

THEATRE AS PUBLIC SPHERE

THE HISTORY OF THEATRE EXCHANGE
BETWEEN JAPAN AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

TAKIGUCHI KEN

(MA, Sophia)

A THESIS SUBMITTED
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF JAPANESE STUDIES

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SINGAPORE

2011

Preface and Acknowledgements

I started this project because of my frustration experienced during my time at the Japan Foundation, a Japanese governmental institute for international cultural exchange. I was in charge of several international theatre collaboration projects when I was appointed as the assistant director of its Kuala Lumpur office between 1999 and 2005. What frustrated me then was that I could not find any reference to earlier developments. Lacking the information on earlier projects, it was extremely difficult to contextualize the project I was working on.

Soon after I began researching, I realized that 1980s was the key period in the history of theatre exchange between Japan and Southeast Asia. Although not well recorded, a Japanese theatre company the Black Tent Theatre (BTT) started to interact with its Southeast Asian counterparts, most notably the Philippine Educational Theatre Association (PETA). I started from their exchange and then went back to the 1960s and 70s to learn about the origin of the BTT's activities on the one hand, and also looked into the later developments into the 1990s.

This history was filled with interesting and eye-opening events. And many interesting people were involved in the process of researching for this thesis. Writing this thesis has been an experience that allowed me to connect to the people involved. This project has become truly meaningful for me thanks to their kindness— giving their time for discussions, providing important information and thoughts, and encouraging me to go on.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Associate Professor Lim Beng Choo. Her encouragement was a great support for me especially during the difficult times. I would also like to thank the other committee members, Associate Professor Simon Avenell and Associate Professor Goh Beng Lan for their support and guidance.

A number of institutes and organisations have helped me throughout the research process. The Global COE Program at Waseda University's Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum provided me with an opportunity to pursue my fieldwork in Tokyo. The Setagaya Public Theatre gave me an opportunity to give some lectures which

were a great opportunity to receive feedbacks from the audience. I wish to thank Ms. Eshi Minako especially for organising the lectures and providing me with a lot of information on the theatre. The Centre for Education and Research in Cooperative Human Relations at the Saitama University also helped me to collect materials during my fieldwork. The Asian Theatre Centre for Creation and Research provided me with an opportunity to conduct a seminar on the activities of the Philippine Educational Theatre Association (PETA) with the support of the Saison Foundation. The Asian Shakespeare Intercultural Archive provided me with unique opportunity to access the scripts of some important productions. I wish to thank its director, Associate Professor Yong Li Lan for her continuous support and help.

During the research, I conducted six interview sessions. I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to all of the interviewees. They spent hours with me and shared their thoughts and experiences very frankly. Mr. Satô Makoto and Mr. Matsui Kentarô provided me with a lot of information on the Black Tent Theatre and the Setagaya Public Theatre. Ms. Jo Kukathas (the Instant Café Theatre Company) and Ms. Marion D'Cruz (the Five Arts Centre) gave me deep insights on Malaysian theatre. Ms. Beng Santos-Cabangon shared her experience at PETA with me. My ex-colleagues at the Japan Foundation, Mr. Doi Katsuma, Ms. Yamashita Yôko and Mr. Shimada Seiya provided me with plenty of information and frank thoughts on the international theatre collaborations.

My conversations with theatre practitioners have always inspired me. Some of my arguments became concrete through the discussions that I had with them. It was truly fortunate for me to have such chances. I wish to express my gratitude to Mr. Hirata Oriza (Seinendan theatre company, Japan), Mr. Sakate Yôji (Rinkôgun theatre company, Japan), Mr. Koike Hiroshi (Pappa Tarahumara, Japan), Mr. Kuwaya Tetsuo (Za Kôenji Public Theatre, Japan), Mr. Watanabe Chikara, Ms. Hata Yuki (The Japan Foundation), Dato' Faridah Merican (Kuala Lumpur Performing Arts Centre, Malaysia), Mr. Mac Chan, Mr. Huzir Sulaiman (Checkpoint Theatre, Singapore), Mr. Alvin Tan (The Necessary Stage, Singapore), Mr. Haresh Sharma (The Necessary Stage, Singapore), Mr. Gene Sha Rudyn (Keelat Theatre Ensemble, Singapore), Mr. Tay Tong (TheatreWorks, Singapore), Ms. Goh Ching Lee (National Arts Council, Singapore), Mr. Pradit Prasartthong (Makhampom theatre company, Thailand) and Ms. Narumol Thammapraksa.

I wish to express my special gratitude to Professor David Gordon Goodman who passed away a few weeks before I submitted this thesis. I had an opportunity to attend his public lecture on the Angura theatre movement at Waseda University in 2008. The comments he gave and the questions he asked me at that time resulted in some of the discussions in this thesis. I am sorry to have forever lost the chance to ask Professor Goodman whether or not my answers to his questions are satisfactory.

At the very last stage of my writing, Mr. Alvin Lim and Ms. Faith Ng helped me greatly by checking my English and editing my draft. I truly appreciate their help and efforts.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my wife, Hiroko. Without her support and encouragement, I could not have finished this thesis.

Table of Contents

Preface and Acknowledgements	i
Summary	ix
List of Figures	x

Chapter 1. Introduction

Section 1. Background and Purposes of Research	
1. The Background	1
2. Purpose of the Research	4
Section 2. Structure and Arguments of each Chapter	6
Section 3. Methodology	8
Section 4. Notes on ‘Asia’	11
Section 5. Framework of Analysis	
1. Models of Public Spheres	
1-1. <i>Kôkyôsei</i> Discourses in the 1990s	15
1-2. Counter-Public Sphere: Jurgen Habermas	18
1-3. Public Sphere for Coexistence: Richard Sennett	24
1-4. Liberalist Model: ‘Public’ as ‘Official’	31
2. Models of Applied Theatre	31
Section 6. Conclusion	37

Chapter 2. The Angura Theatre Movement: Discovery of Asia

Section 1. Modernity in Japanese Theatre: <i>Engeki Kairyô Undô</i> and Shingeki	39
1. <i>Engeki Kairyô Undô</i> as the Project of Bourgeois Modernity	40
2. Shingeki as the Project of Aesthetic / Cultural Modernity	
2-1. The Artistic-oriented / Orthodox Faction	43
2-2. The Leftist Faction	47
3. Limitations and Issues of <i>Engeki Kairyô Undô</i> and Shingeki	56
Section 2. The Rise of the New Left Movement and the Anti-Shingeki Theatre	
1. Emergence of the New Left	58
2. The Anti-Shingeki Theatre	
2-1. The ‘Voice’ of the New Left	62
2-2. Seeking ‘Japaneseness’	65
3. Achievements and Limitations	70

Section 3. Development in the Late 1960s: “Paradigm Shift” of the New Left Movement and the Angura Theatre Movement	73
1. Separation between the Civic and the Student Movement	75
2. The Civic Movement: <i>Beheiren</i> and Asia	78
2-1. Demonstration as a Public sphere	80
2-2. “Paradigm Shift” in <i>Beheiren</i> : Oda Makoto’s <i>Heiwa No Rinri To Ronri</i>	81
3. The Student Movement	85
3-1. Characteristics of the Student Movement in the late 1960s	86
3-2. “Paradigm Shift” in the Student Movement: <i>Kaseitô Kokuhatsu</i>	90
4. The Angura Theatre Movement	
4-1. The Intermediary between the Civic Movement and the Student Movement	93
4-2. Turning Theatre a Public Sphere	96
4-3. Exploring Japanese Indigeneity	104
4-4. A Commonality with the Student Movement: Angura as an Expression of ‘Uneasiness’	107
4-5. Angura’s “Paradigm Shift”	113
Section 4. Conclusion	126

Chapter 3. The First Encounter with Southeast Asia, the late 1970s – 1980s

Section 1. Introduction: Two Faces of Tsuka Kôhei and the ‘1980s Theatre’	130
1. A Critical Successor of the Angura Theatre Movement	131
2. A Leader in Commercialisation	134
Section 2. The Black Tent Theatre and the Publicness of Theatre	139
1. <i>Ugly JASEAN</i>	141
2. <i>The Draft Mission Statement</i> : The Introduction of Two Keywords	148
2-1. Theatre as a ‘Public Sphere’	149
2-2. ‘Asian Theatre’: Theatre for the ‘Struggling Masses’	152
3. Problems with Early Projects of the BTT	155
Section 3. The Encounter with PETA: Learning the Methodology of Applied Theatre <i>with / by</i> the Communities	
1. The First Encounter	158
2. PETA’s Move towards Building Networks in Southeast Asia	160

3. The Methodology of PETA	
3-1. Principles	162
3-2. Practice: Workshops	164
4. The BTT and Theatre Workshops	
4-1. Criticism of the BTT's Activities from PETA	166
4-2. Responses from the BTT	169
Section 4. Connecting Workshops to the Civic Movements	174
1. Civic Movements and Southeast Asia	
1-1. The Residents' Movement and the Anti-Pollution Movement: Opposing the Domination of the 'Publicness' by Public Authorities	175
1-2. The Export of Pollution to Southeast Asia	178
1-3. PARC: Solidarity among the Asian Struggling Masses	180
2. Tsuno Kaitarô as the 'Connector'	188
3. The People's Culture Movement in the 1980s	
3-1. <i>The Asian Theatre Forum 83</i>	192
3-2. <i>Shin Nihon Bungaku's</i> People's Culture Movement	195
3-3. People's Plan 21	198
4. The Common Problems of the BTT and the Civic Movement	202
Section 5. Conclusion	207

Chapter 4. Public Theatres and *Kyôsei*, the 1990s – early 2000s

Section 1. Introduction: The Project of the New Public Sphere	212
Section 2. Introduction of the <i>Kyôsei</i> (共生) Concept to the Japanese Civic Movements	
1. From the 'Struggling Masses' to the 'Living of Masses'	
1-1. Movements in a New Style	214
1-2. Introduction of the <i>Kyôsei</i> concept	219
2. Changes in the Public Authorities: Abandoning the Domination of the 'Public'	222
Section 3. Public Theatres as a Sphere of <i>Kyôsei</i> and the Adoption of Applied Theatre	
1. Financial Support from the Government to Theatre	226
2. The Response from the Artists: Hirata Oriza and Theatre as a Tool for <i>Kyôsei</i>	231
3. The Emergence of 'Public Theatres' and Suzuki Tadashi	237

4. The Setagaya Public Theatre as a ‘Culmination’	241
4-1. Satô Makoto’s Involvement in the planning of the SePT	242
4-2. The Concept of the SePT	246
5. A Nation-wide Extension of the Workshop Methodology	
5-1. The BTT – PETA Workshop as a Standard	253
5-2. Development of Various Workshops	255
Section 4. Conclusion	258

Chapter 5. The Japanese Cultural Diplomacy and the Theatre Collaboration Projects

	260
Section 1. The Japan Foundation and Theatre Collaborations	261
Section 2. <i>Lear</i> and <i>Red Demon</i> : The International Collaboration Projects as a ‘Symbol’ of the Public Sphere for Coexistence	
1. The Asia Centre and <i>Lear</i>	266
2. The Performing Arts Division’s Programme and the Involvement of the Setagaya Public Theatre: <i>Red Demon</i>	
2-1. Satô Makoto as a Networker with Southeast Asia	270
2-2. <i>Red Demon</i>	275
4. The Problems of International Collaboration as Symbols	279
Section 3. <i>The Island In Between</i> : Towards a Concrete Public Sphere	
1. Inputs from Two Symposiums	283
1-1. The Southeast Asian Theatre Seminar (1998)	284
1-2. The Conference for Asian Women and Theatre (1992-2001)	286
2. <i>The Island In Between</i>	288
3. Issues and Problems	293
3-1. The Presentation Strategy of the Process-oriented Collaboration	294
3-2. The Fear of Cultural Imperialism which Resulted from Governmental Funding	296
3-3. Tackling the Issue of War: Japan Foundation’s Autonomy	301
4. An Evaluation of <i>The Island In Between</i>	307
Section 4. Conclusion	309

Chapter 6. Conclusion	
Section 1. Public Spheres Created through Theatre Movements	
1. Public Spheres in Japan	312
2. Public Spheres beyond National Borders	319
Section 2. 'Asia' in Japanese Contemporary Theatre	321
Postscript: The Outlook for the Future	328
Bibliography	336
Timeline	367

Summary

The accumulation of theatre exchanges between Japan and Southeast Asia made two remarkable contributions to Japanese contemporary theatre in the 1990s. One was that the methodology of theatre workshops, which originated in Southeast Asia, was widely adopted as a standard methodology for a new type of theatre called 'public theatre'. The other was that international theatre collaborations between Japan and Southeast Asia initiated a 'boom' of theatre collaborations in Japan. This thesis traces the history of theatre exchanges between the two regions and examines the social and cultural backgrounds of the exchanges.

This thesis divides the history of exchanges into three periods. The first period is from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, when the Angura theatre movement became the first Japanese theatre movement that paid primary attention to Asia. The second is from the late 1970s to the end of the 1980s. It was a period when an Angura theatre company, the Black Tent Theatre started exchanges with their Southeast Asian counterparts, including the Philippine Educational Theatre Association (PETA). The third period is from the early 1990s to the early 2000s when the two developments mentioned earlier were realised.

The shifts from one period to another were realised by adopting new ideas, methods and models of theatre. The relationship between theatre and society in particular has always been at stake in the theatre movements that initiated exchanges between Japan and Southeast Asia. This thesis proposes to consider theatre movements as projects that build a public sphere. It assumes that there are three different models of the public sphere, and argues that the adoption of different models defined the mode of exchanges during each period. The first type of public sphere is the Liberalist model that assumes a dichotomy between the 'public' and 'private'. The second type is the Counter Public Sphere model that expects a 'public sphere' to reside in between the dichotomy of the 'public authority' and the 'private sphere'. As the 'third sphere', the public sphere is considered a discursive space where people gather voluntarily and discuss their common issues. The narratives which question the policies of governments are created there. The third model is the Public Sphere for Coexistence. This model also assumes that the public sphere is the 'third sphere', yet it has a different function from the second model. The public sphere is considered a space where people learn a manner of living together with people who have different values and cultures. The theatre movements in each period adopted one of these three models of the public sphere. This thesis examines the features of each movement by using these models, and presents an argument about how they affected the theatre exchanges between Japan and Southeast Asia.

List of Figures

- | | |
|--|----|
| 1. Images of Public Sphere in Three Models | 29 |
| 2. Features of the Three Phases of Theatre Exchange between Japan and Southeast Asia | 38 |

Chapter 1. Introduction

Section 1. Background and Purposes of Research

1. The Background

Philosopher and leader of citizens' movement Tsurumi Shunsuke (1922-) described Japan's postwar period as an endless stream of various 'booms'. Mass media sought attractive new themes that created 'booms' "that enabled them to survive."¹ Theatre exchange between Japan and Southeast Asia also experienced its 'boom' from the late 1990s to the early 2000s. In 1995, playwright and director Kisaragi Koharu (1956-2000) pointed out that there was an emerging obsession among Japanese theatre practitioners– that the future of Japanese theatre was deeply connected to Asia.² By 2001, there was a strong trend in the Japanese theatre community for focusing attention on Asian contemporary theatre.³ Critic Nishidô Kôjin described the situation of Japanese theatre in the early 2000s by saying "Asia can be found everywhere."⁴

Such a 'boom' did not emerge out of nothing. The exchange between the two regions were initiated by *Gekidan Kuro Tento* (The Black Tent Theatre: BTT)⁵ in the late

¹ Tsurumi Shunsuke, *Atarashii Kaikoku* (The New Opening of the Country), Nihon No Hyakunen (100 Years of Japan), no. 10 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 2008), 345. All translations in the thesis are mine, unless otherwise stated.

² Kisaragi Koharu et. al., "Ajia, Josei, Engeki," (Asia, Women and Theatre) *MUNKS* 9 (December 1995), 32.

³ Ukai Tetsu et. al., "Idô Suru Ajia: Jikkenteki Gendaisei Towa Nanika," (The Moving Asia: On Experimental Contemporariness) *Butai Geijutu* 3 (April 2003), 68.

⁴ Nishidô Kôjin, *Doramathisuto No Shôzô* (The Portrait of Dramatists) (Tokyo: Renga Shobô Shinsha, 2002), 62.

⁵ The name of the company has been changed several times. It started in 1968 with the name *Engeki Sentâ 1968* (Theatre Centre 1968) and changed its name to *Engeki Sentâ 68/69* in the next year. Then, in 1971, the name became *Kuroiro Tento 68/71* (Black-coloured Tent 68/71) and the current name, *Gekidan Kuro Tento* (the Black Tent Theatre), was finally in use in 1990. To avoid confusions, I will use the Black Tent Theatre (BTT) to indicate the company in this thesis.

1970s. The company, which had been highly influential as one of the leaders of Angura or the underground theatre movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s, continued their interactions with Southeast Asian counterparts throughout the 1980s. In the 1990s, the Japan Foundation, an organisation for international cultural exchange established through the initiatives of the Japanese government, enthusiastically organised international theatre collaborations between Japan and Southeast Asia. As journalist Imamura Osamu argues, we should consider that the ‘boom’ flourished based on the accumulation of these experiences.⁶

However, it also has to be recognised that a discourse insisting that the Japanese do not know Asia has been continuously reproduced in the postwar Japanese theatre scene. For example, in 1975, novelist Oda Makoto (1932-2007), who had also been influential in theatre as a leader of the anti-Vietnam War movement in the 1960s, pointed out that the Japanese lacked knowledge of Southeast Asian arts.⁷ Even during the ‘boom’ of Asian Theatre in the late 1990s, artists who participated in the collaborations with Southeast Asia repeatedly claimed their lack of knowledge on the region. For example, playwright Kishida Rio (1946-2003), who contributed a script for Japan Foundation’s multi-national collaboration *Lear* (1997), recalls that she did not know anything about the countries of the participants when she joined the project⁸ while Kimura Shingo (1957-), the artistic director of Physical

⁶ Imamura Osamu, “Ajia Ga Chûmoku Sareru Wake,” (The Reasons Why Asia Attracts So Much Attention) *Shiatâ Âtsu* 14 (February 2001), 8.

⁷ Oda Makoto, “Ajia Ga Ajia Dearu Tameniwa: Ajiajin Bunkasai Ni Mukete,” (How Asia can become Asia: Asian Cultural Festival) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 337 (September 1975), 47-50.

Oda mentions a group of Singaporean theatre artists who created plays based on their field research in the poor villages. Although he does not state the names of the Singaporean artists, it is highly probable that he meant playwright and director Kuo Pao Kun (1939-2002) and his Practice Performing Arts School. For details of Kuo’s activities, see Jacqueline Lo, “Theatre in Singapore: An Interview with Kuo Pao Kun,” *Australasian Drama Studies* 23 (October 1993), 141.

Kuo was one of the closest counterparts of the director of the BTT, Satô Makoto. I will discuss their relationship in detail in Chapter 4.

⁸ Kishida Rio, “Shiritai...,” (Want to Know...) *PT* 5 (August 1998), 44.

Theater Festival which has invited many Asian performance groups, confesses he had “frustratingly little knowledge” of Asia when he started the festival.⁹

Malaysian director Krishen Jit (1939-2005) mumbled, “How many times do we have to tell the same story to the Japanese?” when he was invited to a seminar on Southeast Asian theatre in Japan in 1998.¹⁰ Jit, who had maintained a strong relationship with the BTT’s director, Satô Makoto (1943-), shared his knowledge on Southeast Asian theatre with Japanese audiences on many occasions. Nevertheless, he found that the information on Southeast Asia had not been shared among Japanese theatre practitioners. In other words, while there had been inputs from Southeast Asian artists, the Japanese side failed to make efforts to absorb them. For Jit, who claims, “The Japanese can learn more deeply about this region by negotiating a place for their contemporary theatre in Southeast Asia,”¹¹ the complaints about the lack of information was nothing but frustrating.

What the failure of information sharing suggests is the fact that Southeast Asia has never been a major counterpart of Japanese theatre in spite a forty year’s history of mutual exchange. Nevertheless, I argue that two significant phenomena in the 1990s were a result of an exchange between the two regions. Although they did not happen in mainstream Japanese contemporary theatre but in rather new developments in particular fields, the impact was enormous. They fundamentally changed the position of theatre in the society.

The first phenomenon is that the methodology of “applied theatre,”¹² which originated in Southeast Asia, was widely adopted all over Japan in the 1990s. Applied

⁹ Kimura Shingo, “Fijikaru Siatâ O Megutte: Wakaranai Ajia,” (On Physical Theater: Incomprehensible Asia) *Butai Geijutsu* 3 (April 2003), 190.

¹⁰ Imamura Osamu, “Motomeyo, Saraba...,” (Ask, and it will be...) *PT* 5 (August 1998), 49.

¹¹ *Krishen Jit: An Uncommon Position, Selected Writings*, ed. Kathy Roland (Singapore: Contemporary Asian Art Centre, 2003), 113.

¹² I will discuss applied theatre in detail in Section 3 of this chapter.

theatre methodology, represented by workshops, became one of the major pillars of a new type of theatre normally called 'public theatre'. 'Public theatres' became the dominant model of community-based theatres in Japan in the 1990s. The contribution of Southeast Asia as the roots of the core methodology of 'public theatres' should be recognised.

The second phenomenon is that Southeast Asia became a prime counterpart in international collaborations organised by the Japan Foundation from the late 1990s to early 2000s. As I mentioned earlier, a series of collaborations organised by the Japan Foundation brought a strong impact to the Japanese theatre community which resulted in a 'boom' of international collaborations. In other words, the positive outcome of the projects with Southeast Asia affected the entire theatre scene in Japan. At the same time, the problems found in the projects provide a lot of lessons for future international collaborations.

2. Purpose of the Research

Having given the background of this research, I would like to present the purposes of the research to draw a comprehensive map of the history of theatre exchange between Japan and Southeast Asia. Terry Eagleton comments on political history, "(w)hat has proved most damaging... is the absence of memories of collective, and effective, political action. It is this which has warped so many contemporary cultural ideas out of shape."¹³ The same can be applied to the history of theatre movement. The absence of organised records and memories on the exchange between Japan and Southeast Asia has led to discourses on the ignorance of Southeast Asian theatre in Japan, which eventually resulted in the "warped cultural ideas."

¹³ Terry Eagleton, *After Theory* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), 7.

The main purpose of this research is to contribute a solution to this issue, however modest. I would like to reply to Krishen Jit's mumble, in other words.

I am aware, however, that this research has two limitations. First, it will focus almost solely on the Japanese perspectives. Although I will mention Southeast Asian theatre when necessary, the proportion will be slim. It will be necessary to view the phenomena from the opposite viewpoint of Southeast Asia, which I hope to have for my future research.

Secondly, because of the nature of the thesis, this research will focus only on the environment from the producer's perspective. In other words, it will not analyse the theatre productions and plays. As Stephen Greenblatt argues, "an individual play mediates between the mode of the theater, understood in its historical specificity, and elements of the society out of which that theater has been differentiated. Through its representational means, each play carries charges of social energy onto the stage."¹⁴ The productions and plays would inevitably reflect the "elements of society" — including the creative environment. While I recognise this and will actually refer to some plays in my argument, the focus of my discussion will still be on the social and historical contexts that created them.

Theatre practitioners who ventured into exchanges with Southeast Asia had close relationships with the New Left movement that grew in the 1960s – 70s, and subsequent civic movements as well as Japanese cultural diplomacy later on. This thesis will also pay a substantial amount of attention to these fields to complete a 'comprehensive map'. Therefore it is possible to read it as an attempt to discuss how the Japanese student / civic movements as well as cultural diplomacy have viewed Southeast Asia through the lens of theatre.

¹⁴ Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press: 1988), 14.

Section 2. Structure and Arguments of each Chapter

I will divide the development of the Japan-Southeast Asian relationship in theatre into three phases. The main chapters of this thesis will discuss the developments in each phase.

Chapter 2 (First Phase: - the mid-1970s): Although actual exchanges between Japan and Southeast Asia began in the late 1970s, the preceding period established the basis for the exchange. This chapter will discuss the Angura theatre movement, of which the BTT was an important part, which played a role in laying the groundwork for the physical encounter between Japanese artists and their Southeast Asian counterparts in the 1980s in two ways.

Firstly, although it did not recognise 'Asia' as a concrete entity as I discuss in this chapter, Angura was the first Japanese contemporary theatre movement that focused on Asia. One of the main arguments in this chapter will be on the reason why the Angura theatre movement paid so much attention to the region.

Secondly, Angura was also the first movement that adopted the methodology of applied theatre which paved the way for importing various methodologies from Southeast Asia through the interactions in the 1980s. I will discuss the type of applied theatre that the Angura theatre movement introduced, as well as the motivation for it.

The history of Japanese contemporary theatre is one of the continuous negation and overcoming of previously dominant theatrical forms. Therefore, it is necessary to understand earlier theatre movements in order to discuss the two features of Angura. I will examine three theatre movements that preceded Angura, namely *Engeki Kairyô Undô* (The Reformation of Theatre Movement) which started in the 1880s, *Shingeki* (New Theatre) movement which became a mainstream genre in the 1920s, and the so-called anti-shingeki

theatre movement in the early 1960s to specify the characteristics of the Angura theatre movement in comparison with them.

Chapter 3 (Second Phase: the late 1970s - 1980s): The interest in Asia that Angura advocated disappeared during this period as the Angura theatre movement declined in the late 1970s. Nevertheless, it was during this period that the BTT started actual exchanges with its Southeast Asian counterparts. The documentation of their exchanges was, however, not well organised and the activities were hardly known because their development was largely ignored by the mainstream theatre community at that time. I will examine the following points in this chapter: What motivated the BTT to start interactions with its Southeast Asian counterparts? How did the exchanges start and develop? What were the applied theatre methodologies imported from Southeast Asia? And how were they actually used in Japan?

Chapter 4 (Third Phase: the 1990s – early 2000s): Southeast Asia again attracted attention from the Japanese theatre community in this period and we saw the two significant developments which I pointed out earlier. The first was the dissemination of the applied theatre methodology that the BTT imported in the 1980s to the ‘public theatres’ all over Japan. I will discuss the background to this development in this chapter.

Chapter 5 (Third Phase: the 1990s – early 2000s): I will focus on the second development during this period—international collaborations between Japan and Southeast Asia organised by the Japan Foundation in this chapter. I will discuss why the governmental institute proactively initiated collaborations as well as why Southeast Asia became a major counterpart.

I would like to highlight the network of the BTT and its director Satô Makoto and how they played an important role in these collaborations as well as to examine their contributions.

Section 3. Methodology

In 2009, Japanese historian and sociologist Oguma Eiji published *1968: Wakamonotachi No Hanran To Sono Haikei* (1968: The Revolt of the Youth and Its Background) which examines the student movement in Japan in the late 1960s based on a thorough research of the writings of the activists involved in the movement. He claims, “There are a number of memoirs of those who were involved in the movement. Nevertheless, they fail to portray the comprehensive picture of the revolt during that period. No research has been done on the causes of the revolt, its impact on Japanese and international society, and its aftermath.”¹⁵

Oguma laments the absence of a comprehensive research and offers an explanation on its reasons. First, researchers feel that the period is too recent to be a target of historical examination. Second, there are too many diverse views – political and cultural ones – on the movement. Such diverse views made it difficult to find a right approach in examining the Student Movement. Third, for some of the scholars who consider it as to be a temporary and giddy phenomenon, it was deemed unworthy of academic examination.¹⁶ Nevertheless, Oguma justifies the need to examine the student movement in the late 1960s by claiming that many of the causes of social problems in the 2000s can be traced back to the late 1960s, the

¹⁵ Oguma Eiji, *1968: Wakamonotachi No Hanran To Sono Haikei* (1968: The Revolt of the Youth and Its Background) vol.1 (Tokyo: Shinyôsha, 2009), 12.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

period of Japan's rapid economic growth. Examining what ignited student movement during that period, according to Oguma, still offers lessons to contemporary Japan.

In *1968* Oguma examined a wide variety of writing produced during that period, including posters of the activists groups, their pamphlets, activists' diaries, records of their round-table discussions and articles appeared in magazines and newspapers.¹⁷ Many of them were written by obscure student activists and were often publications with very limited circulation. Thus, how objective this body of material could be posed as a problem for Oguma. In order to overcome this problem, Oguma collected in his book a huge body of documents from this period.

He compares plural writings and decides which to be used in his book. When he does not have enough clues to decide, Oguma quotes all of them and presents them in parallel. In case there is only one writing available, he simply quotes it without adding any judgments or readings of his own.¹⁸ Oguma provided as full a picture of the student movement as possible by presenting relevant works available. As 1960s was a time with many contesting voices, I feel that Oguma's methodology fits the nature of the research best.

In this thesis, I adopted an approach close to that of Oguma's in *1968*. As will be shown in the following chapters, what this thesis discusses – theatre movements including Angura theatre in the 1960s and 70s and people's theatre in the 1980s as well as public theatres in the 1990s – had close relationship with the civil society in Japan that Oguma discussed in *1968*. Naturally, it shares the reasons of absence of a comprehensive research that Oguma identified. These theatre movements that had contacts with their Southeast Asian

¹⁷ Ibid., 17-18.

¹⁸ Ibid., 18.

counterparts are so recent that there has been hardly any historical research. There are diverse views on them – some see them as merely from aesthetic point of view while some understand them as a political and cultural ‘revolution’ – and therefore it is difficult to decide an approach. Oguma’s aim to portray a comprehensive picture of the student movement is also close to my objective to draw a ‘comprehensive map’ of the history of theatre exchange between Japan and Southeast Asia. Because of these similarities between Oguma’s research and mine, I believe it is best to adopt his approach in this project.

To practice the “ensuring objectivity by the quantity of the material” methodology, I examined major theatre magazines and journals, publications of Angura theatre companies and civic movement organizations, magazines that had strong influences on the New Left movement and publications of the so-called public theatres. Some of them, especially the publications of Angura theatre companies and civic movements, had very limited circulation and readership¹⁹ which is similar to what Oguma examined in 1968. On the other hand, theatre practitioners and critics I quoted in this thesis have widely been recognised as public intellectuals and many of their works appeared in established media. This wider readership secured a stronger impact and therefore seemed to be more objective than the purely private and unofficial materials. I compared plural materials and decided which to be used in the thesis. Of course, there is still an ample room of suspicions on the objectivity and it is still a subjective decision which to be used as a material. Nevertheless, I believe the quantity of the material in this research provides acceptable objectivity to ensure objectivity in the materials

¹⁹ For example, the first few issues of the Black Tent Theatre’s periodical, *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* (The Council Report) was circulated only within the company. They started to sell it directly to the subscribers and then at the bookshops, however, the number of the shops that sold *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* was only 15 across the country even at the later stage of the publication. See the Black Tent Theatre, *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 28 (September 1982), 55.

quoted. In my thesis, in order to achieve as much objectivity as possible, I have decided to model my research methodology after Oguma. The large quantity of written documents by both prominent and obscure theatrical practitioners would ensure that contesting voices are presented, thus providing a fuller picture of what happened then.

Supplementing the research on the articles, I conducted interviews with key persons including former members of the BTT and the staff members of the Japan Foundation. I also interviewed a few Malaysian artists who had been involved in theatre collaboration projects initiated by the Japan Foundation. Although my focus was not on the Southeast Asian artists and actually I did not quote them a lot, I wished to incorporate balanced views by collecting their voices.

Section 4. Notes on “Asia”

Discussing theatre exchange between Japan and Southeast Asia, this thesis sees many different versions of ‘Asia’ in the discourses examined. The term “Asia” is clearly a problematic term. Sakai Naoki argues that ‘Asia’ is actually “qualified even less as a name for a geographically identifiable area of the globe”, “the presumption that Asia is essentially an expansive but enclosed geographic landmass persists.”²⁰

Indian theatre scholar Rustom Bharucha also expresses his discomfort in identifying himself as an ‘Asian.’

²⁰ Sakai Naoki, “Asia: Co-figurative Identification,” in *Asia in Transition: Representation and Identity*, ed. Furuichi Yasuko (Tokyo: The Japan Foundation, 2003), 222.

I was made uncomfortably aware that some form of Asian identity was being thrust upon me because I happened to live somewhere within that geographical expanse called Asia. The fact that I live in India and have marked myself as Indian in specific contexts, does not, I would emphasize, make me Asian. This is not entirely a matter of cultural choice, but an acknowledgement of specific historical considerations that go into the making of identities, independently of geography and its primordial associations linked to birth, blood, lineage, and race.²¹

In short, Bharucha argues that the identity as an Asian is created performatively. In other words, what “Asia” means is generated through social discourses. However, he continues, “the fact is that Asia does not have the same discursive weight or political valency in all parts of the continent designated as Asia.” I would like to add to this statement that the discursive weight on Asia within one country also varies depending on the time period it is referred to.

In prewar Japan, there were certainly social discourses on Asia. As Takeuchi Yoshimi argues, “Asia was always deep in Japanese minds.”²² When the Meiji government opened up the country in the nineteenth century, the international position of Japan was extremely unstable. Japan’s neighbor countries have been colonized or semicolonized by the Western powers and Japan itself was suffering from unequal treaties with the West. The fear to be colonized was not unreasonable. As a result of such a fear, two extremely opposite streams of social discourses on Asia emerged. One was *Kô-a Ron* (興亜論: On Founding Asia) and the other was *Datsu-a Ron* (脱亜論: On Dissociating from Asia).

²¹ Rustom Bharucha, *Another Asia: Rabindranath Tagore and Okakura Tenshin* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006), xv-xvi.

²² Takeuchi Yoshimi, *Nihon To Ajia* (Japan and Asia) (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1993), 95.

Kô-a Ron advocates an idea to form a united front by Japan and neighboring countries against the Western powers. It was to form an alliance of the weak countries of ‘Asia’ to compete with the strong West. Thus, Japan is considered as a part of ‘Asia.’

Fukuzawa Yukichi countered this argument by publishing his *Datsu-a Ron* in 1885. He castigated the old-fashioned polities of China and Korea and argued that these countries would never succeed in the project of enlightenment that Japan had been pursuing unless revolutionary changes were realized. He concluded that Japan should dissociate itself from these “bad friends in Asia” because such changes did not seem to happen.²³ As a result, Japan would be detached from “Asia” in *Datsu-a Ron*, in contrast to the premise of *Kô-a Ron*.

These two ideas obviously were contrastive of each other although, in reality, they were closely connected in various ways. The ultimate example was the agenda of the Greater East Asia War. Japanese militant government justified the war as the liberation of Asia from the West. A famous slogan of a *Kô-a Ron* thinker Okakura Tenshin, “Asia is one” was exploited and the war was fashioned with the similar discourses of *Kô-a Ron*. Nevertheless, the ‘Asia’ was not a horizontal alliance of weak states any more but was a coalition led by Japan. The position of Japan as the advanced leader state while all other ‘Asian’ countries were considered as the ‘backward countries’ fundamentally befitted the idea of *Datsu-a Ron*.

Although ‘Asia’ was a highly confusing and politicized term, it had always been an important theme of the public discourses in prewar Japan. Japanese identity – whether it is ‘an Asian as a part of alliance of the countries’ or ‘a Japanese detached from Asia’ – was performatively formed through the discourses.

²³ Fukuzawa Yukichi, quoted in Takeuchi Yoshimi, “Nihon No Ajia Shugi,” (Japan’s Asianism) in Matsumoto Kenichi, *Takeuchi Yoshimi ‘Nihon No Ajia Shugi’ Seidoku* (Reading Takeuchi Yoshimi’s “Japan’s Asianism”) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000), 50-51.

Nevertheless, postwar Japan saw an absence of the extensive social discourses on the former colony – ‘Asia.’²⁴ I will discuss it in detail in Chapter 2. The absence of the discourse resulted in the general indifference towards Asia. Survey on the images of Asia among high school students shows that students were more interested in western countries than Asian countries..²⁵ What is more striking is that the percentage of those who think that Japan is not a part of Asia was as high as 77.2% in the survey in 1974.²⁶ ‘Asia’ was generally considered as an area occupying eastern part of Eurasia, excluding Japan. Japan’s indifferent attitude towards Asia separates it from being part of ‘Asia.’

In spite of the absence of the extensive discourses, however, there still were some occasions where social discourses on Asia emerged in Japan. Theatre movements that consciously related themselves with ‘Asia’ were one of them. They created various discourses on ‘Asia’ and thus what ‘Asia’ meant kept changing. As I will examine Japanese theatre and civic movements in the following chapters, I will try to specify how ‘Asia’ was seen and understood in each movement.

²⁴ Kang Sang-jung, “Nihon No Ajia, Ajia No Ajia,” (Japan’s Asia, Asia’s Asia) in *Rekishi No Kyōyū Ajia To Nihon* (Sharing History between Japan and Asia), ed. International Christian University Social Science Research Institute and Institute for the Study of Social Justice, Sophia University (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1997), 106.

However, among postwar Japanese conservative politicians, there were groups who had been influenced either by *Kō-a Ron* or *Datsu-a Ron*. Wakamiya Yoshibumi’s *Wakai To Nashonarizumu: Sengo Hoshu No Ajia Kan* (Reconciliation and Nationalism: Postwar Japanese Conservative’s Perceptions on Asia) examines politicians’ perceptions of Asia in detail. See Wakamiya Yoshibumi, *Wakai To Nashonarizumu: Sengo Hoshu No Ajia Kan* (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 2006).

²⁵ Kido Kazuo, “Kōkōsei No Ajia Ninshiki,” (High School Students’ Perceptions on Asia) in *Ajia To Watashitachi* (Asia and Us), ed. Murai Yoshinori et. al. (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobo, 1988), 40.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 47.

Section 5. Framework of Analysis

To examine the material I collected and to clarify the features and differences of each phase, I would like to adopt two sets of theoretical frameworks.

1. Models of Public Spheres

1-1. *Kôkyôsei* Discourses in the 1990s

The development in the third phase was enabled as a result of a close cooperation between theatre artists and public authorities—the state and municipal governments. Nevertheless, in the previous phases, their relationship was not amicable and was even hostile. One big question is: What made such a drastic change of the attitudes possible?

I argue that we can find a hint to answer this question in the discourses on *Kôkyôsei* (公共性: “publicness”) in Japan in the 1990s. Political scientist Saitô Junichi points out that the word ‘publicness’ had a negative image that was commonly associated with suppression from the public authorities in the 1980s but became a positive and even fashionable term in the 1990s.²⁷ Although some scholars in the Western scholarship have tackled the issue,²⁸ the popularity of the term in Japan was far more enormous. It was used not only in the field of theatre but also in general scholarship.²⁹

When we closely examine the *Kôkyôsei* discourses in the 1990s, we can find two distinctive groups of thinkers in terms of their understanding of the concept. The first is a group who use the idea of *Kôkyôsei* to explain the collaborative relationship between public

²⁷ Saitô Junichi, *Kôkyôsei* (Publicness) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000), 1-2.

²⁸ For example, see Paola Botham, “Witnesses in the Public Sphere,” in *Political Performances: Theory and Practice*, ed. Susan C. Haedicke et. al. (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2009), 35-53.

²⁹ Yamawaki Naoshi, *Kôkyô Tetsugaku Towa Nanika* (On Public Philosophy) (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô: 2004), 7.

authorities and the civil society including arts community. In the field of theatre, it includes rapid expansion of governmental support to the arts and establishment of the community-based theatres called public theatres. Urban engineering scholar Shimizu Hiroyuki, cultural policy scholar Itô Yasuo and cultural policy specialist Suzuki Kôjirô were among the most vocal advocators of the idea of “publicness” of theatre. In the 1980s especially, mainstream Japanese contemporary theatre became highly inward oriented with the theme of ‘self-searching.’³⁰ In other words, theatre was widely considered as a private activity of the artists. Opposing this perception, these scholars insisted that theatres should be posited in the wider scope in society and they deserved more attention. Contrasting with the perception of theatre as ‘private,’ they called such an aspect of theatre the *Kôkyôsei* – publicness – of theatre.

These scholars referred mainly to the public sphere theories of Jurgen Habermas as the basis of their argument on *Kôkyôsei*.³¹ In other words, they considered public theatres as an example of the public spheres that Habermas theorized in his *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Shimizu Hiroyuki, who has been one of the most influential theorists of the public theatres, argues that public theatres has a good potential to realise the Habermasian public sphere because of its ‘openness’ to the community members.³² According to him, local cultural facilities including public theatres should become an arena

³⁰ I will discuss this issue in detail in Chapter 3 Section 1.

³¹ For examples of the reference to Habermas, see Suzuki Kôjirô et. al., “Kôkyô Gekijô O Meguru,” (On Public Theatre) *MUNKS* 15 (May 2001), 36 and Suzuki Kôjirô, “21 Seiki No Kôkyô Gekijô,” (Public Theatres in the 21st Century) *Engekijin* 5 (July 2000), 73. In my interview with Satô Makoto, he mentioned Habermas as the model of his idea of ‘publicness’ and public sphere. Satô Makoto, interview by author, Tokyo, 18 June 2009.

³² Shimizu Hiroyuki, “Kôkyôken, Kôritsu Bunka Shisetsu, Chiiki No Butaigeijutsu Kankyô,” (Public Sphere, Public Cultural Institute and the Environment of Regional Performing Arts) in *Chiiki Ni Ikiru Gekijô* (Theatres Based in the Regions), ed. Ei Kisei and Motosugi Shôzô (Tokyo: Geidankyo Shuppanbu, 2000), 11.

where anybody in the community can freely join and participate in the discussions. Shimizu understands the nature of the public sphere as an *agora* based on the free and equal participation of the community members. He insists that the public theatres should become a “generator of the public spheres”³³ by partaking these features of *Kôkyôsei*.

The second group that discussed *Kôkyôsei* were those who took the concept as an alternative leftist theory. Inaba Shinichirô argues that Habermas’s public sphere theory became an important theoretical pillar of the Japanese leftists who had been critical to the government after the legitimacy of the traditional Marxist theories were shaken because of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the liberation of East Europe in the late 1980s.³⁴ These thinkers focus on the aspect of the Habermasian public sphere that creates a consensus on the common issues for the participants through discussions. Inaba describes the image of the civil society that forms this kind of public sphere as a “pressure group” on a particular field.³⁵ Habermas’s public sphere, in this school of thought, provides a clue to an independent sphere that observes and criticizes the behavior of the government.

Although both schools refer to Habermas’s theory on public sphere, the features highlighted in these two *Kôkyôsei* discourses are very different. What makes the argument obscure and highly confusing is that these two sharply opposing discourses are under the same title. I argue that the *Kôkyôsei* discourses that solely rely on the public sphere theory of Habermas have a fundamental problem. Although I am aware of Habermasian theory’s extensive scope of argument and its applicability to the wide range of the phenomenon, I suggest we premise the existence of the substantially different models of public sphere on

³³ Ibid., 12.

³⁴ Inaba Shinichirô, *‘Kôkyôsei’ Ron* (On ‘Publicness’) (Tokyo: NTT Shuppan, 2008), 11

³⁵ Ibid., 40.

“public” and “private” as political scientist Jeff Weintraub argued.³⁶ In the following sections, I will first examine the public sphere theory of Jurgen Habermas and review the criticism against it from postmodern theorists. Then I will introduce the second and the third models of public sphere.

1-2. Counter-Public Sphere: Jurgen Habermas

As I pointed out earlier, Jürgen Habermas’s model of a public sphere presented in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* has the greatest influence in the discourses of the ‘publicness’ of theatre in Japan. The book was translated into English in 1988 and received various responses from an English readership too.³⁷ Habermas, in response to these inputs, kept revising his model of the public sphere in his later works including *The Theory of Communicative Action* (1981) and *Between Facts and Norms* (1992). I will summarise his model based mainly on the argument in *The Structural Transformation* and also touch on some of the arguments in his later works.

Habermas pays much attention to the “town” which is “designated especially as an early public sphere in the world of letters” in the eighteenth century.³⁸ Coffee houses and salons were the institutions of such a public sphere. “They were,” Habermas argues, “centers of criticism—literary at first, then also political—in which began to emerge, between

³⁶ Jeff Weintraub, "The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction," in *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy*, ed. Jeff Weintraub and Krishan Kumar (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 1-42.

³⁷ Craig Calhoun, “Preface,” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1992), p. viii. Calhoun’s book itself is a result of a conference held in 1989 commemorating the publication of the English translation.

³⁸ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: an Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1989), 30.

aristocratic society and bourgeois intellectuals, a certain parity of the educated.”³⁹ These places became forums for discussions by the private citizens who became the ‘public’.

In the eighteenth century, “the state-governed public sphere was appropriated by the public”⁴⁰ and the new type of public sphere of the ‘public’ assumed substantial political importance. Because of the strength of this public sphere that functioned in the political realm, “forces endeavouring to influence the decisions of state authority appealed to the critical public in order to legitimate demands before this new forum.”⁴¹ Such a development greatly affected election systems and political party systems in Great Britain as well as in the continent of Europe.⁴²

Habermas’s public sphere is defined “above all as the sphere of private people come together as a public.”⁴³ According to him, “included in the private realm was the authentic ‘public sphere’, for it was a public sphere constituted by private people. Within the realm that was the preserve of private people we therefore distinguish again between private and public sphere.”⁴⁴ The public sphere is a domain of private people, yet it is distinguished from a purely private realm. It is the third realm in between “public power” and “private autonomy” (See Figure 1).⁴⁵ There are three basic principles of Habermas’s model of a public sphere.

³⁹ Ibid., 32.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 51.

⁴¹ Ibid., 57.

⁴² Ibid., 74.

⁴³ Ibid., 27.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 30.

⁴⁵ Jürgen Habermas, “The Public Sphere,” in *Jürgen Habermas on Society and Politics: A Reader*, ed. Steven Seidman (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 234.

Public Sphere Against Public Authorities

Firstly, the discussion within a public sphere “presupposed the problematisation of areas that until then had not been questioned.”⁴⁶ The ‘public’ who gathered in the public sphere “claimed the public sphere regulated from above against the public authorities themselves.”⁴⁷ In short, they were a “critical public.”⁴⁸ This type of public sphere was highly political by nature.

Habermas’s model does not restrict the agenda for public debate.⁴⁹ People who participate in the discussion might and should vary, so we cannot expect there to be one single public. Therefore a public sphere will not exist as a singular and exclusive entity but plural public spheres that represent different or even conflicting parties’ interests will coexist.⁵⁰ The baseline of public spheres is that they exist as spheres where criticisms of public authorities will happen even if each of them has competing viewpoints. The “public” is the people who share the same interest and they create a counter discourse against authorities in the public spheres.

Although Habermas stressed the function of monitoring the state and authorities in his earlier model, in the later works his focus shifted to the public sphere’s role in the formation of political intention and agenda setting through public debates.⁵¹ Civil society is considered an important part of the public sphere model, which is “attuned to how societal problems resonate in the private life spheres, distill and transmit such reactions in amplified form to the

⁴⁶ Habermas, *Structural Transformation of Public Sphere*, 36.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 27.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 26.

⁴⁹ Seyla Benhabib, “Models of Public Space: Hannah Arendt, the Liberal Tradition, and Jürgen Habermas,” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1992), 84.

⁵⁰ Jürgen Habermas, “Further Reflections on the Public Sphere,” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere* ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1992), 425.

⁵¹ Saitô, *Kôkyôsei*, 32.

public sphere.”⁵² The public sphere behaves as “a warning system with sensors that, though unspecified, are sensitive throughout society.”⁵³

Equality in the Public Sphere

Habermas stresses that a kind of social intercourse that disregards status is required in the public sphere. In other words, “a tact befitting equals” has to replace “the celebration of rank.”⁵⁴ The situation of unconstrained public dialogue, or an “ideal speech situation” based on equality among participants, is another basic principle of a public sphere, in which; “each participant must have an equal chance to initiate and to continue communication; each must have an equal chance to make assertions, recommendations, and explanations; all must have equal chances to express their wishes desires, and feelings.”⁵⁵ In this “radically proceduralist”⁵⁶ model, a public sphere is described as a forum for collective and voluntary consensus formation where people are free from their social status outside of a public sphere.

Openness of the Public Sphere

Thirdly, a public sphere is theoretically open to everybody in a society. This argument is closely related to Habermas’s strong interest in the universal characteristics of human communication; something that numerous scholars have pointed out.⁵⁷ He argues, “however exclusive the public might be in any given instance, it could never close itself off

⁵² Jürgen Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*, trans. William Rehg (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), 367.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 359.

⁵⁴ Habermas, *Structural Transformation of Public Sphere*, 36.

⁵⁵ Benhabib, “Models of Public Space,” 89.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁵⁷ For example, see Craig Calhoun, “Introduction: Habermas and the Public Sphere,” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1992), 40.

entirely and become consolidated as a clique ... The issues discussed became ‘general’ not merely in their significance, but also in their accessibility: everyone had to *be able* to participate.” (original italics)⁵⁸ “The public sphere of civil society,” he stresses, “stood or fell with the principle of universal access. A public sphere from which specific groups would be *eo ipso* excluded was less than merely incomplete; it was not a public sphere at all.”⁵⁹

Having examined Habermas’s theory, it is now clear that the two *Kōkyōsei* discourses in 1990s Japan are only extract of some particular features of Habermas’s argument. The first group who discussed *Kōkyōsei* of theatre highlights the openness and equality in the public sphere while the second group who considered public sphere theory as an alternative leftist theory stresses the consensus building against public authorities in the public sphere.

Habermas’s public sphere theory has been heavily criticised by postmodern thinkers.⁶⁰ One of the most important criticisms was on the elimination of the minorities. Nancy Fraser argues that “despite the rhetoric of publicity and accessibility, the official public sphere rested

⁵⁸ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of Public Sphere*, 37.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁶⁰ Each of two main features of Habermas’s public sphere theory was criticised by the postmodern thinkers. The first is on the equal and open participation. Michel Foucault argues that the disciplinary power structure has been ubiquitous in the society since the late 19th century, thus power-free social practice is impossible. If we accept this claim, the public sphere based on the open and equal participation should be impossible as well. See Michel Foucault, *Power/ Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, trans. Colin Gordon et. al. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 104 and Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 202.

The second criticism is on the formation of consensus among participants. Jean-Francois Lyotard claims that the metanarratives are dead in the postmodern society and consensus is a horizon that is never reached. See Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 61.

on, indeed was importantly constituted by, a number of significant exclusions.”⁶¹ The members of subordinated social groups such as women, workers, peoples of colour, and gays and lesbians, were eliminated from the public sphere from the very beginning. Fraser insists, “to have a public sphere in which interlocutors can deliberate as peers, it is not sufficient merely to bracket social inequality. Instead, a necessary condition for participatory parity is that systemic social inequalities be eliminated.”⁶²

In spite of the criticisms, however, I do not think the validity of Habermas’s model of public sphere has been lost. What I would like to stress is that even though it may not be able to achieve public spheres that perfectly satisfy Habermas’s conditions as the postmodern critics argues, public spheres still did exist in a incomplete forms and those who aimed to develop these discursive spheres – including Japanese theatre artists and civic movement activist – had attempted to cope with the deficits of the existing public spheres. In other words, the public spheres are not static entities by any means but fluid and flexible products of these efforts. As Seyla Benhabib claims, the meaning of participation has been altered in the course of the history and there can be alternative mode of participation that suits the complex modern societies.⁶³

As I will examine in the following chapters, public spheres created by Japanese theatre artists and activists varied in forms and structures. Having acknowledged that there is no static and absolute criteria for the public sphere, I still wish to call the ones with the intension to fulfill the basic conditions of Habermas’s model of public sphere – i) creating

⁶¹ Nancy Fraser, “Rethinking the Public Sphere,” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1992), 113.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 121.

