already existing, and turned into something else. Hanada's concoction of Marx (and Kurahara)'s language of the abstract and concrete, together with the language of abstraction and surrealism in modern art, is a moment of such association. Such promiscuity of language and concepts might look illegitimate from the viewpoint of the modern compartmentalization of disciplines, yet it is productive in historicizing cultural criticism and examining the possible range of categories. As an object-like text, Hanada's writings destabilize cultural and historical categories and the unilinear sense of cultural history.

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