⁶³ Benhabib, “Models of Public Space,” 86.

discourses against public authorities, ii) assuming equality among participants and iii) making public spheres open to everybody in a society – the Counter-Public Sphere.

1-3. Public Sphere for Coexistence: Richard Sennett

As I defined the Counter-Public Sphere based on the Habermas's argument, there can be another question: Is it the only possible model of public sphere? If, for example, when confronted with discursive spaces similar to Habermas's public sphere but do not aim to create consensus among participants, how we should understand them?

There was another term employed in the discussion of the public theatres in the 1990s, which was *Kyôsei* (共生: "living together" or conviviality). *Kyôsei* was often used by the governments to advocate the model of the society in which diverse residents coexist peacefully. According to one of the civic movement leaders Hanasaki Kyôhei who started to use this term in as early as the 1970s, *Kyôsei* means "living together with diverse cultures" in principle. In other words, it is about respecting each other's values and cultures.⁶⁴ The aim of *Kyôsei* is to create a culture that "celebrates the diversity."⁶⁵ In this idea of *Kyôsei*, the sphere where people meet the others is premised. It can be considered as a public sphere that is obviously different from the private sphere. Yet, the public sphere for *Kyôsei* is not a space to create consensus, but a space where the diverse members of the community coexist respecting each other.

Jeff Weintraub, in his argument on the public/ private distinction, suggests the existence of different categories of public sphere than the model of Habermas. He named one

⁶⁴ Hanasaki Kôhei, *'Kyôsei' Eno Shokuhatsu (Incitement to Kyôsei)* (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobô, 2002), 127.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 131.

of them the “sociability” model, that contributes “not in self-determination or collective action, but in multistranded liveliness and spontaneity arising from the ongoing intercourse of heterogeneous individuals and groups that can maintain a civilized coexistence.”⁶⁶ I will elaborate his argument by referring to one of the “sociability” theorist Richard Sennett’s model presented in his *The Fall of the Public Man*. Sennett, similar to Habermas, argues that development in the large cities in Europe in the eighteenth century was critically important in the emergence of the public sphere. Nevertheless, the model he drew in *The Fall of Public Man* is significantly different from that of Habermas’s.⁶⁷

London and Paris in the early eighteenth century saw a huge inflow of population from rural areas. These cities were suddenly filled with ‘strangers’. “The social question raised by the population of London and Paris,” Sennett argues, “was the question of living with or being a stranger.”⁶⁸ Sennett pays much attention to such a nature of the cities. He defines a city as “a human settlement in which strangers are likely to meet.”⁶⁹ Therefore, the term ‘public’ meant not only a life passed outside the life of family and close friends but also

⁶⁶ Weintraub, "Public/Private Distinction," 17.

⁶⁷ Although Habermas and Sennett criticise each other’s theories, it did not become an extensive discussions similar to the ones between Habermas and postmodernists. In recent years, Sennett mainly has been expressing his opinions in the field of urban engineering with the reference to cultural studies.

In the Habermas criticises Sennett for not sufficiently distinguishing between representative publicness and the classical bourgeois public sphere. See Habermas, “Further Reflections on the Public Sphere,” 426-427.

Sennett, meanwhile, sees the danger of Habermas’s public sphere which puts the priority on consensus making to be transferred into the ‘intimate sphere’. He criticises the younger generation of the Frankfurt school, in which Habermas should be included, because they gradually became deaf to the issue of “privatisation” that is “about the compensatory tendency in modern capitalism for people working in impersonal market situations to invest feelings in the realm of family and child rearing which they could not invest in work itself.” See Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977; reprint, London: Penguin, 2002), 32 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

⁶⁸ Sennett, *Fall of Public Man*, 56.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 39.

a space where “diverse, complex social groups were to be brought into ineluctable contact.”⁷⁰

It was a totally new phenomenon that had never happened before in Europe.

In such circumstances, “behaving with strangers in an emotionally satisfying way and yet remaining aloof from them was seen by the mid-18th Century as the means by which the human animal was transformed into a social being.”⁷¹ Sennett defines a public sphere as an arena to learn such a behavior. To coexist with diverse strangers in cities, people had to know how to keep a distance from “the self, from its immediate history, circumstances, and needs.”⁷²

We might be able to rephrase “Learning a behavior” to “learning how to act” in the cities. It is why Sennett claims, “In a society with a strong public life there should be affinities between the domains of stage and street,”⁷³ and a man who inhabited the public realm of the eighteenth century was “an actor, a performer.”⁷⁴ Theatre played an important role in such a society as a model of ‘acting’ in the public sphere. By the eighteenth century, theatre had become “more a focus of social life in the city than an entertainment ‘given’ the people by a king or noble at court.”⁷⁵

Sennett argues that audience members were required to decide whether they believed in the characters on stage without referring to any external knowledge such as an actor’s private life and beliefs. The rise of belief depended on “how one behaves—talks, gestures,

⁷⁰ Ibid., 17.

⁷¹ Ibid., 18.

⁷² Ibid., 87.

⁷³ Ibid., 37.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 107.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 78. Habermas argued that coffee houses and salons played an important role in the formation of public sphere in the eighteenth century. Sennett also points out that coffee houses became an important stage of people’s ‘learning of behavior’. (Ibid., 123). However, Sennett pays greater attention to the role of theatres.

moves, dresses, listens—within the situation itself.”⁷⁶ In cities filled with strangers, the same situation would arise. People would meet a stranger without any prior knowledge of him/her. It was necessary to gain the trust of the person you met solely on the basis of your behavior—your acting.⁷⁷ It was, in other words, about developing “common codes of belief” that—like irregular verbs—could be used once one knew how to conjugate them.⁷⁸ Creating such common codes was the very meaning of ‘public life’.

When industrial capitalism intensified in the nineteenth century, it detached the man at work from the work he did. Sennett argues, “the fundamental problem of capitalism is dissociation, called variously alienation, non-cathetic activity, and the like; division, separation, isolation are the governing images which express this evil.”⁷⁹ In such a condition, any situation that created distances between people would be considered as ‘evil’. In other words, the public sphere established in large cities in the previous century, in which strangers coexisted by accepting differences, was negated.

What seemed to be necessary in this situation, Sennett argues, was to erase differences between people in order to overcome the unknown.⁸⁰ An idea of ‘community’ began to be considered as a solution. According to Sennett, “Any kind of community is more than a set of customs, behaviors, or attitudes about other people. A community is also a collective identity; it is a way of saying who ‘we’ are... The community idea involved here is the belief that when people disclose themselves to each other, a tissue grows to bind them together.”⁸¹ The ‘united’ community, however, will not admit any kind of diversity. The sense of

⁷⁶ Ibid., 39.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 40.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 41.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 295.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 295.

⁸¹ Ibid., 222.

community directly connected to the attitude of isolation that “We are a community; we are being real; the outside world is not responding to us in terms of who we are; therefore something is wrong with it; it has failed us; therefore we will have nothing to do with it.”⁸² Such principles of communities in the nineteenth century onwards were the complete opposite of those of the ‘sociable’ public sphere in the previous century.

Sennett fiercely criticises the exclusive and isolated communities. It is because community eliminates diversity that the idea that “people grow only by processes of encountering the unknown”⁸³ becomes impossible. When the “tyrannies of intimacy”⁸⁴ are realised, the existence of a public sphere which tries to keep a distance from it will be in danger. Modern men will become an “actor deprived of an art”⁸⁵ and stop performing themselves in the public sphere. By losing the public sphere where people learn how to behave in society, they will lose the ability to appreciate different cultures too.

Based on the discussion so far, I would like to summarise the features of Sennett’s model of public sphere in the following three points.

Public Sphere as the ‘Third Sphere’

Sennett’s public sphere is a realm that is separated from the ‘intimate’ sphere such as family and the communities. At the same time, it is different from the ‘public’ of the Liberalist Model which is synonymous with ‘public authorities’. It is similar to Habermas’s model in terms of considering public spheres as the ‘third sphere’ in between public authorities and the intimate, private sphere. Nevertheless, Sennett’s model of the public

⁸² Ibid., 300.

⁸³ Ibid., 295.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 337.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 267.

sphere should be understood as more neutral than that of Habermas’s because his public sphere stands apart from the intimate sphere while Habermas locates his public sphere as a part of private sphere. (See Figure 1)

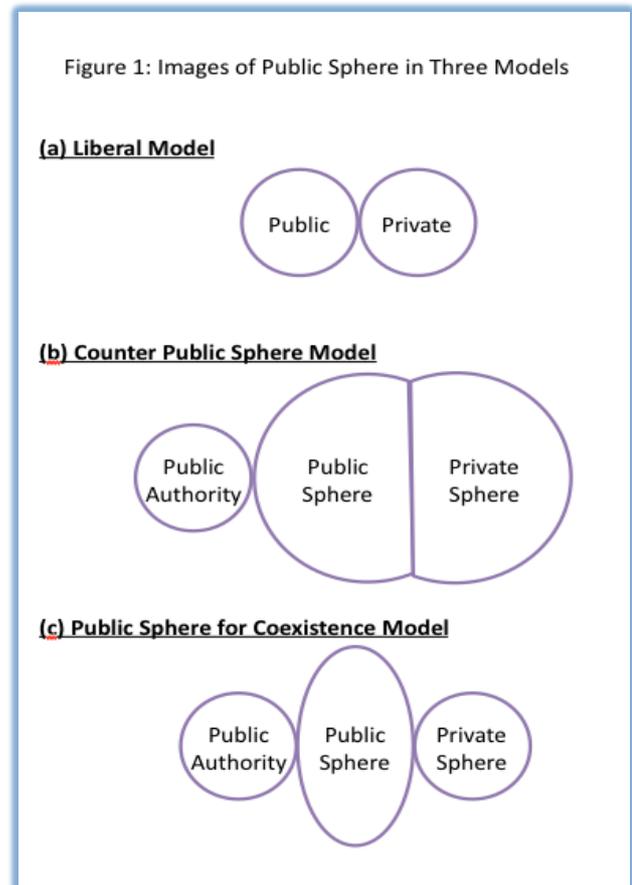
Valuing Diversity

Sennett repeatedly stresses the importance of the diversity of ‘strangers’ who live in a public sphere.

At the very end of *The Fall of Public Man*, he insists that, “The city is the instrument of impersonal life, the mold in which diversity and complexity of persons, interests, and tastes become available as social experience ... The city ought to be ... the forum in which

it becomes meaningful to join with other persons without the compulsion to know them as persons.”⁸⁶

What he meant by “to join with other persons” is not to share the same interests and reach a unified opinion as in Habermas’s model. Rather, an achievement of consensus in a public sphere does not seem to be attempted from the very beginning. For Sennett, the public sphere is nothing more than a forum where people with diverse values and cultures can learn



⁸⁶ Ibid., 339-340.

how to coexist peacefully. Different from the other two models, this Public Sphere for Coexistence model is not necessarily political.⁸⁷

Proactive Participation

Sennett values proactive involvement in the public sphere. Nobody will teach you how to live with strangers unless you proactively try to learn it. “To lose the ability to play”, Sennett argues, “is to lose the sense that worldly conditions are plastic.”⁸⁸ It is necessary to encounter the unknown and to play meaningfully so that people can grow. If people do not make any effort to avoid the elimination of different values, public spheres will disappear and the exclusive community, which Sennett argues against, will continue to prevail.

Compared to the model of Habermas, the image of the public sphere in Sennett’s model is much looser. The purpose to join the public sphere is less concrete. Considering such flexible nature of the public sphere, it would not be appropriate to expect an ideal form of this type of public sphere. It can be even more diverse in terms of forms and structures than the Habermasian public sphere. I wish to categorize the public spheres that values diversity based on mutual respect to each other’s culture into one specific category of public sphere model and name it the Public Sphere for Coexistence. The public sphere for *Kyôsei* will fit well into this model. As I will discuss in Chapters 4 and 5, one school of *Kôkyôsei* discourses in the 1990s which discuss collaborative relationship between public authorities and Japanese civil society and arts community also seem to fit this model better than the model of Habermas that these *Kôkyôsei* thinkers has subscribed to..

⁸⁷ Weintraub, "Public/Private Distinction," 26.

⁸⁸ Sennett, *Fall of Public Man*, 267.

1-4. Liberalist Model: 'Public' as 'Official'

In addition to these two models, I would like to add another model of “public” following Weintraub, which is a traditional model of the public/private dichotomy. The terms ‘public sector’ and ‘private sector’ fit this model best. In this model, ‘public’ is synonymous with ‘governmental’ and ‘private’ means ‘non-governmental’.⁸⁹ In other words, ‘public’ here means ‘public authorities’ or ‘official’.⁹⁰ This model is based on the assumptions of utilitarian liberalism and its main concern is with how much the ‘public’ authority should intervene in ‘private’ activities. Such interventions are usually influenced by the extent of the authorities’ jurisdiction. Hence, the usage of the governments’ coercive forces usually becomes a political issue between public and private.⁹¹ This model, in short, has been used by the public authorities to dominate the ‘public’ sphere. There is no room for spaces other than those of the public-private binary. This model will explain Japanese theatre movements before Angura best.

2. Models of Applied Theatre

One of the significant contributions of Southeast Asia to recent Japanese theatre history is, as I claimed earlier, an applied theatre methodology that was widely adopted in Japanese public theatres in the 1990s. The term ‘applied theatre’ is relatively new, and, according to Helen Nicholson, began to be used in the 1990s to describe forms of dramatic

⁸⁹ Weintraub, "Public/Private Distinction," 8.

⁹⁰ Saitô, *Kokyôsei*, viii.

⁹¹ Jeff Weintraub, “Public/Private: The Limitations of a Grand Dichotomy,” *The Responsive Community* 7, issue 2 (Spring 1997), 17-18.

activity that primarily exist outside conventional mainstream theatre institutions, and which are specifically intended to benefit individuals, communities and societies.⁹²

As Nicholson also points out, Pierre Bourdieu describes the nature of “formal refinement—which, in literature or the theatre, leads to obscurity” as “detachment, disinterestedness, indifference.”⁹³ “Conversely,” Bourdieu argues, “popular entertainment secures the spectator’s participation in the show and collective participation in the festivity which it occasions.”⁹⁴ Applied theatre can be considered as a form of theatre that incorporates the principle of popular entertainment, in which “*ordinary* people put into their *ordinary* existence, and consequently all the themes and objects capable of evoking them”⁹⁵ (original italics) through participation, and shifts its focus from entertainment to the social betterment.

Prentki and Preston categorise applied theatre into three models according to the levels of participation of “ordinary people.”⁹⁶ What I am presenting here is an elaborated (and probably slightly different) version based on their basic categorisation. Although Prentki and Preston use the word “community” in their categorisation, I wish to extend it to “individuals, communities and societies” by including Nicholson’s definition.

⁹² Helen Nicholson, *Applied Drama: The Gift of Theatre* (Houndmills and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 2.

⁹³ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (London: Routledge, 1984), 33-34.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁹⁶ Tim Prentki and Sheila Preston, “Applied Theatre: An Introduction,” in *The Applied Theatre Reader*, ed. Prentki and Preston (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 10.

Theatre for the Communities / Societies: Bertolt Brecht

It was Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956) who escaped from the idea of “conventional mainstream theatre” and developed a methodology of the ‘epic theatre’ that aimed to use theatre to achieve social change. He claimed that “we need a type of theatre which... employs and encourages those thoughts and feelings which help transform the field itself.”⁹⁷ Brecht, in that sense, might be viewed as the founding father of applied theatre.⁹⁸

Brecht stresses the importance of abolishing the distinction between actors and audiences to “transform the field.” His famous argument about the alienation effect was developed to justify it. According to Brecht, “To transform himself from general passive acceptance to a corresponding state of suspicious inquiry he would need to develop that detached eye... It must amaze its public, and this can be achieved by a technique of alienating the familiar.”⁹⁹

Although Brecht developed his arguments in the earlier half of the century, it was in the late 1960s that the change in the relationship between the audience and performers that he sought became a strong trend in theatre. Japanese theatre in the late 1960s saw a similar “shift”. As I will discuss in Chapter 2, the Angura theatre movement, which was developed as an antithesis to the mainstream theatre, tried to develop a new relationship between the audience and performers. They were, in that sense, certainly ‘children’ of Brecht. Nevertheless, it has to be pointed out that the audience is still in the position of spectators even though they are encouraged to cultivate a “detached eye” in Brecht’s theatre.

⁹⁷ Bertolt Brecht, “A Short Organum for the Theatre,” in *Brecht on Theatre: The Development of an Aesthetic*, ed. / trans. John Willett (New York: Hill and Wang, 1964), 190.

⁹⁸ Prentki and Preston, “Applied Theatre: An Introduction,” 12.

⁹⁹ Brecht, “Short Organum for Theatre,” 192.

Theatre *with* the Communities / Societies

Prendergast and Saxton point out, “For many applied theatre companies, their partnerships within the local community are central to their practice, especially when members of that community become resources for the information upon which the work is based.”¹⁰⁰ Artists will collect information from the community via researches, interviews and workshops, and develop them into a theatrical piece. Members of communities are not confined to the position of spectators but become collaborators in the actual creative process. Their involvement is much larger and more substantial than that in the first model. Moreover, they are well engaged in the production because the narratives told in the production directly relate to their own problems. The nature of applied theatre, which “is not a self-contained entity separated from its extrinsic contexts”¹⁰¹ is well reflected in this type of applied theatre.

Theatre *by* the Communities / Societies: Augusto Boal

The level of involvement of community members is greatest in this model, in which they actually write scripts, direct plays and perform by themselves under the supervision of the professional facilitators. I would like to name the Brazilian director Augusto Boal (1931-2009), who “has become a guru of applied theatre across the globe” due to his publications and his tireless appetite for running international workshops,¹⁰² as the most influential advocator of this model. He rejected “conventional mainstream theatre” similar to Brecht. However, he was far more detailed and explicit than Brecht as to just how such

¹⁰⁰ Monica Prendergast and Juliana Saxton, *Applied Theatre: International Case Studies and Challenges for Practice* (Bristol and Chicago: Intellect, 2009), 90.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 192.

¹⁰² Prentki and Preston, "Applied Theatre: An Introduction," 13.

theatre functions in an oppressive manner against socially disadvantaged people.¹⁰³ By involving them directly in his productions, Boal found a way to use theatre as a means of empowerment. His methodology was widely adopted by practitioners all over the world, including Southeast Asians who eventually introduced the methodology to the BTT.

Meanwhile, there was another stream of this type of applied theatre, which is commonly called Theatre in Education. Especially in the United Kingdom, Theatre in Education (TIE) developed a set of methodologies based on theories of active learning from the 1960s, which were subsequently exported to the English speaking world.¹⁰⁴

Applied theatre has been developed as a tool to create a voice for the disadvantaged and to change society. In that sense, it has a strong affinity with the Counter-Public Sphere model which I discussed in the previous section. However, at the same time, there is always “an irresolvable tension—between the overarching ideal of a radical, just and inclusive democracy for all and a respect for local circumstances, the social contexts of the participants and cultural differences.”¹⁰⁵ Applied theatre practitioners “tend to be skeptical of any tendencies towards a homogenised, essentialist concept of community.”¹⁰⁶ This argument shows that applied theatre also has enough (or even better) compatibility with the model of the Public Sphere for Coexistence.

¹⁰³ Marvin Carlson, *Theories of the Theatre: A Historical and Critical Survey, from Greeks to the Present* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984), 475.

¹⁰⁴ Prentki and Preston, "Applied Theatre: An Introduction," 13.

¹⁰⁵ Nicholson, *Applied Drama*, 13.

¹⁰⁶ Prentki and Preston, "Applied Theatre: An Introduction," 12.

Process versus Performance / Pure versus Applied

Nicholson points out that the preface ‘applied’ is often contrasted with ‘pure’ in academic disciplines, and argues, “The term ‘applied drama/theatre’ is intensely problematic if it is seen to stand in opposition to drama/theatre as an art form, particularly if this implies that its production values and status in the academy are diminished.”¹⁰⁷

The three categories of applied theatre were based on the level of involvement of the community members. “Pure” theatre, which can be rephrased as “conventional mainstream theatre”, can be considered as a theatre that has virtually no community involvement. It can be said, then, that the higher the level of community involvement becomes, the more the problem that Nicholson points out becomes obvious and serious.

Educational theatre scholar Lowell Swortzell sees a lot of potential in Theatre in Education (TIE) that falls into the category of highest level of community involvement. Yet he still admits that he is not convinced in calling Theatre in Education ‘a medium of theatre’.¹⁰⁸ He points out, “Scripts seldom played as effectively in the hands of teams other than those that originally had devised them. It is little wonder they came to be called ‘programmes’ rather than plays... TIE has produced weak scripts for 30 years.”¹⁰⁹ He also complains, “When it comes to acting... in those instances in which TIE is presented by amateur and student actors, and even the less experienced professional teams, the quality is bound to vary from production to production and there can be no guaranteed level of artistry from year to year.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Nicholson, *Applied Drama*, 5-6.

¹⁰⁸ Lowell Swortzell, “Trying to Like TIE: An American Critic Hopes TIE can be Saved,” in *Learning through Theatre: New Perspectives on Theatre in Education*, ed. Tony Jackson (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 239.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 241.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 245.

It may be possible to consider that applied theatre, with a high level of public involvement, solely aims to let the participants gain new ideas and knowledge in the process of creative activities. The quality of the outcome is irrelevant. Nevertheless, there seems to be a reluctance to make a neat separation between process and performance-based work. Many practitioners of applied theatre would acknowledge a productive consonance between the two.¹¹¹

It is not easy, however, to achieve this “productive consonance”. The conundrum of balancing process and outcome has always been of issue in the projects of applied theatre in Japan as well. As I discuss in Chapter 4, this is especially the case in the projects supported by governmental funding, which serves to highlight the problem. When a project evaluation is requested by the funding bodies, the evaluation becomes totally different, according to which element is taken into account.

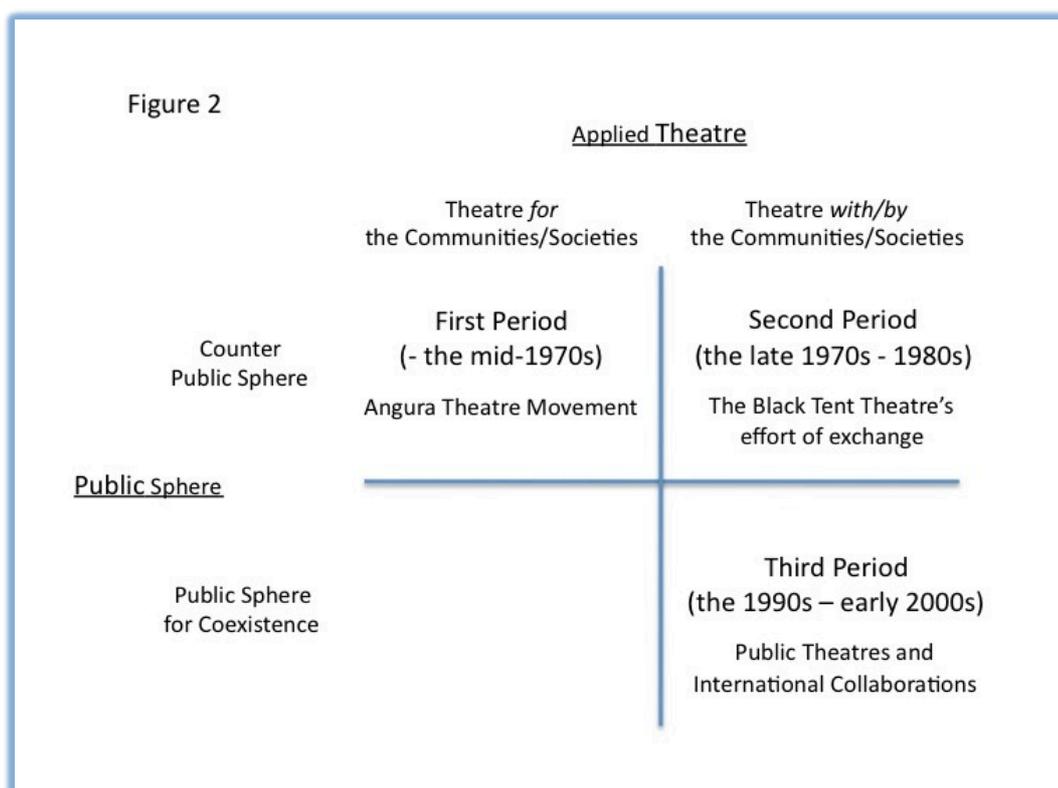
Section 6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I introduced two sets of framework for analysis. I summarise my arguments in the following chapters by drawing a chart with these two axes. Figure 2 shows the features of the three phases of Japan-Southeast Asia’s theatre exchange.

The first period, which is before the actual exchanges began, prepared the ground for exchange by adopting the methodology of applied theatre *for* community / society on the one hand, and the model of theatre as Counter-Public Sphere on the other.

¹¹¹ Nicholson, *Applied Drama*, 4.

The second period saw the importation of applied theatre *with/by* the community from Southeast Asia that was used as a tool to develop the Counter-Public Sphere. In the third period however, both artists and public authorities adopted the model of the Public Sphere for Coexistence that made the collaboration between these two parties possible. The methodology of applied theatre *with/by* the community spread all over Japan. Eventually, projects to develop the Public Sphere for Coexistence beyond national borders based on applied theatre *with/by* the community methodology—the international collaboration projects by the Japan Foundation—were organised.



Chapter 2. The Angura Theatre Movement: Discovery of Asia

Section 1. Modernity in Japanese Theatre: *Engeki Kairyô Undô* and Shingeki

Japanese philosopher Nakamura Yûjiro argues that there was a major turning point in Japanese intellectual history in the late 1960s. It was the first time, according to Nakamura, that theatre attracted attention as an intellectual platform in Japan. The reason why theatre attracted intellectual interest then was because the new style of theatre invented by young artists was “something that could not be understood within the modern intellectual scheme.”¹ The new style of theatre was the Angura theatre which I will examine in detail later.

As Nakamura argues, Angura theatre artists aimed to overcome the modernity of Japanese theatre by creating their own discourses. On the one hand, the reference to Asia happened in the course of seeking methodologies to realize it. On the other hand, Japanese theatres before the Angura theatre movement had almost completely ignored Asia. In this section, I will make preparatory work for the examination of the Angura theatre movement by trying to find the answers to the question: why didn't pre-Angura Japanese theatre recognize Asia? This will be a basis for the argument on the reason why the Angura theatre movement inversely started to turn their eyes to Asia.

I want to elaborate on the modernity of Japanese theatre which the Angura theatre movement tried to overcome. My elaboration will be in two parts — the first will be the Reformation of the Theatre Movement or *Engeki Kairyô Undô* that was conducted by the Meiji government in the late nineteenth century and the other will be Shingeki (New Theatre) that emerged in the early twentieth century. I will argue that the idea of modernity has

¹ Nakamura Yûichirô “Chi No Senryaku To Shiteno Engeki,” (Theatre as an Intellectual Strategy) *Gendai Shisô* 9, no. 11 (October 1981), 54.

variations and try to situate these pre-Angura contemporary theatres according to the types of modernity they tried to realize. Then I will review the so-called Anti-Shingeki theatre in the early 1960s that became the immediate predecessor of the Angura theatre movement.

1. *Engeki Kairyô Undô* as the Project of Bourgeois Modernity

According to theatre historian Kawatake Toshio, there were three distinctive moments of change in the history of Japanese theatre after the Meiji revolution, *Engeki Kairyô Undô*, strongly supported by the Meiji government and started in the early Meiji period. Shingeki started in mid Meiji and the Angura theatre evolved in the 1960s.²

The perception that the modernisation of Japan started with the Meiji revolution in 1868 has been widely shared. *Engeki Kairyô Undô* was the very first attempt to modernise Japanese theatre, and was started under the government's initiative. The obsession for catching up with advanced Western countries set the basis of Japan's development in every aspect, including the theatre movements that started in the Meiji period. In 1886 (Meiji 16), *Engeki Kairyô Kai* (Theatre Reform Society) was established with high-profile members including the first Prime Minister Itô Hirobumi, Foreign Minister Inoue Kaoru and an influential businessman, Shibusawa Ei'ichi.³ The Meiji government made a great effort to demonstrate the modernisation of Japan to the Western great powers. This was shown by the Japanese's quick absorption of Western-styled lifestyles and aesthetics. *Engeki Kairyô Undô* was one example of such an effort.

² Kawatake Toshio, "Butai Geijutsu No 50 Nen," (50 Years of Performing Arts) in *Geijutsu Sai 50 Nen: Sengo Nihon No Geijutsu Bunkashi* (50 Years of Cultural Festival: Arts and Cultural History of Post-war Japan), ed. Bunkachô (Tokyo: Gyôsei, 1995), 45.

³ Ôzasa Yoshio, *Nihon Gendai Engekishi* (History of Modern Japanese Theatre), vol. 1 (Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 1985), 33.

The immediate target of reform was *Kabuki*, which was considered a primitive and barbaric kind of theatre. The actors belonged to the lowest class of the feudal social strata in the Edo period, and the theatres were called ‘*Aku Basho*’ (a bad place). The government aimed to reform Japanese theatre so as to create a high culture equivalent to that of Western theatres. The Meiji government dispatched a delegation to Europe and the United States in 1871 and they were often invited to theatres in every country they visited.⁴ As Richard Sennett describes, theatres were in the centre of social life in the late nineteenth-century Europe.⁵ The reformation of ‘bad places’ was given high priority. It has to be noted, however, that Japan’s reformation was not to build a public sphere that Sennett claimed theatres would be. Rather, it was organised as a national project and was dominated by the government. I argue that *Engeki Kairyô Undô* was a project of the Liberalist model of public sphere which I discussed in Chapter 1; and it belongs to the ‘public’ part of the public/private dichotomy of that model.

Reform was done through both the architecture and the plays. New Western-style theatres were built, while Western plays were imported to Japan. Morita Kan’ya XII (1846-1897), a producer with a Kabuki background, was the most active in this field. As early as 1872 (Meiji 5), he built a new theatre in central Tokyo with several new features including a basement below the stage and chairs for foreign audiences.⁶ Morita collaborated with Ichikawa Danjûrô IX (1838–1903), one of the most famous Kabuki actors of the Meiji period, to develop Kabuki plays for educating a new generation in Japan.⁷ Thomas Rimer

⁴ Ibid., 30.

⁵ Sennet, *Fall of Public Man*, 119.

⁶ Yamamoto Sumiko, *Eibei Engeki Inyû Kô* (A Study of the Import of English/American Theatre) (Tokyo: Bunkasyobo Hakubunsha, 1992), 7-8. Traditional Kabuki theatre had no chairs but tiered seating in Edo period.

⁷ Thomas Rimer, *Toward a Modern Japanese Theatre: Kishida Kunio* (Princeton: Princeton

argues that Danjûrô's idea "would have to precede the development of any new drama of significance in Japan." However, Rimer notices that, "When Danjûrô stressed the older virtues inherent in the plays he only made them seem more remote from a rapidly changing society."⁸ As a result, Kabuki ceased to be a contemporary theatre by the 1870s.⁹

Because of the difficulty in reforming Kabuki as a contemporary art form, a group of amateur theatre artists who supported the idea of *Engeki Kairyô Kai* experimented with a new approach.¹⁰ Represented by Kawakami Otojirô (1864-1911), this new group was called Shimpa (New Faction). Shimpa theatre companies started staging Western plays including Shakespeare's *Othello* (1903), *Merchant of Venice* and *Hamlet* (1904). Nevertheless, their style of acting was not far from that of Kabuki,¹¹ thus Shimpa was eventually nothing but a "New Faction" of Kabuki.¹²

The Reformation of the Theatre Movement was a highly political project which accompanied the modernisation of Meiji Japan. Matei Calinescu points out that there have been two different kinds of modernities confronting each other since the early nineteenth-century in Western civilization. The first is the bourgeois idea of modernity which is "a product of scientific and technological progress, of the industrial revolution, of the sweeping economic and social changes brought about by capitalism."¹³ This type of modernity mainly concerns the public sector, especially in a society which has a clear public/private dichotomy like Meiji Japan. If I apply Calinescu's model of modernisation to Japan, *Engeki Kairyô Undô* can be understood as a project of bourgeois modernity.

University Press, 1974), 13.

⁸ Ibid., 14.

⁹ Ibid., 12.

¹⁰ Ôzasa, *Nihon Gendai Engekishi*, vol. 1, 50.

¹¹ Rimer, *Toward a Modern Japanese Theatre*, 14.

¹² Shimomura Masao, *Shingeki* (New Theatre) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1956), 3.

¹³ Matei Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), 41.

The second kind of modernity Calinescu points out is aesthetic / cultural modernity. It is “inclined toward radical antibourgeois attitudes” that is “disgusted with the middle-class scale of values.”¹⁴ What defines aesthetic / cultural modernity, according to Calinescu, is “its outright rejection of bourgeois modernity, its consuming negative passion.”¹⁵

2. Shingeki as the Project of Aesthetic / Cultural Modernity

2-1. The Artistic-oriented / Orthodox Faction

The theatre historian Soda Hidehiko argues that the Shingeki theatre movement that followed *Engeki Kairyô Undô* was a project of aesthetic / cultural modernity.¹⁶ Dissatisfied with the result of “reformation” under *Engeki Kairyô Undô*, one of the founding fathers of Shingeki, Osanai Kaoru (1881-1928), tried to import Western methodology directly into Japanese theatre. He used a script written in modern Japanese which was totally different from the traditional Kabuki style. Osanai’s intention was to introduce the text to the audience, rather than focus on the actors’ performance.¹⁷ The importance of the text over the actors became one of the major features of Shingeki. Osanai also tried to import a Western methodology of acting directly into Japan. He made his first trip to Europe in 1912, visiting Russia, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Austria, England and France. What impressed Osanai most was the stage of the Moscow Art Theatre and the direction of Constantin Stanislavski.¹⁸ After that Stanislavski’s realist acting style became a canonical reference point for Shingeki’s aesthetics.

¹⁴ Ibid., 42.

¹⁵ Ibid., 42.

¹⁶ Soga Hidehiko, *Osanai Kaoru To Nijyusseiki Engeki* (Osanai Kaoru and Theatre in the 20th Century) (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 1999), 16.

¹⁷ Ôzasa, *Nihon Gendai Engekishi*, vol. 1, 104.

¹⁸ Ibid., 114.

While both *Engeki Kairyô Undô* and Shingeki referred to Western theatres, the nature of these movements was different. While *Engeki Kairyô Undô* was a companion to the modernisation of the nation-state, Shingeki had no intention of complementing it.¹⁹ Shingeki was a movement that happened solely in the private sector.

Because Shingeki was established purely as an aesthetic project, it could not escape from what Jürgen Habermas calls the alienation from daily lives. In his *Modernity — An Incomplete Project*, Habermas points out that aesthetic and cultural modernity separated “the substantive reason expressed in religion and metaphysics into three autonomous phases”²⁰—science, morality and art—in the eighteenth century. He continues, “each domain of culture could be made to correspond to cultural professions in which problems could be dealt with as the concern of special experts” and “as a result, the distance grows between the culture of the experts and that of the larger public.”²¹ There were efforts to release the specialized culture for the enrichment of everyday life. However, they were not successful. Habermas criticizes the aesthetist conception of art that emerged around the middle of the nineteenth-century for encouraging artists to create art for art’s sake. This is because the movement accelerated the alienation of the arts from daily lives and, eventually, withdrew into the “untouchableness of complete autonomy.”²²

We can find a similar alienation in Shingeki. The earliest Shingeki started with amateur productions.²³ However, Osanai claimed to make theatre professional by training his

¹⁹ Soda, *Osanai Kaoru*, 17.

²⁰ Jürgen Habermas, “Modernity — An Incomplete Project,” in *Postmodernism: A Reader*, ed. Thomas Docherty (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993), 103.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 103.

²² *Ibid.*, 104.

²³ For example, another founder of Shingeki, Tsubouchi Shôyô’s company, started by

actors in the Stanislavski school of acting, one of the most cutting-edge acting theories during that time. Osanai also expected the audience to be non-amateur. He stated, “In our theatre, audience members cannot simply entertain themselves. We do not need old audiences. Our audiences must be students.”²⁴ Osanai also insisted that he did not mind if their theatre was not accepted by the immature audiences of that time.²⁵ What he targeted were the young intellectuals who shared an interest in the new aesthetics, in other words, who understood the nature of aesthetic / cultural modernity. Such an attempt to make Shingeki a professional and specialized theatre inevitably alienated Shingeki from the everyday lives of the people.

In the immediate postwar period, orthodox Shingeki enjoyed an unprecedented boom. A review in 1954 claimed that Shingeki companies were enjoying their heyday.²⁶ However, it is worth noting that the same article pointed out that Japanese playwriting continued to fail to create Japan’s own narratives.²⁷ The productions that *Asahi Shimbun* newspaper praised in the review article were all translated Western plays including Tennessee Williams’ *Death of a Salesman* and Chekhov’s *The Seagull*.

Shingeki productions in the 1950s provided entertainment to the Japanese people who were thirsty for them. However, it quickly lost its popularity because of its alienation from their daily lives. A critic writes, “the artists and troupes were not able to provide plays that sufficiently addressed the social issues facing the people, who were involved in the painful

training actors who had no experience in acting. He believed that “cultivated amateurs, properly trained, represented the best means to lift standards quickly to a desired level.” See Rimer, *Toward a Modern Japanese Theatre*, 21.

²⁴ Ôzasa Yoshio, *Nihon Gendai Engekishi* (History of Modern Japanese Theatre), vol. 2 (Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 1986), 396.

²⁵ Soda, *Osanai Kaoru*, 39.

²⁶ Ôzasa Yoshio, *Nihon Gendai Engekishi* (History of Modern Japanese Theatre), vol. 8 (Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 2001), 758.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 759.

process of rebuilding their lives... Shingeki as a whole was too committed to providing an educational window on the west.”²⁸

Both *Engeki Kairyô Undô* and Shingeki concentrated in introducing western theatre methodologies to Japan and eventually the ‘Asian’ elements were almost eliminated in these theatre movements. However, as I pointed out in Chapter 1, there were lively social discourses on Asia in prewar Japan and ‘Asia’ was not very alien to Japanese people. Probably reflecting this social atmosphere, some Shingeki artists, including Osanai Kaoru himself, were interested in Asian traditional theatre although it was by no means a mainstream of Shingeki.

After his trip to Europe in 1912, Osanai became doubtful on whether it was possible to adopt Western acting and direction in Japan as it was. As he found that the foundation of performance was indigenous elements unique to each nation, Osanai claimed that Japanese should study Asian traditional performances such as Javanese Wayang, Chinese opera and Korean dances.²⁹ Although this did not change his course a lot and Osanai continued his project to import Western methodology to Japan, he did not abandon this idea altogether.³⁰

His interest in Asian traditional performance resulted in *Kokusenya Kassen* (The Battles of Coxinga), an adaptation of a famous Kabuki play premiered in 1928. Inserting

²⁸ Uchida Yôichi, “The 1980s in the Context of Japanese Theater History,” in *Half A Century of Japanese Theater III: 1980s part 1*, ed. Japan Playwright Association (Tokyo: Kinokuniya Company Ltd., 2001), 2.

²⁹ Soda, *Osanai Kaoru*, 136-137.

³⁰ Osanai wrote an adaptation of Western drama scripts in a Kabuki style after his return from European trip, such as *Musuko* (A Son, 1922) adapted from British playwright Harold Chapin’s *Augustus in Search of a Father*. This can be understood as a reflection of Osanai’s interest in non-Western theatre. *Musuko* was premiered by premier Kabuki actor Onoue Kikugorô VI’s company in 1923. However, Osanai found that only Kabuki companies that adopted a style that was compatible with Western dramaturgy could stage such adaptations well, and Onoue’s company was not of that kind. See Osanai Kaoru, *Shibai Nyûmon* (An Introduction to Theatre) (Tokyo: Puraton Sha, 1924; reprint, Iwanami Shoten, 1939), 34. After that, Osanai concentrated in importing Western methodology.

Chinese acrobats and Javanese Wayang Kulit (shadow puppet theatre) in the play based on the real story of Taiwanese legendary hero,³¹ Osanai's version of *Kokusenya Kassen* was a trial to create an antithesis to the Western theatre by unifying Asian theatrical forms and narratives. Although this attempt did not continue because of Osanai's untimely death (he passed away only two months after the premier of *Kokusenya Kassen*), and the shift of Shingeki from the artistic faction to the Leftist faction, it is noteworthy that 'Asia' was in the scope of the prewar Shingeki.

2-2. The Leftist Faction

Emergence of Leftist Shingeki

The leftist faction of Shingeki or so-called 'Proletariat theatre' emerged after the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923 and enjoyed great popularity until around 1934.³² A member of the orthodox Tsukiji Little Theatre admitted that she was deeply shocked by the great popularity of a production by the leftist spin-off members of the company.³³

The background of such enthusiastic support from the working class was the influence of socialism. As a result of rapid industrialization during the Meiji period, and especially the accelerated industrialisation during World War I, the necessity of defending workers' rights was widely recognised and labour unions were formed. The Japan Communist Party (JCP) was established in 1922 although it was immediately labeled illegal by the government. Nevertheless, the JCP was officially recognized by The Communist

³¹ Soda, *Osanai Kaoru*, 252.

³² Ôzasa Yoshio, *Nihon Gendai Engekishi* (History of Modern Japanese Theatre), vol. 3 (Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 1990), 13.

³³ Shimomura, *Shingeki*, 70-71.

International (Comintern)³⁴ and socialism was widely supported by Japanese workers all through the Taisho period (1912-1926) and the early Showa period.

Theatre was considered an important tool of propaganda along with other art forms. Theatre artists who were under the influence of the JCP started to stage plays that dealt with workers' daily problems not only at traditional theatre venues but also at their work places, which boosted their popularity.³⁵ The death of Osanai Kaoru in 1928, who had been a stubborn supporter of the art-oriented Shingeki, gave a momentum to the leftist faction to become a mainstream of Shingeki.³⁶ Osanai had declared that he would make Tsukiji a 'laboratory' of new style of theatre in his manifesto of the Tsukiji Little Theatre.³⁷ Backed by strong popularity, the leftist faction liberated the 'laboratory', which was detached from the society, and tried to establish a connection with the workers' daily lives.

One remarkable contribution of leftist Shingeki was that it nurtured Japanese playwrights and encouraged them to write plays based on the social reality of Japan. While the priority of the orthodox faction of Shingeki had always been translated Western plays as we saw in the previous section, leftist Shingeki employed more Japanese plays than Western plays.³⁸

³⁴ Sakisaka Itsurô, *Nihon Kyôasantô Ron* (A Study of Japan Communist Party) (Tokyo: Shakai Shugi Kyôkai, 1973), 20.

³⁵ For example, the theatre department of *Nihon Puroretaria Bungei Renmei* (Japan's Association of Proletariat Literature), set up in 1925 as an integrated body of leftist artists, started to perform at strikes and labourers' gatherings. Their highly mobile productions were called 'Trunk Theatre' and it became "the first example in which an radical intelligentsia's artistic movement collaborated with a labour movement". See Ôzasa, *Nihon Gendai Engekishi*, vol. 3, 437.

³⁶ Ôzasa, *Nihon Gendai Engekishi*, vol. 3, 506.

³⁷ Ôzasa, *Nihon Gendai Engekishi*, vol. 2, 406.

³⁸ For example, out of 11 productions staged by the mobile Trunk Theatre, 8 were Japanese plays while 3 were translated Western plays. See Ôzasa, *Nihon Gendai Engekishi*, vol. 3, 453-454.

There may be two reasons for the dominance of Japanese plays in the leftist faction. Firstly, theatre artists had more chances to collaborate with artists from different fields including literature because of the creation of the proletariat arts organisations under the JCP. Such collaborations enhanced the leftist Shingeki's capacity for producing quality Japanese plays. One of the most important proletariat literature authors, Kobayashi Takiji, started his career as a professional author with a one-act play, *Jyoshûto* (The Female Prisoner) published in 1927³⁹, and Murayama Tomoyoshi who first joined Tsukiji Shô Gekijô as a set designer wrote *Bôryokudan Ki* (A Record of Gangsters), which was one of the most successful prewar leftist plays, in 1929. *Bôryokudan Ki* was well received even by mainstream newspapers that had been ignoring leftist theatre, and the reputation of proletariat theatre was firmly established.⁴⁰ The talents from other genres enriched the leftist Shingeki's narratives.

The second reason was the request from the JCP to relate theatre to the labour movement in Japan. In 1931, the JCP's ideological leader Kurahara Korehito published an essay, which demanded that, "Our artists have to internalize immediate issues and problems of the Japanese proletariat."⁴¹ As Shingeki director Shimomura Masao argues, it was the first occasion in which Shingeki artists, who had isolated themselves in the 'laboratory', turned their eyes to the reality of Japanese society.⁴² To relate their theatrical discourses to society substantially, plays written by Japanese authors were required. It was, I argue, probably the very first opportunity to develop theatre as a discursive space where an argument for changing the society could be created. In other words, there was a good chance of building public spheres through theatre.

³⁹ Ôzasa, *Nihon Gendai Engekishi*, vol. 3, 482.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 518.

⁴¹ Ibid., 530.

⁴² Shimomura, *Shingeki*, 77.

In terms of creative methodology however, I need to point out a similarity between the orthodox Shingeki and the leftist Shingeki. The orthodox Shingeki referred to an ‘advanced’ Western theatre methodology. The leftist faction also referred to the ‘advanced’ socialist creative methodology of the Soviet Union.⁴³ The idea of socialist realism — which was introduced in the early 1930s — required “reality and historical specificity”, which directly connected “to the recreation of workers’ minds and to educate them based on the spirit of socialism.”⁴⁴ Compared with the orthodox Shingeki, the degree of obedience to the ‘canon’ was even higher in the leftist Shingeki because of the direct control from the political party. As a result, it became the “least autonomous theatre movement in the history of modern Japanese theatre.”⁴⁵ This Doctrine approach to the theses of Soviet communists gradually made Japanese leftist theatre less dynamic and vibrant,⁴⁶ and discussions by the public, essential for developing theatre as public spheres, did not become vibrant either.

Eventually, the momentum to create a discursive space through theatre was totally lost because of suppression by the military government. Towards the end of 1930, control by the government became stronger, and many leftist theatre artists were arrested and forced to convert (*tenkô*) and support the government’s war effort. *Bôryokudan Ki*’s author Murayama Tomoyoshi, for example, was arrested in 1932 and detained for one year and eight

⁴³ Osanai actually imported the methodology of Stanislavski — it was an important foundation of socialist realism that was referred by the leftist faction and he was well exposed to the idea of socialist realism during his trip to Russia. Nevertheless, he carefully separated the artistic aspect of Stanislavski system from politics. See Osanai, *Shibai Nyûmon*, Chapter 1.

⁴⁴ Kan Takayuki, *Tatakau Engekijin* (Struggling Theatre Artists) (Tokyo: Jiritsu Shobô, 2007), 34.

⁴⁵ Ôzasa, *Nihon Gendai Engekishi*, vol. 3, 431.

⁴⁶ Kan, *Tatakau Engekijin*, 34.

months.⁴⁷ Shingeki companies — most of them influenced by socialism — were banned except for the purely art-oriented *Bungakuza* (Literature Theatre).

Postwar Confusion

World War II ended in August 1945 and the Supreme Commander for Allied Powers (SCAP) released the leaders of the JCP who had been detained. One of the leaders, Tokuda Kyûichi, praised the Allied forces as an army of liberation from fascism and militarism that opened a way for a democratic revolution in Japan.⁴⁸ Now legalised, the JCP commanded immense media attention and made even stronger initial inroads into the ranks of organised labour.⁴⁹ The JCP also enjoyed immensely high support from Japanese intellectuals until the 1950s.⁵⁰ Many leftist Shingeki artists started to reconstruct their relationship with the JCP as well.

However, two incidents slashed hopes of reviving the leftist Shingeki. One was the change of SCAP's policy on the treatment of communists in light of the Cold War. In 1948, the SCAP reversed its occupation labour policy by withdrawing the right to strike from public employees,⁵¹ and started a purge of leftist thinkers and activists the following year. It started within labour unions in the public sector, and then extended to the private sector including the mass media after the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950. As a result of an extensive purge,

⁴⁷ Miyagishi Yasuharu, *Tenkô To Doramatsurugi: 1930nendai No Gekisakka Tachi* (Conversion and Dramaturgy: Playwrights of the 1930s) (Tokyo: Kage Shobô, 2003), 32-33.

⁴⁸ John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), 69.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 255.

⁵⁰ Oguma Eiji, *'Minshu' To 'Aikoku': Sengo Nihon No Nashonarizumu To Kôkyôsei* ('Democracy' and 'Patriotism: Discourses on Nationalism and Publicness in the Postwar Japan) (Tokyo: Shinyôsha, 2002), 175-176.

⁵¹ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 271.

twenty-one to twenty-two thousand leftist employers were dismissed in total.⁵² Allied forces were not an “army of liberation” for Japanese communists.

The theatre industry was no exception, and a number of Shingeki actors were purged from the industry during the early 1950s.⁵³ Facing this crisis, many Shingeki artists decided to give up their membership of the JCP. Although detachment from the JCP was done so as to let the storm of the Red Purge pass by, it was regarded as a betrayal to those who continued to struggle.⁵⁴ Notwithstanding that, the leftist Shingeki maintained their communist beliefs.⁵⁵ The relationship with the JCP was not as straightforward as the immediate postwar period.

The second incident that caused turbulence was an internal conflict within the JCP. Similar to the prewar period, the postwar JCP was under the guidance of the international communist body, the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) which was established in 1947 as the successor to the Comintern. While the JCP recognised the Allied forces as “liberators” and claimed that the communist revolution was possible through peaceful means under the SCAP’s regime, Cominform openly criticised the JCP’s “peaceful revolution” theory in 1950.⁵⁶ Astonished by the unanticipated repudiation of the current policy, the JCP’s mainstream published a counterargument against Cominform. Because the

⁵² Ibid., 272.

⁵³ For example, all the actors of *Shinkyô Gekidan* supported by Shôchiku were purged. Among the “Three Giants” of Shingeki companies, major actors of *Mingei* (The People’s Arts Theatre) and *Haiyûza* (The Actors’ Theatre) were also dismissed while the art-oriented Bungakuza was not heavily affected. The purge from the movie industry was especially damaging for Shingeki companies. By 1950, many Shingeki companies began to rely on the income from the movie industry. Famous Shingeki actors regularly appeared in movies and Shingeki companies performed as their agents. They provided management services to the actors and the actors paid a certain percentage of their fees to the companies. See Kan Takayuki, *Sengo Engeki* (Postwar Theatre) (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1981), 70-71.

⁵⁴ Kan, *Sengo Engeki*, 73-74.

⁵⁵ Kan, *Tatakau Engekijin*, 64.

⁵⁶ Sakisaka, *Nihon Kyôsan-tô Ron*, 42.

counterargument was titled “‘*Nihon No Jyōsei Ni Tsuite’ Ni Kansuru Shokan*” (Thoughts ‘On the Situation in Japan’), they were called the *Shokan Ha* (*Shokan* Faction). Meanwhile, there was a group of members who formed the *Kokusai Ha* (the International Faction) supporting Cominform’s opinions. The JCP was divided into these two factions, and by 1951, the confrontations between them became severe.⁵⁷ The leftist Shingeki companies under the JCP’s auspices were also split into two factions.

The *Shokan Ha* abandoned their “peaceful revolution” policy and adapted a completely opposite “violent revolution” policy in 1951, which eventually succeeded in gaining support from Cominform. Thanks to this support, the *Shokan Ha* secured a mainstream position in the JCP.⁵⁸ Following the new violent policy, the JCP started to confront police forces using weapons including fire bombs in urban areas.⁵⁹ The leftist Shingeki practitioners, following the guidance of the *Shokan Ha*, formed *Jinmin Engeki Shūdan* (The People’s Theatre Group) as a tool of propaganda.⁶⁰

The *Shokan Ha*’s violent revolution policy, however, sacrificed the popular support of the JCP very quickly. The JCP lost all of their seats in the cabinet at the general election in 1952.⁶¹ Some of the leftist Shingeki artists were also skeptical about the violence. Even the head of *Jinmin Engeki Shūdan* condemned, that was not Shingeki anymore.⁶² Realising the failure of the violent revolution policy, the JCP gave it up at the general assembly held in 1955.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 44.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 46.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 46-47.

⁶⁰ Ōzasa, *Nihon Gendai Engekishi*, vol. 8, 129.

⁶¹ Sakisaka, *Nihon Kyōsantō Ron*, 47.

⁶² Ohzasa, *Nihon Gendai Engekishi*, vol. 8, 121.

In short, the JCP experienced chaotic turmoil in the first half of the 1950s because of the confusing responses from Cominform.⁶³ The JCP's autonomy was deeply questioned and the disillusion with The JCP spread among its members, especially student activists.⁶⁴ While the orthodox Shingeki enjoyed a boom in the middle of the 1950s, the leftist Shingeki was trapped in a deep confusion.

Postwar Shingeki also had to face another conundrum, which was how to deal with the issue of war responsibilities. Because many Shingeki artists converted and supported the government's war effort, the aspect of Japan as colonisers who invaded Asian countries was at stake in Japanese contemporary theatre for the first time.

However, postwar Shingeki did not tackle the war responsibility issue squarely. When playwright Kubo Sakae, who kept almost completely silent during the war, insisted on listing the artists who participated in war propaganda,⁶⁵ most of the members of *Shingeki Jin Kurabu* (The Shingeki Artists' Club) responded to him that they "did not want to come to blows, and wish to manage the Club 'peacefully'."⁶⁶ Former Tsukiji Little Theatre member, Takeuchi Toshiharu was another artist who criticized the absence of the arguments about war responsibilities. He claims, "For twenty years after World War II, mainstream

⁶³ Actually Cominform itself fell into deep confusion by 1956 as a result of Khrushchev's 'The Personality Cult and its Consequences' report that denied Stalin's dictatorial authority and the Hungarian Revolution.

⁶⁴ Shiokawa Yoshinobu, "'Shin Sayoku' No Sôsei, Soshite Ima," (Those Born of the 'New Left' and its Current Situation) in *Shin Sayoku Undô 40 Nen No Hikari To Kage* (Light and Shadow in the 40 Years of the New Left Movement) ed. Watanabe Ichie et. al. (Tokyo: Shinsensha, 1999), 19-20.

⁶⁵ Ôzasa, *Nihon Gendai Engekishi*, vol. 8, 70-72.

⁶⁶ Nagahira Kazuo, "Sengo Shingeki No Kiten: Sensô Sekinin No Ketsuraku," (The Starting Point of Postwar Shingeki: Neglect of War Responsibilities) *Teatoro* 390 (August 1975), 99.

Shingeki had only one theme to pursue... which was a discovery of the self.”⁶⁷ For Takeuchi, Shingeki just seemed to avoid facing history and their responsibilities, preferring to indulge in reveries.

The indifference towards war responsibility was not unique among theatre artists. Rather, according to sociologist Oguma Eiji, identifying the ordinary people as ‘victims’ and leaving the war responsibility issue obscure was common in postwar Japan. On the 28th of August 1945, thirteen days after Japan’s surrender, Prime Minister Higashikuninomiya Naruhiko called for *Ichioku Sô Zange* (a confession by all one hundred million Japanese), which requested each Japanese to admit to their responsibility for the war. *Ichioku Sô Zange*, however, provoked an angry response from most Japanese. People tended to think that the ordinary people just followed the orders of the government. They were victims and had nothing to confess. *Ichioku Sô Zange* was considered a discourse to conceal the responsibilities of the leaders and shift them onto the ordinary people.⁶⁸ According to Oguma, in the period right after the war, there were “few discourses that premised ‘Japanese’ as a whole that includes both leaders and ordinary people, and questioned their responsibilities for the aggression towards foreign countries.”⁶⁹

Arguments that insisted on the necessity of facing the cruel acts committed by the soldiers in the occupied areas had existed even during the immediate postwar period. However, the rise of the opposition to *Ichioku Sô Zange* made such discourses less visible.

⁶⁷ Takeuchi Toshiharu, “Shingeki No Kaitai To Engeki No Sôzô,” (Destruction of Shingeki and Creation of Theatre) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 214 (May 1965), 112.

⁶⁸ Oguma, ‘*Minshu*’ To ‘*Aikoku*’, 105.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 108.

Japanese thinkers tended to refrain from arguments about the ordinary people's war responsibilities.⁷⁰ Shingeki artists were no exception.

Theatre critic Miyagishi Yasuharu argues that the military could exercise their power on theatre during the war because the playwrights did not recognize themselves as aggressors against Asian countries.⁷¹ That problem was not solved in the postwar period. From that perspective, it is difficult to find a clear distinction between prewar and postwar theatres.⁷² For Shingeki, prewar and postwar was one continuing stretch.

3. Limitations and Issues of *Engeki Kairô Undô* and Shingeki

I will briefly summarise the limitations and issues of the two modern theatre movements in Japan, *Engeki Kairô Undô* and Shingeki.

Firstly, both movements followed the idea of traditional public / private dichotomy – the Liberalist model. *Engeki Kairô Undô*, a project of Bourgeois Modernity, was totally controlled by the public sector while the orthodox Shingeki, a project of Aesthetic Modernity, happened in the private ‘laboratory’ that was alienated from the daily lives of the people. No theatre that opened up a discursive space in between ‘public’ and ‘private’ came into existence. The leftist Shingeki came closest to the possibility to develop theatre as space for public discourses, however, external conditions made it impossible.

Secondly, these two movements referred to the ‘advanced’ Western theatre. Their perception was based on a cultural hierarchy with European (or Russian, in the case of the

⁷⁰ Ibid., 106.

⁷¹ Miyagishi Yasuharu, “Taiheiyô Sensôka No Gekisaku To Konnichi,” (Playwrights during the Pacific War and Now) *Teatoro* 366 (August 1973), 49.

⁷² Suga Hidemi, “‘Jinmin Sengen’ To Hyôshô=Jôen No Genkai,” (‘People’s Front’ and the Limit of Representation) *Shiatâ Âtsu* 2 (April 1995), 127-128.

leftist Shingeki) theatre on top of it. *Engeki Kairyô Undô* started with the recognition that Japanese traditional theatre represented by Kabuki was backward and inferior. Its purpose was to be recognised by the ‘advanced’ West. It is perhaps a similar condition with what Frantz Fanon described about a black girl in a colonized country; “It is because the Negress feels inferior that she aspires to win admittance into the white world.”⁷³ Osanai Kaoru’s strong preference of translated Western plays can be understood in the similar context. It implied that Japanese theatre was inferior and backward when compared to Western theatres.

Thirdly, in close relation to the second, there had been, although subconsciously, a perception that Japan was a victim of cultural colonisation by the West. In 1951, leftist literature scholar Kondô Tadayoshi lamented, “Nothing is more rootless than Japanese modern theatre.” He claims, “*Engeki Kairyô Undô* prepared a stock and Shigenki grafted the Western theatre on it.” However, according to Kondô, Shingeki artists including Osanai Kaoru and his main translator Mori Ôgai did not succeed to create a graft hybrid that rooted in Japan. As a result, what Shingeki produced was a chaotic assortment of translations of Western plays, which Kondô calls ‘colonial voracity’ in absorbing suzerain states’ cultures.⁷⁴ In short, Shingeki lacks its root in Japanese culture, and imitated the ‘advanced’ methodologies. The sentiment to see such rootlessness as a result of cultural colonization of Japan by the Western powers lasted in Japanese theatre practitioners’ perceptions.

Fourth, identifying themselves as victims of the militant government, Shingeki artists did not face the issue of war responsibility after the Second World War. Japan actually took a position of colonizers against Korea, Taiwan, China and later the British, French, American

⁷³ Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1968), 60.

⁷⁴ Kondô Tadayoshi, “Kabuki O Mite,” (On Kabuki) *Bungaku* (November 1951), quoted in Ôzasa, *Nihon Gendai Engekishi*, vol. 8, 304.

and Dutch colonies in Southeast Asia until its defeat in 1945. Nevertheless, theatre artists failed to internalize this aspect in their postwar activities.

Section 2. The Rise of the New Left Movement and the Anti-Shingeki Theatre

1. Emergence of the New Left

The first extensive leftist students' organisation, *Zennihon Gakusei Jichikai Sôrengô* (The All-Japan Federation of Student Self-Government Associations) or *Zengakuren* was established in 1948. When the JCP was split into the *Shokan Ha* and the *Kokusai Ha* in 1950, the majority of *Zengakuren* supported the *Kokusai Ha*. However, the *Kokusai Ha* lost an inner struggle within the JCP in 1952 and the leaders of *Zengakuren* were forced to criticise themselves and obey the leadership of the *Shokan Ha*. Recalling the scene of the defeat of the *Kokusai Ha*, Shima Shigeo, who later became a leader of the New Left student movement writes, "It was beyond my imagination that those who have fought so bravely against the JCP's mainstream bowed to Moscow as if their message was something like the 'Jewel Voice Broadcast' (broadcast of the Emperor's announcement of Japan's surrender)... What 'internationalism' meant was absolute obedience to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."⁷⁵

The new leadership of *Zengakuren* under the *Shokan Ha* supported violent activities under the "violent revolution" policy, and mobilised *Zengakuren's* activists into unlawful

⁷⁵ Shima Shigeo, *Bund Shi Shi (Memoir of Bund)* (Tokyo: Hihyôsha, 1999), 30-31.

activities. Nevertheless, in most cases such activities were miserable failures.⁷⁶ Students sacrificed their energy and efforts in vain.

The JCP gave up the “violent revolution” policy and returned to the “peaceful revolution” policy in 1958 as I mentioned earlier. It was no less than a betrayal for the students who had experienced hardships. In the same year, a group of *Zengakuren* activists who had been frustrated with the JCP’s policies formed the *Kyōsan Shugisya Dōmei* (the Association of Socialists) which was often called the ‘Bund’, meaning “association” in German. The Bund was “the first effective organization of radical students independent of the Communists,”⁷⁷ and marked an iconoclastic move to destroy the tradition of the Japanese left, in which the JCP had occupied the sole position as vanguard party for the revolution. The significance of this stance made them the “new” left.⁷⁸

The Bund became leader of the entire *Zengakuren* by June 1959⁷⁹ and set the struggle against *Nichibei Ampo Jōyaku* (revision of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States) as their immediate and most important target. The Bund considered the revision, which aimed to put Japan on a more equal basis with the United States in the security alliance between two countries, as the conservatives’ attempt to recover imperialistic pride. For the Bund, stopping the revision of the Treaty was a first step to

⁷⁶ Oguma, *1968* vol. 1, 173.

⁷⁷ Tsurumi Kazuko, *Student Movements in 1960 and 1969: Continuity and Change* (Tokyo: Sophia University Institute of International Relations, n.d.), 10.

⁷⁸ Kan Takayuki, “Radikarizumu No Syūen To Saisei” (The End and the Rebirth of Radicalism) in *Shin Sayoku Undō 40 Nen No Hikari To Kage* (Light and Shadow in the 40 Years of the New Left Movement) ed. Watanabe Ichie et. al. (Tokyo: Shinsensha, 1999), 50.

⁷⁹ Ōtake Hideo, *Shin Sayoku No Isan* (The Legacy of the New Left) (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 2007), 48.

holding back the dominant Liberal Democratic Party and to the eventual success of the revolution.⁸⁰

The Bund employed direct actions in their anti-government demonstrations.⁸¹ In November 1959, the activists of the Bund forced their way into the National Diet building; an event that was widely covered by the mass media. It was the first time the existence and activities of the Bund were recognised by the general public.⁸² Although the “old” left negated the Bund by calling them “Trotskyite,”— a typical alias for traitors to the Communist Party,⁸³— the Bund gained extensive support and participation from ordinary citizens. Sociologist Oguma Eiji points out that the scene where unarmed Bund activists confronted the fully armed policemen moved people’s heart and motivated them to participate in the demonstration.⁸⁴ By 1960, the Bund had the ability to mobilise several thousand workers in the Tokyo Metropolitan area alone. It was a unique feature of the Bund, which could not be found in the student activism in the later half of the 1960s.⁸⁵

Oguma understands this phenomenon as the emergence of the ‘citizens’—the agency of the proactive social movement. The anti-Mutual Security Treaty struggle in 1960 was, according to Oguma, the very first occasion in which “it was not the organizations that mobilized people, but the people that created organizations as a means of expressing themselves.”⁸⁶ Although they could not stop the renewal of the treaty, the number of

⁸⁰ Oguma, *‘Minshu’ To ‘Aikoku’*, 505.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 505.

⁸² Ôtake, *Shin Sayoku No Isan*, 69.

⁸³ For example, see Hayami Ken’ichi, “Daigaku To Gakusei Undô Ni Okeru Torotsukisuto No ‘Riron’ to Kôdô,” (The ‘Theory’ and the ‘Practice’ of Trotskyists in Student Activism) in *Seinen Gakusei Undô To Nihon Kyôsantô* (Student Activism and Japan Communist Party) (Tokyo: Nihon Kyôsantô Chûô Iinkai Shuppankyoku, 1973), 207-209.

⁸⁴ Oguma, *‘Minshu’ To ‘Aikoku’*, 506.

⁸⁵ Ôtake, *Shin Sayoku No Isan*, 56.

⁸⁶ Oguma, *‘Minshu’ To ‘Aikoku’*, 515.

demonstrators surrounding the National Diet building reached an unprecedented 330,000 on the 18th of June 1960 when the treaty was enacted.⁸⁷

Oguma argues that the solidarity between students and citizens became possible because of the common experience of the war. In 1960, only fifteen years after the surrender of Japan, students in their twenties maintained a clear memory of the war. The Treaty that connected Japan more tightly to the Cold War military regime of the United States reminded both students and citizens of the memory of the war. The treaty was considered to have made possible Japan's future involvement in war with the American-led Western bloc and the community countries. Conclusion of the treaty meant, for many Japanese, to take a risk to become 'victims' of the government again. The fear of war motivated them to resist the revision of the treaty.⁸⁸

One of the New Left leaders, Mikami Osamu points out that political parties including the JCP were the only political entities in Japan before 1960. Political parties did not serve the people, but rather, the people served the parties. This was because the state, which is led by political parties, monopolised political discourses.⁸⁹ On the other hand, people tended either to ignore or to be skeptical of the states' political discourses. People were detached from the political discourses and had no space to express themselves.⁹⁰

To overcome this situation, Mikami continues, a system to construct the nation-state based on the people's common will (*kyôdô ishi*) needed to be established. A 'common will',

⁸⁷ Tsurumi Shunsuke, *Atarashii Kaikoku*, 476.

⁸⁸ Oguma, "*Minshu* 'To 'Aikoku', 518.

⁸⁹ Mikami Osamu, "Dokuritsu Sayokuron 4," (A Study of Independent Leftists 4) in *Yoshimoto Takaaki To Kataru Sengo 55 Nen*, vol. 5 (Talking with Yoshimoto Takaaki on 55 years of Postwar, vol. 5), ed. Yoshimoto Takaaki Kenkyûkai (Tokyo: Sankôsha, 2001), 115.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 116-117.

according to Mikami, is a synthesis of the private ‘inner voices’ of all citizens.⁹¹ Freeing political discourse from the domination of the state would be possible only by letting such inner voices participate in the creation of political discourses.

What Mikami calls for was the establishment of a discursive space in which ‘citizens’ could voluntarily gather and discuss their common concerns foster public opinion. In other words, the demonstration against Mutual Security Treaty is considered to have become a public sphere as the ‘third sphere,’ which exists in between the traditional dichotomy of ‘public authorities’ and ‘private sphere.’ I argue that this public sphere was equipped with the major features of the Counter-Public Sphere. The voluntary and spontaneous participation of the ‘citizens’ for the discussion on their common concerns consisted the basic features of the New Left movement in the early 1960s, which is highly compatible with the Counter-Public Sphere model.

2. The Anti-Shingeki Theatre

2-1. The ‘Voice’ of the New Left

Some young theatre companies and practitioners who emerged in the early 1960s accompanied the New Left and supported the emergence of a new discursive space by adopting alternative approaches from the tradition of Shingeki. I would like to call such theatres the ‘anti-Shingeki’ theatre. Kan Takayuki, who became one of the most vocal theorists of the new theatre movements with his influential essay “Shiseru Geijutsu = ‘Shingeki’ Ni Yosū” (Commenting on the Dead Form of Art, Shingeki), points out that the anti-Shingeki theatre was “very straightforwardly political because their target of criticism,

⁹¹ Ibid., 98-99.

Shingeki's methodology and ideology, were closely related to the cultural policy of the Communist Party."⁹²

Seinen Geijutsu Gekijō (The Youth Art Theatre) or *Seigei* founded in 1959 was one of the first examples of the anti-Shingeki theatre companies.⁹³ It was an immediate and direct parent of the following Angura theatre that I will examine later in this chapter as three out of four major Angura theatre companies had some relationship with *Seigei* and were deeply influenced by its example.⁹⁴

One of the founding members of *Seigei*, Kanze Hideo explains the motivation to form a company as follows:

Seigei was born out of the frustration felt by the young theatre people who were part of the *Shingekijin Kaigi* (The Conference of the Shingeki Artists) that was formed to participate in the anti-United States-Japan Mutual Security Treaty struggle. They were frustrated because of the way the demonstrators were being organised and conducted by the old guard... As far as the theatre itself was concerned, I found the productions of the big companies like *Haiyūza* and *Mingei* boring and irrelevant. So you might say I chose *Seigei*.⁹⁵

⁹² Kan Takayuki, *Zoku Kaitai Suru Engeki* (A Sequel to Deconstructing Theatre) (Tokyo: Renga Shobō Shinsha, 1981), 25.

⁹³ Senda Akihiko, "Shōgekijō No Zōhansha Tachi," (The Rebels in Small Theatres) *Bijutsu Techō* (May 1970), 14.

⁹⁴ David Gordon Goodman, "Satoh Makoto and the Post-shingeki Movement in Japanese Contemporary Theatre" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1982), 26.

⁹⁵ Kanze Hideo, "Noh Business," *Concerned Theatre Japan* 1. no. 4 (Winter 1970 – Spring 1971), 13. Nevertheless, in the early period, *Seigei* was not detached from *Shingekijin Kaigi*, an organisation of Shingeki practitioners under the JCP's auspices. *Seigei*'s policy during the anti-treaty struggle was "we will do whatever is decided by *Shingekijin Kaigi*, and on top of that, we will do whatever we want to do". See Kan, *Sengo Engeki*, 158. *Seigei*'s first production, *Kiroku No. 1* (Document no. 1), staged in October 1960 as a documentation of their experiences, shows their sympathy with *Shingekijin Kaigi*. See Fukuda Yoshiyuki, "Kiroku No. 1," (Document no. 1) *Kikan Dōjidai Engeki* 2 (1970), 91.

In their 1961 production, *Tôku Made Ikunda (We Go Far Away)*, Seigei “explicitly confronted the existing leftist political parties and those who were under their influence.”⁹⁶ Set in France in 1957, *Tôku Made Ikunda* was a story that criticised the French Communist Party’s attitude towards the Algerian independence movement that had attracted the Japanese New Left activists’ attention.⁹⁷ The following lines from *Tôku Made Ikunda* show their deep distrust of the old left:

Gérard: Jean, you must know that the Party makes mistakes. Sometimes. No, often. It’s a lie that the Communist Party never makes mistakes. Everybody knows it. Only the Party insists that they have been always right.⁹⁸

...

Jean: I belong to the organisation... I’m skeptical about the Party’s attitudes towards this issue... But I’m still a member of the Communist Party.⁹⁹

...

Alexandre: I’m trying my best in the Party. But the arguments there tend to be very abstract... In short, it is not effective.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Fukuda Yoshiyuki, “Higeki To Kigeki,” (Comedies and Tragedies) *Kikan Dôjidai Engeki 2* (1970), 84.

⁹⁷ For example, the manifesto of the Bund repeatedly mentions the Algerian issue. See Kyôsan Shugisha Dômei, “Zensekai O Kakutoku Surutameni: Proretariâto No Shôbi No Kadai,” (To Obtain the Whole World: Urgent Issues of Proletariats) in *Shin Sayoku Zenshi* (Complete History of the New Left Movement) ed. Shin Sayoku Riron Zenshi Henshû Iinkai (Tokyo: Ryûdô Shuppan, 1979), 30 and 35-39.

Frantz Fanon, a member of the Algerian liberation front and a leading thinker of decolonization, was also widely read by Japanese activists as well as by young theatre artists. As an example of an argument that related Japan’s new generation theatre movements and Fanon’s thoughts, see Mutô Ichiyô, “Bunka Kakumei No Genba,” (At the Forefront of Cultural Revolution) in *Gekiteki Narumono Tono Wakare* (Separation from Drama) ed. Satô Makoto et. al. (Tokyo: Gekidan Jiyû Gekijô, 1969).

⁹⁸ Fukuda Yoshiyuki, “Tôku Made Ikunda,” (We Go Far Away) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* (July 1961), 35.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 39.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 42.

Although the play was set in France, it reflected *Seigei*'s own experience during the anti-Treaty struggle.¹⁰¹ According to literature critic Takei Akio, "It was based on the collective discussions among the members of the company... It was a democratic creative process so that it was able to reflect plural experiences of anti-Treaty struggles."¹⁰² As David Goodman argues, *Seigei*'s activity was "a new formulation of the theatre that grew out of the political experience of 1960."¹⁰³ Along with the New Left, it freed itself from the influence of the old left. The anti-Shingeki became a 'voice' of the New Left that opened a possibility for creating theatre as public spheres. Accompanying the movement, the anti-Shingeki theatre played an important role as a discursive space that consisted of the new public sphere. Reflecting the nature of the New Left movement in the early 1960s – the voluntary and spontaneous participation, discussions on the common concerns, the public spheres that *Seigei*'s performances created were well equipped with the major features of the Counter-Public Sphere.

2-2. Seeking 'Japaneseness'

The New Left started to seek a Japan's original form of revolution detached from the models of other countries. It might have been a repercussion of the experience of confusion in the JCP brought on by Cominform's inconsistent inputs. Tsurumi Kazuko found this tendency in one of the students' activist groups, *Shakai Shugi Gakusei Dōmei* (The Socialist Student League) and *Shagakudō*'s discourses. They insisted that, "A formulation of our own

¹⁰¹ Kanze Hideo et. al., "'Ampo' Igo Inen: Konnichi No Shisō To Gijutsu," (One Year after 'Ampo': Contemporary Thoughts and Arts) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 168 (July 1961), 157.

¹⁰² Ibid., 157.

¹⁰³ David Gordon Goodman, *The Return of the Gods: Japanese Drama and Culture in the 1960s* (Ithaca: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2003), 39.

theory of revolution... will provide the only theory of revolution that can serve as an effective and practical guide to our political movements.”¹⁰⁴ They found a reason for the failure of the Communist intellectuals of the 1930s to realize the revolution in “their insistence upon applying to the Japanese situation an exogenous ideology that they regarded as absolute, without paying sufficient attention to indigenous Japanese patterns of thought and feeling.”¹⁰⁵ Some of them proposed to examine the works of Yanagita Kunio, a pioneer folklorist in Japan. As a companion of the New Left, the anti-Shingeki theatre reflected this feature of the movement in their theatrical creations. As *Shagakudô* student activists referred to Yanagita’s works to find an original ‘Japanese’ way of revolution, the anti-Shingeki tried to overcome Shingeki, which relied on an imported Western methodology and aesthetics, by referring to Japanese indigeneity.

Novelist and literature critic Hanada Kiyoteru (1909-1974) was the one who established the theoretical basis for the reference to Japaneseness. In his essay, *Yanagita Kunio Ni Tsuite (On Yanagita Kunio)* first published in 1959, Hanada examined the works of Yanagita and appreciated him as a progressive intellectual who concretised the thesis of “overcoming modernity by critically referring to the pre-modern.”¹⁰⁶ What Hanada mainly meant by ‘modernity’ was the culture of the printed word, which is equivalent to mass-communication.¹⁰⁷ On the other hand, the “pre-modern arts” meant folklore or orature. Hanada insists that, in the pre-modern period, it was personal communication that enabled dynamic expressions to take place, based on mutual understandings. Expressions that

¹⁰⁴ Tonami Hiroshi, *Leaflet of the Secretariat of the Socialist Student League*, quoted in Tsurumi Kazuko, *Student Movements in 1960 and 1969*, 16.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁰⁶ Hanada Kiyoteru, *Kindai No Chôkoku (Overcoming Modernity)* (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1959), 219.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 220.

responded to the situation through improvisation brought vibrancy and great flexibility to the folklore so that there were possibilities for creating more concrete and direct expressions rather than text-based expressions.¹⁰⁸ In his essay, Hanada aimed to overcome the limit of text-based literature by adapting the features of oral-based folklore and create a new mode of culture that integrated elements of text, voice and visual culture.¹⁰⁹

Although he did not explicitly support the New Left movement, his works widely influenced students. His *Avangarudo Geijutsu (The Avant-garde Arts)* especially, published in 1954, became a ‘bible’ for young artists.¹¹⁰ Tsuno Kaitarô (1938-), one of the leaders of the later Angura companies, the Black Tent Theatre (BTT), writes that he became a big fan of Hanada after reading his *Fukkôki No Seishin (The Spirit in the Time of Recovery)* when he was a high school student, and was heavily influenced by *Avangarudo Geijutsu*.¹¹¹ Considering the influence of Hanada on the New Left students, it may not be a coincidence that *Shagakudô* referred to Yanagita in their arguments.

Hanada himself was also interested in theatre and conducted some experiments—not surprising considering his interest in the integration of text, voice and the visual—, however, he failed to make a significant impact on the Japanese theatre scene.¹¹² Nevertheless, some

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 232-233.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 236.

¹¹⁰ Ogawa Tôru, *Hanada Kiyoteru No Shôgai (Hanada Kiyoteru: A Biography)* (Tokyo: Shisô No Kagaku Sha, 1978), 196.

¹¹¹ Tsuno Kaitarô, *Okashina Jidai (The Strange Period: A Memoir)* (Tokyo: Hon No Zasshi Sha, 2008), 45

¹¹² For example, Hanada formed his own theatre company *Kiroku Gijutsu No Kai (Society of Documentary Arts)* in 1956. (Tsuno, *Okashina Jidai*, 110-111.) Later he instigated a young theatre artist Uriu Ryôhei to form a new theatre group called *Hakken No Kai (Society of Discovery)*. See Uriu Ryôsuke, *Shô Gekijô Undô Zenshi: Kiroku Hakken No Kai (The Complete History of the Small Theatre Movement: A Record of Hakken No Kai)* (Tokyo: Zôkeisha, 1983), 68.

Hanada also authored a play *Mono Mina Uta De Owaru (Everything Finishes with Songs)* that adopted the traditional Kyôgen theatrical style, yet was written in modern Japanese. See Hanada Kiyoteru, “Mono Mina Uta De Owaru,” in *Nihon Gensô Bungaku*

of the anti-Shingeki playwrights attempted to create plays based on Hanada's "overcoming modernity by critically referring to the pre-modern" thesis. In the field of theatre, the movement that represented "modernity" was Shingeki. Akimoto Matsuyo (1911-2001) is one of these anti-Shingeki playwrights.¹¹³

One of Akimoto's most well-known plays, *Hitachi Bô Kaison* (*Kaison, The Priest of Hitachi*) is a story about two children who are evacuated to the countryside to avoid the bombing by Allied forces in 1944. Locals introduce them to the mysterious world of Kaison, the Priest of Hitachi, a legendary figure of the pre-Kamakura period in the twelfth century. One of the children eventually sacrifices himself to allow the legend of Kaison survive. It is a story that "represents the hidden, changeless mechanism of Japanese history, the constant that makes Japanese history a unified, continuous process."¹¹⁴

According to literature scholar Hirosue Tamotsu, who had been a close friend of Hanada Kiyoteru,¹¹⁵ *Hitachi Bô Kaison* "was not a play using traditions as materials but a *contemporary* play mediated by traditions. As such, *Kaison* explores people's minds which had been alienated by modernity." (italics added)¹¹⁶ In a dialogue with Akimoto, Hanada himself also praised *Kaison* as "the very first example that so sharply criticised modern times by using the pre-modern as a springboard."¹¹⁷

Shûsei: Hanada Kiyoteru (A Collection of Japanese Fantasy Literature: Hanada Kiyoteru), ed. Ikeuchi Osamu (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankô Kai, 1994), 172.

¹¹³ Tanioka Takehiko, "'Tenkeiki' No Gekisakka: Hanada Kiyoteru To Abe Kôbô," (Playwrights in the 'Transformation Period': Hanada Kiyoteru and Abe Kôbô) *PT* 8 (August 1999), 25.

¹¹⁴ Tsuno Kaitarô, "The Tradition of Modern Theatre in Japan," quoted in Goodman, *The Return of the Gods*, 115.

¹¹⁵ Tanioka, "'Tenkeiki' No Gekisakka," 25.

¹¹⁶ Hirosue Tamotsu, *Akubasho No Hassô, Hirosue Tamotsu Chosaku Shû* (The Image of the Bad Place, Collection of Hirosue Tamotsu's Works) no. 6 (Tokyo: Kage Shobô, 1997), 128-129.

¹¹⁷ Akimoto Matsuyo, Hanada Kiyoteru and Hirosue Tamotsu, "Hitachibô Kaison Wa Ikiteiru," (Hitachibô Kaison is still Alive) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 246 (January 1968),

Akimoto and *Kaison* introduced the anti-Shingeki theatre movement as the antithesis of Shingeki. Hirosue argues that Akimoto “started to develop a new kind of creative subjectivity that Japanese modern theatre had never experienced” based on “a lonely determination to refuse to compromise with modernity.”¹¹⁸

Seigei also joined the attempt to refer to the pre-modern. Their 1964 play *Hakamadare Wa Dokoda (Where is Hakamadare?)* is a story of a group of impoverished peasants living some time between the ninth and sixteenth century who set out to find their long-awaited saviour, a Robin Hood-like outlaw named *Hakamadare*. It is, according to David Goodman, a critique of Stalinism and embodies the philosophy of popular movements.¹¹⁹ In other words, *Hakamadare Wa Dokoda* is set in pre-modern Japan yet, similar to *Kaison*, it deals with the contemporary issues.

Frantz Fanon insists on the necessity of establishing the ‘national culture’ to decolonise people in his *The Wretched of the Earth*. “The colonized intellectual,” Fanon argues, “will endeavour to make European culture his own.”¹²⁰ On the other hand, once the colonised artists become aware of the necessity to struggle to liberate their country, they tend to “give preferences to what they think to be the abiding features of national art.” However, the creator “who decides to portray national truth, turns, paradoxically enough, to the past, and so looks at what is irrelevant to the present.” “The colonised intellectual,” Fanon concludes, “must recognise that national truth is first and foremost the national reality. He

104-105.

¹¹⁸ Hirosue, *Akubasho No Hassô*, 139.

¹¹⁹ Goodman, *The Return of the Gods*, 40.

¹²⁰ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Press, 2004), 156.

must press on until he reaches that place of bubbling trepidation from which knowledge will emerge.”¹²¹

The plays of “overcoming modernity by critically referring to the pre-modern” could be considered as one of the examples that developed the ‘national culture’ of Fanon. Although it referred to the past, it was not to create an art that was “irrelevant to [the] present”. Rather, it was to relate the plays to contemporary issues that reflected the “national reality”. Akimoto’s “lonely determination to refuse compromising with modernity” was the “place of bubbling trepidation” from which a new theatrical creation emerged. The anti-Shingeki’s project for overcoming Shingeki was also an attempt to dissolve the ‘colonised’ sentiments in Japanese theatre since the period of *Engeki Kairyô Undô*.

3. Achievements and Limitations

The anti-Shingeki theatre movement, as well as the New Left movement, saw remarkable developments to overcome three out of four limitations and issues of the earlier *Engeki Kairyô Undô* and Shingeki which I pointed out at the end of the last section.

First is on the issue of public spheres as the ‘third space.’ In the anti-Mutual Security Treaty struggle in 1960, a new body of student activism, the Bund, collaborated with the spontaneously evolved ‘citizens’ and eventually created the possibility of a new discursive space where the ‘public’ could voluntarily participate. It was a liberation of the political discourses that had been dominated by public authorities. In other words, it was a breakthrough in escaping from the model of public authority and private sphere dichotomy. The significance of the anti-Treaty movement in 1960 is, I argue, in the possibility of opening

¹²¹ Ibid., 161.

up public spheres that well follows the model of the Counter-Public Sphere in between the public authorities and the private sphere. Theatre, accompanied by the New Left, played a role in creating a ‘voice’ for the movement. The anti-Shingeki was the first Japanese theatre that found a possibility for opening up public spheres – the ones with the features of the Counter-Public Sphere – through theatre.

Second, while the ‘old’ left and Shingeki had always referred to the ‘advanced’ West, the New Left and the anti-Shingeki attempted to identify Japan’s own model of revolution and theatre respectively. By adopting Hanada Kiyoteru’s thesis of “overcoming modernity by critically referring to the pre-modern”, the anti-Shingeki paid great attention to Japan’s pre-modern.

Third, the reference to Japanese indigeneity was also directly connected to overcoming the ‘colonised’ state of Japan. For the younger generation of theatre artists, Shingeki seemed to be an obsolete form of theatre that had become “rigid in the extreme, congealed, and petrified”¹²² after a century of colonial domination. The anti-Shingeki was started to release Japanese theatre from a spell of colonisation by creating a ‘national culture’ that referred to Japanese indigenous culture yet reflected contemporary realities.

However, both the New Left movement and the anti-Shingeki theatre failed to internalise the point of view of the ‘aggressors’. Kan Takayuki points out, “The Bund manifesto ... simply ignored our historical sin. It did not mention even a word on the issues such as the liberation of Zainichi foreigners,¹²³ Ryûkyû and Ainu indigenous people, and

¹²² Ibid., 172.

¹²³ Zainichi refers to foreigners mainly from Korea and China who had been forced to migrate to Japan as labourers during the war.

discriminated handicapped people.”¹²⁴ As a result, the New Left activists and the anti-Shingeki artists could not completely escape from the sense of being ‘colonized’ in spite of their strong interest in Japaneseness.

The Bund’s sympathy with the Algerian activists was based on Japanese activists’ self-identification of themselves as the ‘colonised’, and they did not have any serious consideration of those who suffered from Japan’s invasion. When *Seigei* created a narrative based on the Algerian independence war, a similar recognition of Japan can be found. In *We Go Far Away*, an Algerian exchange student, Yaquel, shares his sympathy towards Japan to his fellow Japanese exchange student, Itô. The fact that Japan was also on the side of the colonisers is totally ignored here.

Yaquel : Are you Japanese?

Itô : Yes.

Yaquel : (Extends his hand) I’m from Algeria. (Holds Itô’s hand tightly) We are brothers. Asia and Africa are one, right? We share a lot of similarities. In the most important way. Long history, rich traditions. And now both of us are poor and suppressed as colonies. However, the most important thing is that the future is ours. Colonialism is dying. Old Europe is going to die as well.¹²⁵

Although the anti-Shingeki theatres dealt with the issues of colonialism, they focused only on the one side of Japan’s colonialism—the side of being colonised. The other side, the side as the colonisers was never at stake in the anti-Shingeki theatres. In other words, Asia—the territory colonised by Japan—was not in their scope.

¹²⁴ Kan Takayuki, *Kaitai Suru Engeki* (Deconstructing Theatre) (Tokyo: Adin Shobô, 1974), 277.

¹²⁵ Fukuda, “Tôku Made Ikunda,” 21.

Victor Koschmann points out that the New Left movement was “guided by a diffuse, aesthetic vision” rather than “by an objective purpose.”¹²⁶ Similarly, Kan Takayuki claims that the anti-Shingeki theatre was “not to create a new creative platform”, but their main motivation was just to deconstruct the Shingeki establishment.¹²⁷ It was the Angura theatre movement that set up a “new creative platform,” and tried to deal with the unsolved issue of Japan’s imperial past. Naturally, Asia became a main concern of the Angura theatre.

Section 3. Development in the Late 1960s: “Paradigm Shift” of the New Left Movement and the Angura Theatre Movement

Angura is the short form of the English word “underground”. According to theatre critic Nishidô Kôjin, this term was coined by the chief editor of a cinema journal *Eiga Hyôron*, Satô Shigechika (1932-1988).¹²⁸ Satô discovered a new generation of American cinema by independent artists which was called “underground cinema,” and introduced this new movement to Japan. In August 1966, he wrote, “Underground cinemas have not been shown in Japan, nor written about. Thus, *Eiga Hyôron* would be a forerunner to introduce them to Japan.”¹²⁹

Satô was not satisfied with only the introduction of American underground cinemas. He started to put Japanese independent moviemakers into the limelight by calling them the

¹²⁶ J. Victor Koschmann, “Soft Rule and Expressive Protest,” in *Authority and the Individual in Japan: Citizen Protest in Historical Perspective* ed. J. Victor Koschmann (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1978), 23.

¹²⁷ Kan, *Sengo Engeki*, 184-185.

¹²⁸ Nishidô Kôjin, “Angura No Genryû O Saguru: Kara Jûrô,” (Searching for the Origins of Angura) *Shiatâ Âtsu* 19 (Summer 2004), 14.

¹²⁹ Satô Shigeomi et. al., “Korega Andâ Guraundo Shinemada,” (This is Underground Cinema) *Eiga Hyôron* (August 1966), 34.

Japanese underground or Angura.¹³⁰ By 1967, Angura became a vogue word, although considered “something indecent,”¹³¹ and the general mass media started to cover the story. There was a ‘boom’ in Angura around 1966 and 1967,¹³² and we can safely consider that Angura was established as a category of the arts around this period.

What was significant about the Angura movement was that it did not happen in one particular art genre, but went beyond established genres. It was a pioneer of the mixed-media arts movement in Japan. Satô was fully conscious of this nature of Angura, and theatre became one of the genres Satô paid most attention to.¹³³ Journals of the other art genres, such as *Bijutsu Techô* (*The Fine Arts Notebook*) published a special feature edition of the Angura theatre, which was considered a cutting-edge art movement.¹³⁴

Although there are different views on the duration of the Angura theatre movement¹³⁵, I wish to set my timeframe as 1966 to 1976. 1966 is the year Satô Shigechika introduced the

¹³⁰ Satô Shigeomi, *Matsuri Yo Yomigaere!* (Revival of Festivities) (Tokyo: Waizu Shuppan, 1997), 364.

¹³¹ Senda Akihiko, *Nihon No Gendai Engeki* (Japanese Contemporary Theatre) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995), 7.

¹³² Satô Shigeomi et. al., “Angura 70 No Shûkaku,” (The Achievements of Angura in 1970) *Eiga Hyôron* (January 1971), 58.

¹³³ Theatre critics including Senda Akihiko and Ishizaki Katsuhisa were regular in *Eiga Hyôron* and contributed a number of reviews of the Angura theatre in the early 1970s. See Ishizaki Katsuhisa, “Kurotento Ga Moerumono: *Tsubasa O Moyasu Tenshitachi No Butô*,” (What Burns the Black Tent: *The Dance of Angels who Burns Their Wings*) *Eiga Hyôron* (March 1971), 118-119 and Senda Akihiko, “Kara Jûrô: Tsuiraku Ganbôsha No Yume,” (Kara Jûrô: The Dream of a Wisher of Falling-down) *Eiga Hyôron* (January 1973), 95-99 for example. Satô himself interviewed Angura theatre artists and developed personal friendships with them. For example, see Satô Shigeomi, “Terayama Shûji To Jinriki Hikô No Tabi,” (Human-powered Flying Travel with Terayama Shûji) *Eiga Hyôron* (March 1973), 20-33 and Satô Shigeomi, “Fantomu No Bakudan Ato O Sakasa Butai Ni Shite: Kara Jûrô Arabu Kôenki,” (Making a Site of Bombing a Stage: A Report of Kara Jûrô’s Arab Tour) *Eiga Hyôron* (December 1974), 59-66.

¹³⁴ See *Bijutsu Techô* (May 1970).

¹³⁵ For example, theatre critic Nishidô Kôjin set the period of the Angura theatre from 1968 to 1973. See Nishidô Kôjin, “Enshutsuka No Shigoto” (The Works of Directors) in *Enshutsuka No Shigoto: 60nendai, Angura, Engeki Kakumei* (The Works of Directors: The 1960s, Angura and the Revolution of Theatre) ed. Nihon Enshutsusha Kyôkai and Nishidô Kôjin (Tokyo: Renga Shobô Shinsha, 2006), 30.

term 'Angura' while 1976 is the year one of the major Angura theatre companies, The Black Tent Theatre (BTT) which I briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, suspended its activities because of the deadlock of the Angura theatre movement. The movement lasted for only some ten years, yet it fundamentally changed the picture of Japanese contemporary theatre.¹³⁶

1. Separation between the Civic and the Student Movement

To examine the social and cultural background of the theatre movement, I will provide an overview of the development of the Japanese New Left movement, which had a close relationship with the Angura theatre movement. I would like to pay particular attention to the difference between the New Left in the early 1960s and in the late 1960s. The Angura theatre was closely related to the New Left movement in the late 1960s similar to the anti-Shingeki theatre in the early 1960s. However, the way they were connected to the New Left was very different because the nature of its activism was altered.

In the previous section, I pointed out that the New Left student activists, citizens and the anti-Shingeki theatre collaborated with the anti-Mutual Security Treaty demonstrations and created public spheres that were well equipped with the features of the Counter-Public Sphere in the early 1960s. However, such a relationship had been lost in the late 1960s. The three parties were separated and worked independently although they still maintained loose and indirect relations with each other. In the early 1960s, it was possible to define the New Left movement as the new social movement that was against the Old Left such as the JCP. However, in the late 1960s, it became difficult to define it clearly. Although there are scholars who consider only student movements as the New Left movement in the late 1960s, I

¹³⁶ Suzuki Tadashi, *Katari No Chihei* (The Horizon of Fraud) (Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 1980), 111.

prefer the definition of one of the leaders of the civic movement, Tsurumi Yoshiyuki. He defined the New Left movement as the integrated whole of student, civic and labour movements.¹³⁷ I would like to point out two reasons for the separation between students and citizens in the New Left movement during this period— rapid economic growth and the lack of a common experience between students and citizens.

The first reason was the change of the society because of rapid economic growth. Half a year after the peak of the anti-Mutual Security Treaty demonstrations, the government introduced the ‘income-doubling’ plan in December 1960 which realised unprecedented economic growth until 1973. This economic growth caused an inflow of population from farming villages to the cities. Four million people, mostly young, migrated to the urban areas in one decade between 1955 and 1965.¹³⁸ It was also a period when tertiary education became popular. The percentage of the total population who were receiving higher education exceeded 15% in 1963 and university students were not considered as pure elites anymore.¹³⁹

These youths who flooded into the urban areas started to create a new culture in the city. Former student activist and social critic Kosaka Shûhei writes, “From music to fashion... our sensitivity changed so quickly. There was a decisive shift in the value system in the late 1960s... We can consider the current sensitivities as the direct production of that period.”¹⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the young generation who led the activism in the late 1960s still

¹³⁷ Tsurumi Yoshiyuki, *Beheiren: Tsurumi Yoshiyuki Chosakushû 2 (Beheiren: Collection of Tsurumi Yoshiyuki's Works vol. 2)*, ed. Yoshikawa Yûichi (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobô, 2002), 192.

¹³⁸ Oguma, *1968* vol. 1, 35.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 134.

¹⁴⁰ Kosaka Shûhei, *Shisô To Shitenô Zenkyôtô Sedai (Zenkyôtô Generation as a Philosophy)*

could not dismiss the memory of a poor Japan in the immediate postwar period. They also maintained a clear memory of the feudalistic ideas that dominated the postwar period even after they started to enjoy wearing mini-skirts and jeans.¹⁴¹

The youngsters in the urban areas had a lot of difficulties merging the new value system, which resulted from rapid economic growth, with the old sensitivities that ineluctably remained. A gap between the sustaining old values and the new and quickly changing environment entailed serious emotional turmoil among the Japanese youth.¹⁴² It was a problem that could not be shared with the elderly age groups who were not as exposed to the new urban culture. François Truffaut's *The 400 Blows* was released in Japan in 1960 with a translated title, *Otona Wa Wakatte Kurenai (Adults won't Understand Me)* and has a huge impact on Japanese youth. One of the reasons for its popularity might be that the Japanese title well reflected the youth's sentiments.

The second reason for the separation between students and citizens in the New Left movement was that the memories of war, which connected students and citizens in the early 1960s, was not shared between students and citizens any more. It should be noted that the students who led the student activism in the late 1960s did not have direct war experiences. If the student was twenty years old in 1969, for example, he or she would have been born around 1949, four years after the defeat of imperial Japan. Even the oldest student activists had no clear memory of the war. The older generations also began to forget their memories

(Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 2006), 15.

¹⁴¹ Oguma, 1968 vol. 1, 108.

¹⁴² Tsubouchi Yûzô, 1972: *'Hajimari No Owari' To 'Owari No Hajimari'* (1972: The Beginning of the End and the End of Beginning) (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjû, 2006), 13-14.

of the war, and started to remember the war with nostalgia. This could be one of the major reasons why a number of heroic war films were produced in the 1960s.¹⁴³

As I argued in the previous section, the memory of the war was still fresh in Japanese society before the mid-1960s, and it played a role in uniting students and citizens in the early New Left movement. However, Japan's colonial past were quickly forgotten and disappeared from public discourse in the later half of the decade.¹⁴⁴

Japan's New Left movement experienced a fundamental change from the activism of the early-1960s, which was a dissociation of the student movement and the civic movement. As a result of the dissociation, theatre could not straightforwardly represent the voices of the New Left as the anti-Shingeki theatre did in the early 1960s. Because there were no unified voices for the movement, theatre had to find a new position in relation to the New Left movement. In the next two sections, I will point out the features of the civic movement and the student movement in the late 1960s, and then I will discuss the Angura theatre movement and argue that it reflected the features of the civic and student movements. I will focus most especially on the fact that all three parties turned their attention to Asia, and I will discuss the background of their development.

2. The Civic Movement: *Beheiren* and Asia

Between the two factions of the New Left movement that split in the late 1960s, the civic movement maintained features of the movement in the early 1960s more than the student

¹⁴³ Oguma, *1968* vol. 1, 113.

¹⁴⁴ Ueno Chizuko et. al., "Gaido Mappu 60, 70 nendai," (Guide Map of the 1960s-70s) in *Sengo Nihon Stadîzu* (Postwar Japanese Studies) vol. 2, ed. Ueno Chizuko et. al. (Tokyo: Kinokuniya Shoten, 2009), 10-11.

movement. As I pointed out, a spontaneous civic movement was born out of the anti-Mutual Security Treaty struggle in 1960 which became an important part of the New Left movement. One of the earliest civic movements, *Koe Naki Koe No Kai* (The Silent Voice Group) was formed by citizen volunteers during the struggle. It started with 5-6 people, however, it grew to about 300 people in three days.¹⁴⁵

In 1965, a new citizens' movement was formed to oppose the Vietnam War. It was called *Beheiren*,¹⁴⁶ which embodied the fundamental inspiration for the Silent Voice Group.¹⁴⁷ Leaders of *Beheiren* came from several different backgrounds. The first group was leftist intellectuals who contributed to the periodical *Shisô No Kagaku* (The Science of Thoughts) including philosopher Tsurumi Shunsuke and his cousin and anthropologist Tsurumi Yoshiyuki (1926-1994) who had close connections with The Silent Voice Group. Second were the activists who had been expelled from the JCP such as Yoshikawa Yûichi (1931-) who became the general manager of *Beheiren*. Third were the writers who opposed the Vietnam War, including Oda Makoto and Kaikô Takeshi (1930-1989). Diversity was a distinctive feature of *Beheiren*. As a direct successor of the New Left movement in the early 1960s, *Beheiren* established a model of the Japanese civic movement which became the basis for a development in the later period that I will examine in the following chapters. In this section, I will examine how *Beheiren* succeeded in accomplishing the four features of the movement in the early 1960s, which I highlighted at the end of the last section.

¹⁴⁵ Kobayashi Tomi, “‘Koe Naki Koe’ No Kôshin,” (The March of the Silent Voice) in *Hansen Heiwa No Shisô To Kôdô* (Thoughts and Practices of Anti-war Peace Movement), ed. Yoshikawa Yûichi (Tokyo: Shakai Hyôronsha, 1995), 136.

¹⁴⁶ *Beheiren* was originally an abbreviation of *Betonamu Ni Heiwa O! Shimin Bunka Dantai Rengô* (The Alliance of Citizen's and Cultural Organisations for Peace in Vietnam). The organisation's official name was changed to *Betonamu Ni Heiwa O! Shimin Rengô* (Citizen's League for Peace in Vietnam) in 1966, but the name *Beheiren* continued to be widely used.

¹⁴⁷ Tsurumi Yoshiyuki, “Beheiren,” *Ampo* 1 (November 1969), 7.

2-1. Demonstration as a Public Sphere

Beheiren embodied the essences of the Counter-Public Sphere model. The leaders, especially Oda Makoto, clearly stated the principles of the organisation, which suited the idea of the Counter-Public Sphere well. What was emphasized in *Beheiren* was its openness to the public and its belief in equality in the movement.

Beheiren did not have any regulations, mission statement or membership. “If you say, ‘I’m a *Beheiren!*’, you have already established your own *Beheiren*.... So, quite a lot of *Beheirens* were established all over the country,”¹⁴⁸ writes Oda. Citizens were expected to participate in the movement solely at their own initiative. At the same time, they could freely quit *Beheiren* anytime, for any reason.¹⁴⁹

In a sense, it aimed not only to be a political power, but to create a new mode of communication among participants. They could express their views freely, but at the same time, they were expected to take full responsibility for what they said.¹⁵⁰ Participants were expected to gather freely together, on equal terms, and become ‘citizens’ who try to resolve social injustices by themselves.¹⁵¹ Another leader of *Beheiren*, Tsurumi Yoshiyuki stresses that the movement should be a *Hiroba* (plaza) where people gather and discuss, and eventually formulate their own opinions.¹⁵² *Beheiren* established, I argue, the most complete example of a Counter-Public Sphere in Japan because of these principles.

¹⁴⁸ Oda Makoto, “‘Hansen To Henkaku’ Jobun,” (Preface to *Anti-war and Revolution*) in *Hansen Heiwa No Shisô To Kôdô* (Thoughts and Practices of Anti-war Peace Movement), ed. Yoshikawa Yûichi (Tokyo: Shakai Hyôronsha, 1995), 159.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 161.

¹⁵⁰ Tsurumi, *Beheiren: Tsurumi Yoshiyuki Chosakushû 2*, 235.

¹⁵¹ Oda Makoto, *Beheiren: Kaikoroku Denai Kaiko* (Beheiren: An Unmemoir-like Memoir) (Tokyo: Daisan Shokan, 1995), 77-79.

¹⁵² Tsurumi, *Beheiren: Tsurumi Yoshiyuki Chosakushû 2*, 192.

As we can find in the principles of *Beheiren*, the movement can be characterised by its straightforwardness. The principles were written in a plain language which was easily comprehensible by participants. The *Beheiren* leaders intentionally avoided using borrowed terms and concepts and tried to create their own language to be used in their movement.¹⁵³ Although the leaders were from educated backgrounds, they did not rely on Western philosophical terms. Rather, they made an effort to develop their own way of communication through their own language to display their opposition to the policies of public authorities.

In these two features, *Beheiren* succeeded and even went beyond the achievements of the earlier New Left movement. On top of that, they tackled the issue left untouched by their predecessor, which was the issue of the self-perception of the Japanese.

2-2. “Paradigm Shift” in *Beheiren*: Oda Makoto’s *Heiwa No Rinri To Ronri*

Although *Beheiren* started with the simple anger of the Japanese citizens against the escalation of the US bombings,¹⁵⁴ members shared a fear that the escalation of the Vietnam War would entail a US-China war that would eventually involve Japan. At that point, Japan was posited as a potential victim similar to the New Left movement in the early 1960s.¹⁵⁵

In 1966, however, Oda Makoto introduced a fresh viewpoint. In *Heiwa No Rinri To Ronri* (*Ethics and the Logic of Peace*), he claims that Japan was actually behaving like an aggressor towards Vietnam. The first line of *Heiwa No Rinri To Ronri* reads, “I wish to start

¹⁵³ Tsurumi, *Beheiren: Tsurumi Yoshiyuki Chosakushû* 2, 151.

¹⁵⁴ Oda, *Beheiren: Kaikoroku Denai Kaiko*, 5.

¹⁵⁵ Oguma Eiji, *1968: Hanran No Shûen To Sono Isan* (1968: The End of Revolt and Its Legacy) vol. 2 (Tokyo: Shinyôsha, 2009), 319.

with 15 August.”¹⁵⁶ For Oda, the strongest impression accompanying Japan’s defeat on 15 August 1945 was the self-identification of the Japanese people as victims tricked by the idea of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere.¹⁵⁷ Their experience as victims was so overwhelming that they could not imagine the situation of the victims in other countries.¹⁵⁸ In other words, the fact that even the ordinary Japanese people were amongst the aggressors was consigned to oblivion. Oda argues, “Such a mentality was not very different from what created the logic of *Ichioku Sô Zange*.”¹⁵⁹

As I argued in the previous section, *Ichioku Sô Zange* was published by the Higashikuninomiya Cabinet right after the surrender and called all Japanese people to admit to faults they made during the war. It was considered as a shifting of the war leaders’ responsibilities to the ordinary citizens, and ignited people’s anger. *Ichioku Sô Zange* made it sound as if the postwar leaders dishonoured the soldiers who had been killed on the battlefield. It has been a kind of taboo to touch *Ichioku Sô Zange* in public discourses since then.

Even for Oda, it was not easy to admit that the Japanese war victims were aggressors. Nevertheless, he still claims in his essay that the recognition of Japan’s position as an aggressor is essential for the Japanese people in order for them to face their own past faithfully.¹⁶⁰ Oda was brave enough to address the taboo in his argument. At the same time, I would argue that Oda’s argument did not ignite a strong response because the memory of war had become obsolete and the memory of the war dead was fading from social memory in

¹⁵⁶ Oda Makoto, “Heiwa No Rinri To Ronri,” (Ethics and Logic of Peace) in *‘Nanshi’ No Shisô* (The Philosophy of the ‘Distress Death’) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1991), 41.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 55.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 83.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 61.

¹⁶⁰ Oda, *Beheiren: Kaikoroku Denai Kaiko*, 49.

the late 1960s. In other words, Oda's argument came at the right time, when Japanese people were ready to discuss war responsibilities without emotional reactions. It maximised the impact of Oda's claim and eventually it marked an important shift in the nature of the *Beheiren* movement.

Beheiren also found that Japan's position as an aggressor was not merely a historical issue, and claimed that a similar structure existed in the contemporary situation surrounding the Vietnam War. What they found through their activities was the fact that Japan was in between the United States and Vietnam and participated in the war.¹⁶¹ Japanese companies enjoyed a 'special procurement' and an economic boom as the suppliers of US military stores in the 1960s. Japan's rapid economic growth was built on the suffering of the Vietnamese. Although Japan's involvement was indirect and mostly through military supply, the US bases in Okinawa were actually part of the battlefield. Soldiers were dispatched from Okinawa to Vietnam and long-distance bombers flew from the airbases in Okinawa.

The *Ampo Jōyaku* (The Mutual Security Treaty between US and Japan) was considered a key instrument that perpetuated Japan's involvement in the Vietnam War. Therefore, opposition against another renewal of the Treaty in 1970 became a major agenda of *Beheiren*. Although the agenda was the same as that of the New Left movement in the early 1960s, the implication was the opposite. The earlier movement opposed the Mutual Security Treaty, as I discussed in the previous section, because of the fear that Japan would become a victim of the war once again. However, *Beheiren* opposed it because they sought to destroy

¹⁶¹ Tsurumi, *Beheiren: Tsurumi Yoshiyuki Chosakushū* 2, 235.

the structure that made Japan an aggressor towards Vietnam. It was a fundamental “paradigm shift” for the movement.

The “paradigm shift” further extended the scope of *Beheiren*’s activities. In July 1965, a Korean soldier who was about to be sent to Vietnam deserted his mission and asked for asylum in Japan. The Japanese government, however, arrested him for offences made against the Immigration Act and detained him in the Ômura prison in Nagasaki where many Zainichi Koreans and Chinese who acted against the Immigration Act were also detained. When *Beheiren* organised a demonstration to oppose the Japanese government’s decision in front of the prison, the leaders noticed the existence of the prison to detain the Zainichi people for the first time.¹⁶² From that event onwards, *Beheiren* started to pay attention to the issues of the Zainichi and later got involved in struggles against the Immigration Act which still controlled the lives of the Zainichi people over 20 years after the end of World War II.

One of the leaders of *Beheiren*, Tsurumi Yoshiyuki, found that the biggest problem with the Immigration Act was that it was based on prejudices and discriminations against Asians.¹⁶³ When the representatives of the *Gaikokujin Beheiren* (The Foreigners *Beheiren*) requested an English translation of the Immigration Act, an office of the Ministry of Justice told them that the Act had nothing to do with Westerners.¹⁶⁴ In other words, the control of the Japanese government is meant only for those from Asia — the region Japan once colonised. Tsurumi argues that such an attitude by Japanese officials was caused by the

¹⁶² Oguma, 1968 vol. 2, 231.

¹⁶³ Tsurumi Yoshiyuki, “1970 Nen To Beheiren: Tôitsu Ni Tsuiteno Shiteki Oboegaki,” (Beheiren and 1970: A Personal Note on Integration) in *Beheiren: Kyodai Na Hansen No Uzu O!* (Beheiren: Making a Gigantic Wave of anti-war Movement), ed. Oda Makoto (Tokyo: San-ichi Shobô, 1969), 61.

¹⁶⁴ Douglas Lummis, “Kokkyô O Koete: Gaikokujin Beheiren,” (Beyond the Borders: Foreigners’ *Beheiren*) in *Beheiren: Kyodai Na Hansen No Uzu O!* (Beheiren: Making a Gigantic Wave of anti-war Movement), ed. Oda Makoto (Tokyo: San-ichi Shobô, 1969), 213.

general sentiment of Japanese seeing Asians as inferior. He writes, “We Japanese still believe that we are ‘friends of Asians’... I wonder how we can do so. My guess is that it is because we continue to see Asians as weak and inferior... Our lighthearted attitude—innocently believing that we have always been friends of Asia—has made it easier for the Japanese government to gain popular support for invading Asia again.”¹⁶⁵

Tsurumi claims, “It is essential to restructure our movement through an Asian perspective. Now Japan is re-entering the Asian region. We have to discuss the Japanese authorities from the Vietnamese, Okinawan, Chinese and Korean points of view.”¹⁶⁶ Tsurumi’s conclusion had an affinity with Oda’s thesis—without admitting to the position of aggressor, there would be no equal relationship with the Asians. Japan’s political movement finally dealt with the issue which had remained unsolved in the New Left movement in the early 1960s and they turned their eyes to Asia.

3. The Student Movement

On the other hand, the student movement in the late 1960s lost most of the features of the early New Left because it deeply reflected the identity crisis of the students in light of Japan’s rapid economic growth, which was one of the causes of the separation between the student movement and the civic movement. By contrast with the civic movement of the same period, it was a far less clear-cut movement, with a closed nature. It was, in a sense, an ‘internal’ struggle of the students to cope with a new society. In this section, I will examine the movement through four features of the earlier New Left movement.

¹⁶⁵ Tsurumi, *Beheiren: Tsurumi Yoshiyuki Chosakushû* 2, 198.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 176.

3-1. Characteristics of the Student Movement in the late 1960s

After failing to stop the approval of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan in 1960, student activism slumped for a few years because of the “trauma of their movement’s defeat.”¹⁶⁷ It was only in 1965 that a student movement called the *Zenkyôtô Undô* (The All Campus Struggle Congress Movement) emerged.¹⁶⁸ The *Zenkyôtô Undô* had three characteristics that made it distinct from earlier student activism which eventually made it impossible for the student movement to establish similar kind of public spheres to the ones established by the New Left movement in the early 1960s, which embodied major features of the model of Counter-Public Sphere.

The first is its internal motivation. The earliest “late 1960s” type of student struggle at the Keiô University was raised to oppose the increase in tuition fees. It was a different motivation from the purely political concern of earlier student activism.¹⁶⁹ The struggle at the University of Tokyo was triggered by criticism of the intern system at the Medical School¹⁷⁰ while the struggle at the Nihon University requested the disclosure of a huge amount of unexplained expenditure by the top management of the university.¹⁷¹ Although political issues were still at stake, the criticisms against the universities became a major theme of student activism.

It was considered not only as a struggle against the internal problems within the campus, but also as a struggle against the social system that discriminated against those who

¹⁶⁷ Tsurumi, *Student Movements in 1960 and 1969*, 18.

¹⁶⁸ Oguma, *1968* vol. 1, 340.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 342.

¹⁷⁰ Shima Taizô, *Yasuda Kôdô 1968-1969* (Yoshida Memorial Hall 1968-1969) (Tokyo: Chûô Kôron Shinsha, 2005), 24.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 40-41.

had no access to higher education.¹⁷² *Jiko Hitei* (self-denial) became a fashionable word among student activists because a denial of Japanese universities as discriminative institutes was actually a denial of their own identity as students.¹⁷³ Thus, the student movement had a characteristic theme of “seeking identity.”¹⁷⁴ Victor Koschmann points out that the “motivation for protest is basically internal rather than external, and therefore difficult to communicate fully to others.”¹⁷⁵ In spite of the scale of the movement—which spread all over the country in 1968 and 1969—the movement was isolated from society and other social groups found the students’ voices incomprehensible.

The second feature of the student movement in the late 1960s was its highly violent nature. The leaders of the movement in the late 1960s attributed the defeat in 1960 primarily to the use of non-violent methods.¹⁷⁶ Activists therefore started to wear helmets and hold weapons like sticks and petrol bombs. When the movement became extremely violent in the early 1970s, some groups even possessed guns and powerful explosives. Activists built barricades on campuses to block teachers and non-activist students from entering so that they could paralyse all the activity in universities. The University of Tokyo, for instance, had to cancel its entrance examination in 1969.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷² Amano Keiichi, “‘Shin Sayoku’ To Han Sabetsu Ron,” (The New Left and Anti-discrimination Discourses) in *Ima Naze Sabetsu O Tou Noka* (Questioning the Issue of Discrimination), ed. Kan Takayuki (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1985), 215.

¹⁷³ Suga Hidemi, “1968 / 1970: Soko De Hajimatta Koto,” (1968 / 1970: What Started There) in *1968*, ed. Suga Hidemi (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2005), 5.

¹⁷⁴ Suzuki Hideo, *Shin Sayoku To Rosujene* (The New Left and the Lost Generation) (Tokyo: Shûeisha, 2009), 25. Tsumura Takashi, one of the most popular student theorists during the *Zenkyôtô Undô*, defines the movement as “a movement to choose one’s new way of life” in his essay. It should be considered as another example of the argument to posit that the student movement was a process of ‘seeking identity’. See Tsumura Takashi, *Zenkyôtô: Jizoku To Tenkei* (Zenkyôtô: Continuity and Transformation) (Tokyo: Gogatsusha, 1980), 4.

¹⁷⁵ Koschmann, “Soft Rule and Expressive Protest,” 25.

¹⁷⁶ Tsurumi, *Student Movements in 1960 and 1969*, 18.

¹⁷⁷ Shima, *Yasuda Kôdô 1968-1969*, 276.

According to Sassa Atsuyuki, who was the commander of the police forces that removed students holed up in the auditorium in the University of Tokyo in 1969, it was believed that students in the auditorium possessed 30 rivet guns, 4,000 wooden / steel sticks, 3 drums of petrol, 600 petrol bombs and various hazardous chemicals.¹⁷⁸ These figures might have been exaggerated; however, a large number of weapons were actually used in the struggle. This was broadcast on television and gave the strong impression of highly violent activism to the viewers, which resulted in a quick decline of public support for student activism.¹⁷⁹

Third, contrary to the civic movement, student activists were not equipped with their own language to express their motivations and purposes. They borrowed the theories of Western thinkers, especially those of Marxism and French contemporary thought.¹⁸⁰ Marx's 'alienation' and Jean-Paul Sartre's Existentialism were among the most popular terms referred to by Japanese students.¹⁸¹ However, as critic Amano Kei'ichi argues, Marx's terms were often used only to describe their eagerness for the struggle.¹⁸² Another critic, Kosaka Shûhei, argues that students borrowed Western ideas to describe their uneasiness and the rootless feeling they felt during Japan's rapid economic growth.¹⁸³ The director of the Black Tent Theatre (BTT), Satô Makoto argues, "Our theatre activities accompanied the student

¹⁷⁸ Sassa Atsuyuki, *Tôdai Rakujô: Yasuda Kôdô Kôbô 72 Jikan* (The Fall of the University of Tokyo: The 72-hour Battle at Yasuda Memorial Hall) (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjû, 1996), 95-96.

¹⁷⁹ Many *Zenkyôtô* student activists were also withdrawn from the movements by the mid-1970s. Kosaka Shûhei argues that it was because they could not identify themselves with the extremely violent struggles. He considers the period of mid-1970s and the 1980s as a period of 'rehabilitation' for the student activists to recover their sense of reality. For many of them, it was to join commercial companies – the 'real world.' This should be another aspect of the quick decline of the student movement in the mid-1970s. See Kosaka, *Shisô To Shiteno Zenkyôtô Sedai*, 144-145.

¹⁸⁰ Oguma, *1968* vol. 1, 17

¹⁸¹ Suzuki, *Shin Sayoku To Rosujene*, 17.

¹⁸² Amano, "'Shin Sayoku' To Han Sabetsu Ron," 212-213.

¹⁸³ Kosaka, *Shisô To Shiteno Zenkyôtô Sedai*, 33-35.

movement for some ten years. What made us uncomfortable during that period was the issue of language. From the philosophical language that became a basis of the New Left to the daily language of discussions and agitations—all the languages they used sounded borrowed. In short, they were nothing but translated languages.”¹⁸⁴

In the early 1960s, as I discussed in the previous section, there was a momentum to develop an original Japanese model of revolution among the New Left student activists. Nevertheless, it was forgotten in the activism of the later student movement. The ‘borrowed’ philosophical language made their argument incomprehensible for the ordinary citizens and eventually distanced student activists from them. It was very different from the situation in the early 1960s in which student activists and citizens collaborated in the demonstrations.

These three characteristics of the *Zenkyôtô Undô* made it extremely difficult to develop the movement as public spheres. Victor Koschmann argues, “The student’s preoccupation with reified and sometimes solipsistic notions of *shutaisei* (subjectivity) often detracted from hard situational and tactical analysis and contributed to their defeat.”¹⁸⁵ Solipsism in the student movement resulted in limited support from the public and eventually confined the movement within campuses.¹⁸⁶ The basic conditions of the Counter-Public Sphere model, such as openness to everybody in society and the existence of common concerns, were lost in the *Zenkyôtô Undô*.

¹⁸⁴ Satô Makoto, “Engeki No Kakushinhan 5,” (Convinced Criminal of Theatre 5) *Teatoro* 658 (August 1997), 89.

¹⁸⁵ J. Victor Koschmann, *Revolution and Subjectivity in Postwar Japan* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996), 247.

¹⁸⁶ Oguma, ‘*Minshu*’ To ‘*Aikoku*’, 580.

3-2. “Paradigm Shift” in the Student Movement: *Kaseitô Kokuhatsu*

The student movement in the later 1960s was a setback from the earlier New Left movement in terms of establishing public spheres with the features of the Counter-Public Sphere model and in developing their own language for the movement. However, they still managed to realise the shift from the self-perception as the ‘colonised’ to that of the aggressor. The “paradigm shift” in the student movement happened in 1970 when they were trying to find a breakthrough from the deadlock of the movement. In a movement that had lost most of the positive characteristics of the earlier New Left, the “paradigm shift” that introduced a new viewpoint to the movement was probably the only positive contribution left.¹⁸⁷

Although the *Zankyôtô Undô* reached its height in 1969 in terms of the number of struggles,¹⁸⁸ most of them were organised by small numbers of students and did not gain campus-wide support.¹⁸⁹ The oppression from the police became more severe and nearly ten thousand student activists were arrested in 1969 alone.¹⁹⁰ The activism relying on sticks and petrol bombs reached an impasse and faced deadlock.

What was considered a breakthrough was the way in which the student activists tackled the unsolved issues of the New Left in the early 1960s—the Japanese people’s consciousness as the colonised, and the negation of the aspect of Japan as an aggressor. This attempt had two implications. Firstly, the issues were derived from the imperial past of Japan and were unique in Japan, which meant that students could develop their own

¹⁸⁷ Critic Suga Hidemi argues that the value of the student movement in the late 1970s would have been halved if there were no “paradigm shift.” See Suga Hidemi, *1968nen* (The Year 1968) (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 2006), 9.

¹⁸⁸ In 1969 alone, 68 out of 75 national universities, 18 out of 34 public universities and 79 out of 270 private universities were involved in the struggles. See Shima, *Yasuda Kôdô 1968-1969*, 300.

¹⁸⁹ Oguma, *1968* vol. 2, 117.

¹⁹⁰ Shima, *Yasuda Kôdô 1968-1969*, 302.

discourses without relying solely on ‘borrowed’ language. Secondly, unlike the different internal matters found in each university, the historical issues could be seen as a ‘common issue’ to be shared by all activists. In other words, it re-opened a possibility of developing a discursive space where people, even elderly citizens, could participate in the movement. It was a student movement’s version of the “paradigm shift.”

The incident that triggered the “paradigm shift” was the *Kaseitō Kokuhatsu* (The Charges by the Overseas Chinese Youth Struggling Committee) that happened on the 7th of June 1970. The Overseas Chinese Youth Struggling Committee and the Japanese New Left groups collaborated in the struggle against the revision of the Immigration Act that was designed to tighten up the control of foreigners staying in Japan, especially the Zainichi people. However, the Committee became frustrated with the attitudes of the student activists because of the essentially nationalistic nature of the Japanese New Left movement.¹⁹¹ At a meeting where the major student movement groups gathered, the delegation of the committee made a speech that read:

The Japanese New Left also maintains an anti-foreigner ideology. During the struggle against the Immigration Act by the Zainichi Koreans and the Chinese, the *Zenkyōtō* did not support it enough. They ignored the harsh living conditions of the Zainichi Koreans... We hereby make an assertion that the issues on the Zainichi Koreans and the Chinese have never been internalised by the Japanese New Left... You must realise that you are in the position of the oppressor under Japanese imperialism.¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ Suga, *1968nen*, 10.

¹⁹² Several slightly different versions of the speech have been published and some of them are available online. The version translated here is quoted in Oguma, *1968* vol. 2, 257-258.

Actually, the Japanese student movement was almost totally ignorant of the issues relating to the Zainichis and the minorities before 1970. “Asia, Vietnam, China, Korea, Okinawa and the Third World — these elements were completely absent from the Japanese students’ consciousness,” writes an influential student activist Tsumura Takashi.¹⁹³ His *Warera No Uchinaru Sabetsu* (Our Inner Discriminations) published in 1970 became a bestseller and significantly influenced the whole student movement.¹⁹⁴

Tsumura insists in his essay that the issue of the Immigration Act would be key for the entire student movement in the 1970s.¹⁹⁵ The Act, according to Tsumura, represents the Japanese mindset that had survived for one hundred years, which was to see Asians as inferior to the Japanese.¹⁹⁶ Japan constantly invaded Asia through the First Sino-Japanese War, Russo-Japanese War and the Second Sino-Japanese War. After the defeat that they suffered in World War II, they suddenly forgot this whole history and became ignorant of Asian countries, claims Tsumura.¹⁹⁷

Tsumura also criticises post-war Japanese economic re-entry into Southeast Asia. The late 1960s to the early 1970s was the period when foreign direct investment, especially to Southeast Asian countries, dramatically increased.¹⁹⁸ Tsumura argues that the economic re-entry into Asia was another invasion of Asia by the Japanese.¹⁹⁹ The “paradigm shift” became the very first occasion where the postwar generation students faced the issues that

¹⁹³ Tsumura Takashi, *Warera No Uchinaru Sabetsu* (Our Inner Discriminations) (Tokyo: San-ichi Shobô, 1970), 141.

¹⁹⁴ Kan, “Radikarizumu No Shûen To Saisei,” 62.

¹⁹⁵ Tsumura, *Warera No Uchinaru Sabetsu*, 50.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 61.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹⁹⁸ Sudo Sueo, *Evolution of ASEAN-Japan Relations* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005), 1-2.

¹⁹⁹ Tsumura, *Warera No Uchinaru Sabetsu*, 26.

were generated from Japan's imperial past which had been hidden in the economic growth and yet was still ongoing.

Just as Oda Makoto's argument caused a "paradigm shift" in *Beheiren*, the *Kaseitō Kokuhatsu* prompted a "paradigm shift" in the student movement. The late 1960s and the early 1970s became a remarkable period in that both the student movement and the civic movement 'discovered' Asia as a result of the "paradigm shift." Asia, which had suffered from Japanese aggression, became a central concern for the movement for the first time. Although the "paradigm shifts" were triggered differently in the civic movement and the student movement, their interest in Asia took on a similar shape. They both shifted to the self-recognition of Japan as an aggressor and eventually recognised the biased and discriminating perception of Asia.

These "paradigm shifts" were also reflected in the Angura theatre movement which had a close relationship with the New Left movement. However, as I pointed out before, the way the Angura theatre movement reflected the discourses of the New Left movement was not as straightforward as that of the earlier anti-Shingeki theatre. I will examine the Angura theatre movement in the next section based on the analysis of the civic and student movements in this section.

4. The Angura Theatre Movement

4-1. The Intermediary between the Civic Movement and the Student Movement

Led by "three giants"—Suzuki Tadashi (1940-) of *Waseda Shō Gekijō* (The Waseda Little Theatre), Kara Jûrô (1940-) of *Jōkyō Gekijō* (The Situation Theatre) and Satô Makoto of

The Black Tent Theatre (BTT),²⁰⁰ the Angura theatre movement marked a ‘revolution’ in the history of Japanese contemporary theatre and, in some the years, completely changed the scene. At the earliest phase of the movement, the Angura theatre’s standard was generally considered lower than Shingeki’s,²⁰¹ however, it won recognition after Kara and Satô received the most prestigious drama award in Japan, the Kishida Kunio Drama Award in 1970 and 1971 respectively.²⁰² Since then, most of the recipients of the award have been from Angura and its followers, and they became the mainstream of Japanese contemporary theatre.²⁰³

Just as the anti-Shingeki theatre in the early 1960s had a close connection with the New Left movement at that time, the Angura theatre movement also had a close relationship with the New Left.²⁰⁴ However, their relationship was different from that of the anti-Shingeki because of the separation of the New Left into the civic movement and the student movement. As I pointed out earlier, the Angura theatre movement had to find its own approach towards the movement.

²⁰⁰ There are several different versions of the “giants”. I followed the most common definition of the “three giants” in this thesis. See Yamaguchi Masao et. al., “Terayama Shûji No Uchû,” (The Universe of Terayama Shûji) *Gendaishi Techô* 26, no. 12 (November Special Issue, 1983), 40. There are critics who include Terayama Shûji (1935-1983) of *Tenjô Sajiki* (The Upper Gallery) and call them “four giants”. See Muroi Hisashi, “‘Kara Jûrô’ To Yû Shiten Kara Miru Sengo Nihon Engeki,” (Postwar Japanese Theatre from the viewpoint of ‘Kara Jûrô’) in *Sengo Nihon Stadîzu* (Postwar Japanese Studies) vol. 2, ed. Ueno Chizuko et. al. (Tokyo: Kinokuniya Shoten, 2009), 207 for example.

²⁰¹ Ôzasa, *Nihon Gendai Engekishi*, vol. 1, 25.

²⁰² It was a sensational incident when the award was given to a ‘lower-standard’ Angura playwright at that time. Kara describes it as the “rape of the Kishida ‘Shingeki’ Drama Award.” See Kara Jûrô, “Kojiki Shugyô,” (Training to be a Begger) *Shingeki* 215 (March 1971), 49.

²⁰³ Ôzasa Yoshio, “‘Sengo Gikyoku No 50nen’ O Yomu,” (Reading “50 Years of Postwar Plays”) *Shiatâ Âtsu* 2 (April 1995), 122.

²⁰⁴ Kan, *Sengo Engeki*, 164.

What affected the position of the Angura theatre movement was, I would argue, the age of the leaders of Angura. The leaders of the ‘three giants’ were in their mid- to late-twenties when the Angura theatre movement started in 1966-67. Their ages put them somewhere in the middle of the students in their early twenties and the leaders of *Beheiren* in their late thirties or early forties. During Japan’s rapid economic growth, society changed enormously within a few years. Therefore it was not unusual for people of different ages to have considerably different social experiences brought about by only a few years’ difference in age. For example, the Angura theatre leaders did not have any memory of the war and they experienced the rapid economic growth that was happening in Japan when they were university students, similar to what the student activists experienced. Therefore, the Angura theatre was able to express the sense of uncertainty that the students experienced during rapid social change. Nevertheless, the leaders of the Angura theatre movement experienced the ‘defeat’ of the anti-Mutual Security Treaty struggle in 1960 and deeply understood the limitation of the New Left movement in the early 1960s, which was similar to what the leaders of *Beheiren* had experienced.

The leaders of the Angura theatre happened to be in a unique and probably privileged position as the intermediaries between the students and the elder intellectuals. Because of this positionality, the Angura theatre movement was able to internalise the elements of both the civic movement and the student movement. In terms of the idea behind the movement’s purpose, Angura shared a lot of similarities with the civic movement. Therefore, when we examine the four characteristics of the movement— which I will do in a moment— we can see that they share a similar tendency with the civic movement.

In this section, I will examine the characteristics of the Angura theatre movement using the four features which I used to examine earlier theatre movements and the New Left movement. I will start by arguing that the two features in the civic movement and the student movement shows a clear contrast—in the creation of the public sphere and the reference to the West. Then I will argue that the expression of Angura is similar to that of the student activists. I will also discuss the problems that it caused. Lastly, I will identify the feature shared by both the civic movement and the student movement—the “paradigm shift” from the self-perception as victims to that of aggressors. The Angura theatre practitioners also had their own “paradigm shift” and shifted their attention to Asia. I will also point out the common problem which can be found in the “paradigm shifts” of all three movements—in the citizens’, students’ and the Angura theatre movement—in detail at the end of the section.

4-2. Turning Theatre a Public Sphere

The Angura theatre movement succeeded the idea of the earlier anti-Shingeki theatre to create a theatre as public spheres. However, as I discussed earlier, it had to find an alternative approach because of the splits in the New Left movement.

Because they could not use the New Left movement as a space for their discourses, they were required to develop a new method to open up their own discursive space. The Angura theatre movement introduced two fresh approaches: the creation of their own media and the adoption of the applied theatre methodology.

A Creation of the Angura Theatre's Own Media

As I mentioned earlier, in terms of the idea behind the movement, the Angura theatre movement shared a lot of similarities with the civic movement. Just like the *Beheiren* members who published their own periodicals, *Ampo*, in both Japanese and English to publicise their thoughts and opinions, the Angura artists were particularly conscious of the importance of the media to convey their voices. In the early days of the Angura theatre, responses from the critics, which were published in the established media, tended to be negative. Because of the “anger against the reviews that simply repeated that the Angura theatre was incomprehensible,”²⁰⁵ the Angura theatre companies found a need to develop alternative publications by and for themselves. One of the leading Angura theatre companies, *Tenjô Sajiki* (The Upper Gallery) published a journal, the *Kikan Chika Engeki* (*the Underground Theatre Quarterly*) from 1969 to 1979, while one of the “three giants”, Kara Jûrô, edited a magazine called the *Dorakyura* (*the Dracula*) although it did not continue after issuing its first volume in 1973.²⁰⁶

Among the Angura theatre companies, the BTT was the most active in publications. They started two journals, *Kikan Dôjidai Engeki* (*The Contemporary Theatre Quarterly*) in Japanese and the *Concerned Theater Japan* (*CTJ*) in English. The latter was edited by an American member of the company, David Goodman and his wife Fujimoto Kazuko.²⁰⁷ The other two “giants,” Suzuki Tadashi and Kara Jûrô, contributed to the *Contemporary Theatre Quarterly* which became a platform for “miraculous collaborations”²⁰⁸ among major Angura

²⁰⁵ Tsuno Kaitarô, “Satô Makoto Ron: Nezumitachi Wa Shinde,” (On Satô Makoto: Rats are Dead) *Kikan Dôjidai Engeki* 2 (1970), 149.

²⁰⁶ Senda Akihiko, “Kaidai,” (Commentary) in *Kara Jûrô Sakuhinshû* (Collected Works of Kara Jûrô) vol. 3 (Tokyo: Tôjusha, 1979), 342-343.

²⁰⁷ Tsuno, *Okashina Jidai*, 240.

²⁰⁸ Nishidô, “Enshutsuka No Shigoto,” 30.

artists. The journal became a space where the Angura theatre movement's discourses were created. The journal also intended to connect the Angura theatre movement to intellectuals and artists from other fields.²⁰⁹

On the contrary, the *CTJ*'s aim was to "provide Japanese drama, thought, and contemporary culture in a medium more readily comprehensible to a diverse international audience than [it] is [to the] Japanese."²¹⁰ The journal aimed to develop a platform for a dialogue beyond national borders through the alternative voices of people different from the government's 'official' and dominant ones.²¹¹ The *Beheiren*'s English periodical, *Ampo*, was inaugurated at about the same time and shared many concerns with the *CTJ*.²¹² These two journals were "the only non-academic and non-governmental periodicals in foreign language in which international communications among the ordinary citizens were possible."²¹³ The *CTJ* contributed to the establishment of a close relationship between *Beheiren* and the BTT, and this in turn greatly affected the activities of the company in the 1980s.

Meanwhile, the Angura theatre did not necessarily detach themselves from the existing mass media. A book-review journal called the *Nihon Dokusho Shimbun (the Readers' Newsletter Japan)* in particular, became a forum for the Angura theatre artists in the late 1960s and early 1970s. For example, Terayama Shûji proudly revealed the large number of

²⁰⁹ Saeki Ryûkô, "Dôjidai Engeki Sôkan Ni Atatte," (Statement on the Inaugural Issue of *Contemporary Theatre Quarterly*) *Kikan Dôjidai Engeki* 1 (Winter 1970), 8.

²¹⁰ Editorial, "On *Concerned Theatre Japan*," *Concerned Theatre Japan*, Special Introductory Issue (October 1969), 5.

²¹¹ David Gordon Goodman, "Nihongo No Byôbu No Kage Kara," (From Behind the *Byôbu* Screen of Japanese Language) *Kikan Dôjidai Engeki* 1 (Winter 1970), 9-11.

²¹² Editorial, "Transcending Modernity: A Review of *Concerned Theater Japan*," *Ampo* 3-4 (March 1970), 44.

²¹³ David Gordon Goodman, "Kôï To Kankyô," (Action and Environment) *Chûô Kôron* 86, no. 16 (December 1971), 317.

audience members who came for his production in the January 1968 edition²¹⁴ and Kara criticised Terayama's stance in the next issue.²¹⁵ Satô Makoto attacked a Shingeki company for its attitude towards the Zainichi Koreans in June²¹⁶ while Suzuki Tadashi criticised the BTT in October.²¹⁷ The "Angura artists," as a researcher describes, "are great conversationalists."²¹⁸ The Angura artists kept voicing their opinions through their own media as well as through the existing media, which eventually became a huge forum for public discourse. These media, I argue, became another discursive space that works as public spheres.

Adopting the Applied Theatre Technique

The Angura theatre attempted to change their relationship with the audience by making them more proactive participants in the theatre. By doing so, theatre artists aimed to turn their theatres into public spheres where public opinion could be produced. One of the leaders of the BTT, Tsuno Kaitarô explains the 'new audience' of Angura by using the image of "the Smoking Theatre", which was advocated by Bertolt Brecht.²¹⁹ "I go to the theatre...

²¹⁴ Terayama Shûji, "Gekiteki Sôzôryoku No Fukken: Warera 'Tenjô Sajiki' Undô Ga 'Hanashikakeru' Kôï Towa," (Revival of Dramatic Imagination: Tenjô Sajiki's 'Talking to the Others' Activities) *Nihon Dokusho Shimbun* (January 1968), 8.

²¹⁵ Kara Jûrô, "Seikyû Na Hyôshiki Mazushii Nikutai: Terayamashi No 'Gekiteki Sôzôryoku' Eno Hihan," (Hasty Signs and Poor Bodies: Criticizing Mr. Terayama's 'Dramatic Imagination') *Nihon Dokusho Shimbun* (February 1968), 10.

²¹⁶ Satô Makoto, "Muzan Ni Genjitsu O Waishôka: Kiwamonogeki Toshiteno 'Wakatte Tamaruka!'," (Trivializing the Reality: Tricky *You don't Understand!*) *Nihon Dokusho Shimbun* (June 1968), 8.

²¹⁷ Suzuki Tadashi, "Sakuhin Niyoru Rentai O: 'Wesukâ 68' To Miyamoto Kenshi No Seijiteki Ito," (Solidarity must be Achieved on the Stage: 'Wesker 68' and Mr. Miyamoto Ken's Political Intentions) *Nihon Dokusho Shimbun* (October 1968), 8.

²¹⁸ Umeyama Itsuki, "Truth-Telling and Demystification of Angura," in *Reconsidering the Underground Theatre of the 1960s: An International Conference' Pamphlet* ed. Okamuro Minako et. al. (Tokyo: Waseda University Theatre Museum Global CEO Program, 2008), 25.

²¹⁹ Tsuno Kaitarô, "The Trinity of Modern Theatre," *Concerned Theatre Japan* 1, no. 2 (Summer 1970), 95.

Up out of the darkness floats a red sign: ‘NO SMOKING’”, writes Tsuno. He sees this sign as representative of the machinery of the modern theatre system that rules the “modern audience”.²²⁰ Tsuno argues that the “haunted passivity” of the modern audience who unconditionally accepts such an oppressive system is a historical creation.²²¹ Tsuno named this system the ‘trinity of modern theatre,’ which is “drama supported by the universal doctrine of humanism, with tragedy as its sole mode, presented in a theatre divided in two by means of a curtain.”²²² He argues that what is known as “tragedy” today is not a traditional and pure tragedy but a specifically modern version of it, which is based on the humanistic idea of harmonious cooperation between free individuals.²²³ This ‘new version’ of tragedy silenced modern audience and made the vivid interaction between actors and audience impossible. The theatre equipped with permanent curtains is the very machinery that confirms the split between actors and audience. What Tsuno wished to create was the ‘smoking theatre’ which is free from these restrictive and hierarchical system of Western modern theatre.

Destroying such a system by changing the relationship between audience and performers was the motivation for the Angura theatre movement to bring their theatre to non-theatrical venues. Quoting Walter Benjamin, Tsuno argues that the sine qua non for the establishment of the ‘smoking theatre’ was “the state of affairs in which the people cease to be outsiders.”²²⁴ Angura theatre movement wished to liberate their audience from the simple observer’s position and make them “react immediately to the performance and express their

²²⁰ Ibid., 83.

²²¹ Ibid., 84.

²²² Ibid., 89-90.

²²³ Ibid., 90.

²²⁴ Ibid., 97.

opinions.”²²⁵ The Angura theatre movement, I argue, was a faithful successor of Brecht’s idea of the applied theatre *for* the community / society. At the same time, it was conscious of the possibility to make their theatre a space where audience members could express their opinions—the creation of public spheres with the characteristics of the Counter-Public Sphere through theatre. The ‘non-theatrical venues’ they chose for their staging took various forms.

Suzuki Tadashi, one of the “three giants”, started his career in theatre at a student theatre group in Waseda University, *Jiyû Butai* (the Freedom Stage). After his graduation, he formed his own theatre company, the Waseda Little Theatre in 1966. As the company’s name suggests, their base was a tiny theatre venue near the university, where they converted the upstairs of a coffee shop into a theatre space by themselves.²²⁶ The entrance of the theatre was the back door of the coffee shop. Climbing the narrow stairs, the audience would find a slightly raised stage over the small space. The theatre space had a seating capacity of 70 people. No curtain was hung in front of the stage.²²⁷

In the late 1960s, several small theatre venues were built in Tokyo. One of the earliest examples was *Yoyogi Shô Gekijô* (The Yoyogi Little Theatre) built in 1966 by a theatre company called the *Henshin* (The Metamorphosis) that also had a seating capacity of around 70.²²⁸ *Jiyû Gekijô* (The Freedom Theatre) —that later became a nucleus of the

²²⁵ Tsuno Kaitarô, “Kitsuen Gekijô Wa Doko Ni Arunoka,” (Where is the Smoking Theatre?) *Kikan Dôjidai Engeki* 1 (Winter 1970), 64.

²²⁶ Senda, *Nihon No Gendai Engeki*, 43.

²²⁷ Satô Makoto et. al., “‘Makubâdo’ To Shibai No Yûkôsei,” (*MacBird!* and the Potency of Theatre) *Teatoro* 290 (September 1967), 78.

²²⁸ Takeuchi Toshiharu, “Yoyogi Shôgekijô Nitsuiteno Setsumeiteki Katsu Dansôteki Naru Hôkoku,” (A Descriptive and Cross-cutting Report on Yoyogi Little Theatre) *Teatoro* 282 (February 1967), 34.

BTT— built their *Andôguraundo Jiyû Gekijô* (The Underground Freedom Theatre).²²⁹ Terayama Shûji opened his *Tenjô Sajiki* theatre in Shibuya and a movie theatre, *Âto Shiatâ Shinjuku Bunka* (The Art Theatre Shinjuku Bunka) which provided a small theatre space that became a centre for youth culture in Shinjuku.²³⁰ Most of them utilised small spaces in warehouses or commercial buildings, which was far removed from the traditional idea of theatre in Japan.²³¹

What was significant about these small theatres was, according to set designer Takada Ichirô, that “these tiny spaces were most suitable to realise the integration of the stage and the audience.”²³² As Takada notes, the use of small theatre venues can be understood as a declaration of the Angura theatre movement to signify how the theatre should be a place where creators and audience members may communicate with each other. In Shingeki theatres, the stage and audience were separated by a proscenium arch, and the audience was never allowed to communicate with the actors on stage beyond the ‘fourth wall’. The Angura theatre aimed to destroy this system completely by turning the theatre into a space where public discourses could be created.

The BTT, along with the other Angura theatre companies, consciously tried to change the relationship between performers and audience members. They went even further than the ‘small theatre’ by using a large tent as a venue for their performances. Along with Kara Jûrô’s ‘Red Tent’, the BTT’s ‘Black Tent’ became an icon of the Angura theatre movement.

²²⁹ Kushida Kazuyoshi, “Jiyû Gekijô No 15nen,” (15 Years of Freedom Theatre), *Higeki Kigeki* 355 (May 1980), 55.

²³⁰ Kuzui Kinshirô, *Kieta Gekijô: Âto Shiatâ Shinjuku Bunka* (The Theatre Vanished: Art Theatre Shinjuku Bunka) (Tokyo: Sôryûsha, 1986), 11.

²³¹ Satô et. al., “‘Makubâdo’ To Shibai No Yûkôsei,” 78.

²³² *Ibid.*, 77.

The highly mobile nature of the tent theatre brought a new aspect the relationship with the audience, which was a long-term collaboration with the people who helped to organise the performance in each city. The BTT toured as many as 34 cities in the latter half of 1970 alone.²³³ They continued their first nation-wide tour until June 1971, and the number of cities they performed in came to a 120.²³⁴ Such an extensive tour required collaborators who would help realise the BTT's performance in each city. Members of the BTT, regardless of their position in the company, made preparatory visits to the candidate cities to find collaborators. Their principle was to build a relationship with young counterparts who might not necessarily have related to theatre activities before.²³⁵ They wished to get the community involved and encourage them become a part of their theatre process. It was an idea rather close to the applied theatre which was *with* or *by* communities.

Because the 'mobile theatre' became the BTT's main activity by 1971, they needed to establish a long-term and stable relationship with their collaborators in each city. It was another attempt to blur the boundary between artists and audience members.

The Angura theatre movement developed new methods in order to make their theatre work as public spheres. They did not rely solely on the New Left movement as the anti-Shingeki theatre did in the early 1960s. In other words, it became possible to establish theatre as public spheres that was largely independent of the political movement. The unique and original 'inventions' of the Angura theatre movement provided the foundation for developments in subsequent periods which I will discuss in the next few chapters.

²³³ Tsuno, *Okashina Jidai*, 268.

²³⁴ Tsuno Kaitarô, "Idô Gekijô Notameno Kôkoku," (An Advertisement of the Mobile Theatre) *Kikan Dôjidai Engeki* 3 (1970), 209.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 206.

4-3. Exploring Japanese Indigeneity

The anti-Shingeki of the early 1960s tried to overcome Shingeki by referring to Japanese pre-modern aesthetics. It was an attempt to stop relying on Western aesthetics, which was a typical feature of Shingeki, and to develop an independent dramaturgy. Angura continued the endeavour of the anti-Shingeki and developed it into specific theories. In particular, Suzuki Tadashi and Kara Jûrô created methodologies that influenced the generations that followed.

Suzuki Tadashi systematized the famous Suzuki Method through his research on Japanese traditional performing arts including Noh and Kabuki. In *Gekiteki Naru Mono O Megutte (On the Dramatic Passions, 1969)*, Suzuki writes that he aims to achieve universal expressions by pursuing Japanese indigeneity. He writes, “What we need is the reason and necessity behind why we do theatre in this Japanese situation. On the one hand we need to be aware that we are being internationalised. On the other, however, we persistently need to be sensitive to what is not included in internationalisation. I believe that pursuing Japanese originality will eventually contribute to and enrich a universal conception of art.”²³⁶

The second version of *Gekiteki Naru Mono O Megutte* was staged at the *Théâtre de Nation* in Paris in 1972 and was very well received.²³⁷ It proved Suzuki’s thesis that pursuing Japanese indigeneity would gain international recognition. Since then, Suzuki has deepened his interest in Japanese indigenous performances and performers including Noh founder Zeami²³⁸ and Kabuki playwright Kawatake Mokuami.²³⁹

²³⁶ Suzuki Tadashi, “Roicyaru Shêkusupia To Shingeki No Ichi,” (The Royal Shakespeare Company and the Position of Shingeki) *Shingeki* 203 (March 1970), 24-25.

²³⁷ Senda, *Nihon No Gendai Engeki*, 55.

²³⁸ Suzuki Tadashi, *Naikaku No Wa* (The Sum of the Internal Angles) (Tokyo: Jiritsu Shobô, 1973), 60-64.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 65-66.

Nevertheless, Suzuki does not necessarily praise Noh and Kabuki unconditionally. Rather, he explicitly states that “the expressions of Kabuki and Noh cannot be applied to contemporary theatre anymore.”²⁴⁰ What he paid attention to was the durability of these traditional performances through their established training methods. Suzuki tried to develop an actor training method with reference to Kabuki and Noh, which both instill a particular acting style in the actors’ bodies. The Suzuki Method was developed to “let the actors maintain acting styles not for a short period, but for a lifetime,” which is similar to Kabuki and Noh training.²⁴¹

Kara Jûrô shared an interest in Japanese pre-modern aesthetics. However, his interest was different from Suzuki’s because his intention was not only to draw on the pre-modern for his creative methodology, but to revive a pre-modern imagination in the original forms of contemporary Japan. He argues that the social condition of the 1970s had similarities with the Japanese Middle Ages.²⁴²

Kara called his actors *Kawara Kojiki* or the Riverbed Beggars, a derogatory term for the Kabuki actors during the Edo period.²⁴³ Kabuki during the Edo period was “the art of theatre and sex inseparably linked”²⁴⁴, thus Kabuki theatre was called *Aku Basho* (a Bad Place). Kara’s theatre tried to become *Aku Basho* in contemporary Tokyo. Theatre critic Ôzasa Yoshio found the key element to Kabuki’s revival in the enthusiastic yells from the

²⁴⁰ Suzuki Tadashi and Nakamura Yûjirô, *Gekiteki Gengo Zôhoban* (The Dramatic Language, Augmented Edition) (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1999), 56.

²⁴¹ Suzuki Tadashi, *Engeki Towa Nanika* (An Introduction to Theatre) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1988), 93.

²⁴² Kara Jûrô, “Jôkyô To Kongen,” (The Situation and the Root) *Shingeki* 215 (March 1971), 26.

²⁴³ John K. Gillespie, “Introduction: Kara Jûrô,” in *Alternative Japanese Drama*, ed. Robert T. Rolf and John K. Gillespie (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992), 252.

²⁴⁴ Hirose Tamotsu, “The Secret Ritual of The Place of Evil,” *Concerned Theatre Japan* 2, no. 1/2 (1971), 14.

audience members of the Situation Theatre. He writes, “Yelling was a common habit of the Kabuki audience, yet it was silenced in Shingeki. Now, it was suddenly revived in the Situation Theatre’s Red Tent theatre.”²⁴⁵

In 1970, Kara Jûro published his theory, *Tokkenteki Nikutairon (The Theory of Privileged Entities)* which marked the culmination of his interest in the pre-modern. BTT’s member Yamamoto Kiyokazu argues that Kara tried “to make theatre and the actor privileged entities capable of negating reality” by reviving “the sense of anti-linear time which pervaded the pre-modern Japanese arts centering on Kabuki.”²⁴⁶ In the *Theory of Privileged Entities*, Kara claims, “No plays are necessary. No directions are necessary. There should only be firm and controlled bodies of actors.”²⁴⁷

Language has been a symbol of modern values and cultures. In Japanese modern theatre represented by Shingeki, it has given the text a privileged position. Kara’s declaration, privileging bodies over language, was represented a bid to overcome Western influence by focusing on the Japanese pre-modern.

In terms of the creation of public spheres with the characteristics of the Counter-Public Sphere model and the reference to the indigeneity in Japan, the Angura theatre movement was an orthodox successor to the anti-Shingeki theatre movement in the early 1960s. And thus the Angura theatre movement had close similarities with the civic movement of their contemporaries, which faithfully maintained the features of the earlier New Left movement.

²⁴⁵ Ôzasa Yoshio, “Kurenai Tendo To Kakegoe,” (Yells in the Red Tent) *Kokoro* 30, no. 10 (October 1977), 98.

²⁴⁶ Yamamoto Kiyokazu, “The World as Public Toilet,” *Concerned Theatre Japan* 1, no. 2 (Summer 1970), 217.

²⁴⁷ Kara Jûrô, *Tokkenteki Nikutairon (The Theory of Privileged Entities)* (Tokyo: Gendai Shichôsha, 1970; reprint: Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 1997), 45 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

Nevertheless, the expression of the Angura theatre was totally different from the straightforward and accessible narratives of the civic movement. In that regards, it was closer to the sentiments of the student activists.

4-4. A Commonality with the Student Movement: Angura as an Expression of ‘Uneasiness’

The Angura theatre leaders actually belonged to a different age group from their main audience — the students.²⁴⁸ However, as I briefly mentioned, they were able to express the sentiment of the student activists because they had experienced the rapid economic growth of Japan when they were university students.

The plays written by one of the three giants, Kara Jûrô, represented the Angura theatre’s dramaturgy by renouncing realism, a feature of Shingeki plays. The plot in Kara’s plays was “hardly meant to be followed in the traditional linear sense” writes theatre scholar John Gillespie. According to him, “Kara offers not a humanistic developmental perspective but a fragmented one. He is, in short, opposed to realism.”²⁴⁹ It is similar to Satô Makoto’s plays that are also “totally fragmented, hardly comprehensible and truly chaotic.”²⁵⁰

Let me take *The Dance of Angels Who Burn Their Own Wings*, a play by the BTT as an example. It was a rough adaptation of Peter Weiss’s *Marat/Sade* and revolution was the main theme of the play.²⁵¹ The following is from the scene in which Gray Wind and Red

²⁴⁸ Oguma, 1968 vol. 1, 81.

²⁴⁹ Gillespie, “Introduction: Kara Jûrô,” 253.

²⁵⁰ David Gordon Goodman, *Fujisan Mieta: Satô Makoto Ni Okeru Kakumei No Engeki (We See Mount Fuji: The Revolutionary Theatre of Satô Makoto)* (Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 1983), 72.

²⁵¹ Umeyama Itsuki, “Namae No Nai Hekiga: Engeki Sentâ 68/71 No ‘Tsubasa O Moyasu Tenshitachi No Butô’ Bunseki,” (An Anonymous Wall Painting: Engeki Centre 68/71’s *The Dance of Angels Who Burn Their Own Wings*) *Engekigaku Ronjû* 46 (2008), 128.

Wind, who represent the political forces of revolution, discuss the revolution in front of an Angel, a seeker of liberation and redemption that symbolises student protesters.

Angel 1: Who's going to speak for us? Who? Black fantasies floating in the dark.
Who's got the guts to repeat such nonsense?

...

Grey Wind 1: You joined the revolution.

Red Wind 1: That is true.

Grey Wind 1: And then betrayed it!

Red Wind 1: Yes! This revolution. Ha! Revolution has only beginning. It is a flash of light, a splash of dizziness too short to be real. If I betrayed the revolution, it was because I could see where it was going.

...

Red Wind 6: Someday it will come. Duperret, you are my lover, the one Charlotte Corday adores. Some day. I will be you, inseparably you. I will move boldly out to meet myself.²⁵²

The Dance of Angels Who Burn Their Own Wings was “a philosophical-artistic attempt to burn the wings of culture and plummet to a concrete reality... the very fundamentals of political, social, institutional, in sum, concrete cultural reality.”²⁵³ It is possible to find a clear distinction from the straightforward narratives in the anti-Shingeki theatre's *We Go Far Away* which I quoted in the previous section although both *The Dance of Angels* and *We Go Far Away* have revolution as their theme. *Dance of Angels*, has “mythical characters blend with figures from popular culture” and is “typically Angura,”²⁵⁴ The aesthetics of the Angura theatre, which rejected order intelligibility, precisely captured the student activists' sentiment

²⁵² Satô Makoto et. al., “The Dance of Angels Who Burn Their Own Wings,” trans. David Goodman in David Goodman, *The Return of the Gods: Japanese Drama and Culture in the 1960s* (Ithaca: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2003), 327-328.

²⁵³ David Gordon Goodman, “Revolutionary Theatre: This is a Dream,” *Concerned Theatre Japan* 1, no. 4 (Winter 1970 – Spring 1971), 125.

²⁵⁴ Peter Eckersall, *Theorizing the Angura Space: Avant-garde Performance and Politics in Japan, 1960-2000* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 76.

of rejecting the established social system and order represented by the universities. Therefore the Angura theatre was widely recognised as the ‘voice of the students,’ and it was well recognised among students that the “Angura theatre was the front runner of the age.”²⁵⁵ Although existing theatre journalism called the avant-garde aesthetics of the Angura theatre “a cheap spiritual striptease”²⁵⁶ and “a weird prank,”²⁵⁷ student activists enthusiastically supported the Angura theatre movement.

I have argued that the Angura theatre movement tried to create public spheres with the characteristics of the Coutner Public Sphere model through theatre while aesthetically reflecting students’ sentiments. However, integrating these often conflicting aspects was not an easy task. Amongst the three major companies, the one that struggled the most was probably the BTT because they were a group that most consciously posited their theatre as a movement.

Upon its establishment in 1968, the BTT published *Komyunikêshon Keikaku Dai Ichiban* (Communication Plan Number 1) as a manifesto of the new theatre company. It aimed to extend the BTT’s communication with the audience to the whole of Japan and eventually realise a new style of theatre movement, which they called the *Minshû Engeki* (the people’s theatre).²⁵⁸ The introduction of new collaborative relationships in the touring performances of the Black Tent was an attempt to adopt an essence of the applied theatre *with / by* communities. It was a component of their people’s theatre project. Commenting on the

²⁵⁵ Kosaka, *Shisô To Shite No Zenkyôto Sedai*, 15.

²⁵⁶ Editorial, “Shô Gekijô To Angura,” (Small Theatre and Angura) *Teatoro* 297 (April 1968), 92.

²⁵⁷ Nomura Takashi, “1gatsu No Gekihyô,” (Reviews of Stages in January) *Teatoro* 270 (March 1966), 72.

²⁵⁸ Nishidô Kôjin, *Shô Gekijô Wa Shimetsu Shitaka* (Have Small Theatres become extinct?) (Tokyo: Renga Shobô Shinsha, 1996), 137.

people's theatre, the BTT's leader Satô Makoto argues, "I am still thinking about what kind of theatre is required... I would like to define theatre as an art of relationships."²⁵⁹

To realise a people's theatre based on a strong relationship with the 'people' —a large circle of audience, a language that could be shared by all of them was needed. Satô writes, "If my struggle with the *Minshû* (the people) has to take the shape of an ideological struggle within myself, then I would need to release my own words from my inner self to the outside world."²⁶⁰ What he meant by "to release my own words to the outside world" would be to make his works accessible to the people. By doing so, he wished to transform his theatre into an arena of public debates. That was why he claimed that "inevitably our theatrical attempts will step into the areas which are currently dominated by such things like politics, education and the law."²⁶¹

However, plays by Satô are extremely complex and it was "hardly possible to understand the story."²⁶² Reviewing his *Nezumikozô Jirokichi* (*The Rat*, 1970), a pro-Shingeki critic Fujita Hiroshi writes that the "lines were spoken like a machinegun. Sets kept changing quickly. Scenes skipped randomly from one to another. There were no jokes or dramatic elements, but only enormous energy existed ... I had to doubt whether the majority of the audience members could actually interpret and empathise with the performance."²⁶³

²⁵⁹ Satô Makoto, "Jizokusuru Engeki Nitsuite," (On Sustainable Theatre) *Teatoro* 317 (October 1969), 10.

²⁶⁰ Satô Makoto, "Genshi No Matsuri No Tameni: Kawaramono Wa Undô okoso Mezasu," (For Imagined Festivals: Riverbed Beggars are Heading to the Movement) *Nihon Dokusho Shimbun* (December 1969), 8.

²⁶¹ Satô, "Jizokusuru Engeki Nitsuite," 18.

²⁶² Nishidô, *Doramathisuto No Shôzô*, 59.

²⁶³ Fujita Hiroshi, "Angura Engeki No Shûhen," (The Environment of the Angura Theatre) *Teatoro* 324 (May 1970), 24.

Although the pro-Angura critics harshly attacked this review,²⁶⁴ I admit that Fujita makes an important point. As I pointed out earlier, Satô himself defined the people's theatre as an "art of relationship" and admitted his words had to be "released" to be shared by his audience. However, the inaccessibility of his plays made his narratives inaccessible for the audience. Another critic argues,

Satô Makoto does not believe in a 'relationship' with the audience very much. If this is too extreme, I would say that his plays intentionally avoid communicating with the audience... His style is not to pursue a sense of integration with the contemporary audience. Rather, he seems to be interested in the universality of language, which can be applied to Japanese society at any period of history... In short, Satô cannot face the audience.²⁶⁵

Another critic Hariki Yasutarô argues that the lines spoken in the Angura theatre were not necessarily meant to be understood by the audience. He points out, "What the BTT actors said could be heard clearly. However, because Satô Makoto intentionally made the script extremely complex, it was no different from being inaudible." Such "inaudible" lines still worked in Angura performances, according to Hariki, because they were merely expected to be the trigger for a 'collective illusion' among the performers and the audience.²⁶⁶ The 'collective illusion' created a sense of solidarity among performers and the audience in the Angura theatre spaces, which at the same time created a kind of closed and elitist atmosphere

²⁶⁴ For example, see Saeki Ryûkô, "Ushi No Mane O Shita Kaeru," (A Flog Mimicing an Ox) *Kikan Dôjidai Engeki* 3 (1970), 6-9 and Saitô Shôji, "Kyozeitsu Hannô No Zokuron Dewanaike: Fujita Hiroshi 'Angura Engeki No Shûhen' E," (It is a Conventionalism Refusing New Elements: On Fujita Hiroshi's 'The Surroundings of the Angura Theatre') *Teatoro* 326 (July 1970), 14-18.

²⁶⁵ Sekiguchi Ei, "Engeki Niokeru Minshûzô," (The Image of the Masses in Theatre) *Nihon Dokusho Shimibun* (May 1970), 8.

²⁶⁶ Hariki Yasuhiro, "Tsuka Kôhei No Shôgeki," (The Impact of Tsuka Kôhei) *Serifu No Jidai* 8 (Summer 1998), 87-88.

because of the composition of the audience, many of whom were university student activists in the urban area. In other words, similar to the student movement in the late 1960s, Satô's narratives could not be understood by the people outside of the closed circle of the urban intelligentsia. Such 'exclusion' of the non-urban, non-intelligentsia audience shakes the very foundation of the idea of the 'people's theatre' that the BTT advocated in Communication Plan Number 1. The majority of the 'people' they wished to get involved should be in the rural areas and not highly educated. If their narratives are incomprehensible to them, the project of the 'people's theatre' is impossible from the very beginning.

There was an obvious gap between the purpose—the establishment of a people's theatre on the one hand, and the means—Satô's approach to his plays on the other. To realise a people's theatre, it was essential to use a language that could reach the people. However, the language in Satô's plays created a closed circle of elite intellectuals that was not intelligible to ordinary people. Although Communication Plan targeted a wide circle of audience members including the ordinary 'people', their plays were not in a suitable style. It was the reason why the members originated from one of the parent companies of the BTT, *Hakken No Kai*, left the group one year after the formation of the BTT.²⁶⁷ The leader of the company, Uriu Ryôsuke, insisted that the BTT's projects based on Communication Plan

²⁶⁷ In 1966 Satô Makoto formed his own theatre company *Jiyû Gekijô* (Freedom Theatre) with the graduates of *Haiyûza* (Actors' Theatre) Training Academy including playwright Saitô Ren and actor Kushida Kazuyoshi. Meanwhile, members of student theatre groups in University of Tokyo and Waseda University formed *Rokugatsu Gekijô* (June Theatre) in the same year. Critic Tsuno Kaitarô, playwright Yamamoto Kiyokazu and critic Saeki Ryûkô were among founding members of *Rokugatsu Gekijô*. (Goodman, Satoh and Post-shingeki, 26)

In 1968 *Jiyû Gekijô* formed an ad hoc alliance Theatre Centre 68, with Rokugatsu Gekijô and another Angura theatre group, *Hakken No Kai* (Society of Discovery) led by Uriu Ryôsuke. Uriu was a disciple of Hanada Kiyoteru who advocated a thesis, "overcoming modernity by critically referring to pre-modern" that affected anti-Shingeki theatre.

eventually failed to communicate with the audience.²⁶⁸ He also criticised the BTT for “not having the attitude of opening themselves up without any reservations.”

When they first encountered this problem in the early 1970s, the BTT was not equipped with a concrete methodology to overcome it. Satô himself admitted in 1974, “Theatre has to be created as a relationship, sometimes among actors themselves, and sometimes between our audience and us. I am deeply troubled about how to create it.”²⁶⁹ As a result, Satô tended to use Marxist terms such as ‘classes’ to explain who the ‘people’ they targeted were.²⁷⁰ He had to use ‘borrowed’ language to talk about his theatre, which was quite similar to the New Left student activists who also used ‘borrowed’ Marxist and French philosophers’ terminology to express their thoughts. In other words, they were not able to theorise the strategic aspect of their struggles beyond the old Marxist categorisation.

The BTT only managed to find a solution in the late 1970s when they encountered Southeast Asian theatre, which I will discuss in the next chapter. They learnt the methodology of applied theatre *with / by* the communities that practiced it in their struggles against dictatorship in Southeast Asia, and developed their own methodology to match the purpose and means of their theatre movement.

4-5. Angura’s “Paradigm Shift”

Lastly, I will discuss the feature that both the student movement and the civic movement commonly achieved in the late 1960s—a ‘paradigm shift’ from self-recognition as

²⁶⁸ Hakken No Kai, “Nekketsu Marukajiri Bôkentan,” (A Story of an Energetic and Large-scale Adventure) *Kikan Dôjidai Engeki* 3 (1970), 226.

²⁶⁹ Satô Makoto and Akutagawa Hiroshi, “Kyoten De Aratana Shibaizukuri O,” (The Necessity of the Base for Creation) *Teatoro* 372 (February 1974), 56.

²⁷⁰ Kan Takayuki, “Engeki Niokeru Kindai No Shi Towa?,” (The Death of Modernity in Theatre) *Shingeki* 208 (August 1970), 30.

victims to self-recognition as aggressors. The New Left movement activists turned their eyes towards Asia as a result of the ‘paradigm shift’ and created a lot of discourse about the region. We can find a similar development in the Angura theatre movement. Kara Jûrô and Satô Makoto were the artists who tackled this issue among the ‘three giants’. In this section, I will discuss how ‘Asia’ was described in these two artists’ plays, and then discuss a problem commonly found in all “paradigm shifts” in the student / civic movement and the Angura theatre movement.

Turning Eyes to ‘Asia’

From the early days of his career, Kara Jûrô used Manchukuo, a puppet state in Manchuria built by the Imperial Japanese Army, as a motif for his plays. The following scene from *Shôjo Kamen (The Virgin’s Mask, 1969)*, the first play of his ‘Manchurian series’, is filled with characters and keywords that are associated with the Japanese invasion of the region.

Kasugano: Amagasu? Captain Amagasu?

Amagasu: I thought I wouldn’t be able to see you anymore...

Kasugano: What is this place?

Amagasu: This is the Manchurian Railway Hospital. Pull yourself together
Kasugano.

...

Kasugano: What is that sound?

Amagasu: The snowstorm.

Kasugano: I’ve come back to Manchuria again, haven’t I?

Amagasu: This is your *Wuthering Heights*.²⁷¹

²⁷¹ Kara Jûrô, “The Virgin’s Mask,” trans. John K. Gillespie and Paul H. Krieger in *Alternative Japanese Drama*, ed. Robert T. Rolf and John K. Gillespie (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992), 289-290.

The name, ‘Captain Amagasu’, makes an allusion to Captain Amakasu Masahiko (1891-1945), who was in charge of the spying and propaganda activities of the Imperial Japanese Army and played a major role in establishing Manchukuo. The ‘Manchurian Railway’ makes a reference to the South Manchuria Railway Company, which was established by Japan in 1906 and which became the basis of Japan’s economic and military control of the region. These motifs were repeatedly used in his subsequent plays such as *Shôjo Toshi (The Virgin’s City, 1970)*, *Ai No Kojiki (The Beggar of Love, 1970)* and *Kyûketsuki (The Vampire, 1971)*.²⁷²

In *Bengaru No Tora (The Bengal Tiger)* staged in 1973, Kara set the stage in Southeast Asia. A character in *The Bengal Tiger*, a former Japanese soldier and currently a member of a trading company, repeatedly visits a Southeast Asian country, probably Burma, to find his fellow soldiers’ bones.²⁷³ The history of Japan’s invasion of the region is reiteratively suggested in the play, and contemporary Japan’s economic entrance into the region is superimposed onto it. The play reflects the claims of the student movement after the “paradigm shift”—accusing Japan both of ignorance of her own historical issues, and of massive investment in Southeast Asia. In *Môdôken (The Guide Dog, 1973)*, which was inspired by the murder of a Japanese businessman by a Thai dancer in Bangkok,²⁷⁴ Kara focused on this contemporary aspect of the Japanese relationship with Southeast Asia.

Kara’s strong interest in the Asian region suggests a deep connection with the “paradigm shifts” of the New Left movement in the same period. On top of that, he had a

²⁷² Senda Akihiko, “Kaidai,” (Commentary) in *Kara Jûrô Sakuhinshû* (Collected Works of Kara Jûrô) vol. 2 (Tokyo: Tôjusha, 1979), 357.

²⁷³ Kara Jûrô, “Bengaru No Tora,” (The Bengal Tiger) in *Kara Jûrô Sakuhinshû* (Collected Works of Kara Jûrô) vol. 3 (Tokyo: Tôjusha, 1979), 109.

²⁷⁴ Kara Jûrô, “Môdôken,” (The Guide Dog) in *Kara Jûrô Sakuhinshû* (Collected Works of Kara Jûrô) vol. 3 (Tokyo: Tôjusha, 1979), 176.

personal motivation for tackling another issue which the New Left movement paid much attention to. This was the issue of the Zainichi Koreans, because the Situation Theatre's star actress, who was also his wife, Ri Reisen, was a Zainichi Korean. When members of the Situation Theatre were arrested for the illegal use of a park for their performance in 1969, Ri was among those who were arrested. Kara learned that there was a risk that Ri could be deported to Korea.

In the summer of 1969, the Situation Theatre toured to the rural cities of Hamamatsu, Nagoya, Kyoto, Hiroshima, Fukuoka and Okinawa for two months. It was an Angura theatre company's first attempt at a nation-wide tour.²⁷⁵ During the tour, Kara faced the problem of Ri's Zainichi status again. Okinawa was still under American rule and visas were required to visit. However, in spite of the support from Suzuki Tadashi in Tokyo, a visa for Ri was not issued because of her South Korean nationality, and she had to miss the performance in Okinawa.²⁷⁶ Through these experiences, the Zainichi Korean issue became Kara's own issue. He claimed, "Our game against the authority was no longer a game" and he declared he would fight together with the Zainichi Koreans.²⁷⁷

Since the earliest years of his career as a playwright, Satô Makoto, one of the leaders of the BTT, started to deal with Zainichi issues. His second play *Atashi No Bîtoruzu (My Beatles, 1967)* was based on an actual murder case called the Komatsugawa Incident which

²⁷⁵ Senda Akihiko, "Situation Theatre: Red Tent South," *Concerned Theatre Japan* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1970), 18.

²⁷⁶ Kara Jûrô, *Kara Jûrô Keppûroku* (Memoir of Stormy Days) (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjû, 1983), 83.

²⁷⁷ Kara Jûrô, "Shiteki Heihô: Chôryôbakko No Maki: Shinjuku Nishiguchi Chûô Kôen No 'Jôkyô Gekijô' Kôen O Megutte," (My Personal Art or War for Elusive Appearance: On Situation Theatre's Performance at Shinjuku West Gate Central Park) *Bijutsu Techô* (March 1969), 151.

was committed by a Zainichi Korean, Li Jin-wu (Japanese: Ri Chin'u), in 1958.²⁷⁸ Li raped and killed two Japanese girls, and his crime was widely understood as an act of resistance against the discriminations of the Zainichi people — “a self-expression of the Zainichi youth whose identity belonged to neither Japan nor Korea.”²⁷⁹ Satô continued to use Zainichi Koreans as a motif in his later plays, *Onna Goroshi Abura No Jigoku (Murder in Oil Hell, 1969)* and *Nezumi Kozô Jirokichi (The Rat)*, which earned Satô the Kishida Kunio Drama Award in 1971.

In the trilogy titled *Kigeki Shôwa No Sekai (The World of Shôwa: A Comedy)* that includes *Abe Sada No Inu (Abe Sada's Dogs, 1975)*, *Kinema No Kaijin (The Phantom of the Cinema, 1976)* and *Buranki-goroshi Shanhai No Haru (The Killing of Blanqui, Spring in Shanghai, 1979)*, Satô dealt with the previous fifty years of Japanese history, during the Showa reign of Emperor Hirohito. In these plays, Satô “takes up three potentially revolutionary moments in modern Japanese history and projects onto the stage their underlying metahistorical reality.”²⁸⁰ At the same time, the three plays, which are set in Tokyo, Manchuria and Shanghai respectively, critically capture the history of Shôwa in which Japanese imperialism accelerated the invasion of Asia. As critic Nishidô Kôjin points out, Satô's plays had a more objective viewpoint than Kara's, which enabled him to value historicity in his narratives.²⁸¹

²⁷⁸ Goodman, *The Return of the Gods*, 180.

²⁷⁹ Park Sun-num (ed.), *Ri Chin'u Zen Shokanshû (Complete Collection of Li Jin-wu's Letters)* (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ôraisha, 1979), 60.

²⁸⁰ Goodman, “Satoh Makoto and the Post-shingeki Movement,” 280. Japanese version is in Goodman, *Fujisan Mieta*, 166.

²⁸¹ Nishidô Kôjin, *Engeki Shisô No Bôken (The Adventure of Theatrical Thoughts)* (Tokyo: Ronsôsha, 1987), 42.

Kara Jûrô realised the issue of the Zainichi Koreans through his personal experiences and extended his interest to Japanese imperialism in Asia while Satô Makoto chose the Zainichi Korean issue and Japanese imperialism in Asia as motifs in his early works written before the BTT suspended its activities in 1977. These developments in the Angura theatre movement happened almost simultaneously with the “paradigm shifts” of the civic and student movements. The Angura theatre movement shared the concerns of the New Left in this field too, and created an expression which reflected the essences of the “paradigm shift.”

‘Asia’ as a ‘Mirror-image’

I argue that due to the unique position of being in between the two separated factions of the New Left movement, the Angura theatre movement was the artistic movement that most comprehensively embodied the characteristics of both the civic and student movements. What is most important with regards to this thesis is that the Angura theatre movement shared the idea of the “paradigm shift” with the student and civic movements of their contemporaries and created theatres which reflected it. Nevertheless, there was a serious problem that was commonly to the “paradigm shifts” in these three movements.

As a result of the “paradigm shift,” all three movements turned their eyes to Asia. Nevertheless, the ‘Asia’ discussed earlier was not concretely defined. For example, as I quoted earlier,²⁸² critic Suga Hidemi considers the “paradigm shift” as the most important incident in the development of the New Left student movement. In *Kaseitô Kokuhatu*, according to Suga, student activists found ‘others’ that means ‘Asians’.²⁸³ However, it is not

²⁸² See footnote 186.

²⁸³ Suga Hidemi, *Kakumeitekina, Amarini Kakumeitekina: ‘1968nen No Kakumei’ Shiron* (Revolutionary, Too Revolutionary: On the ‘1968 Revolution’) (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2003),

necessarily clear what ‘others’ and ‘Asians’ actually stand for. Here I wish to offer a way to understand them within the context of the late 1960s by referring to Jacques Lacan’s ‘mirror-stage’ theory.

Lacan argues that infants experience a mirror-stage that anchors body identification to the human Gestalt.²⁸⁴ In this stage, the infant gradually assimilates its new relation to the world of objects, its previously blank smiles become cries of joy when a familiar shape appears (re-cognition): itself in the mirror, its mother, others, and “substitute” objects as well.²⁸⁵ Lacan writes, “I am led... to regard the function of the mirror-stage as a particular case of the function of the *imago*, which is to establish a relation between the organism and its reality – or, as they say, between the *Innenwelt* and the *Umwelt*.”²⁸⁶ (original italics)

It is important to note that the identification with a Gestalt of his own body is paralleled in the infant’s relation to the mother’s *imago* as if it were his own.²⁸⁷ His subject is constructed through the image outside of his inner world. In other words, “human beings will forever after anticipate their own images in the images of others.”²⁸⁸ Such “others” are just an image to construct the *moi* (self), which is without substance. Thus you cannot communicate with such “others”.

I argue that the Japanese New Left experienced their mirror-stage in the late 1960s, by putting an image of Asia in the position of ‘others’. It was during this period that they constructed their own identity and Asia was used as their mirror image. The search for an

316-317.

²⁸⁴ Jacques Lacan, *Ecrits: A Selection*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1977), 2.

²⁸⁵ Ellie Ragland-Sullivan, *Jacques Lacan and the Philosophy of Psychoanalysis* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 21.

²⁸⁶ Lacan, *Ecrits*, 4.

²⁸⁷ Ragland-Sullivan, *Lacan and the Philosophy of Psychoanalysis*, 24.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 25.

identity had been a theme of the student movement in the late 1960s. In other words, students looked for the ‘others’ to construct their *moi*. All of a sudden, *Kaseitô Kokuhatsu* brought the image of ‘Asians’ as ‘the others’ that students had been looking for. This ‘Asia’ was not a concrete and definable entity — neither as people or a spatial entity — because it was only to function as *imago* to build their identity. In other words, it actually did not have to be ‘Asians’ for the activists. ‘Asia’ happened to be there as a convenient image of ‘the others’ – the ones who exist as an independent entity outside of oneself. Japan and ‘Asia’ were separated from each other.

I am not suggesting, however, that the student activists did not sincerely respond to the accusation from Zainichi Chinese and Koreans. Rather, they took it very seriously and some of the extreme factions of the student movement committed terrorist attacks to protest against the exploitation of ‘Asians’ by Japanese companies.²⁸⁹ They called for the alliance between Japan and ‘Asia’ to destroy the international structure that secures the dominance of the power by the governments and large companies. Nevertheless, they had extremely limited knowledge on the ‘Asians’ they wished to help, cooperate and ally. The lack of information and connections with the ‘Asians’ kept the ‘Asians’ merely an image and the alliance between Japanese activists and the ‘Asians’ was never established. The ‘Asians’ were eventually used only to construct Japanese activists’ identities.

²⁸⁹ Some of the extremely violent factions of the student movement used the Japanese re-entry to Southeast Asia to justify attacking Japanese enterprises. *Higashi Ajia Han'nichi Busô Sensen* (East Asia Anti-Japanese Armed Front) committed a series of terrorist bomb attacks on trading companies Mitsubishi and Mitsui along with construction companies Taisei, Kajima and Hazama-gumi that led large-scale projects in Southeast Asia, killing eight people in 1974. The leaders of the Armed Front started to learn about Japan's imperial past because of the *Kaseitô Kokuhatsu*. See Matsushita Ryûichi, *Noroshi O Miyo* (Find the Beacon) (Tokyo: Shakai Shisôsha, 1993), 124.

Similar to the student movement, the *Beheiren*'s "paradigm shift" also had a similar limited definition of Asia — 'Asia' remained a 'mirror image' to them without any concrete knowledge of the region or its peoples. According to Tsurumi Yoshiyuki, *Beheiren* encountered two problems after the "paradigm shift." The first was the overwhelming lack of information. He uses Singapore as an example, "In spite of the fact that a huge amount of Japanese capital and technologies are now flooding into Asia, there are hardly any information on Asian people available in Japan—what they wish, and what they suffer from... Information on the Japan-Singapore relationship is almost solely based on economic issues. Almost no information has been provided relating to matters such as the building of the Memorial for the Civilian Victims of the Japanese Occupation, the people's frustration towards the Japanese war compensation, and the oppression of freedom of expression by the Singapore government."²⁹⁰

The second was the lack of a circuit of direct communication with Asian people.²⁹¹ Tsurumi admits that *Beheiren* did not learn a lot from the face-to-face exchanges with the Vietnamese that they met through their activities.²⁹² *Beheiren* had a channel for communicating with their counterparts in the United States and closely collaborated with them, especially in the early stage of *Beheiren*.²⁹³ They could not, however, establish a

²⁹⁰ Tsurumi, *Beheiren: Tsurumi Yoshiyuki Chosakushû* 2, 223.

²⁹¹ Actually *Beheiren* sent one of its younger members, Anai Fumihiko to Vietnam in 1966. Because nobody in *Beheiren* has visited Vietnam even nearly one and half years after its establishment, Oda Makoto and Tsurumi Shunsuke sent Anai to Vietnam. He stayed in Saigon and in a rural village in the Mekong Delta for 6 months, but what he did was just to observe the lives of the Vietnamese under fire. See Anai Fumihiko, *Beheiren To Dassô Beihei* (*Beheiren* and American Deserters) (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjû, 2000), 164. Oda Makoto himself also visited Hanoi in 1968, however, it was not to develop a channel of communication either. See Oda Makoto, *'Seiji' No Genri, 'Undô' No Genri* (The Principles of 'Politics' and 'Movement') (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1978), 258.

²⁹² Tsurumi, *Beheiren: Tsurumi Yoshiyuki Chosakushû* 2, 237.

²⁹³ Yoshikawa Yûichi, *Shimin Undô No Shukudai* (The Continuing Issues of the Citizens Movement) (Tokyo: Shisô No Kagakusha, 1991), 123.

similar relationship with any Asian counterparts.²⁹⁴ In short, *Beheiren* did not have sufficient knowledge and understanding of the ‘victims’ even though they introduced a new perspective of the Japanese as ‘aggressors’ as a result of the “paradigm shift”.

Similar problems can be found in the Angura theatre movement. Although Kara Jûrô heavily used the motif of Manchukuo, which may symbolise the Japanese invasion of Asia, he explains in his book that it is merely a rhetoric to indicate “a country that is geographically close yet politically distant.”²⁹⁵ Critic and novelist Kanai Mieko also points out that Kara’s Manchuria should not necessarily be understood in the context of Japanese imperialism.²⁹⁶ Manchuria and Southeast Asia in Kara’s later plays remained an imagined creature or ‘rhetorical figure’ to develop fictional narratives for Kara. They were “mirror-images” similar to those in the New Left movement.

Probably because he understood that he needed counterparts with substance, Kara and the Situation Theatre toured Bangladesh with *The Bengal Tiger* in 1973 followed by a tour to Palestine the following year. The result of these tours was, however, nothing but bitter disillusionment. The producer of the Situation Theatre, Yamaguchi Takeshi explains, “After all, Palestine turned out not to be what Kara had imagined... Although we did not have

²⁹⁴ Some of the senior members of *Beheiren* were exceptionally proficient in English at that time. Tsurumi Shunsuke who moved to the United States at the age of 15 studied at Harvard University. Tsurumi Yoshiyuki who was born in Los Angeles as a son of a diplomat spent a lot of his childhood overseas and Oda Makoto was an alumnus of the Fulbright Program. It helped *Beheiren* to establish their relationship with their American counterparts. On the other hand, *Beheiren* member’s proficiency level of Vietnamese was very low. (Anai, *Beheiren To Dassô Beihei*, 178)

²⁹⁵ Kara Jûrô, “Subekaraku Norowareta Tami,” (We are All Cursed People) *Nihon Dokusho Shimibun* (November 1971), 8.

²⁹⁶ Kanai Mieko, “Maboroshi No Tochi No Roman,” (Romanticism on the Mysterious Lands) *Umi* 2, no. 10 (October 1970), 218.

problems at the Palestinian camp, we could not create anything together with them.”²⁹⁷ He also writes, “Whatever illusion Kara had about Palestine, he was just a tourist who visited the place for a while and could not change anything there.”²⁹⁸

Suzuki Tadashi also criticises Kara’s Asian tour:

(Kara) toured to Korea, Bangladesh and Palestine recently. His brave words—“solidarity with the Palestinians” or “culture as struggle”—have been publicised through the mass media. Listening to them, I couldn’t stop feeling bitter... I don’t believe these words at all. Rather, I’m quite sure that these activities merely reflected his innocent and childish curiosity towards unknown things. Thus, Korea, Bangladesh and Palestine are no different from junk in a closet for Kara.²⁹⁹

Suzuki’s harsh criticism was probably correct. Kara was not interested in any particular country or culture in Asia.³⁰⁰ Although Kara made an effort to meet ‘Asians’, the ‘Asia’ Kara sought was still a creature of his own imagination. Although he visited some countries, there was no attempt to get out of the “childish” world of his imagination to build a real human network. ‘Asia’ was, similar to the cases in the student / civic movements, the ‘mirror-image’ of Kara.

Kara’s tour to the Asian countries cruelly revealed that no true encounter with ‘others’ could ever be realised, even if he physically visited them, as long as he recognised them through his imagination. The ‘failure’ of the Asian tour put paid to Kara’s romanticism in

²⁹⁷ Yamaguchi Takeshi, *Kurenai Tendo Seishunroku* (Memoir of My Days in the Situation Theatre’s Red Tent) (Tokyo: Rippû Shobô, 1993), 219.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 220-221.

²⁹⁹ Suzuki, *Katari No Chihei*, 173.

³⁰⁰ The destinations of the tour were chosen without specific reasons. See Yamaguchi, *Kurenai Tendo Seishunroku*, 158.

seeking a far away place, and he never made a similar attempt again.³⁰¹ The momentum for building a sustainable relationship with Asian counterparts was lost, and perhaps as a result of these ‘failures’, Kara’s plays became “more realistic and nostalgic depicting the world of Kara’s childhood in downtown, Tokyo.”³⁰²

Satô Makoto also encountered a similar problem. In spite of his frequent references to the Zainichi Koreans, Satô did not actually have any connections with the Zainichi Korean communities. It is accurate to say that he used the Zainichi as a symbol of alienation, which was a similar motivation to Kara Jûrô’s use of Manchuria as a symbol. Critic Ôhashi Kiichi writes, “What the author of *My Beatles* tried to express was not the Korean issue but the Japanese youth’s sense of alienation from the society... the Koreans were used as just a metaphor.”³⁰³ The leader of the anti-Shingeki theatre company, *Seigei*, and Satô’s former mentor Fukuda Yoshiyuki also writes, “Satô has been extremely sensitive about the rootlessness of his generation. Thus, he always felt obsessed about creating a psychological anchor to ground themselves with. In his case, this ‘anchor’ is an issue of nationality, especially that of the Zainichi Koreans. It is needed not only for his play but also for his life itself. The Koreans have been used to let him survive in this world.”³⁰⁴

Thus, the Zainichi Koreans in Satô’s plays remained an imagined object — the ‘mirror-image’ that reflected the “alienation of the Japanese youth” and let him “survive in

³⁰¹ Ibid., 220.

³⁰² Goodman, *The Return of the Gods*, 233.

³⁰³ Ôhashi Kiichi, “Bitoruzu No Nazo: Satô Makotokun No Gekisekai,” (The Mystery of Beatles: Satô Makoto’s Plays) *Teatoro* 327 (August 1970), 12.

³⁰⁴ Fukuda Yoshiyuki et. al., “Ronri To Kyokô,” (Logic and Fiction) *Shingeki* 215 (March 1971), 67.

this world.” In other words, there was no channel of communication with the Zainichi Koreans and Asians in reality. In *My Beatles*, a character named “Japanese” says,

Listen. This is a play. From now on you have to play your part in it. Okay, now look at me. I’m Chong. Chong...! A Korean... I’m Korean and you’re Japanese... We have to act it out. We have to see it through.³⁰⁵

Ironically enough, as he wrote in *My Beatles*, Satô’s relationship with the Zainichi Koreans was not a real one but merely a “play”. Satô’s colleague at the BTT, Tsuno Kaitarô, admits that “ultimately, young Japanese like Satô and myself were driven forcibly from our identification [with Zainichi Koreans].”³⁰⁶ This was the moment where they found that they could not escape from the baggage of the Japanese nation-state, and realised that they were not innocents “who arrived on the scene after the end of our fathers’ and grandfathers’ careers as proud invaders of the Korean Peninsula.”³⁰⁷ Although Satô’s plays contain more objective viewpoints compared to Kara’s, it is undeniable that Satô shared the same limitations with Kara—his ‘Asia’ remained a ‘mirror-image’.

In a letter to Park Su-num, who edited the collection of letters of Li Jin-wu, poet Morisaki Kazue writes, “It would not be fruitful to continue to argue about national responsibilities of the Japanese and the victimised position of the Koreans... Rather, what is needed now is to create an original culture in each nation that would be recognised by each other.”³⁰⁸ The poet who was born in Korea and has been commenting on the relationship

³⁰⁵ Satô Makoto, “My Beatles,” trans. David Goodman, in Goodman, *The Return of the Gods*, 218.

³⁰⁶ Tsuno Kaitarô, “Biwa and Beatles,” *Concerned Theatre Japan*, Special Introductory Issue (October 1969), 25.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 26.

³⁰⁸ Morisaki Kazue, *Haha No Kuni Tono Gensô Kon* (An Imagined Marriage to Mother’s Country) (Tokyo: Gendai Shichôsha, 1970), 157.

between Japan and Korea stresses, “Japanese people need to develop an alternative awareness of Asia that enables a different relationship with the region.”³⁰⁹

Kara’s and Satô’s attempts were not something that realised Morisaki’s agenda. The Asians and Zainichis who appear in Kara’s and Satô’s plays did not have any physical existence but existed merely as imagined creatures. Critic Suga Hidemi calls the characters in their plays “fictional Asian bodies” created by their Japanese imperialistic imagination.³¹⁰ Asia, in their plays, remained a creation by the Japanese for the Japanese—the mirror-image of themselves to develop their identities. Takeuchi Yoshimi points out that the use of Asia as a means to deal with Japan’s internal agenda is part of a ‘tradition’ of Japanese ‘Asianism’.³¹¹ Plays by Kara and Satô were not successful in escaping from this ‘tradition’.

Section 4. Conclusion

The first two turning points of modern Japanese theatre, *Engeki Kairyô Undô* and *Shingeki* represented Japanese modernity in different ways. *Engeki Kairyô Undô* was started as a project of what Calinescu calls ‘bourgeois modernity,’ which accompanied the Westernisation of Japan in the Meiji period. As such, it was a project of the ‘public’ in the dichotomy of the public and private. *Shingeki*, on the other hand, was a project detached from the state. It was a project of ‘aesthetic modernity’ and happened purely in the private sphere that often confronted the state.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 173.

³¹⁰ Suga, *Kakumeitekina, Amarini Kakumeitekina*, 160.

³¹¹ Takeuchi, “Nihon No Ajia Shugi,” 37-38.

These theatre movements shared four fundamental issues, i) the impossibility of establishing a public sphere between the public/private dichotomy, ii) the reference to the ‘advanced’ West, iii) the perception of being colonised, and iv) the missing recognition of being aggressors, which I discussed at the end of the first section. The anti-Shingeki movement that emerged in the early 1960s attempted to overcome these issues, and succeeded in the first three. It developed public spheres through theatre, and focused on the indigeneity of Japan. By doing so, it attempted to create what Fanon calls a ‘national culture’ to overcome the perception of being colonised. Nevertheless, the fourth point remained unresolved.

The anti-Shingeki had a strong and direct connection to the New Left movement and played a role as the ‘voice of the movement’. As a result, their features listed above reflected both the significances and limitations of the New Left movement in the early 1960s. Nevertheless, the New Left movement split into the student movement and the civic movement in the late 1960s. The Angura theatre, which evolved as a successor of the anti-Shingeki theatre, occupied a position between these two factions, and tackled a difficult agenda to develop public spheres with the features of the Counter-Public Sphere model, which was similar to the civic movement, through the aesthetic style that reflected the anxiety of the student activists. On top of that, echoing the ‘paradigm shifts’ in both the student and civic movements, Angura also started to deal with the historical issues of the Zainichi Koreans and the Japanese imperial past. It was an attempt to cope with the issue of the recognition of being aggressors, which was left unsolved by the anti-Shingeki.

Satô Makoto stated in 1979, “What was realized in the Angura theatre movement was the ‘revolution’ of the style of theatre. In terms of that, I would say that ‘Angura’ or ‘*sho*

gekijō’ is almost reaching the stage of perfection.”³¹² However, he also argues that Angura failed to relate itself directly to people’s lives.³¹³

Angura attempted to overthrow all the premises of Shingeki and develop a truly original theatrical aesthetic. It resulted in influential theories and methodologies such as Kara’s Theory of the Privileged Entities and the Suzuki Method. They provided a strong foundation for subsequent generations. Eventually, they contributed to pushing the stream of theatre which originated from Angura so that it became the mainstream of Japanese contemporary theatre. It was truly a ‘revolution’ in the history of Japanese theatre.

However, as Satō points out, what Angura completed was only a revolution in aesthetics. As a theatre movement, Angura faced a lot of difficulties that could not be resolved. The BTT, which stressed the idea of the ‘movement’ most strongly among the Angura theatre companies, struggled with the mismatches between their purpose—the development of open public spheres through theatre on the one hand and the means—a complex and incomprehensible theatrical language on the other.

On top of that, in the attempts to develop narratives on Asians, they shared the same problem as the New Left movement of their contemporaries, which was that their version of ‘Asia’ existed not as a physical and communicable counterpart but merely as their ‘mirror-image’. Angura was, in terms of that, a true companion of the New Left student/civic movements in the late 1960s.

³¹² Satō Makoto, “Jizokusuru Engeki Saikō,” (Reflections on Sustainable Theatre) *Teatoro* 436 (June 1979), 73.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, 74.

Therefore it is not surprising that most of the Angura theatre artists gave up maintaining their activities as a theatre movement when the New Left movement declined in the mid-1970s. Suzuki Tadashi left Tokyo and built a new base in the small village of Toga in the northern prefecture of Toyama to cope with the age in which “your enemy’s location is not clear”.³¹⁴ Kara concentrated on the “more realistic and nostalgic plays depicting the world of Kara’s childhood in downtown Tokyo” as mentioned previously.³¹⁵

The BTT was the only Angura theatre company that continued the effort to cope with the two issues that remained unresolved in this period—by finding an appropriate methodology to realise their ‘people’s theatre,’ and by turning the mirror-image of ‘Asia’ into a concrete and tangible partner. Their encounter with Southeast Asian counterparts in the late 1970s was an opportunity for them to solve both of these problems at the same time. The BTT found real Asian partners to work together with, and imported the methodology of people’s theatre that was practiced in Southeast Asia as a model of their own people’s theatre. I will discuss this encounter in the next chapter.

³¹⁴ Suzuki Tadashi, “Konkyochi Ni Tsuite: Waseda Shôgekijô No Kiseki To Tenbô,” (On the Base: History of Waseda Little Theatre and the Outlook for Future) *Shingeki* 277 (May 1976), 48.

³¹⁵ Goodman, *The Return of the Gods*, 233.

Chapter 3. The First Encounter with Southeast Asia, the late 1970s – 1980s

Section 1. Introduction: Two Faces of Tsuka Kôhei and the ‘1980s Theatre’

The 1980s was a unique period in the history of postwar Japanese contemporary theatre in terms of theatre’s position in the society. On the one hand, theatre companies enjoyed unprecedented commercial success, which was called ‘*Shôgekijô Bûmu*’ (The Small Theatre Boom). The unresolved issues left by the Angura theatre were, at least superficially, forgotten. On the other hand, it was a period in which a fundamental platform for an extensive theatrical exchange between Japan and Southeast Asia, was silently built by a small number of artists. In this chapter I will examine the latter in detail. In this introductory section however, I will review the overall situation of Japanese contemporary theatre in the 1980s by focusing on the playwright / director, Tsuka Kôhei. He acted as a ‘bridge’ between the Angura theatre movement and the young theatre artists during the theatre boom in the 1980s.

The Angura theatre was a major turnaround in Japanese contemporary theatre history. Outstanding talents represented by the “three giants” totally changed the theatrical landscape in a mere ten years. However, as I argued in the previous chapter, by the mid-1970s, it faced a deadlock when the New Left student / civic movements, which were accompanied by the Angura theatre, experienced a rapid decline in their activities. Angura’s influence was overwhelming and most of the ‘second generation’ artists who followed the ‘first generation’¹

¹ It is generally agreed that there have been five generations in *Shô Gekijô Undô* (the small theatre movement) which originated from the Angura theatre movement. After the “First Generation” Angura artists, the Second Generation was active in the 1970s followed by the Third Generation in the 1980s. See Tsuboike Eiko, “Latest Trends by Genre: Shôgekijô (Small Theater) Movement,” in *Theater in Japan: An Overview of Performing Arts and Artists*, ed. Institute for the Arts (Tokyo: The Japan Foundation, 2008), 27-29.

Angura artists could not draw a clear picture of a post-Angura theatre. One of the second-generation artists Takeuchi Jûichirô admits, “All possibilities had been explored by the first generation Angura artists.”²

The only Second Generation artist who could almost realise the “historical turnover from the Angura paradigm”³ was Tsuka Kôhei (1948-2010). Tsuka, who won the most prestigious awards in both play and novel categories—Kishida Kunio Drama Award (1974) and Naoki Sanjûgo Literary Award (1981), was an exceptionally successful and influential playwright and director in the late 1970s. One critique wrote that the playwrights after Tsuka should be called “Tsuka’s children” because of his overwhelming influence.⁴

1. A Critical Successor of the Angura Theatre Movement

Sociologist Kitada Akihiro argues that the period between the mid-1970s and the early 1980s was a time for the Japanese youth to think reflexively about the turbulent 1960s.⁵ Tsuka Kôhei occupied a unique position which allowed him to review his former generation—the Angura theatre movement and the New Left movement. His ‘review’ was twofold. Firstly, because Tsuka places stress on a separation from the previous generation, unlike the other second-generation artists who were conscious of their ties to the Angura

The Fourth Generation started in the 1990s and the Fifth evolved in the 2000s. I am not necessarily distinguishing the Japanese theatre artists according to the generations, however, I will generally follow this breakdown.

² Takeuchi Jûichirô and Murai Ken, “Engeki No Seijuku, Kankyaku No Seijuku,” (Maturing of Theatre, Maturing of Audience) *Teatoro* 596 (October 1992), 9.

³ Suga Hidemi, “60nendai Engeki No Aporia: Angura Kara Tsuka Kôhei E,” (An Aporia of the 1960s Theatre: From Angura to Tsuka Kôhei) *Engekijin* 8 (2001), 98.

⁴ Hasebe Hiroshi, “Tsuka Kôhei No Kage: Noda Hideki, Kôkami Shôji No Kinsaku O Megutte,” (The Shadow of Tsuka Kôhei: On Recent Works of Noda Hideki and Kôkami Shôji) *Teatoro* 630 (June 1995), 42.

⁵ Kitada Akihiro, *Warau Nihon No ‘Nationalism’* (The ‘Laughing’ Nationalism of Japan) (Tokyo: Nihon Hôsô Shuppan Kyôkai, 2005), 232.

theatre movement, he could criticise even the most influential Angura artists, including the ‘three giants’.⁶

Tsuka’s early plays are filled with an ironical or even cynical satirisation of the New Left, which is a typical method used in that period to reflect on previous generations.⁷ His criticism of the Angura theatre movement was that it created ‘noises’ outside of theatre. The Angura artists were “great conversationalists” and created their own media as public spheres. In contrast to them, Tsuka totally denies the value of such discourses. Tsuka claims, “What we theatre artists should do is to just stage shows that naturally reflect our messages. Angura artists made too many noises off-stage.”⁸ To Tsuka, avoiding the making of “noises” outside of theatre was a means of criticising the former generation.

The second and even more important point of Tsuka’s review of the former generation is related to the ‘paradigm shift’ to the self-recognition as aggressors. Tsuka was in a unique position in this aspect too because of his Zainichi Korean background which he revealed in 1985.

Even in the early years of his career, it was clear that Tsuka’s motivation was to criticise the collective consciousness of the Japanese people who became innocently ignorant of Zainichi issues.⁹ However, what was behind Tsuka’s malice against the Japanese was not correctly recognised until he publicised his Zainichi Korean background after his first Korean

⁶ Senda Akihiko et. al., “Fushin No Naka No Shûkaku,” (Achievements in the Slump) *Shingeki* 261 (January 1975), 52.

⁷ Kitada, *Warau Nihon No ‘Nationalism’*, 77-78.

⁸ Tsuka Kôhei, “Ore No Toko Ga, Hontô Ni Chi No Kayotta Gekidan Dattandayone,” (My Company was Really a Humane Group) *Shingeki* 354 (October 1982), 118-119.

⁹ Kan Takayuki, “Kopî Wa Orijinaru O Koerareruka: Tsuka Kôhei No Akui To Senryaku,” (Can a Copy Surpass the Original?: Tsuka Kôhei’s Malice and Strategy) *Teatoro* 482 (April 1983), 126.

tour performance.¹⁰ Tsuka's criticism was based on his experiences as a Zainichi, in which he was forced to behave more 'Japanese-like' than the Japanese themselves in order to be accepted by society.¹¹

As I argued in the previous chapter, the Angura theatre movement tackled the issues of the Japanese colonisation of Asia and its legacies, including the Zainichi issues. I also pointed out that the Angura theatre artists failed to incorporate them because 'Asia' was a mere 'mirror-image' in their discourses. Because of his position as a Zainichi Korean who had actually experienced discrimination, Tsuka was compelled to criticise the shortfalls of the Angura theatre movement effectively. Tsuka actively started to tackle the Zainichi issues in his plays and novels after his 'coming-out'. His semi-nonfiction novel, *Musume Ni Kataru Sokoku* (*Talking about the Homeland to My Daughter*) in which Tsuka straightforwardly talks about his Zainichi background, became a national bestseller in 1990. It was, I argue, Tsuka's attempt to find a solution to the aporia left unsolved by the former generations. Although he stressed his separation from the Angura theatre movement, Tsuka was a genuine successor of Angura in terms of the themes he tackled.

Nevertheless, his high popularity ironically limited his attempt at dealing with the conundrum left by the Angura theatre movement. Only his commercial success gained much attention and became a model for the following generations. The possibility of Tsuka as the successor of the Angura theatre movement was quickly eliminated during the 1980s' theatre boom.

¹⁰ See Yamamoto Kenichi, "Engeki Jūjiro," (A Crossroad of Theatre) *Shingeki* 391 (November 1985), 81 and Park Jo-yol, "Souru Engeki Dayori," (A Report of Theatre in Seoul) *Shingeki* 397 (April 1986), 71.

¹¹ Tsuka Kōhei and Watanabe Munetatsu, "Sabutekisuto: 'Musume Ni Kataru Sokoku' O Kataru," (Subtext: Discussing *Talking about Homeland to My Daughter*) *Sekai* 555 (June 1991), 300-301.

2. A Leader in Commercialisation

Tsuka Kôhei used laughter in his early plays as a strategy to criticise the former generation. Kisaragi Koharu, a ‘third-generation’ playwright and director after Tsuka’s ‘second generation’, points out that there was a “misunderstanding” between Tsuka and his audience when his popularity reached its heights in the late 1970s. She writes, “Tsuka’s masochistic and offensive laughter which reflected the painful realities of Japan did not reach his audience who simply sought laughter. They enjoyed Tsuka’s plays as if they were vaudeville comedy shows.”¹²

The audience of Tsuka was different from the political students who supported the Angura theatre movement. A theatregoer wrote in 1982 that, “The audience seats are occupied by fashionable girls now... which is a phenomenon of these past two or three years.”¹³ While the Angura audience had been a somewhat “special kind of people”¹⁴ who eagerly followed cutting-edge arts, the new audience consisted of ordinary people for whom theatre was one of many kinds of entertainment. Tsuka proactively publicised his theatre to this new audience to enhance his theatre company’s income. He established “a system to support the lives of the members of his company through box office income, which was similar to that of commercial theatre.”¹⁵

It was Tsuka’s answer to one of the problems of the Angura theatre movement which was to maintain the company on a long-term basis. The Angura theatre, which defined themselves as a ‘movement’, tended to dismiss money matters. As a result, many major

¹² Kisaragi Koharu, *Toshi Minzoku No Shibaigoya* (Theatres for Urban People) (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1987), 117.

¹³ Koga Takuya, “4 Nenkan No ‘Kaidan Ochi’: Waga Tsuka Kôhei Ron,” (Falling from Steps for Four Years: On Tsuka Kôhei) *Shisô No Kagaku* 356 (June Special Issue 1982), 54.

¹⁴ Editorial, “Shôgekijô No Kankyaku,” (The Audience of Small Theatres) *Higeki Kigeki* 479 (September 1990), 71.

¹⁵ Kisaragi, *Toshi Minzoku No Shibaigoya*, 119.

Angura companies lost their original members when these members reached marriageable age and started having children. Tsuka clearly acknowledged this problem and hoped to make his theatre company sustainable.¹⁶

Whatever the motivation, popularity among the “ordinary” audience entailed the change of theatre’s status in Japan’s society. Theatre was no more a dangerous and alien element of the society, but became a fashionable entertainment.¹⁷ Tsuka probably succeeded too well in commercialising his theatre. Following the successful model of Tsuka, the subsequent generation who started their careers in the 1980s purely pursued theatre as an entertainment during the “Small Theatre Boom” that lasted for some ten years from 1983 to 1992.¹⁸

Before the 1980s, the maximum number of audience members for the Small Theatre was said to be from a few thousand up to ten thousand per production.¹⁹ One of the most popular third-generation companies, Noda Hideki (1955-)’s *Yume No Yûminsha* (The Dreaming Bohemian), on the other hand, had nearly 70,000 audience members and the ticket sales totaled around 300 million yen for one production.²⁰ Enjoying the advantage of the “bubble” economy boom, they got sponsorship from major commercial companies which enabled them to use large-scale venues and even a sports arena.²¹ The ‘small’ theatres,

¹⁶ Toita Yasuji et. al., “Engeki Yomoyama Banashi,” (Chatting about Theatre) *Higeki Kigeki* 329 (March 1978), 47.

¹⁷ Miyashita Nobuo, “Yasashii Kankyaku, Shirôto No Jidai,” (Gentle ‘Amateur’ Audience) *Teatoro* 533 (July 1967), 82.

¹⁸ Satô Ikuya, *Gendai Engeki No Fîrudowâku* (A Fieldwork on Contemporary Theatre) (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1999), 31.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 31. According to Satô Makoto, the maximum number of the audience of the Black Tent Theatre was around 8000. (Sato, interview)

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 31.

²¹ Takahagi Hiroshi, *Boku To Engeki To Yume No Yûminsha* (The Dreaming Bohemian, Theatre and I) (Tokyo: Nihon Keizei Shimbun Shuppansha, 2009), 125-126.

which had resisted incorporation into the structure of capitalist commercialism, started to rush towards commercialisation.²²

The overly-rapid and extensive quantitative expansion of the theatre, however, overshadowed the other aspect of Tsuka Kôhei. The conundrum unsolved by Angura and dealt with by Tsuka was not within the scope of the third generation. This could be one of the reasons why their so-called '1980s Theatre' was recognised as artistically dull. A leading contemporary theatre critic, Nishidô Kôjin, comments on the 1980s, "Were there any new developments in the theatre after the 1980s? ... I have to notice that there was hardly anything... The whole of Japan became regressive after the 1980s in spite of the economic advancement... Theatre, which is most sensitive to the social atmosphere, gave up on being a critic of society, and proactively occupied a position as an entertainment in the consumer society."²³ Many other critics and scholars also point out the same two features of the 1980s Theatre—it only cared about youth's inner selves and became a consumer good.²⁴

For Tsuka, avoiding arguments outside of theatre was a means of criticising the Angura conversationalists. However, by the mid-1980s, the proactive aspect of being silent had totally vanished.²⁵ As a result, the '1980s Theatre' lost the voice to speak for themselves and became nothing but an empty creature as many critics points out. The malice that

²² Kisaragi, *Toshi Minzoku No Shibaigoya*, 8.

²³ Nishidô Kôjin, "Mondai Engeki No Tameni," (For Problematic Theatres) *MUNKS* 1 (June 1992), 38-39.

²⁴ For an example of scholarly arguments, see Eckersall, *Theorizing the Angura Space*, Chapter 5, Uchino Tadashi, "Noda Hideki To Samu Shepâdo: Gurôbarithi, Kokumin Koki, Engeki," (Noda Hideki and Sam Shepard: Globality, Nation-state and Theatre) *Yuriika* (June 2001), 135. Critics also described the '1980s theatre' similarly. For example, Kawamoto Saburô, "Butai Toyû Tentmaker No Aru Garage," (A Garage with a Canopy Called Theatre) *Gendai Shi Techô* 26, no. 4 (April 1983), 69 and Matsui Kentarô, "Shûdan No Mujun To Dandhizumu," (Contradictions in groups and Dandyism) *Teatoro* 552 (February 1989), 131.

²⁵ Miyazawa Akio, *Tokyo Daigaku '80 Nendai Chika Bunkaron' Kôgi* (Lectures on the Underground Culture of the 1980s) (Tokyo: Byakuya Shobô, 2006), 204-205.

characterised Tsuka's plays disappeared. The theatrical language of the '1980s Theatre' was no more than "an innocent word game."²⁶

In such a 'closed system', the audience was no more than "a subject with substance who accompanied the theatre movement."²⁷ It was, in other words, the disappearance of theatre as public spheres that was established (or at least that emerged) with the Angura theatre movement. The incommunicable audience in the 1980s should be understood as a public that turned from a "public who argues about culture" to a "public who consumes culture"— what Habermas describes as a crisis of the public sphere.²⁸ I argue that the '1980s Theatre' happened in a purely private sphere, which was similar to the art-oriented Shingeki in the early twentieth century which was alienated from the society. The mainstream theatre during the 'bubble' economy lost its nature as a 'third sphere' in between the sphere of the public authorities and the private sphere. It stopped being a discursive space where the public could gather and discuss their common issues. The discourses on Asia also disappeared from the mainstream theatre.

It should be noted, however, that the Japanese interest in Asia did not vanish in the 1980s. Rather, there was a kind of "Asia Boom" which arose around the mid-1980s both in the commercial and governmental sectors.²⁹ In the government sector, some municipal governments eagerly tried to establish an image to be connected to the 'vibrant Asia'. Fukuoka city, for instance, hosted *Asian-Pacific Exposition: Fukuoka '89*³⁰, a large-scale expo

²⁶ Nishidô Kôjin, "Engi Ishiki No Mekanizumu," (The Mechanism of Theatrical Consciousness) *Teatoro* 541 (March 1988), 66.

²⁷ Nishidô Kôjin, "Butai To Kyakuseki No 'Aida'," (In Between the Stage and the Audience) *Shingeki* 407 (February 1987), 93-94.

²⁸ Habermas, *Structural Transformation of Public Sphere*, Chapter 5, Section 18.

²⁹ Chong Kyon-mo, "Nihon No Ajia Fukki Ni Tsuite Hitokoto," (A Comment on Japan's Re-entry into Asia) *Sekai Kara* 18 (Winter 1984), 92.

³⁰ Japanese civic movement organization, Pacific Asia Resource Centre (PARC) insisted that

focused on Asian cultures in 1989, and started annual an *Asian Month* cultural festival in 1990. It also opened the world's first art museum focused on Asian contemporary arts, Fukuoka Asian Art Museum in 1999.³¹ Being connected to Asia was considered as a strong attraction of the city.

This means that the overall interest in Asia was much higher than before. Backed by a strong economy, the number of overseas productions staged in Japan dramatically increased in the mid- and late-1980s.³² For example, in 1985, the Cultural Agency of Japan and the Japan Broadcasting Cooperation (NHK) co-organised the Asian Traditional Cultural Festival which was the first attempt of its kind to broadcast traditional performances from eight Asian countries.³³ Such a large-scale event featuring Asian performances proved the high and popular demand for the Asian performing arts.

One characteristic of the mid-1980s boom was that the idea of "Asia" started to extend from China and Korea to Southeast Asian and Arab countries which were not familiar areas for the Japanese people. These areas were publicised as exotic and mysterious cultures. What was promoted through cultural events was not the knowledge on these regions but the

Asian-Pacific Exposition exploited Asian cultures and organized their own event, *People's Plan 21*. I will discuss it in Section 4 of this chapter.

³¹ Ushiroshōji Masahiro, "The Birth of the Asian Art Museum: The Asian Collection and Two Decades of Asian Art Shows," in *Ajia No bijutsu: Fukuoka Ajia Bijutsukan No Korekushon To Sono Katsudō* (Asian Art: The Collections and Activities of Fukuoka Asian Art Museum), (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1999), 128.

³² According to *Engeki Nenkan* (The Theatre Yearbook of Japan), the number was merely 2 in 1975. It rose to 20 in 1980, 39 in 1985 and jumped up to 70 in the next year, 1986. Out of these numbers, Asian theatre productions counted less than 5 by the early 1980s, but it increased to 14 in 1985 and 24 in 1986, which means that more than one third of overseas productions were from Asian countries in 1985 and 86. See Nihon Engeki Kyōkai (ed.), *Engeki Nenkan* (Theatre Yearbook of Japan) 1975, 1980-1986. The figure is based on the description in the "Kokusai Kōryū (International Exchange)" section. International Festivals are counted as one event.

³³ Nomura Takashi, "Ajia No Geinō Hanazakari," (Flourishing Asian Performing Arts) *Teatoro* 513 (November 1985), 58.

sensual images of these areas.³⁴ In the publication industry, the number of publications on Asian countries increased in the 1980s too. However, the owner of Japan's first bookshop which specialises in Asian matters, Ôno Shinichi, questions whether the increase in the number of publications corresponds to the rise of the number of those who are really interested in Asia. He is negative about it and argues, "Most of the available books on Asia cry out that the Japanese do not know about Asia, however, they are not meant to expand the circle of people who are seriously concerned about the region. This tendency is particularly obvious where Southeast Asia is concerned."³⁵

The "Asia" that attracted the Japanese people's attention during the 'boom' was a beautiful image, which was the object of consumption. The issues and problems between Japan and the region were intentionally concealed. In other words, "Asia" as the aporia of the New Left movement was cleverly incorporated into the consumerism of the 1980s and turned into sterilised and harmless consumer goods.

Section 2. The Black Tent Theatre and the Publicness of Theatre

The Black Tent Theatre (BTT), one of the 'three giants' of the Angura theatre companies, carried out a reflection on the 1960s in a completely different approach from the mainstream theatre. They encountered their Southeast Asian counterparts in the 1980s. However, their efforts were made with complete detachment from the 'Asia boom'. Their activities in the 1980s also disappeared from the mainstream theatre community.

³⁴ Koizumi Masao, "Ajia Wa Sonzai Shinai: Gainen Ryokô To Jikkan Ryokô," ('Asia' does not Exist: an Imagined Trip and a Real Trip) *Ningen To Shite* 9 (March 1972), 172.

³⁵ Ôno Shinichi, "Shiranai Koto Kara No Shuppatsu," (Starting from the Recognition of Blindness) *Shisô No Kagaku* 402 (August 1985), 40.

Nevertheless, the BTT's exchange with Southeast Asia in the 1980s was a significant development because it was the first long-term relationship between a Japanese theatre company and Southeast Asian theatre practitioners. This eventually became a basis for developments in the 1990s. The BTT's agenda in the 1980s was to find solutions to the two problems they had encountered during the Angura theatre movement.

The first agenda was to find their Asian counterparts. As I argued earlier, Angura and the New Left movement's greatest limitation was that they did not have counterparts in Asia and the "Asia" that they argued was an imagined creature. To turn Asia from a 'mirror-image' into reality, long-term exchange with specific counterparts was necessary.

The second was to find a concrete and effective methodology to realise their 'people's theatre'. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, the BTT published the Communication Plan No. 1 in 1969 and tried to create a new relationship with the audience. The "people's theatre" were their keywords. However, they failed to establish a concrete relationship with the "people" that they wished to be united with because Satô Makoto's plays were not able to engage the "people" effectively. Eventually the BTT's people's theatre project faced a deadlock by the mid-1970s. The BTT terminated their main activities, touring performances, in their tent theatre for about three years from 1976 till 1979. Satô also stopped writing new plays during that period. Other members of the company who actively contributed articles to major theatre journals, such as Tsuno Kaitarô and Saeki Ryûkô (1941-), stopped publicising their writings during this period as well.³⁶

³⁶ For example, Tsuno contributed 15 articles to one of the major theatre journals, *Shingeki* between 1970 and 1975 whereas none of his essays appeared in the same periodical between 1976 and 1980.

The critics who had known the BTT's active appearance in the media were puzzled by their sudden 'silence'.³⁷ It was during this period of 'silence', however, that the BTT finally grasped the direction of their "people's theatre." What they found were the theatre movements practiced in Southeast Asia. In the late 1970s, there were active theatre groups in Southeast Asia who practiced theatre for the empowerment of the ordinary people in each country and who fought against dictatorship. If the BTT could work with them and adopt their methodologies, it would be an opportunity for them to achieve both agendas at the same time. The BTT realised this possibility in the staging of *Ugly JASEAN* in 1977.

1. *Ugly JASEAN*

Ugly JASEAN the production was staged during *Tai Minshû Bunka No Yûbe* (An Evening of the Thai People's Culture), an event that commemorated the fourth anniversary of the student revolution in Thailand as well as the first anniversary of the coup d'état by the army. In October 1973, the Thai students organised massive anti-government demonstrations calling for the immediate promulgation of a constitution and for the unconditional release of thirteen arrested activists. Not only did the students secure these demands but they also toppled the government of dictator Thanom "much to everyone's surprise."³⁸ Since then, there had been a democratically elected government in Thailand for nearly three years. However, it ended with a military-led coup which was accompanied by considerable brutality and repression in October 1976.³⁹

³⁷ Ôzasa Yoshio, "Satô Makoto, Yabureta 'Yume' To 'Yume' No Yukue," (Satô Makoto: a Broken Dream and the Future) *Kokubungaku Kaishaku To Kyôzai No Kenkyû* 24 (March 1979), 109.

³⁸ Elinor Bartak, *The Student Movement in Thailand 1970-1976* (Clayton: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monish University, 1993), 11.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.

The event in Japan was planned to protest the coup d'état and introduce to the audience the people's songs and performances which had become powerful tools of the students' activism.⁴⁰ The organisers wished to create a play for this event and invited the BTT. The co-organisers of *An Evening* were the following organisations:

- 1) The Japan Afro-Asian Authors Congress
- 2) The Pacific Asia Resource Centre (PARC) Action Committee
- 3) The Japan Afro-Asian-Latin American Artists Congress
- 4) The Organising Committee of the Signature Campaign for Releasing Thai Political Detainees
- 5) The Japan-Thailand Youth Friendship Movement
- 6) The Anti-Pollution Export Information Centre
- 7) The Black Tent Theatre (BTT)⁴¹

Four of them, namely 4) – 7) eventually collaborated to create *Ugly JASEAN*. It was themed on Japan's direct investment in Thailand which destroyed the traditional and local communities in the rural areas. The play was written by a Thai writer who had the experience of participating in Thailand's people's theatre⁴² and performed by the actors from the BTT and the activists of the Japan-Thailand Youth Friendship Movement and the Anti Pollution Export Information Centre. One third of the cast members were professional actors while the rest were amateurs. However, the professionals did not dominate the main

⁴⁰ Takeuchi Toshiharu et. al., "Korekara No Engeki Katsudô," (Theatre Activities in the Future) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 378 (February 1979), 83.

⁴¹ Teerayut Bunmee, "Tai: Mori Kara No Messêji," (A Message from Thai Forest) *Geppô 'Kôgai O Nogasuna' 2* (November 1977), 49.

⁴² Tsuno Kaitarô, *Chiisana Media No Hitsuyô* (The Necessity of Small Media) (Tokyo: Shôbunsha, 1981), 152. Areeya Mitrasu was credited as the playwright when it appeared in *AMPO*. However, Yatsumaki Mie claims that it was Thai poet / writer Tepsiri Sooksopa who created *Ugly JASEAN*. See Yatsumaki Mie, "Dokokara 'Kafka'," ('Possible' and 'Impossible') *Suigyû Tsûshin* 101 (December 1987). http://www1.u-netsurf.ne.jp/~mie_y/suigyû/tushin/1987_12.html (accessed 23 December 2010).

roles. Two out of the three main roles were performed by activists from the two civic movement organisations.⁴³

Originally, the activists who invited the BTT did not have any intention of going on stage. What they intended was just to commission the BTT to create a play with the theme of the Thai movement.⁴⁴ However, Satô Makoto questioned their attitude in which they considered a play to be merely a tool to attract an audience to the political gathering.⁴⁵ He made a counter-proposal that they should introduce not only a form of Thai people's culture but also its methodology of creation.⁴⁶

The methodology of the Thai people's theatre was, according to BTT member Tsuno Kaitarô, as follows: The "Students and workers, in T-shirts and jeans and without make-up, always included an impromptu political drama, along with songs and comic dialogue, at political meetings. People create the dramas they need during their struggles, and here too appropriate methods and a unique group style came into being. They visited the factories and slums, observed, studied, discussed and in the space of a day or two wrote dramas."⁴⁷

After the student movement in Thailand successfully ousted Thanom and his cronies in 1973, some students of Thammasart University started to perform in the rural villages. Learning the serious effect caused by the Green Revolution agricultural technology innovations and commercialism, they started to create plays based on the villagers' narratives

⁴³ Muro Kenji, "Tai Sêji Sokkyôgeki No Naka De Manabu," (Learning from the Thai Political Improvisational Theatre) *Shisô No Kagaku* 300 (June 1978), 46.

⁴⁴ Aoyama Tadashi et. al., "Furukunatta Sutairu Wa Atarashiku Shinakuttya! Bokura No Undô Ni Merodî O," (The Old Style has to be Refreshed! We need a Melody in our Movement) *Geppô 'Kôgai O Nogasuna'* 2 (November 1977), 12.

⁴⁵ Tsuno, *Chiisana Media No Hitsuyô*, 153.

⁴⁶ Takeuchi et. al., "Korekara No Engeki Katsudô," 83-85.

⁴⁷ Tsuno Kaitarô, "The Stones of Satire: The Asian Political Theaters," *AMPO* 11, no. 2-3 (1979), 2-3.

they collected in their fieldworks.⁴⁸ After Brecht's plays were introduced in Thailand in 1976 through theatre workshops organized by the Goethe Institute of Bangkok, the West German cultural center, some Thai theatre artists quickly started to integrate Brecht's idea of applied theatre into their practice. Even in the staging of Brecht, the adaptation into Thai context by using the collected voices of village people – the “Thai scene” – was extremely important to make the performance comprehensible to the audience.⁴⁹

Following Satô's suggestion, it was decided that a similar methodology would be adopted in the creation of *Ugly JASEAN*. The script with a Japanese translation was completed within just five days.⁵⁰ Similar to the people's theatre in Thailand, which was meant to be a learning experience for the people, the aim of *Ugly JASEAN* was set not to enlighten the others but to enrich themselves through the experience of theatre creation.⁵¹

It actually turned out to be an important “learning experience” for the BTT members in two ways. Firstly, the collaboration with the activists became a practical experience on applied theatre for the BTT. As Tsuno claims, it was the first occasion in Japan in which “the professional theatre group so profoundly collaborated with the civic movement activists to create a theatrical piece.”⁵² *Ugly JASEAN* had an aspect of applied theatre *by* the community because of the direct involvement of the activists. However, it can also be understood as an example of applied theatre *with* the community because its narratives were based on the Thai people's daily lives which were collected by the Thai playwright.

⁴⁸ Eugène van Erven, *The Playful Revolution: Theatre and Liberation in Asia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 209.

⁴⁹ Chetana Nagavajara, “Brecht's Reception in Thailand: The case of ‘Die Ausnahme und die Regel’,” *Monatshefte* 75, no. 1 (Spring 1983), 52.

⁵⁰ Tsuno, *ChiisaChetana na Media No Hitsuyô*, 161.

⁵¹ Aoyama et. al., “Furukunatta Sutairu Wa Atarashiku Shinakuttya!,” 13.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 34.

What the BTT found during the rehearsals was that different kinds of skills were required to perform with the amateurs. The commonsensical approach of the professional actors was not effective when performing with the amateurs. It was a lesson that the BTT had to learn in order to pursue a 'people's theatre'. However, the activists were 'professionals' when it came to Thai issues. Their knowledge and personal network was essential to create a stage that followed the methodology of the Thai people's theatre. Therefore, the team became an interesting mixture of amateurs and professionals, i.e. theatre professionals / amateurs who were not experts in Thai issues (the BTT) and theatre amateurs / professionals who were (activists). Positions of the members kept changing all through the creative process. The teachers who taught acting at one moment became students learning social background of Thailand in the next moment. Hierarchical relationship between teachers and students disappeared and eventually members of the BTT and activists were able to collaborate in the creative process.⁵³

The second lesson that the BTT learned was the richness and possibilities of the people's theatre that was practiced by their contemporaries in Southeast Asian countries. Accompanying the 'paradigm shift' of the New Left, the BTT had maintained an interest in issues relating to the Asian region. However, they had never tried to tour to Asia as Kara Jûrô had and had no direct contact with Asian theatre practitioners. They also had "no information on the theatre movements that had emerged in Southeast Asia and other Third World countries."⁵⁴

Ugly JASEAN was their first real experience of an Asian people's theatre. Tsuno admits, "What we learned from this experience was not simply confined to the theme, but

⁵³ Takeuchi et. al., "Korekara No Engeki Katsudô," 83-85.

⁵⁴ Muro, "Tai Sêji Sokkyôgeki No Naka De Manabu," 47-48.

included dramatic techniques as well. When we go to the theatre, we are used to a one-sided relationship: the professionals perform, and the audience consumes, more or less passively. But we learned that there is another method of performing and of offering a play.”⁵⁵

What impressed Satô Makoto most was the fact that the play was completed within only a few days. He found that the style and the dramaturgy of the play was developed using the actual struggles experienced and shared collectively.⁵⁶ It resulted in a play that was written in a different manner from the conventional ‘Role Name — speech’ format as shown in the excerpt below. It was a format practiced in the Thai people’s theatre.⁵⁷ The BTT learned a method of collective creation in which a play could be created based on improvisation as long as a base story existed.⁵⁸

The manager pulls up a small stool for the samurai... The dialogue (with workers — my note) begins.

“We Japanese have never done anything in violation of the laws of Thailand. We have set up our factories in strict accordance with the law.”

He tells the audience. A worker speaks up from behind the line of soldiers:

“You mean you’ve never paid any bribes or given free shares to influential people here? Maybe you have done everything in accordance with the law but you’re inhuman. You run over people with your monopolies. Have you ever thought of the local craftsmen who’ve been put out of work by your factories? Has that ever meant anything to you?”⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Tsuno, "The Stones of Satire," 3.

⁵⁶ Takeuchi et. al., "Korekara No Engeki Katsudô," 83-85.

⁵⁷ Tsuno, *Chiisana Media No Hitsuyô*, 164.

⁵⁸ Yabuki Makoto, "Shûdan No Bakkubôn To Shite," (As a Backbone of the Group) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 12 (February 1980), 34.

⁵⁹ Areeya Mitrasu, "Ugly JASEAN," *AMPO* 11, no. 2-3, (1979), 83.

Tsuno confesses that he did not expect the production created in such a ‘primitive’ way to be an interesting one.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, *Ugly JASEAN* captivated him as well as the audience. It became a highly complex production in the end. Firstly, it followed the Thai people’s theatre method which was banned in Thailand after the coup in 1976. Secondly, it was written by a Thai for a Japanese audience, and written in a highly hostile manner towards the Japanese. And thirdly, the Thai characters in the play were performed by Japanese actors in Japanese. In spite of such a complex configuration, the play maintained its clear and straightforward narrative. *Ugly JASEAN* was well received by the audience who were mainly from similar civic movements.⁶¹

The discovery of a methodology that was able to reflect the actual lives of the people meant that the BTT had found the possible solution for developing their own style of ‘people’s theatre’—applied theatre *with* or *by* the communities. In the next two years, they experimented with this methodology in a series of productions in collaboration with the civic movement activists. These plays included *Umi O Yogosu Kurin Indasutori* (*The ‘Clean Industry’ that Pollutes the Ocean*) that accused Japan of exporting its industrial pollution to the Philippines and *Okasareta Jinken* (*The Abuse of Human Rights*) that dealt with the discrimination of the Zainichi Koreans.⁶²

⁶⁰ Tsuno, *Chiisana Media No Hitsuyō*, 164.

⁶¹ Muro, “Tai Sēji Sokkyōgeki No Naka De Manabu,” 49.

⁶² The Black Tent Theatre, “‘Chinmoku’ No Kiseki,” (The Trajectory of Silence) *Hyōgikai Tsūshin* 7 (May 1979), 21-22.

2. *The Draft Mission Statement: The Introduction of Two Keywords*

Finding potential in the Southeast Asian cultural movement for the empowerment of the people, the BTT decided to adopt a similar style as the basis of their activities.⁶³ Before they resumed their major activities including tour performances in 1979, they publicised *Undô Kôryô Sôan* (The Draft Mission Statement) as a manifesto of their new activities.⁶⁴ It reflected their determination to make their theatre a tool for the people's empowerment:

There is no theatre where it should be. Therefore, we have to head towards a location where theatre does not exist at the moment if we wish to reclaim theatre. It is a place of the struggling masses... Our struggle to seek the free usage of public land is also a struggle to release all artistic expressions to the public sphere. Our dreams will become a part of the people's dreams. Our struggle will be integrated with the people's struggle to realise their autonomy.⁶⁵

The BTT also published *Katsudô Sengen* (The Declaration of Action) when they resumed their activities. It reads, "We have to clearly recognise the role of theatre in the context of the cultural movements in Japan and in Asia. We have to open up theatre to the public sphere."⁶⁶

⁶³ Tsuno Kaitarô, "Hajimeni," (Preface) in *Ajia Minshû Bunka No Yûbe* (An Evening of Asian People's Culture) Program Booklet (Tokyo: Organizers of An Evening of Asian People's Culture, 1978), 4.

⁶⁴ Because it appeared in a publication, The Draft Mission Statement was meant to be for general readership. Nevertheless, the circulation of *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* was extremely limited. For example, Issue no.5 that contained The Draft Mission Statement was not sold in the bookstores but sold only through a regular subscription. Considering that, we can safely consider that The Draft Mission Statement was also a confirmation of the new company's policy among members.

⁶⁵ The Black Tent Theatre, "68/71 Undô Koryô Sôan,"(The Draft Mission Statement) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 5 (September 1978), 2-3.

⁶⁶ The Black Tent Theatre, "Katsudô Sengen," (The Declaration of Action) on the flyer of *Buranki Goroshi Shanhai No Haru* (The Killing of Blanqui, Spring in Shanghai), inserted in *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 7 (May 1979).

These two documents introduced two new terms, ‘public sphere’ and ‘Asia’. They were considered as “critical elements that had originally been incorporated in theatre yet had been ignored for long.”⁶⁷ According to Tsuno Kaitarô, the ‘public sphere’ and ‘Asia’ were closely interrelated to each other.⁶⁸ Theatre as a ‘public sphere’ was a broad concept which questioned the role of theatre in society. This was the basis of the *Draft Mission Statement*. On the other hand, the ‘Asian Theatre’ was meant to be a practical thesis to realise the theatre as a ‘public sphere’.

Nevertheless, what these two terms meant was not clear. The definitions of these terms cannot be found anywhere in the periodical of the BTT, the *Hyôgikai Tsûsin (The Council Report)* around that time. In the next two sections, I will examine the BTT’s thoughts on these two terms at the time when the *Draft Mission Statement* was published. This will be helpful when compared to their thesis established in the later period.

2-1. Theatre as a ‘Public Sphere’

The first term, ‘public sphere’ generated from the difficulties that the BTT faced when pitching their tent theatres in a public space. Since they started their tour performances with the black tent in 1969, there had been a number of cases where the authorities rejected their request for the permission to use public spaces for their performances. The BTT started to question why they could not perform in public parks.

In 1975, the BTT applied for permission to use a park in Naha city, Okinawa prefecture for their tour. Having received a tentative verbal approval from the officer in

⁶⁷ The Black Tent Theatre, “Engeki O Kôkyô No Basho Ni!” (Bringing Theatre to Public Spaces) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 8 (June 1979), 4.

⁶⁸ Tsuno Kaitarô, “Undô No Akarukute Kurai Basho,” (The Bright yet Dark Place of the Movement) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 5 (September 1978), 16.

charge at the city hall, they started the publicity for their performance. However, on the eve of the performance, the authority turned down their application. Finally the BTT sued Naha city hall, requesting the withdrawal of the rejection. The court's decision, which was given ten months later, was totally against the BTT. This defeat considerably shocked them and made them realise that it was essential for them to reevaluate the grounds for claiming their right to use public space. Satô Makoto describes it as the "redefinition of the concept of 'public'."⁶⁹

So what was this "public" that they tried to seek? The premise was that it no longer made sense for them to plead with the public authority for the usage of 'their' property which was in the dichotomy of the 'public authority' and the 'private'. Tsuno Kaitarô writes, "Imagine the 'free' public space prepared by the authorities, in which the free competition of theatre occurs. The private sphere surrounds it, keeping some distance. This would be another version of hell, wouldn't it?"⁷⁰ Tsuno discovered that opposing the authorities does not necessarily make theatre un-public. Rather, he and the BTT realised that questioning the act of the authorities was a key to open a 'public sphere' that checks and examines the official culture and system.⁷¹

They perceived that the reason for the decrease in the number of public spaces available for performances was that the dichotomy of the 'public authority' and the 'private sphere' advanced enormously as a result of Japan's rapid economic development. Therefore, they had to establish a 'third sphere' in between the 'public authority' and the 'private sphere'.

⁶⁹ Satô, interview.

⁷⁰ Tsuno, "Undô No Akarukute Kurai Basho," 14-15.

⁷¹ Saeki Ryûkô et. al., "Engeki: Kôkyô No Engeki Wa Kanô Ka," (Is the Public Theatre Possible?) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 27 (August 1982), 5.

It required them to obtain a broader perspective and question not only theatre but also the social system itself.

I argued that the earlier anti-shingeki theatre and the Angura theatre movement were attempts to build public spheres with features of the Counter Public Sphere model through theatre. The BTT finally became conscious of the publicness of theatre and started to consider their theatre as a public sphere.

One of the reasons why the BTT came up with such a view was their ignorance of the civic movement against the building of the Central Terminal Station (CTS)—in which there was a massive-scale repository of crude oil off the coast of Kin Bay, not far from Naha city—that happened almost at the same time as their trial against the Naha city hall. The Japanese government set up the Okinawa Development Agency to incorporate Okinawa into Japan's rapid economic growth quickly after its reversion to Japan in 1972. The construction of the CTS was considered a strategic and necessary move for Okinawa's industrialisation. However, soon after the construction started, there were several cases of oil leakages that seriously damaged the fishery. The incident ignited protests against the construction by local residents.⁷² They formed *Kinwan O Mamoru Kai* (The Kin Bay Protection Society) in 1973 and started appeals to the prefectural government and companies. They also brought the case to the Naha District Court, which eventually turned down the claim.⁷³

Tsuno Kaitarô confesses, “Our court case happened almost at the same time as that of the Kin Bay Protection Society... Nevertheless we were not very interested in their

⁷² Miyume Tanji, “The Enduring Myth of an Okinawan Struggle: The History and Trajectory of a Diverse Community of Protest” (Ph.D. diss., Murdoch University, 2003), 216.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 217-218

movement. We did not understand the fact that the authority which ousted us from public land was the same power that damaged the ocean of Okinawa and destroyed the lives and cultures of the people living there.”⁷⁴ Through the experience of creating performances with the civic movement activists based on the methodology of the Asian people’s theatre, they began to realise that the issue of public land was deeply related to an issue of development. Public spaces available for theatre performances reduced also as a result of development.

At *An Evening of the Asian People’s Culture*, which was held in the following year of *An Evening of the Thai People’s Culture*, a song that was created by the activists of the anti-CTS movement was introduced.⁷⁵ Finally, the BTT could collaborate with them three years after the court case. They found a possibility of using theatre for the empowerment of the people in the region that was affected by Japan’s development—theatre for the ‘struggling masses’. Theatre, as a public sphere, should be a space to realise this. *The Draft Mission Statement* was published to claim it officially.

However, as I pointed out earlier, they did not have any concrete methodology to create a public sphere yet. *The Draft Mission Statement* merely tried to confirm the existence of a public sphere that should be “a space in which an alternative collective creation would be possible.”⁷⁶

2-2. ‘Asian Theatre’: Theatre for the ‘Struggling Masses’

The development that threatened the people’s independence and autonomy was a common issue which theatre movements all over the world, especially in the developing

⁷⁴ Tsuno Kaitarô, “Dozô to Yôkai,” (Storehouse and Ghost) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 13 (April 1980), 53.

⁷⁵ Tsuno, *Chiisana Media No Hitsuyô*, 114.

⁷⁶ Tsuno Kaitarô, “Undô No Akarukute Kurai Basho,” 16.

countries, tackled in order to empower the people.⁷⁷ The BTT also tried to establish their own version of the people's theatre created by the people—the 'struggling masses'. They named it the 'Asian Theatre' although it did "not exist anywhere in 1978."⁷⁸

What should be noted is that the manifesto of their 'Asian Theatre' thesis in 1978 shows a change in BTT members' perception of 'Asia.' In the postwar Japanese discourses, it had been tacitly understood that 'Asia' does not contain Japan as I discussed in Chapter 1. However, once Tsuno Kaitarô posits Asian theatre against the European theatre in the manifesto titled *Undô To Shiteno Ajia Engeki* (Asian Theatre as a Movement), Japan becomes a part of 'Asia.' When Tsuno claimed to destroy the 'trinity of modern theatre' that symbolise the European modernity, his argument was framed in Japan – Europe dichotomy. However, in this manifesto, Tsuno extended the scope and posited 'Asian theatre' against the European theatre. To achieve it, Tsuno argues, it was necessary to "precisely locate our theatre in the vast expanse of Asian theatre."⁷⁹ This was a claim to identify Japan as a part of 'Asia,' which is a totally different perception from the general perception in postwar Japan. However, the BTT was not equipped with the idea of how to realize it at that moment – I believe this is what they meant by the statement, "Asian theatre does not exist anywhere in 1978."

Unlike the period of the Angura theatre movement, where theatre companies tried to keep a distance from the civic movements, there was a momentum for the BTT to cooperate

⁷⁷ Tsuno Kaitarô et. al., "Ajia Engeki Kaigi To Wareware No Kadai," (Asian Theatre Forum and Our Challenges) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 29 (February 1983), 44.

⁷⁸ The Black Tent Theatre, "Sagyôba 10 Nen Kêkaku," (Plan of Activities at the Workshop for Next Ten Years) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 5 (September 1978), 7.

⁷⁹ Tsuno Kaitarô, "Undô To Shiteno Ajia Engeki: Watashitachi No Gakkô Kôsô," (Asian Theatre as a Movement: Our School Project) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 362 (October 1977), 73.

with the civic movement organisations and non-theatre professionals in the 1980s.⁸⁰ The direct and close relationship with the activists was considered an important element of the 'Asian Theatre'.

Because the BTT was not equipped with any concrete methodology to realise their vision of the 'Asian Theatre', they started two new programmes as a test bed for such a new methodology. The first programme was *Akai Kyabarê* (The Red Cabaret) started in 1978. It was a practice of the highly mobile, small-scale theatre with minimal set and lights. They brought their performances to many kinds of non-theatre environments such as parks, wedding parties, abandoned houses and rallies of labour unions. It was considered as opportunities for the BTT members to experiment with the methodology of the Asian people's theatre, which was "creating theatres anywhere and without any scripts."⁸¹ It could be understood as a trial to build a platform to practice applied theatre *with* the communities more flexibly and efficiently.

The second program was *Akai Kyôshitsu* (The Red Classroom) started in 1977. It was a 'school' to teach techniques and knowledge that could be used to help non-professionals participate in theatre.⁸² The early programme contained, for example, the following courses: *How to Create a Drama* was a course in which participants could learn the creative methodology to produce their own theatrical presentations. The knowledge shared in the course was based on the BTT's experience in *Ugly JASEAN* and subsequent productions. Another course, *Circus* was designed to give participants a basic training of

⁸⁰ Ibid., 4-5.

⁸¹ Kikuchi Bonpei et. al., "'Uma, Abesada' Tabi Nikki," (Record of the Tour of *Uma, Abesada*) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 6 (February 1979), 36.

⁸² The Black Tent Theatre, "A.T.F. tte Nandesuka!?" (What is ATF?) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 29 (February 1983), 6.

circus performances in order to let the participants experience the joy of performing.⁸³ It was an attempt to establish the applied theatre methodology *by* the community.

In spite of such efforts, two major problems surfaced within less than two years of activities with the civic movement activists since *Ugly JASEAN*. One problem was the sustainability of productions involving activists and the other was the lack of knowledge on the actual situation in Southeast Asia.

3. Problems with Early Projects of the BTT

It was a fresh experience for the members of the BTT to work with the activists. They were strongly impressed with the development in which “the ordinary people performed by themselves, and freed their minds through the process of creation.”⁸⁴ However, at the same time, they found that it was very difficult to continue the method that they had used in *Ugly JASEAN*. The BTT members and civic movement activists spent a few months on the creative process which included discussions, rehearsals and acting training for amateur performers. Nevertheless, even if the BTT put in much more effort to develop the acting skills of the activists, the same cast members might not necessarily get involved in the next production. There was even a possibility that the same activist group might not collaborate with the BTT anymore. They were activists in the first place and would “eventually go back to their own work and movement.”⁸⁵

⁸³ The Black Tent Theatre, “Kuroiro Tendo 68/71 No Akai Kyôshitsu,” (Red Classroom of The Black Tent Theatre) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 7 (May 1979). 42.

⁸⁴ Kiritani Natsuko et. al., “Ima ‘Undô’ No Têten Kara,” (From the Bottom of the Movement) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 7 (May 1979), 26.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 27.

The activists who collaborated with the BTT also had problems. One of the collaborators in *Ugly JASEAN* project, the Anti-Pollution Export Information Centre continued their collaboration with the BTT and produced *The 'Clean Industry' that Pollutes the Ocean* with their own script in 1978. Although the members of the Anti-Pollution Export Information Centre valued the merit of the Southeast Asian people's theatre, they also realised that they could not concentrate on their main activities because creating theatre required so much time and effort.⁸⁶ Therefore, the methodology used for *Ugly JASEAN* was found to be too demanding for both the BTT and the activists.

The production of *The 'Clean Industry' that Pollutes the Ocean* raised another problem. Unlike *Ugly JASEAN*, which was written by the Thai collaborators, the BTT Theatre and the Anti-Pollution Export Information Centre prepared the script by themselves. However, the play was heavily criticised for its lack of reality in its descriptions of its Southeast Asian characters.⁸⁷ One of the actors of the BTT recalls, "We had no choice but to describe the Philippines as a kind of utopia because we really did not know the situation there."⁸⁸ Some audience members pointed out that the play reduced the complex issue of pollution export into a simple 'good (Filipino workers) versus evil (Japanese companies)' story.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Arakawa Shunji, "Han Kawatetsugeki O Yarioete," (Reflections on Anti-Kawasaki Steel Theatre) *Gekkan 'Kôgai O Nogasuna'* 2, no.34 (December/January 1978/1979), 42.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁸⁸ Editorial, "10.6-7 Ajia Minshû Bunka No Yûbe Kawatetsugeki Hôkoku," (Report of Anti-Kawasaki Steel Theatre at *An Evening of Asian People's Culture*) *Gekkan 'Kôgai O Nogasuna'* 2, no.33 (November 1978), 33.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 38-39. Export of pollution to Southeast Asia was a hot issue for Japanese residents' movement in the late 1970s. I will discuss it in Section 4 of this chapter.

Although the BTT's 'Asian Theatre' aimed to "establish a practical relationship with the people's theatre companies in various Asian countries,"⁹⁰ the only contact that they had was the Thai collaborators of *Ugly JASEAN*. They learned that there were rich practices of people's culture in Southeast Asia through the experience of *Ugly JASEAN*. Through the protest against dictatorship, people's culture in this region had been developed as a tool for the empowerment of the ordinary people. It gave them a strong impression that "those whom we should look for solidarity with were in Southeast Asia."⁹¹ However, the information on this region, especially on their cultural activities was extremely limited at that time.⁹²

Although a new direction for the company was set by *The Draft Mission Statement* and *The Declaration of Action*, the BTT still could not find a concrete methodology and repeated trials and errors without any progress.⁹³ They recognised the need to find a counterpart in Southeast Asia in order to learn about the methodology of the people's theatre practiced in the region. Therefore the BTT started to collect information on theatres in

⁹⁰ The Black Tent Theatre, "Sagyôba 10 Nen Kêkaku," 4-5.

⁹¹ Matsui Kentarô, interview by author, Tokyo, 25 August 2009.

⁹² For example, former *Beheiren* activist Yoshioka Shinobu, who worked with Tsuno Kaitarô at *Suigyû Tsûshin*, was the first person who introduced famous Indonesian poet and people's theatre activist WS Rendra to Japan. See Tsuno, "Undô To Shiteno Ajia Engeki," 71. The only information available for the BTT was from a secondary source and they could not find a way to communicate with Southeast Asian theatre practitioners directly.

Tsuno Kaitarô insists that the total ignorance of Asian theatre in Japan was not just a postwar phenomenon. During the Japanese occupation of the Philippines, theatres in Tagalog were widely employed as the people's weapon for the anti-Japanese campaign. Tsuno argues, "The theatre was right in front of many Japanese reporters in the occupied Philippines, but they couldn't see it. I don't want to dismiss the fact that these shameless reports have governed our thinking for very long. Today's ignorance of the Asian theatre is a direct result of their ignorance." (Tsuno Kaitarô, "The Stones of Satire," 6)

'Asian Theatre' was, in that sense, a project to deal with the issue of Japan's imperial past, which had been one of the unsolved issues of the Angura theatre.

⁹³ Saeki Ryûkô et. al., "Engeki : Kôkyô No Engeki Wa Kanô Ka," 2-3.

Southeast Asia as well as seek contacts with theatre practitioners in Southeast Asia. Their encounter with the Philippine Educational Theatre Association (PETA) was a result of such an initiative and PETA greatly affected the BTT's activities afterwards.

Section 3. The Encounter with PETA: Learning the Methodology of Applied Theatre *with / by the Communities*

1. The First Encounter

PETA was established by Cecile Guidote in 1967 with an aim of being “a national organisation of schools and community drama groups.”⁹⁴ The association was “the main pioneer of the Asian theatre for liberation”⁹⁵ and comprised of two core organisations. One was the Kalinangan Ensemble which was meant for staging PETA's own productions and the other was the Central Institute of Theater Arts in the Philippines (CITAP) which conducted workshops and educational programmes for the ordinary people.

The BTT's first encounter with PETA was at the First Congress on Rural Drama held in Raipur, India in 1978. It was initiated by one of the core members of PETA, Remy Rikken with cooperation from Kamla Bhasin, a cultural organiser from India. Rikken's aim was to learn from the experiences of cultural groups with the same direction as PETA.⁹⁶ The conference was attended by delegates from India, Sri Lanka, Thailand, the Philippines and

⁹⁴ Laura L. Samson et. al. (eds.), *A Continuing Narrative on Philippine Theater: The Story of PETA* (Quezon City: Philippine Educational Theater Association, 2008), 19.

⁹⁵ Van Erven, *The Playful Revolution*, 20.

⁹⁶ Samson et. al., *The Story of PETA*, 216.

Japan—which was represented by two members of the BTT, Hotta Masahiko and Hattori Yoshitsugu.⁹⁷

Hotta found that there were two main streams of thought among the participants of the conference. One was those who were interested in how to adapt traditional theatres into contemporary performances, and this was represented by the Indonesian artists. The other was represented by Rikken who focused on the usage of theatre in the actual fields.⁹⁸ Rikken asks, “What kind of artistic experience should we bring to the very poor so that it becomes an empowering tool?”⁹⁹ Interested in the stance of PETA, Hotta made a stopover in the Philippines to observe PETA’s activities on his way back to Japan.¹⁰⁰

PETA organised a three-day workshop specially prepared for the members of the BTT in the following year. Hotta became an intermediary and brought eight of the BTT performers to Manila. Having received a strong impression of PETA’s methodology, the BTT decided to continue to participate in PETA’s regular summer workshops from the next year onwards.¹⁰¹ PETA became the first partner organisation in Asia for the BTT.

⁹⁷ According to a member of the BTT, Thai poet Tepsiri Sooksopa who helped in the production of *Ugly JASEAN*, was involved in the preparation of the congress, and he invited the BTT to India. See Kiritani Natsuko, “Kurotentoteki Kokusai Kôryû,” (International Exchange in the Black Tent Style), *the Official Blog of Asian Tosca Project of the Black Tent Theatre, PETA and Theatre Practice*. <http://blog.goo.ne.jp/tosca2007/c/03d1659205cd7ee56151ba23759feae> (accessed 26 December 2010).

This information seems to be correct because Tepsiri Sooksopa himself talked about the networking with BTT and PETA in the interview. See Tepsiri Sooksopa and Hariu Ichirô, “Tai No Bungaku To Minshû No Tameno Geijutsu,” (Thai Literature and Arts for People) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 399 (November 1980), 107.

⁹⁸ Tsuno et. al., “Ajia Engeki Kaigi To Wareware No Kadai,” 33.

⁹⁹ Samson et. al., *The Story of PETA*, 217.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 217.

¹⁰¹ The Black Tent Theatre, “A.T.F. tte Nandesuka!?” 5.

2. PETA's Move towards Building Networks in Southeast Asia

From their early years, PETA intended to extend their ties to counterparts in the Southeast Asian region. They organised the First Third World Theatre Festival in Manila in 1971 with support from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the International Theatre Institute. At the same time, CITAP was reformed into the Central Institute of Theatre Arts in Southeast Asia (CITASA).¹⁰² CITASA was planned as “a meeting ground of the best in Asian theatre, a studio for creating projects that will revitalize traditional theatre forms through contemporary thoughts and trends, and a venue for a positive cross-pollination of cultures, ideas, traditions, and insights.”¹⁰³ However, it became extremely difficult to communicate with overseas collaborators after martial law was declared in 1972. On top of that, the founder of PETA, Guidote, went into exile in the same year, which greatly shocked the company.¹⁰⁴ As a result, PETA suspended their plan to build a Southeast Asian network and concentrated on domestic activities for several years.¹⁰⁵

The First Congress on Rural Drama in 1978 was the first attempt for Rikken, who became one of the leaders of PETA after Guidote, to build an Asian network. The contacts from the early years had been lost and PETA did not have any information on Asia at that time.¹⁰⁶ The BTT, which eagerly sought counterparts in Southeast Asia and was deeply interested in PETA's methodology, was a desirable partner for PETA and CITASA.

¹⁰² Laura L. Samson et. al., *The Story of PETA*, 51.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 52.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 78.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 100.

¹⁰⁶ The Black Tent Theatre, “Firipino No Mitamama Nippon, Bunkakô,” (The Filipino Thoughts on Japanese Culture) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 23 (December 1981), 4-5.

The PETA-CITASA accelerated their networking with neighbouring countries. They organised the first Asian Theatre Workshop in 1980 with participants from Indonesia, Malaysia, India, Thailand and Japan which was represented by the BTT. In the same year, nine CITASA teachers, along with Remmy Rikken, conducted follow-up courses of the workshop in Malaysia and Indonesia. The group also held an orientation workshop in Singapore.¹⁰⁷ Gradually PETA became a centre of the Southeast Asian people's theatre movement. In 1981, the Asian Theatre Forum (ATF) was set up under the initiative of PETA and the BTT. The ATF was planned as "a more organised venue to maintain intercultural and intercountry exchange and cooperation."¹⁰⁸ The first workshop of ATF was held in Manila for seven weeks using PETA's standard workshop methodology.

Nevertheless, PETA did not wish to dominate the network. After two ATF workshops in Manila, PETA sent a message to the foreign participants which read, "Concerned artists have begun to build new networks using the network that was created through the ATF. We hope that solidarity will grow among the theatre artists and educational / social activists. And we believe that the burden of responsibility should be borne not only by the PETA-CITASA but also by other participants of the ATF."¹⁰⁹ Responding to this appeal, the third ATF was hosted by the BTT. As I will discuss in detail later, the third ATF was held in collaboration with the Japanese civic movement activists and helped the BTT to establish a strong relationship with them.

Complementing these multilateral exchange programmes, bilateral exchanges between the BTT and PETA were also common. In 1980, the BTT performed at the Raha

¹⁰⁷ Laura L. Samson et. al., *The Story of PETA*, 219.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 220.

¹⁰⁹ Manuel Pambid, "A.T.F. Wa Nani O Mezasuka?," (The Aim of A.T.F.) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 29 (February 1983), 17.

Sulayman open-air theatre in Manila, which was the base of PETA.¹¹⁰ In the following year, the PETA members visited Japan in turn and observed the BTT's domestic tour performances.¹¹¹ In 1986, the BTT hosted PETA's first Japan tour. It was a part of PETA's world tour to the United States, Canada, Europe and Asia with a new production titled *Piñata sa Kalayaan (The Oath to Freedom)* that was themed on the People's Power Revolution that ousted dictator Marcos from power. PETA played a significant role in this.¹¹² This was the first Southeast Asian contemporary theatre production that was staged in Japan.¹¹³

3. The Methodology of PETA

3-1. Principles

As the name of the company suggests, education was one of the major pillars of PETA's activities. CITAP, later CITASA, was the wing to practice that side of activities. Cecile Guidote established CITAP to release and unleash the creative energies of common folks based on her "gold mine" theory, which "recognises a fountain of creativity most often untapped in every individual."¹¹⁴ Programmes of CITAP were designed to dig into the "gold

¹¹⁰ Endô Takuo, "Ajia Engeki Wâkushoppu," (Asian Theatre Workshop) *Teatoro* 450 (August 1980), 102.

¹¹¹ Kiritani Natsuko, "Ajia Karano Kaze, Fûsoku 30 Mêtôru," (A Wind from Asia, Wind Speed is 30 Kilometer) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 20 (May 1981), 45.

Unlike the early activities such as the participation in the Congress in India and PETA workshops which were all done on members' own expenses, these exchange projects were sponsored by the Japan Foundation, a governmental grant-making body that supported international exchanges. It was the first time BTT received a grant from the governmental institute. See Endô, "Ajia Engeki Wâkushoppu," 102 and Laura L. Samson et. al., *The Story of PETA*, 222.

¹¹² Laura L. Samson et. al., *The Story of PETA*, 130.

¹¹³ Tsuno Kaitarô, "PETA Ga Kuru," (PETA is Coming) *Suigyû Tsûshin* 88 (November 1986), published online at http://www1.u-netsurf.ne.jp/~mie_y/suigyû/tushin/1986_11.html (accessed 23 December 2010).

¹¹⁴ Laura L. Samson et. al., *The Story of PETA*, 48.

mine” by letting participants learn about their own language and culture as well as deepen their awareness about the situation surrounding them through the experience of performing by themselves.¹¹⁵ The original aim of CITAP was to establish a Filipino national theatre based on the “generalist view of Filipino culture that focused on cultural identity.”¹¹⁶ PETA clearly focused on applied theatre *by* the communities.

When martial law was declared by the Marcos regime in 1972 and the anti-government civic movements started, the CITASA faculty and curriculum were influenced by this sociopolitical development. Now they were “armed with new tools of knowledge and organising strategies initially inspired by parallel histories in Third World countries”¹¹⁷ and moved towards more socially relevant themes. The major turning point was the enhancement of the 1977 Summer Workshop’s syllabus through the conscious application of the thematic approach.¹¹⁸

Although PETA developed theatre workshops independently of Augusto Boal,¹¹⁹ their methodology had clear similarities with that of Boal’s ‘Theatre of the Oppressed’.¹²⁰ It could also be understood as a “well-developed form of Brecht’s educational theatre,”¹²¹ which Boal also referred to.¹²² Robert Gordon points out, “Two Brechtian principles underpin Boal’s praxis. The first is that theatre should promote concrete political action. A

¹¹⁵ Kan Takayuki, “Engeki No Orutanathibu II,” (An Alternative to Theatre II) *MUNKS* 2 (November 1992), 20.

¹¹⁶ Laura L. Samson et. al., *The Story of PETA*, 203.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 204.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 204.

¹¹⁹ Van Erven, *The Playful Revolution*, 20. It was only in 1984 that two members of PETA participated in a theatre of the oppressed workshop conducted by Boal in Paris. (Van Erven, *The Playful Revolution*, 245.)

¹²⁰ Yamamoto Kiyokazu, “‘Dura Tura’ Ni Tsuite No Oboegaki,” (A Memorandum on *Dula-Tula*) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 29 (February 1983), 31.

¹²¹ Matsui Kentarô, “‘Dare’ no Gekijyôka?,” (Theatre for Whom?) *MUNKS* 2 (November 1992), 26.

¹²² See Augusto Boal, *Theatre of the Oppressed*, trans., Charles A & Maria-Odilia Leal McBride (New York: Urizen Books, 1979), Chapter 3.

performance should represent actual life ... to provoke and rehearse interventions that might change those aspects of society that oppress individuals and groups. The second is the notion that dramatic performance in itself constitutes a dialectical process of learning.”¹²³

PETA’s new methodology incorporated both of these points. Their methodology well reflected the ideas of the two great fathers of applied theatre.

Equivalents of the PETA’s people’s theatre could be found in various areas of Asia during that period. Their features included “minimal usage of sets and lights, flexible and lively characters, collaboration between professional theatre practitioners and amateurs, no usage of detailed scripts, rich usage of dances and songs, and clear day-to-day themes.”¹²⁴

Tsuno Kaitarô claims that various Asian educational theatres had been trying to resume Brecht’s educational theatre project, which Brecht himself could not realise before his death.¹²⁵

3-2. Practice: Workshops

Eugene van Erven recorded a typical style of PETA’s theatre workshops in his *The Playful Revolution*. He divided the process into three phases: (1) the pre-workshop period; (2) the workshop proper; and (3) the post-workshop period.¹²⁶

The first period is to let the workshop trainers familiarized themselves with the local context of the community they work with. They conducted extensive investigation into its

¹²³ Robert Gordon, *The Purpose of Playing: Modern Acting Theories in Perspective* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2006), 261.

¹²⁴ Tsuno Kaitarô, “Ajia No Gekijyô Ni Tsuite: Bën Serubantesu O Chûshin Ni,” (On Asian Theatre: Focusing on Behn Cervantes) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 384 (August 1979), 41.

¹²⁵ Tsuno Kaitarô, “Augusuburugu No Hito No Gekijyô: ‘Engeki Girai No Engeki’ Ni Tsuite,” (Theatre for the People of Augsburg: On Theatre for ‘Haters of Theatre’) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 17 (November 1980), 13.

¹²⁶ Van Erven, *The Playful Revolution*, 22.

social, political, economic, and cultural conditions. The trainers arrived a few days before the workshop begins to get in touch with the community members in advance. The workshop begins with “the get-to-know-you phase in which games and exercises are used to break the ice.”¹²⁷ Various games and activities follow and the participants gradually start to understand each other’s backgrounds and issues they are facing. Van Erven points out, “(PETA’s theatre workshop) is structured cumulatively and hence new participants should not be allowed in once the process has been set in motion. Relationships and collective working attitudes have already begun to get to such a degree... If inhibitions have not been sufficiently broken and a healthy collaboration does not exist, the result of the second phase – in which private experiences are shared with the group – will be proportionally meager.”¹²⁸ Through the activities during this phase, the participants conduct a creative version of the structural social analysis of the community. After each session of the analysis, there are round-table discussions with all participants in which participants tell stories from their own lives or from their community.¹²⁹ In the final phase these stories are evolved into one or more original drama pieces and staged by the participants themselves. The performances are either for the participants only or for the community at large, however, there will always be an open forum to discuss the issues raised by the plays. All of PETA's training activities, which range from grassroots theatre workshops to advanced courses for professional performers, adopted the same three-phase cumulative strategy.

On top of that, PETA institutionalised a ‘staged poetry concept’ called *Dula-Tula* around 1979. In *Dula-Tula*, “poems of the participants are reconstructed into a group poem

¹²⁷ Ibid., 22.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 24.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 25.

and brought to life through the use of the different arts learned through the workshops.”¹³⁰ It was a device to empower the people by letting them develop their own language through social and political movements.

PETA's training programme did not produce actors for the classical stage; rather, it trained a new breed of all-round committed artists called the ATOR, an acronym of *Actor-Trainer-Organiser-Researcher*.¹³¹ The PETA members were also required to be equipped with the skills of educators. They valued the talent of facilitators more than artistic talents when recruiting new members.¹³²

At the earlier stage of the exchange, the BTT simply learned “the methodologies and theories of the Asian people’s theatre that already existed,”¹³³ including the PETA’s workshop model. However, they gradually started to develop their own style of workshops through practice in the 1980s.¹³⁴ The inputs from the PETA members guided the BTT in this endeavour.

4. The BTT and Theatre Workshops

4-1. Criticism of the BTT’s Activities from PETA

As I mentioned earlier, three members of PETA visited Japan for three weeks in 1981 and observed the BTT’s activities. It was an opportunity for the PETA members to learn about the Japanese situation and it was also a chance for the BTT to be reviewed by the practitioners of the Asian people’s theatre. The PETA members shared their frank and

¹³⁰ Laura L. Samson et. al., *The Story of PETA*, 205.

¹³¹ Van Erven, *The Playful Revolution*, 21.

¹³² Ben Santos-Cabangon, interview by author, Tokyo, 12 February 2010.

¹³³ Satô Makoto, “Koritsusuru Undô, Tsûtêsuru Undô,” (The Isolated Movement and the Continuing Movement) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 24 (March 1982), 30.

¹³⁴ Yamamoto Kiyokazu, “‘Dura Tura’ Ni Tsuite No Oboegaki,” 31.

detailed views with the BTT, and two points raised by PETA affected the design of the BTT's version of the people's theatre.

The first, pointed out by Soxie Topacio, was the too "intelligent and philosophical" nature of the BTT's plays. The play the PETA members observed during their stay was a new play by Satô Makoto, *Yoru To Yoru No Yoru (The Night of the Night and the Night)*. Set in Tao City, an imaginary city somewhere in Asia, *The Night of the Night and the Night* can be read as Satô's summary of the Angura theatre movement. The drama, in which mysterious characters move freely beyond spatial and temporal boundaries, reflected a typical Angura dramaturgy.¹³⁵

Topacio felt "threatened" when he watched it. He points out, "I felt the play was saying, 'You are not intelligent enough if you don't understand this'. I felt obliged to understand every single meaning of the images shown on stage."¹³⁶ He had the same feeling when he watched a production under the Red Cabaret program, *Miyazawa Kenji*.¹³⁷ As I mentioned earlier, the BTT's Red Cabaret was an attempt to build an effective creative methodology of applied theatre *with* the communities. It was a serious problem if a project to engage the ordinary people actually "threatens" them.

Topacio questions, "Why do you Japanese artists avoid presenting questions and arguments to the audience in a simple manner? ... I create my theatre for people with the simplest perceptions. Can simple, ordinary people in Japan come to watch the BTT?"¹³⁸ What Topacio argues here is similar to what I pointed out in my last chapter—the reason why

¹³⁵ Satô Makoto, "Yoru To Yoru No Yoru," (The Night of the Night and the Night) *Shingeki* 338 (June 1981), 142-187.

¹³⁶ The Black Tent Theatre, "Firipîno No Mitamama Nippon, Bunkakô," 4.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

the BTT faced a deadlock in the 1970s was because of the discrepancy between the purpose — realizing the ‘people’s theatre’ and the means — theatre with complex and inaccessible narratives.

The second point was a hierarchical system in the Japanese theatre which prevented free communications among members. Actually the issue of hierarchical system in theatre had been one of the main concerns of the BTT. Augusto Boal points out two hierarchies incorporated in the system of modern theatre. The first is the separation of actors from spectators.¹³⁹ In his argument on the “smoking theatre,” Tsuno Kaitarô criticized the theatre with the curtains that detach the audience from the actors. This is precisely to cope with Boal’s first point.

The second hierarchical system that Boal criticized was the one that existed within a theatre company – the separation of protagonists from the bit players. Such a ‘ranking’ among members existed in organization of the BTT. There were three strata in their membership — ‘apprentices - junior members - members’—and lower members could not express their thoughts freely in front of the seniors.¹⁴⁰ Another PETA member, Bodjie Pascua, argues that such a strict apprenticeship made all members feel that no mistakes would be allowed, which he felt was very “inhuman”.¹⁴¹ Manny Pambid had a similar feeling during the sessions of the Red Classroom in which he participated as a facilitator.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Boal, *Theatre of the Oppressed*, 119.

¹⁴⁰ Satô Makoto had actually recognised the problem of the hierarchy in the company even before some PETA members pointed it out. Although that system, in which actors pointed their energy to the director who held the position of absolute authority, had a merit that enabled the performances to be filled with tensions, he recognised that it was an oppressive system that put much pressure on the actors as well as on the director (Satô, interview).

¹⁴¹ The Black Tent Theatre, “Firipino No Mitamama Nippon, Bunkakô,” 13.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 13.

“Learn to use it” had been a slogan of the Red Classroom. The BTT tried to teach this method to create theatres themed on people’s problems through the courses given under the programme. However, it had been a serious drawback that the “problems” were always set by members of the BTT. ‘Teachers’ of the BTT forced their imagination onto the participants and put them in the weaker position of ‘pupils’. What Boal called “the coercive indoctrination”¹⁴³ was at work. Eventually, the participants were very confused because they had to “problematise what was actually not a problem” at the Red Classroom.¹⁴⁴ In the practice of applied theatre *by* the communities, which the Red Classroom aimed at, the existence of the hierarchy was a critical issue.

What PETA members revealed was that the BTT’s attempts at establishing the applied theatre methodology were still trapped in a traditional system and practice based on a strict disciples system. It prohibited the young members to express their thought freely, which was incompatible with the idea of applied theatre *with / by* the communities. The BTT responded to the points raised by the PETA members and developed their model of applied theatre *with / by* the communities that eliminated hierarchical structure.

4-2. Responses from the BTT

The response to the point that was raised by Soxie Topacio—the inaccessibility of the narratives—was a search for a more accessible language. It can be found most clearly in the language used in the BTT’s periodical, *Hyôgikai Tsûshin*. The titles of the articles in the earliest issues read, “Let’s Run Through the ‘June in Okinawa’ at Full Stretch to Realise the

¹⁴³ Boal, *Theatre of the Oppressed*, 119.

¹⁴⁴ Matsui Kentarô et. al., “Kyôshitsu No 1 Nen O Furikaeru,” (Reviewing a Year of Red Classroom) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 19 (April 1981), 4.

Dramatic Advancement of the ‘Movement’ and ‘Assemblage’!,” “We Request the Continuous Usage of the Parks!!” or “Is Existentialism a Humanism?”¹⁴⁵ They resembled the typical styles of the New Left student activists’ inflammatory posters, which were filled with exclamation marks and philosophical terms. It was truly a style that insists that “you are not intelligent enough if you don’t understand this.” Around 1980, however, the articles that appeared in *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* started to avoid serious and official tones. Now they wrote less on concepts and ideas, and more on practices and experiences. As a result, the articles became much more accessible.¹⁴⁶

The BTT also incorporated a new style to their plays. They started new experiments in order to go back to the “basics of theatre, which was to attract the audience’s attention through the story told on stage,”¹⁴⁷ which they named the “Actors as Story Tellers” project. It was developed from the experiences of the Red Cabaret in which the Actors had to perform in a small group with minimal sets and lights. Naturally, they became highly sensitive as to whether what they delivered was accepted and articulated by the audience or not.¹⁴⁸ To fully communicate with the audience, they had to “discover a mode of speech and a style of language that could be shared with each other.”¹⁴⁹ The language used had to be a clear and plain one.¹⁵⁰ The plays for the main season also adopted this thesis of the “Actors as Story

¹⁴⁵ For these expressions, see *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 1 (March 1977).

¹⁴⁶ Tsuno Kaitarô, “Tento No Uchisoto,” (Tent Theatre, In and Out) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 394 (June 1980), 117.

¹⁴⁷ Satô Makoto, “Engeki No Aru Basho,” (The Location of Theatre) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 10 (October 1979), 18.

¹⁴⁸ Red Cabaret productions were usually accompanied by post-performance discussions with the audience. The excerpts of the discussion regularly appeared in BTT’s periodical, *Hyôgikai Tsûshin*. See, for example, Satô Makoto, “Kusoshi Nikki,” (Production Diary of *Kusoshi Monogatari*) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 6 (February 1979), 1-13.

¹⁴⁹ The Black Tent Theatre, “Kôjô No Naka No ‘Cabaret Kim Jiha’: Yamashina Tekkô Jôen Kiroku,” (*Cabaret Kim Chi-ha* in a Plant: Record of Staging at Yamashita Steel Company) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 13 (April 1980), 46.

¹⁵⁰ Yamamoto Kenichi, “Kowareta Taimu Mashin,” (The Broken Time Machine) *Teatoro*

Tellers”. For example, the BTT’s 1982 production, *Pinokkio Janbaraya (The Pinocchio Jambalaya)*, was written based on field research and discussions with workers at a shipyard and it employed their daily language.¹⁵¹

The response to the second point—the existence of a hierarchical system— was to seek theatre as a plaza or an ‘*agora*’, which realised a horizontal relationship between the BTT members and its participants. It was PETA’s workshop model that taught the BTT that the horizontal relationship could be realised in theatre.

The methodology of PETA’s workshops did not solely aim to create a production but to use the creative process as a means to empower the people. It well reflected in Augusto Boal’s argument that “The bourgeoisie presents the spectacle. On the other hand, the proletariat and the oppressed classes do not know yet what their world will be like; consequently their theater will be the rehearsal, not the finished spectacle.”¹⁵²

It was a totally new model of the people’s theatre for the BTT. It was beyond their imagination to value the process more than the outcome, i.e. the production. They actually made a slogan during the *Ugly JASEAN* project that read that the process of collective creation is an opportunity to learn. However, the final purpose was none other than to stage the production. Observing PETA’s workshops — which connected their artistic techniques to the society through the circuits other than productions to be staged — was a shocking and eye-opening episode that forced them towards a radical change in standpoint.¹⁵³ The BTT, which once tried applied theatre *for* the communities so as to change the relationship between

445 (March 1980), 84.

¹⁵¹ Matsui Kentarô, “Zôsenjo Kenbunroku: Sumitomo Jûki Uruga Zôsenjo O Tazunete,” (Record of the visit of Sumitomo Heavy Industry Uruga Shipyard) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 25 (April 1982), 28-29.

¹⁵² Boal, *Theatre of the Oppressed*, 142.

¹⁵³ Satô Makoto, “Engeki No Kakushinhan 4.” (Convinced Criminal of Theatre 4) *Teatoro* 657 (July 1997), 72.

the performers and audience members during the Angura theatre movement, finally found a concrete method to apply applied theatre *with / by* the communities.¹⁵⁴ At the same time, the feature of PETA's workshops— that “the position of teachers and students could be reversed instantly and then real dialogue between them would happen”¹⁵⁵, showed the BTT an alternative to the hierarchical model.

In workshops, the process of theatre creation was considered as a forum for public discourses in which people could gain deeper understanding of the issues that they struggled with. The most important discovery for the BTT was that “the process was, at the same time, fundamentally connected to the restructuring of the group based on the horizontal relationship.”¹⁵⁶ They started to perceive the people's theatre as a space where relationships among participants could be rebuilt. A member of the BTT, Saeki Ryûkô writes, “The entity that might be called ‘people’ should form a ‘sphere’ in which a complex enjoyment could be at work.”¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ As I mentioned in the previous section, various Angura theatre companies tried to adopt the idea of applied theatre *for* the communities to change the relationship between the performers and the audience members. Nevertheless, the BTT was able to accept the methodology of the Southeast Asian people's theatre which shared the influences of Brecht and Boal more successfully than any other theatre companies in Japan. This was because the BTT was the only ‘Brechtian’ company among the Angura groups that were generally more influenced by the Beckettian Theatre of the Absurd. See Nishidô Kôjin et. al., “Nani Ga Engeki De Katareruka,” (What can Theatre Narrate?) *MUNKS* 1 (June 1992), 4.

For example, the BTT tried to stage Brecht's *The Decision* before they met PETA. However, it was cancelled because of the similarity between the story of the play and the Red Army incident. See Satô Makoto and Kanze Hideo, “Naze ‘Shochi’ Ka,” (Why *The Decision*?) *Shingeki* 334 (February 1981), 126.

¹⁵⁵ Matsui Kentarô, “‘Dare’ no Gekijyôka?,” 27.

¹⁵⁶ Satomi Minoru, “Nihon No Sêkatsu To Bunka O Ajia No Kagami Ni Utsusu: Minshû Engeki Kaigi Kara No Hôkoku,” (Reflecting Japanese Lives and Culture in the Mirror of Asia: A Report of People's Theatre Forum) *Asahi Jânaru* 25, no. 45 (October 1983), 71.

¹⁵⁷ Saeki Ryûkô, “‘Nani Ga Engeki De Katareruka’ Shijô Sanka,” (Comments on ‘What can Theatre Narrate?’ Debate) *MUNKS* 1 (June 1992), 22.

Such a 'sphere' was close to that of Boal's model of applied theatre *by* the communities.¹⁵⁸ For example, in Boal's Forum Theatre, everybody gathers at the venue, no matter whether he / she is an actor or an audience member. They are Actors and Spectators at the same time and called Spect-Actors.¹⁵⁹ People interact, intervene and try to change the story of the performance. Theatre is thus turned into a "forum" in which people exchange their views, negotiate with others and find better solutions to social problems.¹⁶⁰

A specialist of the Latin American people's culture and a strong supporter of the BTT, Satomi Minoru explains the role of workshops as a tool to overcome the isolation of the individuals- which Hannah Arendt points out.¹⁶¹ According to Arendt, the modern masses suffer from "selflessness in the sense that oneself does not matter, [there is] the feeling of being expendable." "This self-centered bitterness, however," she argues, "although repeated again and again in individual isolation, was not a common bond despite its tendency to extinguish individual differences, because it was based on no common interest, economic or social or political."¹⁶² The workshop was considered as a movement to create a "bond" among the people. This would eventually enable the establishment of a public sphere.

¹⁵⁸ Being aware that "there was a common ground shared by the Japanese Angura, the Latin American theatre, the African theatre and the Southeast Asian theatre," the BTT started to study Boal's theories seriously after its initial encounter through PETA. See Kubo Satoru et. al., "Minshū Sōzō Undō No Kadai: 'Kamengeki To Madangeki' O Megutte," (Challenges of People's Creative Movement: On *Mask Performance and Madang Performance*) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 410 (October 1981), 44 and Matsui Kentarō, "'Dare' No Gekijōka?," (Theatre, for Whom?) *MUNKS* 2 (November 1992), 35-36.

Their main informant was a Latin American literature scholar Satomi Minoru who started to introduce Boal's theories through the study group on people's art at Shin Nihon Bungakukai, which I will discuss later in this chapter.

¹⁵⁹ Augusto Boal, *Games for Actors and Non-Actors*, trans. Adrian Jackson (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), xxx.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 19-21.

¹⁶¹ Kubo Satoru et. al., "Shutai No Kiki To Sono Tenkan: Engeki Wākushoppu Undō No Shisō," (Crisis of Subjectivity and Its Resolution: Philosophy of Theatre Workshop Movement) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 432 (August 1983), 67.

¹⁶² Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism: New Edition* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1967), 315.

The BTT proactively initiated activities to “interact with those who were in need of workshops.”¹⁶³ It was an attempt to open up the public sphere as an *agora* where people would be able to find a “bond”. Since 1980, they organised *Kyôdôsha Kai* (The Collaborators Group) which was to “reexamine the relationship between the BTT and the audience.”¹⁶⁴ It was a call for “activities that change the existing structures in their community by using the BTT’s performances as triggers.”¹⁶⁵ In a sense, it was an attempt to launch civic movements in the areas where they performed through the workshops. The BTT also started to approach the existing civic movement, following PETA’s practice in the Philippines.

Section 4. Connecting Workshops to the Civic Movements

The civic movements in the 1980s had substantial similarities with the activities of the BTT during the same period. While the BTT sought collaborations with activists, the activists also proactively adopted the BTT’s workshop methodology in their activities.

The first group of activists that collaborated with the BTT was the activists involved in the civic movement that tackled the issue of the exploitation of Southeast Asian countries by Japanese direct foreign investments and the export of polluting plants as a result of these investments.

¹⁶³ Japan Association of People’s Theatre Workshop, “A.T.F. O Tôshite Minshû Bunka No Sôzô O!,” (Creating People’s Culture through A.T.F.) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 29 (February 1983), 26.

¹⁶⁴ Hayashi Shinobu, “Kyôdôsha No Pêji: Tôkyô Chihô Wa Odango Kara Hajimatta!,” (Note of Collaborators: Tokyo Group Started with Rice Dumplings!) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 17 (November 1980), 43.

¹⁶⁵ Matsui, interview.

The second group that adopted the methodology of theatre workshops was the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) for the community-building – the group that did not have any direct connections with Southeast Asia. Emerged from the ‘residents’ movement’ that dealt with specific and concrete issues in the community, this new civic movement was to secure the autonomy of the community against the public authorities such as national and municipal governments and large companies.¹⁶⁶ The BTT proactively introduced theatre workshops to these groups through various events that I will discuss in this section. The activists not only adopt the BTT’s model but also developed workshops by themselves. Theatre workshops started to become a tool of empowerment of the community members through these activities.

The first group of activists that sought solidarity between Japan and Southeast Asia faced difficulties in the 1990s and their movement faced a deadlock. However, the second group continued their community-based activities towards the 1990s. A concrete viewpoint on the position of theatre in the society was established by connecting the workshop methodology to the actual civic movements, which eventually became a basis of the community-based ‘public theatres’ that started to be built in the 1990s.

1. Civic Movements and Southeast Asia

1-1. The Residents’ Movement and the Anti-Pollution Movement: Opposing the Domination of the ‘Publicness’ by Public Authorities

The late 1960s and 1970s was a period when various problems which resulted from Japan’s rapid industrialisation erupted. Environmental pollution was one of the most serious

¹⁶⁶ Simon Andrew Avenell, “Regional Egoism as the Public Good: Residents’ Movements in Japan during the 1960s and 1970s,” *Japan Forum* 18, no. 1 (2006), 90.

issues that attracted much attention. In the late 1960s especially, many major pollution cases, including the Minamata disease, the Yokkaichi asthma and the Itai-itai disease, were officially recognised, one after another.

Upon facing the destruction of areas of the environment that belonged to their residences, the people from the affected areas spontaneously started movements to oppose the public authorities. To distinguish them from the existing civic movements, they were called *Jûmin Undô* (the residents' movement). As we saw in the previous chapter, ideologies first came into the New Left movement and they tended to consider their movement as a part of a worldwide class struggle. In contrast, in the residents' movements, specific issues and interests were at stake and "the motivation of the movement was to stop the violation of residents' living rights."¹⁶⁷

The government's projects of development are often implemented under the name of the 'public good' and 'public welfare'. However, the logic of residential activism "contained within itself a fundamental suspicion of the prevailing definition of the public good."¹⁶⁸ Activists questioned, "Whether 'public welfare' can be achieved by sacrificing the residents."¹⁶⁹ It was a resistance against the domination of the 'publicness' by the public authorities.

However, there was a strong counter argument to this claim. Although the movements against major pollution cases drew nation-wide attention and support, most of the residents' movements were to deal with the issue of developments and pollutions that affected

¹⁶⁷ Yoshikawa Yûichi, "Shimin, Jyûmin Undô To Hoshuka," (Conservatism in Citizens Movements and Residents Movements) *Shisô No Kagaku* 312 (April Special Issue 1979), 50.

¹⁶⁸ Avenell, "Regional Egoism as the Public Good," 109.

¹⁶⁹ Miyazaki Shôgo, *Ima 'Kôkyôsei' O Utsu* (Rethinking 'Publicness') (Tokyo: Shinsensha, 1975), 15-16.

only specific areas. For example, one of the earliest resident movements in Yokohama city was to stop the extension of a railway track. The residents affected by this project were those who lived around the project site stretching 13.7km in the city.¹⁷⁰ Therefore, these residents were often criticized that they are sacrificing the ‘public welfare’ because of their ‘regional egoism.’ It was similar to criticism of the BTT’s request for the usage of the public lands. In their court case against Naha city hall requesting the usage of a park, which I discussed earlier, one of the reasons for turning down their request reads: “The size of parks per capita in Naha city is much smaller than the national average, and the park is well used by the senior citizens, children and high school students in the neighbourhood... If the plaintiff [the BTT] exclusively occupies a quarter of the park for two days, the usage of the park by a bigger number of the public will be obstructed.”¹⁷¹ According to that logic, it was unacceptable to let the others suffer from the egoism of a particular group of people — the BTT.

Just as the BTT recognised the need to acquire wider perspectives in their theatre movement and create a third sphere in between the ‘private sphere’ and the ‘public authorities’ through the experience of the court case, some of the residents’ movements also became aware of the need “to be equipped with a new and wider perspective that enables them to affect the fundamentals of the society.”¹⁷² In the case of Yokohama, the activists claimed that the ultimate purpose of the movement was not only in stopping the construction of the railway. They argued that the reasons of construction initially given by the municipal

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 1.

¹⁷¹ “Dai 1 Shin Naha Chisai Hanketsu,” (Adjudication of Naha Regional Court) in *Shiryō: Kuroiro Tendo Saiban* (Records of the Black Tent Trial) ed. Yabuki Makoto (Tokyo: The Black Tent Theatre, 1975), 35.

¹⁷² Yoshikawa Yûichi, “Shimin, Jyûmin Undô To Hoshuka,” 52.

government – to reduce congestion during rush hours – was untrue and the true reason was to increase profitability of the railway company. They set the aim of their movement to reveal such a conspiracy between the company and the municipal government.¹⁷³ Both the BTT and activists in Yokohama rejected the domination of the ‘public’ by the public authorities, and started to seek a new public sphere in which they could develop their own voices.

1-2. The Export of Pollution to Southeast Asia

The anti-pollution activism entailed an unexpected problem. Faced with the rise of the residents’ movement and the enactment of related laws, companies started to move their pollution-causing plants overseas. Many of these plants moved to Southeast Asian countries because the region was the major target area of Japanese foreign direct investment at that time. The building of CTS in Okinawa, which I mentioned earlier, was a result of the mainland Japanese residents’ greater awareness of pollution in the local communities, which was phenomenal in that period.¹⁷⁴

Although Japan’s postwar reentrance to the region started as early as in the 1950s, the Japan’s direct investment in Southeast Asia dramatically increased after the yen became rapidly stronger as a result of the gold standard for the US dollars ending in 1971. By the mid-1970s, Japan had replaced the United States as the region’s most important source of trade, investment and aid.¹⁷⁵ Japan’s investment in ASEAN countries jumped from 74 million US dollars in 1967 to 636 million in 1977.¹⁷⁶ As one scholar states, it was really

¹⁷³ Miyazaki, *Ima ‘Kōkyōsei’ O Utsu*, 10.

¹⁷⁴ Miyume, “The Enduring Myth of an Okinawan Struggle”, 216.

¹⁷⁵ William R. Nester, *Japan and the Third World: Patterns, Power, Prospects* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1992), 119.

¹⁷⁶ Sudo, *Evolution of ASEAN-Japan Relations*, 2.

an “investment rush”.¹⁷⁷ In such a “rush”, Southeast Asia naturally became a destination for the polluting plants.

The Japanese anti-pollution movements found it necessary to become more conscious about the overseas situation.¹⁷⁸ The Anti-Pollution Export Information Centre, which collaborated with the BTT in *Ugly JASEAN*, was one of the most strident groups dedicated to this issue. The campaign against the Kawasaki Steel Corporation was one of the highlights of their activities. Kawasaki Steel’s Chiba iron manufacturing plant commenced its operation in 1954 and caused serious health hazards to the neighbourhood because of the dust that it dispersed into the air. The residents’ group brought the case before the court in 1975. Although a final settlement was made only in 1992, Kawasaki Steel decided to relocate the sintering plant- that was the major cause of the dust- to the Philippines once the case was brought into court. The new plant in Mindanao Island started operating in May 1977.¹⁷⁹

The Anti-Pollution Export Information Centre started a campaign which accused Kawasaki Steel of its export of pollution-causing plant. One of their efforts was to create a theatrical piece with the BTT titled, *The ‘Clean Industry’ that Pollutes the Ocean*, which was themed on the export of pollution by Kawasaki Steel. However, as I mentioned earlier, it did not turn out to be a meaningful activity because of a lack of information and communication with the local people who actually suffered from the polluting plant. Although the Japanese

¹⁷⁷ Kobayashi Hideo, *Sengo Ajia To Nihon Kigyô* (Japanese Companies in Postwar Asia) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2001), 69.

¹⁷⁸ Hanasaki Kôhei, “Grass-roots Movement in the Japanese Archipelago: Ideas and Experiences,” *AMPO* 17, no. 1 (1985), 38.

Ex-Beheiren leader Tsurumi Yoshiyuki was the first person who pointed out the problem of pollution export. See Randolph S. David, “Soshiki Ni Torawarenai Jiyûjin Tsurumi Yoshiyuki Ga Kirihiraita Gakumon Towa,” (The Scholarship Innovated by Tsurumi Yoshiyuki) *Gekkan Oruta* (March 1999), 6.

¹⁷⁹ Aoyama Tadashi, “Kugatsu No Tatakai: Kaihō No Uta Soshite Kôgai Yushutsu Tono Tatakai,” (Struggle in September: A Song of Liberation and Fight against Pollution Export) *Geppô ‘Kôgai O Nogasuna’* 2 (October 1977), 3.

activists sought solidarity with the local people, it was not easy to build such international ties because of their little experience in international solidarity movements.¹⁸⁰

At this point, it was recognised that the Japanese civic movement had to seriously listen to the true voices of the local people. Former Secretary-General of *Beheiren*, Yoshikawa Yûichi, points out that “the movement which lacks an international point of view would lose the ability of autonomy.” The “Residents’ movement”, he continues, “would no longer be able to limit their scope within their own living rights and environmental rights.”¹⁸¹ The Japanese activists found it necessary to build their own channel for people-to-people interactions with Southeast Asian counterparts. The organisation that was most proactive in setting up such a channel was the Pacific Asia Resource Centre (PARC) which was set up by former *Beheiren* members.

1-3. PARC: Solidarity among the Asian Struggling Masses

Beheiren in Tokyo was officially disbanded in 1974 in response to the cease-fire agreement between the United States and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam signed a year earlier. Yoshikawa Yûichi had clearly declared that *Beheiren* would be dissolved once its purpose—a cease-fire in Vietnam—was achieved. “New bottles are necessary”, Yoshikawa

¹⁸⁰ Hanasaki, “Grass-roots Movement in the Japanese Archipelago,” 38.

Nevertheless, the anti-pollution export movement later developed into a joint struggle between the people in Japan and overseas. One example is the joint struggle with the people of the Pacific islands over the Japanese government's scheme to dump nuclear waste into the Pacific. The act of solidarity is not limited to country-wide concerns. The Japanese anti-pollution activists visited Canada, Indonesia and other countries, collaborating with local groups to survey local mercury pollution, and joint surveys with local scholars were organised by the Japanese labour scholars on the working conditions of those in Japanese joint ventures in Southeast Asian countries. See Mutô Ichiyô, “Ideology of Aid and People’s Solidarity,” *AMPO* 15, no. 3-4 (1983), 22.

¹⁸¹ Yoshikawa, “Shimin, Jyûmin Undô To Hoshuka,” 55.

stressed, “to deal with new issues.”¹⁸² One of the “new issues” to deal with was the lack of knowledge on Asia. One of the leaders of *Beheiren*, Oda Makoto wrote in 1972:

I suddenly realised... I have not been interested in the thoughts and philosophies of the civic movements in Asia in spite of our deep involvement in the region. For example, we are interested in the Vietnam War. However, none of us have any knowledge on the Vietnamese way of thinking and their indigenous culture. We have no knowledge of Thailand. None of Burma. We even don't know about our nearest neighbour, Korea... We will never understand Asian issues unless we have a knowledge of the daily lives in Asia and of their people's thoughts.¹⁸³

In 1974, Oda collaborated with a major leftist literary magazine *Shin Nihon Bungaku* (*The New Japanese Literature*) and established the Japan Afro-Asian Authors Congress, an independent domestic body that aimed to enhance the exchange between Japanese authors and Asian / African counterparts.¹⁸⁴ It should be understood as Oda's initiative to enhance his contact with counterparts in Asia and Africa.

He went even further and planned *The Asians Conference* as a space where the citizens' movement activists from all over Asia could meet and discuss issues together. The groups that formed the secretariat were the various Japanese civic movement organisations that shared an interest in building ties with the Asian people.¹⁸⁵ Oda understood the need to

¹⁸² Yoshikawa, *Shimin Undō No Shukudai*, 153.

¹⁸³ Tsurumi Yoshiyuki et. al., “Sotogawa Kara Nihon O Miru,” (Watching Japan from Outside) *Ningen To Shite* 10 (June 1972), 89-90.

¹⁸⁴ Ôe Kenzaburō et. al., “Nihon Ajia, Afurika Sakka Kaigi Eno Sanka No Yobikake,” (Call for Participation in Japan Afro-Asian Authors Congress) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 321 (May 1974), 86.

¹⁸⁵ Tsurumi Yoshiyuki, *Ajia Tono Deai: Tsurumi Yoshiyuki Chosakushū 3 (The Encounter with Asia: Collection of Tsurumi Yoshiyuki's Works vol. 3)*, ed. Yoshikawa Yûichi (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō, 2002), 89.

meet the people of Asia in person in order to make a breakthrough. He tried to increase the amount of exchanges between the Japanese and the Asians “with crazy eagerness.”¹⁸⁶

The Asians Conference was held in June 1974 with more than 150 participants from Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, the Philippines and Vietnam. The Conference also became an opportunity for Southeast Asian participants to learn about the civic movements in their neighbouring countries because there had been little communication among them. Just like the Japanese people, the Asian people did not really know about Asia.¹⁸⁷

If Oda had continued his initiative through the 1980s, he might have been able to realise a wide and comprehensive network of Asian civic movement activists as well as artists including theatre practitioners.¹⁸⁸ Nevertheless, Oda’s activities in the 1980s became more domestic with organisations such as *Nihon Wa Korede Inoka Shimin Rengô* (the Citizens’ League Questioning Japan’s Future) established in 1980 and *Shimin No Iken 30 No Kai* (the Group of 30 Citizens’ Opinions) set up in 1988. Although these groups had Third World

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 90.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 91.

¹⁸⁸ Although it was not realised, Oda had planned another event called the Asian Cultural Festival which was to introduce cultural activities by Asian practitioners who had stepped into the people’s lives and created their works through these experiences. See Oda Makoto, “Ajia Ga Ajia De Aru Tameniwa,” 50.

The Festival, which had been planned to be held in 1975, went a step beyond of *An Evening of Thai People’s Culture*. The candidates to be invited to the Festival included “a Singaporean playwright who writes his plays by stepping into the ordinary people’s daily lives”. This “Singaporean playwright” was Kuo Pao Kun who had started the “Go into Life” project in which artists lived in the residential areas of people in the lower social strata. See Jacqueline Lo, *Staging Nation: English Language Theatre in Malaysia and Singapore* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), 143.

As I will discuss later, Satô Makoto of the BTT later introduced Kuo to Japan in the 1990s and Kuo became an important collaborator for the BTT. Oda tried to introduce Kuo to Japan almost twenty years earlier than Satô.

In 1978, Oda was involved in publishing an anthology by the Japan Afro-Asian Authors Congress. In his essay in the anthology, Oda introduced WS Rendra’s people’s theatre activities in Indonesia and insisted on the importance of international exchange on the grass-root level. See Japan Afro-Asian Authors Congress (ed.), *Ajia O Aruku: Tônan Ajia Hen* (Walking through Asia: Southeast Asia) (Tokyo: Bunyûsha, 1978), Chapter 1.

country issues within their scope,¹⁸⁹ Oda no longer took initiatives to build a network by visiting Asian countries by himself to persuade people to join the network as he did in *the Asians Conference*. Although Oda did not explicitly state the reason for the change in his attitude, his disillusionment with the Third World should be one of the reasons. Oda writes, “The words ‘Third World’ was once synonymous with dynamism and a bright hope.” “‘Third World’ did not mean”, he continues, “‘developing’, but a proud alternative to the capitalist nations and communist countries.” However, the pride as an alternative was lost in the 1980s and they started to call themselves ‘developing countries’, which put them in the position of “nothing but poor and needy.”¹⁹⁰ Oda might not have been able to be proactive in collaborating with such ‘developing countries’ and abandoned his earlier efforts seeking the ties between Japanese and Southeast Asian civic movement activists.

The organisation that succeeded Oda’s “crazy eagerness” was the Pacific Asia Resource Centre (PARC). PARC was established by former *Beheiren* activists which includes Mutô Ichiyô and Tsurumi Yoshiyuki in 1973 based on a *Beheiren*’s English periodical, *AMPO*. The magazine had found a readership among civic movements all over the world, including activists in Southeast Asia.¹⁹¹ As the readers’ network brought rich and vivid news on the overseas civic movement to *AMPO*, PARC was set up as an organisation to share the news with the Japanese people.

¹⁸⁹ Oda Makoto et. al., *Nihon Wa Korede Iinoka Shimin Rengô* (Citizens’ League Questioning Japan’s Future) (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1982), 261.

¹⁹⁰ Oda, *Beheiren: Kaikoroku Denai Kaiko*, 611-612.

¹⁹¹ Pacific-Asia Resource Center, “New Phase for the Pacific-Asia Resource Center: Its Aims and Activities,” *AMPO* 16, no. 3 (1984), 56.

After a few years' of operation as the only gateway in Japan to the Asian people's movements, PARC started to be considered as a 'spokesperson' of the Japanese civic movements. Feeling extremely uncomfortable about being in the position of 'representing' the Japanese activists, PARC adopted a new policy in 1978 and declared that "our task should be to facilitate the development of direct solidarity links between the Japanese people's movements and the people from other parts of Asia and from other Third World countries who are struggling for their liberation."¹⁹² PARC launched a Japanese-language magazine *Sekai Kara (From the World)* which was meant to be a medium to connect the Japanese activists with their counterparts in the Third World.¹⁹³ They also started educational courses for the public to nurture young researchers who conducted research projects by visiting places and meeting local people.¹⁹⁴ PARC called them "barefoot researchers."

We can find a strong influence of Oda's *Asians Conference* in the programmes of PARC. Similar to the conference, PARC aimed to provide opportunities in their activities for people to "get to know each other through face-to-face encounters" that were beyond borders.¹⁹⁵ PARC also adopted a style close to that of *the Asians Conference* in their tenth anniversary event titled the *International Camp* in 1984. Participants from ten countries of Asia, South Pacific and Europe stayed under the same roof during the camp, and had discussions in an intimate atmosphere.¹⁹⁶ Following the style of *the Asians Conference*, PARC tried to establish a strong backbone to their activities in order to develop direct

¹⁹² Ibid., 56.

¹⁹³ Editorial, "'Sekai Kara' Hakkan Ni Atatte," (Statement on the Inaugural Issue of *From the World*) *Sekai Kara* 1 (Summer 1979), 4.

¹⁹⁴ Mutô, "Ideology of Aid and People's Solidarity," 23.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 21.

¹⁹⁶ Murai Yoshinori, "Tomoni Ikiru Mirai O Katatta: Kokusai Gasshuku no Hôkoku," (Discussion for the Future of Living Together: Report of International Camp) *Sekai Kara* 18 (Winter 1984), 9.

solidarity links between the Japanese people's movements and the people from other parts of Asia and the Third World.

To enhance the personal network between the Japanese activists and their Southeast Asian counterparts, PARC advocated “traveling to Asian countries to observe the lives and struggles of the local people, and discover something new.”¹⁹⁷ Their “go and meet the people” strategy became possible because travelling overseas became easier in the 1980s.

It was a totally different situation from the early 1970s when there had been hardly any chance for the New Left activists to visit Asian countries and meet the people living there even if they had dreamt of a solidarity with the Asian activists. It may be one of the main reasons why Asia remained only a ‘mirror-image’ for them as I argued in the previous chapter. Although ordinary citizens were liberated to travel overseas in 1964, the number of Japanese who travelled abroad that year was merely 128,000.¹⁹⁸ The number rose to 663,000 in 1970 and the Japanese media called this phenomenon the ‘overseas travel boom’. However, most of the tourists did not plan their trips by themselves but joined package tours.¹⁹⁹ It was unimaginable that students or young activists could go to Asian countries to meet local people. The situation started to change around 1980. Thanks to the rapid economic growth, the disposable income of Japan’s average household significantly increased. Annual average of monthly disposable income per household jumped from 59,577 yen in 1965 to 215,509 yen in

¹⁹⁷ Mutô Ichiyô, “Henshû Zenki,” (Preface) *Sekai Kara 2* (Autumn 1979), 1.

¹⁹⁸ Figures are from Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism (ed.), *Kankô Hakusho* (The White Paper on Tourism), figure 1-3-1. http://www.wplit.go.jp/hakusyô/syoListDetailAction.do?syocd=npcc200201&dtailflg=M&first_page=3&t22_id=&searchFlg=off&ass_flag=true&seldspnm=&syoclsd=all&doccls cd=all&keyw1=&keyw2=&keyw3=&keyw4=&operator1=AND&operator2=AND&operator3=AND&SYOname=&gengo_from=Y&nendo_from=&gengo_to=Y&nendo_to=&discount=10&cur_page=1&highlight_search_flag=off&newkeyw= (accessed 5 January 2011).

¹⁹⁹ Matsubara Yôzô, “Gendai Tûrizumu No Byôri,” (Pathology of Contemporary Tourism) *Asahi Jânaru* 12, no. 42 (October 1970), 37.

1975 and to 373,693 yen in 1985.²⁰⁰ In the 1980s, it was not difficult for average Japanese to afford overseas trip. The number of overseas travellers hit 4 million in 1979 and an overseas trip was not a special event anymore. Especially after the Plaza Accord in 1985, many students started to travel abroad thanks to the strong yen that had resulted from the Accord.²⁰¹

One of the founders of PARC, ex-*Beheiren* Tsurumi Yoshiyuki set his post-*Beheiren* agenda as “learning from the Asian people” and practiced the “barefoot researcher” method.²⁰² He eventually developed his own Southeast Asian study through face-to-face communications with the local people. Although Tsurumi later distanced himself from PARC as I will discuss in the next chapter, his Southeast Asian study based on his grass-roots fieldwork was a crystallisation of PARC’s “go and meet the people” strategy. Young “barefoot researchers” who studied under Tsurumi also travelled to Southeast Asia a lot because the travel expenses were not too much of a burden for them.²⁰³ Many non-PARC activists also started to visit Asian countries in the early 1980s.²⁰⁴ At the same time, a number of Asian activists were also invited to Japan by the Japanese civic movements.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁰ Figures are from Statistical Survey Department, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, “Annual Average of Monthly Receipts and Disbursements per Household (Workers' Households).” [http:// www.stat.go.jp/data/chouki/20.htm](http://www.stat.go.jp/data/chouki/20.htm) (accessed 2 February 2012).

²⁰¹ Ueda Makoto, “Taishû No Aru Oto; Ajiakan No Tenkanten,” (A Smelly Sound: Changing image of Asia) *Shisô No Kagaku* 530 (November 1995), 8.

²⁰² Tsurumi, *Beheiren: Tsurumi Yoshiyuki Chosakushû* 2, 243.

²⁰³ Tsurumi Yoshiyuki, *Tônan Ajia O Shiru: Watashi No Hôhô* (Learning about Southeast Asia: My Method) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995), 94.

²⁰⁴ PARC was not the only Japanese civic movement organisation that adopted a ‘go and meet the people’ strategy. The 1980s saw a number of NGOs, which were established as a response to the influx of refugees from Indochina as a result of the Cambodian Civil War, visit Southeast Asian countries and conduct ‘face-to-face’ operations. See Sengo Nihon Kokusai Bunka Kôryû Kenkyûkai, *Sengo Nihon No Kokusai Bunka Kôryû* (International Cultural Exchange of Postwar Japan) (Tokyo: Keisô Shobô, 2005), 98-99.

According to the survey in 2005, 60.6% of Japanese NGOs for international exchange activities conducted their activities overseas. The Japan Foundation, *Kokusai Kôryû Dantai Chôsa Gaiyô 2005* (An Overview of the Survey of International Exchange Associations, 2005) (Tokyo: The Japan Foundation, 2006), 6.

²⁰⁵ As examples of the Japanese activists’ visits to Asia, see Hanasaki Kôhei, “Kankoku Rôdô

The “go and meet the people” strategy became a standard strategy of the Japanese civic movements to seek solidarity with Asia.

The affordability of travelling overseas which was realised in the 1980s was also a reason why poor members of the BTT—even the PETA members were astonished when they saw the extremely humble residences of the BTT members²⁰⁶—could manage to keep traveling between Japan and the Philippines.

We can find several similarities between the activities of the BTT and the civic movement in the 1980s. Firstly, thanks to the affordability of travelling overseas, both of them travelled to Southeast Asia to find their counterparts. Just as the “barefoot researchers” of PARC learned from Southeast Asia, the BTT learned from the workshop methodology of PETA. Both PARC and the BTT learned from their Southeast Asian “teachers” through direct interactions. Secondly, as I discussed earlier, the BTT and the civic movement shared an idea of building public spheres between the public authorities, such as governments and large companies on the one hand, and the private sphere on the other. These public spheres were with the features of the Counter Public Sphere model.

Undô No Myakudô Ni Furete: Higashi Ajia No Tabi Kara,” (Observing the Korean Labor Movement: Report of the East Asia Trip) *Sekai Kara* 2 (Autumn 1979), 6-18, Watanabe Tsutomu, “Nihon Rôdô Undô O Ajia kara Mikaesu,” (Relocating the Japanese Labor Movement from Asian Viewpoint) *Sekai Kara* 3 (Winter 1980), 11-20 and Hashida Nobuo, “Ajia Rodôsha Rentai O Toinaosu,” (Call for Solidarity among Asian Labors) *Sekai Kara* 13 (Autumn 1982), 82-91.

For the Asian activists’ visits to Japan, see Koizumi Hidemasa, “Sanrizuka Kara Firipin No Yûjintachi E: Renkei Eno Têgen Ni Kotaete,” (From Sanrizuka to Filipino Friends: Response to the Call for Solidarity) *Sekai Kara* 6 (Autumn 1980), 101-105 and Hamamoto Tsuginori, “Ningen To Ningen No Kokusai Koryû O,” (Towards Face-to-Face Exchange) *Shisô No Kagaku* 415 (June Special Issue 1986), 99-107.

²⁰⁶ Satô, interview.

These commonalities made the collaboration between the BTT and the civic movement possible. The *Ugly JASEAN* project, which I mentioned earlier, was a turning point for the BTT in which they achieved a “deep collaboration”²⁰⁷ with the civic movement activists for the first time. It was one of the leaders of the BTT, Tsuno Kaitarô who played an important role as a ‘connector’ of the two parties. His effort realised not only *Ugly JASEAN* but also projects by the civic movements that adopted the BTT’s workshop method in the mid-late 1980s.

2. Tsuno Kaitarô as the ‘Connector’

Tsuno started to get involved in theatre when he was a student of Waseda University and formed his own company which later became a parent company of the BTT. Along with his activities at the BTT, he started to work as a professional editor after his graduation. He started his career as an editor at the *New Japanese Literature*. Tsuno also started working for another publisher Shôbunsha by the end of the same year. In addition, he was involved in the publication of several non-commercial independent periodicals including *Suigyû Tsûshin (The Water Buffalo Magazine)*, which was established in 1978 by Tsuno and some other friends.²⁰⁸ Tsuno extended his personal network through his work as an editor, which enabled him to connect the BTT with the civic movement organisations.

²⁰⁷ Aoyama et. al., “Furukunatta Sutairu Wa Atarashiku Shinakuttya!,” 34.

²⁰⁸ It was first published in a newspaper format with the title of *Suigyû* (the Water Buffalo) until 1979 where it was then re-formatted into a magazine style with a new title, *Suigyû Tsûshin* (1980-1987). It resumed as an internet magazine in 2001. The title is now *Suigyû No Yôni* (Like a Water Buffalo) and can be accessed at www.suigu.com.

Major collaborators of *An Evening of Thai People's Culture*, in which *Ugly JASEAN* was staged, were in Tsuno's network. They included PARC, the Japan Afro-Asian Authors Congress and *Suigyū Gakudan* (The Water Buffalo Band).

When Tsuno joined the *New Japanese Literature*, its mother organisation *Shin Nihon Bungakukai* (The New Japanese Literature Association) had started its commitment to theatre under the influence of Hanada Kiyoteru who had also heavily influenced the Anti-Shingeki Theatre before the Angura theatre movement emerged.²⁰⁹ On top of that, the association also enhanced their interactions with the international Afro-Asian Authors Congress,²¹⁰ along with their initiative to establish the Japan Afro-Asian Authors Congress. These activities fitted well with Tsuno's and the BTT's field of interest and thus Tsuno organised private study meetings with the members of the BTT and the New Japanese Literature Association.²¹¹

Because the magazine had collaborated with Oda Makoto of *Beheiren* in the establishment of the Japan Afro-Asian Authors Congress in 1963 as I mentioned earlier, the *New Japanese Literature* was closely related to Oda and *Beheiren* activists. Muro Kenji, who represented the Japan Afro-Asian Authors Congress in the organising committee of *An Evening of the Thai People's Culture*, was also a leading young activist of *Beheiren*. Tsuno got to know leaders of the civic movements through his works at the *New Japanese Literature*. Although he left the company in 1966, he maintained a close relationship with it and continued to contribute essays to the periodical.

²⁰⁹ Tadokoro Izumi, "Shin Nihon Bungaku' Shi No Tameno Oboegaki 3," (Note on the History of *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 3) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 649 (May/June 2004), 183.

²¹⁰ Tadokoro Izumi, "Shin Nihon Bungaku' Shi No Tameno Oboegaki 4," (Note on the History of *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 4) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 651 (September/October 2004), 188.

²¹¹ Tsuno, *Okashina Jidai*, 117.

In spite of Tsuno's connection with the ex-Beheiren activists, the BTT did not have direct contacts with the PARC before *An Evening of the Thai People's Culture*.²¹² Although they recognised that the *Concerned Theatre Japan*, a periodical of the BTT and *AMPO* magazine, which became a basis of PARC, shared many of their concerns,²¹³ it was only when the BTT started to get interested in the Southeast Asian people's theatre and Tsuno started to look for counterparts in the region that they started to communicate with PARC. The information gathered by PARC was from sources whose existence had not been known in Japan²¹⁴ and thus it was the only organisation where the BTT could find practical information on the people's theatre movements in Southeast Asia. Members of the BTT frequented PARC when they organised exchange programs with PETA.²¹⁵ The publishing of PARC's leader Tsurumi Yoshiyuki's books from Shôbunsha is probably a result of Tsuno's relationship with PARC.²¹⁶

As the BTT started to research on the people's theatre movement in Southeast Asian countries, Tsuno was deeply annoyed by the lack of practical information on the region in Japan. After he started to communicate with Southeast Asian artists through the BTT, he set up *the Water Buffalo Magazine* with a subtitle, 'Information on Southeast Asian Cultures', to

²¹² Yoshioka Shinobu et. al., "Ajia No Hitotachi Tono Atarashi Kankei," (A New Relationship with Asian People) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 487 (Autumn 1988), 66.

²¹³ Editorial of *AMPO*, "Transcending Modernity," 44.

²¹⁴ For example, periodicals collected by the government-owned Institute of Developing Economies, which was known as the collector of the most comprehensive information on Asia, and the collection of PARC did not overlap at all. See Tsurumi, *Ajia Tono Deai*, 93.

²¹⁵ Kan Takayuki, "Nonfikushon Noberusu: Yamamoto Kiyokazu," (Nonfiction Novels: Yamamoto Kiyokazu) *Teatoro* 597 (November 1992), 118.

²¹⁶ In the postscript to his *Ajiajin To Nihonjin*, Tsurumi writes that it was Tsuno who took the initiative to publish the anthology of his essays on Southeast Asia. See Tsurumi Yoshiyuki, *Ajiajin To Nihonjin* (Asians and Japanese) (Tokyo: Shôbunsha, 1980), 233.

share their experiences and information.²¹⁷ One of the major collaborators of the *Water Buffalo Magazine* was composer / pianist Takahashi Yûji.

Takahashi, who invited the BTT to *An Evening of Thai People's Culture* project, started his career as a contemporary musician in Germany and the United States. However, aware of the major role that the 'Songs of Life' music movement had played in the students' revolution in Thailand, he formed the Water Buffalo Band in 1978 which introduced Asian protest songs to the Japanese audience. He claimed that the Japanese activists who called for solidarity with the Asian people should achieve this through face-to-face communications with their counterparts in Asia.²¹⁸ He started to interact with practitioners from the people's culture movements in Asia, including the leading group of the 'Songs for Life' music movement, the Karawan Band of Thailand. Takahashi was another practitioner of the "go and meet the people" strategy.

Takahashi took an initiative to advocate this strategy in the *Water Buffalo Magazine* because he felt that the Japanese citizen's movement was too theory-oriented. He wished to make the magazine "a medium which becomes a space of collaboration with the Asian people."²¹⁹ Takahashi had a rich personal network with the Japanese civic movement activists including former *Beheiren* members. Naturally, he played an intermediary role between these parties and connected them firmly. Four core members of the *Water Buffalo Magazine*, namely Hotta Masahiko of *Shin Nihon Bungaku*,²²⁰ Mutô Ichiyô of PARC, Tsuno

²¹⁷ Takahashi Yûji et. al., "Suigyû Tsûshin 100 Gô Ni Yosete," (Celebrating the 100th Issue of *Water Buffalo Magazine*) *Suigyû Tsûshin* 9, no. 11 (November 1987), 11.

²¹⁸ Takahashi Yûji, *Suigyû Gakudan No Dekiru Made* (Setting up Water Buffalo Band) (Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 1981), 29.

²¹⁹ Takahashi Yûji, "'Ikiru Tameno Uta' To Kyôsei No Chihei E," (Realizing Conviviality through 'Songs for Life') *Gendai No Me* 20, no. 1 (January 1979), 124.

²²⁰ Hotta joined the BTT and played a pivotal role in their interactions with the Philippine counterpart. I will discuss it in the later sections.

of the BTT and Takahashi himself, were a good mixture of activists from different fields and specialties.²²¹ The *Water Buffalo Magazine* connected Tsuno with many informants of the Southeast Asian people's culture movements including ex-*Beheiren* Yoshioka Shinobu who was the first person to introduce the highly influential Indonesian dramatist and poet WS Rendra to Japan.²²² The *Water Buffalo Magazine* became an information centre of the people's culture movements in various artistic fields. One of the co-organisers of *An Evening of the Thai People's Culture*, the Japan Afro-Asian-Latin American Artists Congress, which specialized in visual arts was among the informants of the *Water Buffalo Magazine* as well.²²³ The *Water Buffalo Magazine*, the *New Japanese Literature*, the BTT and the civic movement organisations such as PARC formed a loose network and Tsuno was in its centre.

3. The People's Culture Movement in the 1980s

The BTT started to collaborate closely with civic movements using the network of Tsuno. Through several landmark projects in the 1980s, their workshop methodology became widely recognised and utilised by Japanese activists.

3-1. The Asian Theatre Forum 83

The *Asian Theatre Forum 83* (ATF 83) held in 1983 was an important achievement for the BTT that informed a wider circle of civic activists about their workshop methodology.

²²¹ Tsuno Kaitarô et. al., "Suigyû Tsûshin' Wa Donoyôni Tsukurareruka," (How the *Water Buffalo Magazine* is produced) *Suigyû Tsûshin* 7, no. 11 (November 1985), 4.

²²² Tsuno Kaitarô, "The Stones of Satire," 4.

²²³ For example, see Takahashi Shôhachi, "Firipin, Minshû No Sei To Minshuka Eno Rendô," (The Lives of the Philippine People and the Realisation of Democracy) *Suigyû Tsûshin* 91 (February 1987), published online at http://www1.u-netsurf.ne.jp/~mie_y/suigyû/tushin/1987_02.html (accessed 5 January 2011).

The ATF was, as I introduced earlier, originally started by PETA with the aim to concretise the regional network of practitioners of the people's theatre. The first meeting in 1981 and the second in the next year both happened in the Philippines, and they closely followed the typical structure of PETA's workshops for the training of facilitators. Therefore the participants were basically limited to theatre practitioners, and the programme was designed to let them exchange information on the activities in each country and experiment with them. However, ATF 83 was designed to "focus on the exchange between participants and various Japanese civic movement activists."²²⁴ This reflected the BTT's concern that the direct linkage to the civic movements was essential in order to realise theatre as public spheres.

Twenty-three practitioners from overseas participated in ATF 83—ten from the Philippines, four from India, two each from Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore, and one from Brazil.²²⁵ The first week of the three-week-long programme was spent on the sharing of information among the participants. In the second week, participants were divided into three groups and they visited three regions, namely the Osaka area in western Japan, the Tôhoku area in the north and the Tokyo area. It was a study tour for the participants to observe the issues and problems in the daily lives of the ordinary Japanese. The participants were also expected to practice their methodologies of the educational theatre

²²⁴ Satomi, "Nihon No Sêkatsu To Bunka O Ajia No Kagami Ni Utsusu," 75.

²²⁵ The Organising Committee of ATF 83, "201 Ninme No Anata Ni: Ajia Minshû Engeki Kaigi Eno Shôtaijô," (To the 201st participant: An Invitation to Asian Theatre Forum) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 432 (August 1983), 40-41.

The participants from Singapore included a member of the Third Stage theatre company, Wong Souk Yee. She was detained by the government with a charge of "trying to prepare the general public for a future Marxist state." See William Peterson, *Theater and the Politics of Culture in Contemporary Singapore* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2001), 41.

Shin Nihon Bungaku and *Sekai Kara* devoted much space for the report of her detention. See Makuta Mieko, "Singapôru, Marêsia No Taihosha," (Detainees in Singapore and Malaysia) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 487 (Autumn 1988), 58-64 and Kuroda Kei, "Singapôru De Toraerareta 16 Nin," (Sixteen Detainees in Singapore) *Sekai Kara* 29 (spring 1987), 58-61.

in collaboration with the local peasants, workers and students. In the third week, they showcased the performances created during these sessions.²²⁶

Although it was called a “forum”, the conventional conference style was not employed except for one part of the first week’s programmes. The rest of the programmes of ATF 83 were conducted in the workshop style.²²⁷ The BTT’s intention was not to make it a ‘forum *on* theatre’ but a ‘forum *in* the style of theatre.’ It was, in a sense, their demonstration of the potential of the workshop methodology to the civic movement activists.

The final showcase was held at the Hanegi Park in Setagaya Ward, Tokyo. The BTT staged their production *Saiyûki (A Journey to the West)* in 1980, which was the very first time that they could use public land in Tokyo after enlisting the help of the civic movement activists of that area.²²⁸ They extended the scope of their collaborations with the local activists in the next production, *Yoru To Yoru No Yoru (The Night of the Night and the Night)* staged in 1981.²²⁹ Hanegi Park was the site where the BTT could experiment their model of people’s theatre. They had a strong sense that the company and activists could “finally face each other” through the continuous collaborations.²³⁰ Considering this background, the Hanegi Park was a symbolic choice of venue for the concluding event of ATF 83, which was themed on the interactions with the civic movement activists.

²²⁶ Hotta Masahiko et. al., “Sôzôteki Rentai O Motomete: ’83 Ajia Minshû Engeki Kaigi Ga Mezasu Mono,” (Seeking Creative Solidarity: the Aim of Asian Theatre Forum 83) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 432 (August 1983), 25.

²²⁷ Kubo et. al., “Shutai No Kiki To Sono Tenkan,” 63. Although the range of the participants was different from the earlier ATFs, the basic structure of the ATF 83 followed the standard three-phase configuration of PETA’s theatre workshops. See The Black Tent Theatre, “ATF 83 Wa Konna Naiyô De Hirakareru,” (The Contents of ATF 83) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 29 (February 1983), 10-11.

²²⁸ Igawa Tôgo, “Sôkatsu Kuro Tento ’80: Nihome Eno Jyosô O,” (Reviewing 1980 of the Black Tent Theatre: For the Second Step) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 18 (February 1981), 29.

²²⁹ Igawa Tôgo et. al., “Kuro Tento Tono Deai: Setagaya Jôen Jikkô Iinkai No Hossoku Ni Atatte,” (An Encounter with the Black Tent: Setting up an Organizing Committee of the Production in Setagaya) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 20 (May 1981), 28.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 29-30.

ATF 83 became a fresh experience for the civic movement activists in Setagaya as well. Although they had very limited communications with each other before ATF 83, the experience of the workshops gave them a chance to start to relate to each other's activities with a wider perspective.²³¹ They found that the workshop was "an excellent tool to relate the people who had not known each other,"²³² and it worked very effectively to connect the various civic movements.

3-2. *Shin Nihon Bungaku's* People's Culture Movement

After ATF 83, civic movement activists, who had not been familiar with theatre, started to adopt the BTT's workshop methodology. For instance, a citizens group in Tama adopted the workshops in collaboration with the BTT and organised a campaign against the Japanese 'prostitution tour' to Korea and the Philippines.²³³ A group of the Zainichi Koreans in Osaka created theatre performances about their roots and daily problems through the workshops. What was significant about this group was that they developed their own style of workshops based on the Korean people's theatre called the Madan Theatre after they realised that simply adopting PETA / BTT-styled workshop did not fit well into their cultural context.²³⁴ The workshop methodology was adopted and elaborated by various civic movements. In the mid-1980s, the New Japanese Literature Association, which Tsuno Kaitarô of the BTT had worked with, took the initiative to pursue the people's culture movement in Japan.

²³¹ Satomi, "Nihon No Sêkatsu To Bunka O Ajia No Kagami Ni Utsusu," 74.

²³² Hotta et. al., "Sôzôteki Rentai O Motomete," 28.

²³³ Somura Yukiko, "Rentai O Tsukuridasu Sôzô Undô: 'G Tama Jiman' No Kêken Kara," (Creative Activities for Solidarity: an Experience of 'Group Tama Pride') *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 448 (January 1985), 38.

²³⁴ Yang Min-gi, "Ikaino No Madangeki Undô," (Madang Theatre Movement in Ikaino Area) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 448 (January 1985), 46.

In 1984, the association started a massive campaign of the ‘people’s culture movement’ under the leadership of Kubo Satoru who was newly appointed as the chief editor of the *New Japanese Literature*.²³⁵ Although the magazine had been highly influential among the New Left activists and intellectuals up to the early 1970s, it faced stagnation because of the inconsistency in its direction in the late 1970s.²³⁶ Kubo introduced the people’s culture movement as a breakthrough. He enthusiastically claimed in 1984:

I strongly believe that the only direction for overcoming the current slump, incapability and decay of the Association is to form, organise, maintain, deepen and extend the ‘people’s culture movement’ which is part of a larger counter-culture movement... What I mean by the ‘people’s culture movement’ is the collective creative activities by non-professionals.²³⁷

Kubo invited specialists of the people’s culture to the association to set up a platform to practice their activities.²³⁸ A major achievement of the New Japanese Literature Association’s people’s culture movement was the *People’s Culture Movement Forum* held in 1986. The three-day forum aimed to reveal the Japanese people’s ignorance on the fact that Japan’s prosperity was based on the oppression and exploitation of the Third World countries, and to overcome it by adopting the various methodologies of the people’s culture movements.²³⁹ Inspired by the revolutionary movements in Asia in which the people’s

²³⁵ Kubo was a Zainichi Korean and a specialist in Korean folk culture such as the mask theatre. His minority background might be one of the reasons why he was extremely keen in the people’s culture movement. See Tsuno, *Okashina Jidai*, 110.

²³⁶ Tadokoro, “‘Shin Nihon Bungaku’ Shi No Tameno Oboegaki 4,” 190-191.

²³⁷ Kubo Satoru et. al., “Sôgo Shutaiteki Sôzô Ni Mukatte,” (Towards the Creation of Mutual Subjectivities) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 441 (June 1984), 19.

²³⁸ Tadokoro, “‘Shin Nihon Bungaku’ Shi No Tameno Oboegaki 4,” 193-194.

Specialists invited by Kubo included Satomi Minoru, a Latin American people’s culture specialist who introduced the theories of Paulo Freire and Augusto Boal to Japan, and Oyobe Katsuhito, a designer who had been conducting workshops using visual arts.

²³⁹ The Organizing Committee of People’s Culture Movement Forum, “‘Minshû Bunka Undô

cultures had played an important role—such as the Gwangju Incident in Korea and the People Power Revolution in the Philippines,²⁴⁰ the forum called for a restructuring of the Japanese citizens movements into cultural movements.²⁴¹ The forum involved a number of non-members of the New Japanese Literature Association and became a monumental event in their history. Speakers invited to the Forum were domestic and overseas people's culture practitioners and scholars included the people's theatre practitioners from PETA, the BTT and the Korean Madan Theatre companies.²⁴² It was the most comprehensive and wide-ranged conference on the people's culture movement in Japan.²⁴³

Nevertheless, the antipathy towards Kubo and his collaborators was accumulated among the members of the New Japanese Literature Association because of Kubo's despotic style.²⁴⁴ In addition, the cost of the large-scale event seriously strained the budget of the association. When Kubo resigned from the position of Chief Editor in 1987 for health reasons, the association abandoned almost all projects of the people's culture movement.

Fôramu' Shuisho," (Prospectus of People's Culture Movement Forum) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 468 (November/December 1986), 41.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 41-42.

²⁴¹ Maeda Toshihiko, "Tenbô wa Minshû Bunka Undô Ni Aru," (Our Future is in the People's Culture Movement) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 468 (November/December 1986), 48.

²⁴² The Organizing Committee of People's Culture Movement Forum, "'Minshû Bunka Undô Fôramu' Puroguramu," (Program of the People's Culture Movement Forum) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 468 (November/ December 1986), 46-47.

²⁴³ Tsuno Kaitarô was negative about the style of the Forum. He argues, "If the people's theatre could be established, I suppose it has to be something opposite to the 'national congress' or 'world-wide forum'." His point was that the people's culture had to be adapted to the specific cultural and social context in particular areas. See Tsuno Kaitarô et. al., "Wâpuro Hitsudan, Henshû Kaigi," (Editorial Meeting via Word Processors) *Suigyû Tsûshin* 88 (November 1986), published online at http://www1.u-netsurf.ne.jp/~mie_y/suigyû/tushin/1986_11.html (accessed 5 January 2011).

²⁴⁴ Tadokoro, "'Shin Nihon Bungaku' Shi No Tameno Oboegaki 4," 194.

3-3. People's Plan 21

With the initiative of PARC, a series of programmes titled *People's Plan 21* (PP21) was organised in 1989 and lasted an entire summer. It can be considered as a culmination of the people's culture movement in the 1980s because of its unprecedented scale in terms of the number of participants as well as the duration of the event. Such a large-scale event was, at the same time, a 'countercharge' of PARC against the downturn of the civic movements. In the mid-1980s, people started to realise that they were facing an "ice age" of civic movement in Japan.²⁴⁵ It was because "Japan became a highly-developed consumer society" and "especially after the Oil Shock, people tended to concentrate on their survival in the corporate environment."²⁴⁶ In the introduction of this chapter, I argued that the rise of commercial-oriented '1980s theatre' sidelined political discourses in theatre, which had been an essence of the Angura theatre movement and taken up by Tsuka Kôhei. Similarly, less attention was paid to the political discourses of the civic movements in the consumer society of the 1980s, especially during the 'bubble' economy boom in the late 1980s.

At its general meeting in 1987, PARC's steering committee alerted the Japanese activists to such a social trend and called for the "revival of the Japanese people's movement" through "the enlivenment of the international solidarity activities."²⁴⁷ Responding to this appeal, PP21 was held after more than one year of preparation. The core programmes of PP21 were sixteen international conferences and cultural festivals highlighting the activities

²⁴⁵ Hiraike Yoshikazu, "Nettowâkingu: Shimin Undô Saisei No Kîwâdo Nanoka?," (Networking: a Keyword for the Revival of Citizens' Movement?) *Asahi Jânaru* 26, no. 43, 7.

²⁴⁶ Ôuchi Hirokazu et. al., "80 Nendai Towa Nandattanoka," (The Meaning of the 1980s) *Gendai Shisô* 29, no. 14 (November 2001), 75.

²⁴⁷ Steering Committee of Pacific Asia Resource Centre, "Ajia Taiheiyô Shiryô Sentâ Dai 3 Kai Sôkai Eno Unei Iinkai No Mondai Têki," (Issued Raised by the Steering Committee for PARC's Third General Meeting) *Sekai Kara* 28 (Winter 1987), 90.

of farmers, industrial workers, women, indigenous peoples, ecologists, and human rights / peace / community activists. 120,000 Japanese, together with 283 activists and movement leaders from all over Asia, the Americas and Europe participated in the events which aimed to “chart new directions that would break down the barriers separating peoples now.”²⁴⁸ PARC intended to draw people’s attention back to the citizens’ movement through such an “unrealistically huge”²⁴⁹ project.

Geographically, PP21 events stretched all over Japan and its themes covered most major issues that the Japanese civic movements had been dealing with. PP21 was really a ‘roundup’ of the Japanese citizens movement at that time. The major events’ host cities and themes were as follow:

Hokkaido: Recovery of the rights of the indigenous people
Niigata and Yamagata: Agriculture and the farmers’ solidarity
Niigata, Toyama and other cities: Problems of the US bases in Japan
Nagoya: Controls over educators and workers
Tokyo: Feminism issues
Tokyo: Military and diplomatic issues
Osaka: Solidarity among Asian workers
Fukuoka: The *Asian Festival*
Okinawa: Relationship between Asia and Okinawa²⁵⁰

The basic stance of PP21 was “to doubt ‘development’, ‘advancement’ and ‘progress’.”²⁵¹ Rejecting these terms, which had been used often by the public authorities to

²⁴⁸ Mark Selden, “Introduction to People’s Plan 21,” *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 22, no.3 (July-September 1990), 43.

²⁴⁹ Mutô Ichiyô, “‘Ekkyôsuru Kôdô’ Kara Pîpuru E: Purosesu Toshite No PP 21,” (From the Actions beyond Borders to the Formation of ‘People’: PP21 as a Process) *Sekai Kara* 36 (Autumn 1989), 29.

²⁵⁰ Editorial, “Pîpuruzu Puran 21 Sêki Ga Hajimatta,” (People’s Plan 21 has Started) *Sekai Kara* 33 (Autumn 1988), 1-2.

justify their policies, activists in PP21 reconfirmed their resistance against the domination of the ‘public’ by the nation-states. The Minamata Declaration that was created by the participants at the end of PP21 reads, “We declare that the oppressed people have a natural and universal right to criticise, oppose, or prevent the implementation of decisions affecting their lives, no matter where those decisions are made. We declare that this right is the people’s right and is more fundamental than any artificial law or institution established by the states.”²⁵² To secure it, the Declaration called for what PARC’s director, Mutô Ichiyô named ‘a transborder participatory democracy’. It was, according to Mutô, clearly distinct from the conventional idea of a world government or a world federation which presupposes nation-states as constituent units. What was envisioned by PARC was that “the people’s groups and organisations gradually formed themselves into transborder coalitions in the process of transborder political action, which would eventually lead to the formation of a transborder ‘people’.”²⁵³ It was a call for an ‘inter-people autonomy’ that escaped the sphere dominated by the authorities.²⁵⁴ It claimed to establish public spheres with the characteristics of the Counter Public Sphere model beyond the borders of the nation-states.

In PP21 events, the methodologies of the people’s culture movements including workshops were actively utilised. As a pre-event of PP21, three members of PETA were invited to Japan and they organised a two-month workshop tour. They visited nine cities from Hokkaido to Okinawa, and conducted workshops in collaboration with local civic

²⁵¹ Mutô, “‘Ekkyôsuru Kôdô’ Kara Pîpuru E,” 31.

²⁵² Hanasaki Kôhei, *Aidenthithi To Kyôsei No Tetsugaku Zôhoban* (Philosophy of Identity and Coexistence, Augmented Edition) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2001), 422-423.

²⁵³ Mutô Ichiyô, “For an Alliance of Hope,” *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, 22, no.3 (July-September 1990), 48.

²⁵⁴ Mutô, “‘Ekkyôsuru Kôdô’ Kara Pîpuru E,” 36.

movement activists.²⁵⁵ One of the founding members of the BTT, Kiritani Natsuko also participated in PP21.²⁵⁶ She organised the *Look Asia Weekend — Asian Culture Festival* in Tokyo that featured PETA, the Karawan Band of Thailand which had been a close collaborator of Takahashi Yûji of the *Water Buffalo Magazine*, and the Aborigine Islander Dance Theatre of Australia.²⁵⁷ The *Asian Festival* held in Fukuoka attracted a crowd of 100,000, which was much bigger than expected.²⁵⁸ The festival was planned as an antithesis to the grand-scale *Asian-Pacific Exposition: Fukuoka '89* organised in the same period by the state and major companies which ignited the “Asia boom” in the governmental sector.²⁵⁹ Participants agreed to make PP21 a continuing process, and the second PP21 was held in Bangkok in 1992²⁶⁰ followed by the third and the last meeting (so far) being held in Kathmandu, Nepal in 1996.²⁶¹ An organisation to conduct research projects on the issues raised by PP21, the People’s Plan Study Group was also set up in 1998.

However, in spite of these efforts, the number of large-scale activities using the workshop methodologies to create public spheres declined quickly after PP21. Rather, new kinds of civic movements that did not necessarily confront the authorities but were more interested in creating a space for the coexistence of different values and thoughts became popular as I will discuss in the next chapter. PP21 really became a ‘roundup’ of the 1980s

²⁵⁵ Ôhashi Seiko, “Tesaguri De Tadoru Ôrutanathibu,” (Seeking for the Alternatives) *Sekai Kara* 33 (Autumn 1988), 34.

One of the workshops was held in the farming villages in Yamagata prefecture. The information gathered there was later reflected in the BTT -PETA collaboration theatre production, *Romeo and Juliet: A Comedy* (1997).

²⁵⁶ Kiritani Natsuko, “Bunka No Kôbô Ni Hibikiau Koe: Ajia Feminisuto Âto,” (Voices Echoing in the Workshop of Culture: Asian Feminist Art) *Sekai Kara* 36 (Autumn 1989), 93.

²⁵⁷ Editorial, “Netto Waku” (Network), *Shingeki* 437 (August 1989), 69.

²⁵⁸ Mutô, ““Ekkyôsuru Kôdô’ Kara Pîpuru E,”” 32.

²⁵⁹ Ôhashi, “Tesaguri De Tadoru Ôrutanathibu,” 31.

²⁶⁰ Surichai Wun’gao, “Atarashii ‘Kô’ No Supêsu O Sôshutsusuru Hitobito No Inisiachibu,” (An Initiative to Create a New Public Space) *Oruta* 4 (Spring 1993), 119.

²⁶¹ Matsui Yayori, *Women in the New Asia* (London and New York: Zed Books, 1999), 26.

civic movement after all and marked a transition to a different kind of civic movements in Japan.

4. The Common Problems of the BTT and the Civic Movement

The activities of the BTT and the civic movements in the 1980s had commonalities and the workshop method that the BTT learned from their Southeast Asian counterparts was widely adopted by the civic movement activists. At the same time, the BTT and the civic movements shared their problems and limitations. I would like to point out two.

The first limitation was that their activities were based on a self-recognition as ‘victims’. I argued that the Angura theatre movement and the New Left movement in the early 1970s experienced the ‘paradigm shift’ from self-recognition as the ‘victims’ of Western colonialism to that of the ‘aggressors’ who invaded the Asian region. An enormous amount of energy was spent on this ‘paradigm shift’, and it became one of the most important achievements of the movements during that period.

Nevertheless, the self-recognition as the aggressors can hardly be found in the activities of the BTT and the civic movements in the 1980s. As I discussed earlier, it is possible that their interest in Southeast Asia in the 1980s was a direct result of the ‘paradigm shift’. The “go and meet the people” strategy adopted by both the BTT and the civic movements was an attempt to overcome the limitation of the previous movements in which ‘Asia’ remained only a ‘mirror-image’. In spite of the developments in these aspects, the very basis of the ‘paradigm shift’—the self-recognition as aggressors—was sidelined.

What became prevalent was the self-recognition as ‘victims’. In the struggle with the public authorities such as governments and large companies, the activists considered

themselves as the ‘oppressed’ who suffered from the social structure built by the authorities. The BTT’s arguments on the ‘struggling masses’ reflect such a perception. In *the Draft Mission Statement*, the BTT declares that, “There is no theatre where it should be... It is a place of the struggling masses.” They also state, “Our struggle will be integrated with the people’s struggle to realise their autonomy” as I quoted earlier. Those they considered as the potential users of their theatre for the ‘struggling masses’ were the oppressed people of Japan.

The BTT recognised that Japan was in a position to oppress the people of Asia in the international structure built by the public authorities. However, they argued that there were a number of oppressed people within the country, such as victims of environmental pollutions and unemployed workers who lost their jobs because of the rapid transition to automation in the factories.²⁶² The BTT focused on the ‘victims’ in Japan and tried to develop an alliance between the victims in Japan and Southeast Asia.

When PARC called for the “people-to-people exchange and solidarity”, what they imagined was also the ‘struggling masses’ who fought for liberation from the oppressions of the country and large companies. PARC’s director Mutô Ichiyô argues, “When we use the word ‘people’, we naturally choose a certain image of the ‘people’. They are subjects who possess the potential to fight for the liberation of themselves.”²⁶³ Similar to the BTT, when PARC advocated learning from the Southeast Asian people’s movement, it was considered as a collaboration between the oppressed people in Japan and Southeast Asia. Tsurumi Yoshiyuki writes, “It was a very important finding that the victims’ movement in the

²⁶² The Black Tent Theatre, “Ajia Minshû Engeki Wâkushoppu Ni Tsuite No Yobikake,” (Call for Asian People’s Theatre Workshop) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 23 (June 1982), 2.

²⁶³ Mutô Ichiyô, “Enjo No Shisô To Minshû Rentai,” (The Ideology of Development Assistance and Solidarity of People) *Sekai Kara* 18 (Winter 1984), 23.

aggressor country can always learn from the victims' movement in the victim country... In other words, I would say that the Asian people are our teachers."²⁶⁴

I argue that such an attitude was a result of the nature of the Counter Public Sphere that they wished to create through the movement. This type of public sphere requires a common issue to be shared by all participants. When Japanese activists tried to build a Counter Public Sphere which went beyond national borders for solidarity with the Southeast Asians, it was necessary to have common 'enemies' to confront which were the governments and large multinational companies. To furnish the transborder Counter Public Sphere, it was necessary for Japanese activists to take the position of victims. As a result, the self-recognition as aggressors was intentionally ignored.

In spite of the enthusiastic attempts to realise a transborder solidarity with their Southeast Asian counterparts, the BTT and the Japanese civic movements eventually failed to develop a system that dealt with the common issues and problems in the region. Rather, their focus was basically on the reform of the domestic social structure, which is the second limitation that I wish to point out. For example, PARC's leader Mutô Ichiyô advocated the drawing of a fresh blueprint of the international structure for the coexistence of the Japanese and the Asian people. However, his aim was still in the "fundamental restructuring of the existing social system, economy, politics and culture in Japan" based on the blueprint.²⁶⁵

The BTT's aim of introducing the workshop was to "develop our own 'language' by learning and adopting the methodology of expressions developed by the Third World

²⁶⁴ Tsurumi, *Beheiren: Tsurumi Yoshiyuki Chosakushû* 2, 243.

²⁶⁵ Mutô Ichiyô, "Enjo No Shisô To Minshû Rentai," 22.

people.”²⁶⁶ Similar to the civic movements, the BTT’s intention was to reform Japan. Although they toured to the Philippines and staged their plays there, they were not related to the region at all.²⁶⁷ Rather, it was a showcase of the BTT’s works than an attempt to create a discourse to deal with the common problems in Japan and the Philippines. The BTT did not try to develop such a discourse in collaboration with their Southeast Asian counterparts until 1997 when they created *Romeo and Juliet: A Comedy* with PETA which was staged in both Japan and the Philippines.

Although the final aim of the BTT and the civic movements was in the establishment of “the international structure for the coexistence of the Japanese and Asian people” and the domestic reform was considered as the first step to achieve this, it cannot be denied that it was the Japanese side that benefitted more by learning from Southeast Asia. The BTT learned theatre workshop methodology from PETA and eventually succeeded in concretising their concepts of ‘publicness’ and ‘Asian theatre.’ Although these concepts did not have any concrete models before the BTT met PETA in 1978, they could finally acquire their original model of the ‘people’s theatre,’ which they had sought since the period of Angura theatre movement, through the interactions with PETA.

To be fair, it should be noted that PETA had also benefitted from their encounter with the BTT. Their project to develop a regional network of people’s theatre practitioners was accelerated thanks to the enthusiastic engagement of the BTT. Asian Theatre Forum

²⁶⁶ Yamamoto Kiyokazu, “‘Dura Tura’ Ni Tsuite No Oboegaki,” 31.

²⁶⁷ The BTT staged *Gokuraku Kingyo* (A Heavenly Goldfish) in their Manila tour in 1980. The play, written by Endô Takuo, was based on a folktale in the Shikoku region of Japan. Endô, who accompanied the tour of the BTT, states that he felt uncomfortable because his play was not related to the local culture and people. See Endô, “Ajia Engeki Wâkushoppu,” 108.

was realised because the BTT shared the initiatives with PETA.²⁶⁸ Nevertheless, the interaction between the two theatre companies did not bring any significant impact to PETA. In other words, the BTT hardly provided any new form or methods that PETA could adopt. It was rather a one-way traffic from Southeast Asia to Japan and not vice versa. Observing the success of the BTT's workshops, PETA's Manny Pambid cynically states, "It gave me an impression that the Japanese artists brought back raw materials from the Philippines, processed it in a Japanese factory and presented the nicely wrapped final product on stage."²⁶⁹ In spite of their slogan—"solidarity with the Asian people", the BTT could not get substantially connected with foreign collaborators through theatre.

What the BTT members including Satô Makoto realised through the experiments in the 1980s are the following two facts: Firstly, it was necessary for them to collaborate with their Southeast Asian counterparts and create theatrical narratives together to deal with the common issues. In other words, the one-way relationship in which only the Japanese side learned from Southeast Asia would not be able to last for long. When *Ugly JASEAN* was staged, former *Beheiren* activist Muro Kenji pointed out that it was still trapped in the mentality of Shingeki, which always referred to the 'advanced' overseas theatre. The only difference was, according to Muro, the West was the reference for Shingeki while Asia was the reference for *Ugly JASEAN*.²⁷⁰ Although the BTT countered Muro's argument by insisting that what they were trying to accomplish was not superficial mimicking but a

²⁶⁸ Samson et. al., *The Story of PETA*, 220.

²⁶⁹ The Black Tent Theatre, "Firipîno No Mitamama Nippon, Bunkakô," 4.

²⁷⁰ Muro, "Tai Sêji Sokkyôgeki No Naka De Manabu," 49.

fundamental connection to the people's lives,²⁷¹ it cannot be denied that the attitude of 'learning from Asia' remained. In other words, there was no momentum to create something through truly equal collaborations. Overcoming such a one-way relationship became an agenda for their activities in the 1990s.

Secondly, to realise the collaborations with their Southeast Asian counterparts, it was inevitable for them to deal with the issue of the war as the first step. In other words, going back to the issue of the Japanese's self-recognition as aggressors would have to be the baseline for the collaborations. As I will discuss in detail in Chapter 5, Satô Makoto tackled this issue squarely and initiated international theatre collaborations with Southeast Asian artists that were themed on the Japanese occupation during World War II.²⁷²

Section 5. Conclusion

The late 1970s was a time of reflection on the turbulent and even violent developments in the 1960s and early 1970s. In the field of theatre, it was Tsuka Kôhei who tried to review the Angura theatre movement in his own satirical style. However, theatre in the 1980s quickly became commercial in the 'bubble' economy boom and the social and political discourses disappeared from mainstream theatre.

²⁷¹ Fukuchi Kazuyoshi, "Kankoku Minshû Engeki Ni Nani O Manabuka," (What We should Learn from the Korean People's Theatre) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 27 (August 1982), 45.

²⁷² The BTT pursued their exchange with Southeast Asian counterparts without virtually any support from funding sources or other theatre companies. As a result, their activities in the 1980s became almost invisible from the mainstream of Japanese theatre. Young members of the company were exhausted by activities that did not bring any theatrical reputation by the early 1990s, and the company decided to stop their applied theatre project and return to being 'an ordinary theatre company' which focused on artistic creations. (Matsui, interview) As I will discuss in the next chapter, Satô Makoto became the artistic director of a new theatre venue in Tokyo called the *Setagaya Public Theatre* in 1997 and used it as the base of his activities.

Nevertheless, ex-Angura theatre company, the BTT, tried hard to maintain the effort to create the theatre as public spheres through the difficult period in the 1980s. Although most theatre companies including former Angura groups surged into commercialisation, the BTT doggedly continued to clean up the Angura's mess. "We were not really interested in the '1980s theatre' such as Noda Hideki's works", affirms Matsui Kentarô, a former member of the BTT. "We felt uncomfortable with the extreme playfulness of Noda's works. We were sure that nothing could be changed with such an approach."²⁷³

Meanwhile, the civic movement in the 1980s also tackled issues that had remained unsolved by the New Left movement. Because the activities of the BTT and the civic movement in the 1980s shared important commonalities, they worked in close collaboration. The workshop method that the BTT learned from their Southeast Asian counterparts was widely adopted by the Japanese civic movements as a tool for the empowerment of the people. A series of events such as ATF 83, *People's Culture Movement Forum* and PP21 provided a platform for the civic movement activists to adopt the workshop methodology.

The commonalities that enabled collaborations between the BTT and the civic movements were twofold. Firstly, both of them advocated visiting Southeast Asian countries and met their counterparts in person. It became the first attempts by Japanese theatre practitioners and civic movement activists to establish face-to-face communications with their counterparts in Southeast Asia. The earlier Angura theatre movement and the New Left movement also dealt with the issues in Asia, however, the 'Asia' was merely a 'mirror-image'

²⁷³ Matsui, interview.

and without any substance as I have discussed in the previous chapter. In the 1980s, thanks to the relative ease of travelling abroad, Japanese artists and activists established their connections with a circle of activists in Asia. The physical encounter with PETA informed the BTT of a new methodology of workshops, which opened up a new possibility of theatre as a tool to build public spheres. The BTT developed their own style of workshops through their activities based on the inputs from the Asian counterparts. At least domestically, they created one model of the Counter Public Sphere based on the theatre workshops.

Secondly, both the BTT and the civic movements recognised the concept of the ‘publicness’ in their activities in the 1980s. As I argued in the previous chapter, both the Angura theatre and the New Left movements had a similar nature of the Counter Public Sphere as the ‘third sphere’ in between the public authorities and the private sphere although it was not clearly recognised by them as such. It was only in this period that artists and activists became fully aware of the ‘publicness’ of their activities, which enabled them to elaborate and refine the concept further. The BTT’s *Draft Mission Statement* published in 1978 introduced the concept of the ‘Publicness’ of theatre as a keyword of their activities. The resident movement that tackled with the issues on pollution and development in the 1980s started to question whether ‘public’ should be dominated by the public authorities — governments and large companies.

The public sphere that the BTT and the civic movements tried to create through their activities in the 1980s was the ones with the characteristics of Counter Public Sphere, which shared a fundamentally similar nature with the public spheres created in the 1960s and early 1970s. The basic stance of the BTT and the civic movements was to question the dominance of the ‘public’ by the public authorities. Public spheres were considered to be

discursive spaces for the counter arguments “to compel public authority to legitimate itself before public opinion” as Habermas defines. The activities of the BTT and the civic movements in the 1980s was, in a sense, an attempt to prolong the life of the Counter Public Sphere model invented and developed by the Angura theatre and the New Left movements in the earlier period.

The concept of ‘publicness’ of theatre was recognised by a wider circle of practitioners in the 1990s and it became a keyword of Japanese contemporary theatre. Although the model adopted was different, the recognition of the ‘publicness’ of theatre became a basis of the developments in the next decade. At the same time, the workshop methodology, which was established as an effective tool to create a public sphere, spread all over Japan.

Nevertheless, there were limitations and issues which were also shared by the BTT and the civic movements. The most serious problem was that they failed to create discourses which were mutually beneficial for the Japanese and the Southeast Asians. Although the themes and agendas of the movements went beyond borders, the purpose of them in this period was limited to mainly the change of domestic situations in Japan. In other words, the Japanese artists and activists had little interest in changing the situation in their counterparts’ countries. For example, the BTT adopted the workshop methodology from PETA, but they did not reciprocate with any methodology of their own. It was a one-way relationship which seemed to the PETA members like the Japanese were exploiting the Filipinos.

The second problem was that the self-recognition as aggressors which was introduced by the Angura theatre movement and the New Left movement was ignored in the

1980s. It was a major setback from the earlier movements. This would be one of the reasons why the BTT and the civic movements that aimed solidarity with Southeast Asian people failed to create a public sphere beyond national borders. Although they succeeded in establishing a model of Counter Public Sphere in the domestic movements, they failed to create a system to generate public spheres that can be shared with their Southeast Asian counterparts. When Satô Makoto started a project to develop narratives that were to be shared by both parties through theatre collaboration in the late 1990s in order to overcome the first problem, he realised the need to go back to this issue as the basis of the collaboration. I will discuss the international collaboration projects in detail in Chapter 5.

The BTT was the only Japanese theatre company which experienced an encounter with Southeast Asian counterparts in the 1980s. They successfully achieved two aims—finding counterparts in Southeast Asia and finding a model of their ‘people’s theatre’—through their activities in the 1980s. Southeast Asia was no more a ‘mirror-image’. Nevertheless, in spite of these achievements, there were still issues and problems left unsolved. The projects initiated by Satô in the late 1990s and the 2000s were to deal with them and they became a ‘culmination’ of the development since the 1960s.

Chapter 4. Public Theatres and *Kyôsei*, the 1990s – early 2000s

Section 1. Introduction: The Project of the New Public Sphere

There were two significant developments in the relationship between the Japanese and Southeast Asian theatres in the 1990s. The first was that the methodology of the applied theatre *with* and *by* the communities / societies, which included workshops that originated from Southeast Asia, was adopted all over Japan. As I have argued in the last chapter, this kind of applied theatre was introduced in the 1980s through the ‘people’s culture’ movements and widely utilised in the Japanese citizens’ movements. However, its influence was generally limited to the activists’ circle and had little impact on the mainstream theatre community. The activities of the BTT, which introduced the Southeast Asian applied theatre methodology to Japan, were hardly covered in theatre journals.

The model of the public sphere that was adopted in the practices of applied theatre during that period was the Counter Public Sphere model. It confronted the public authorities and there were virtually no incentives for the activists to collaborate with the authorities. Nevertheless, in the 1990s, theatre started to be considered as a means of realising the coexistence of different values, which would facilitate community building. State and municipal governments shifted from a dichotomous public / private model to a model that accepted a public sphere as the ‘third sphere’. They gave up on the domination of ‘publicness’ and began to seek the possibility of utilising the abilities of artists and citizens. New type of theatres or so-called ‘public theatres’ became spaces of such new developments.

The second development was that a number of important international theatre collaborations between Japan and Southeast Asia were created in the late 1990s.

International theatre collaborations became popular in the Japanese theatre community and Southeast Asia became one of their closest counterparts. The style and method of their collaborations with Southeast Asia provided a model of international cooperation in the creation of theatre, which was followed by many Japanese artists. I argue that Southeast Asian theatre was recognised as an important counterpart of Japanese theatre for the first time. I will discuss it in the next chapter.

Kyôsei (conviviality or ‘living together’) was a common keyword in both developments. As philosopher / activist Hanasaki Kôhei points out, *Kyôsei* is a rather problematic term with greatly diverse definitions.¹ Nonetheless, what was apparent was that the nature of the public spheres being created to realise *Kyôsei* was totally different from the Counter Public Sphere model in the previous decades. I argue that the two developments in the 1990s were possible because of the introduction of a new model of the public sphere.

In this chapter, I will focus on the first development in the 1990s. I will begin with the nature of the new model of the public sphere and the social background that brought the change about. Then, I will examine the new type of theatres called ‘public theatres’ which were developed to realise the new public sphere through theatrical activities. I will also discuss how the methodology of the workshop that originated in Southeast Asia was adopted all over Japan and became a standard for the ‘public theatres’.

¹ Hanasaki, ‘*Kyôsei*’ *Eno Shokuhatsu*, 132.

Section 2. Introduction of the *Kyôsei* (共生) Concept to the Japanese Civic Movements

1. From the ‘Struggling Masses’ to the ‘Living of Masses’

1-1. Movements in a New Style

As I have discussed in the previous chapter, the mid-1980s was called the ‘ice age’ of the Japanese civic and residents’ movements. The movements, which aimed for the creation of a discursive space that can be shared beyond the national borders in collaboration with their Southeast Asian counterparts, faced a decline in spite of the efforts to revive the movements such as the People’s Plan 21. However, new movements with the aim of building different kinds of public spheres emerged around the same time. Having its roots in the civic movements that aimed to achieve an autonomy of the community in the 1980s, such new movements, often called ‘volunteer activities’, became the mainstream of the Japanese civic movement. The activists who had been involved in the movements to create public spheres following the model of the Counter Public Sphere changed the purpose and nature of their activities to face new social demands.

The activities of Tsurumi Yoshiyuki, an *ex-Beheiren* activist and one of the founding members of the Pacific Asia Resource Centre (PARC) in the early 1990s, were a good example of such a shift in the Japanese civic movement. His early activities focused on building a network with the anti-government activists in Southeast Asia and connecting them to their Japanese counterparts. This was a highly political behaviour that challenged dictatorships such as the regime of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines.² What Tsurumi did was to visit countries, especially Southeast Asian countries with developmental dictatorships,

² Murai Yoshinori and Yoshioka Shinobu, “Tsurumi Yoshiyuki Wa Naze Ajia Ni Mukattanoka?,” (Why did Tsurumi Yoshiyuki head for Asia?) *Gekkan Oruta* (August/September 2004), 33.

and meet local people and collect information about them. He called this the “barefoot research methodology” as I have mentioned in the previous chapter.

However, he realised through his fieldwork experiences that there should be different perspectives from that of anti-governmental intellectuals.³ It was a perspective that encouraged the paying of attention to the issues and problems in the daily lives of communities. This was different from the idea of the Counter Public Sphere that opposes public authorities, typically nation-states. Tsurumi argues, “Appealing in the newspapers, organising huge demonstrations ... These are important forms of a civic movement. However, what we need now might be a movement that nurtures people who can manage the difficult situations in our daily lives.”⁴ It was a shift in the target of the movement, from a national level to a community level, and a shift from the ‘struggling masses’ to the ‘living of masses’.⁵ As a result, Tsurumi gradually started to keep a distance from PARC, which continued to follow the model Counter Public Sphere.

The early 1990s saw an increase in the number of activists who shared similar perspectives with Tsurumi. They valued the betterment of their own lives in the community through grassroots activities rather than resisting the state. It was, in summary, “a movement of the ordinary citizens living in the community ... with the aim of “reconstructing a living environment.”⁶ Their purpose was to realise a model of “a vibrant society that enjoys

³ Ibid., 34-35.

⁴ Tsurumi, *Ajia Tono Deai*, 275

⁵ Mutô Ichiyô, “Tsurumi Yoshiyuki No Kiseki: ‘Yawarakai Ajia’ Eno Henyô,” (Tracing Tsurumi Yoshiyuki’s Life: a Shift towards ‘Soft Asia’) *Gekkan Oruta* (March 1999), 18.

⁶ Harima Yasuo, “Nettowâkingu Undô No Shinka,” (Development of Networking Movement), *Nettowâku* 300 (May 2009), 2-3.

diversity”⁷ and to make their community better, which was again different from the pretentious aims of the earlier civic movements.

In Chapter 2, I argued that one of the reasons why citizens and students could fully conform to each other in the New Left movement in the early 1960s was because they shared a common ground of the memory of the war. I also pointed out that the student movement and the civic movement were separated in the later half of the decade because such a commonality was lost. In the 1980s, even the most common values among students had vanished and it became extremely difficult to expect any solidarity among them.⁸

Through an adaption of Karl Mannheim’s theory on generations, sociologist Wada Muneki analysed the postwar generations in Japan. According to Mannheim, “individuals of the same age, they were and are... united as an actual generation insofar as they participate in the characteristic social and intellectual currents of their society and period, and insofar as they have an active or passive experience of the interactions of forces which made up the new situation.”⁹ Wada argues that the only group in postwar Japan that falls into this definition of generation is those who spent their youth in the 1960s.¹⁰ Into the 1980s, it became common to group people by their consumption habits regardless of their age.¹¹ In other words, the ‘generation’ with a shared common value could not exist anymore and there were

⁷ Ibid., 4.

⁸ Arisue Ken, “Tasedai Kôsa Sekai To Shimin Ishiki,” (Civil Consciousness in the Multi-generational Society) in *Tabunka Tasedai Kôsa Sekai Niokeru Shimin Ishiki No Keisei* (Development of Civil Consciousness in the Multicultural and Multi-generational Society), ed. Watanabe Hideki and Arisue Ken (Tokyo: Keiô Gijuku Daigaku Shuppankai, 2008), 4.

⁹ Carl Mannheim, “The Problem of Generations,” in *Studying Aging and Social Change: Conceptual and Methodological Issues*, ed. Melissa A. Hardy (Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi, Sage Publications, 1997), 49.

¹⁰ Wada Muneki, “‘Sedai’ No Shakaigakuteki Kôsetsu,” (A Sociological Study of the ‘Generation’) in *Tabunka Tasedai Kôsa Sekai Niokeru Shimin Ishiki No Keisei* (The Development of Civil Consciousness in the Multicultural and Multi-generational Society), ed. Watanabe Hideki and Arisue Ken (Tokyo: Keiô Gijuku Daigaku Shuppankai, 2008), 39.

¹¹ Ibid., 38.

only groups that contained people with extremely diverse values from the 1980s onwards.¹² In a society of such highly diverse values, it was impossible to believe in an unconditional solidarity in the society. A situation in which “communities were destroyed and people were isolated”¹³ arose. It became an important challenge to find a method to realise the coexistence of different values without negating its diverse nature and to reconstruct the communities.

The phenomenon that further accelerated the diversification of the Japanese society in the 1980s was the rapid increase in domiciled foreigners. The strong yen which resulted from the Plaza Accord in 1985 created wider income gaps between Japan and foreign countries, especially the developing countries. An inflow of foreign labour, mostly from Asian countries, dramatically increased in the 1980s. The shortage of manpower in the ‘bubble’ economy boom and the unpopularity of manual labour among Japanese youth also enabled the development. As a result, the number of registered foreign workers in Japan jumped from 8,000 in 1986 to 30,000 in 1990, then to 64,000 in 1993.¹⁴ The number of overstaying foreigners, most of whom were likely to be working illegally, was estimated to be 57,000 in 1988, 160,000 in 1991 and 300,000 in 1993. Thailand had the largest number of immigrants, followed by Korea, the Philippines, China, Malaysia and Iran.¹⁵

¹² The discourses that questioned the widely accepted perception that Japan had been a mono-cultural and mono-racial country became popular during the same period. For example, Oguma Eiji’s *Tanitsu Minzoku Shinwa No Kigen* (The Origin of the Myth of Mono-racial Society) (Tokyo: Shinyôsha, 1995) won the Suntory Academic Prize in 1996 and attracted much attention. This may be understood as a response to the loss of a shared value in Japan.

¹³ Harima, “Nettowâkingu Undô No Shinka,” 2.

¹⁴ Tanaka Hiroshi, *Zainichi Gaikokujin Shinban* (*Zainichi* Foreigners: New Edition) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995), 223. Quoted figures include student / dependent visa holders who are permitted to work in Japan.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 221.

In the earlier period, the issues of foreigners in Japan were synonymous with the Zainichi issues.¹⁶ At the same time, when the ‘internationalisation’ of Japan was at stake, it usually meant an increase in the number of Japanese people who visited foreign countries.¹⁷ However, the existence of foreigners became usual even in rural cities in the later half of the 1980s, and this was called the ‘internal internationalisation’ of Japan. Many Japanese felt that the development happened all too suddenly.¹⁸ They were not prepared for such a rapid and extensive increase in the foreign population in their communities and the conflict between migrants and the local Japanese became a serious social issue. The Ôkubo area in Tokyo is a good example. In the late 1980s, the population of Asian migrants started to increase in Ôkubo, and the proportion of them in the total population reached 21 percent, excluding overstayers.¹⁹ The community members of Ôkubo had to deal with the sudden ‘internationalisation’ of the area, and daily troubles quickly intensified.²⁰

Ôkubo might be an extreme example. Nevertheless, the conflicts had its roots in the difference of customs and habits and they could be found “everywhere in Japan.”²¹ Bullying in schools was also another serious problem. Around 1990, the new citizen’s movement which pursued improvement in the lives of the communities found that it was necessary to tackle the domiciled foreigners’ issues.²² There was an inability for people of different

¹⁶ Yoshioka Shinobu, “Nihon No Naka No ‘Ajia’: Ajia Shokoku Kara Kuru Hitobito,” (‘Asia’ within Japan: Migrants from Asian Countries) *Shisô No Kagaku* 443 (August 1988), 4.

¹⁷ Tsuno Kaitarô and Ezaki Yasuko, “Omowanu Nihon Ga Mietekuru,” (Finding Hidden Japan) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 487 (Autumn 1988), 40.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹⁹ Inaba Yoshiko, “‘Tôkyô Esunikku Kûkan’ No Uchigawa; Kokusaikasuru Ôkubo No Machi, Hito, Seikatsu,” (Inside Tokyo’s Ethnic Space: Internationalization of Town, People and Lives in Ôkubo) *Kokusai Kôryû* 72 (July 1996), 56.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 54-55.

²¹ Yoshioka, “Nihon No Naka No ‘Ajia,’” 9.

²² For example, a periodical *Network* published by the Tokyo Voluntary Action Centre started to feature the issue of domicile foreigners in 1989. See “Nettowâku Tokushû Ichiran,” (List of Feature Articles in *Network*) *Nettowâku* 300 (May 2009), 36-38.

cultures to coexist and that situation intensified greatly. A new strategy was urgently needed that could become the backbone of such a development. *Kyôsei* was a concept that emerged quickly and was widely accepted by the civic movement activists.

1-2. Introduction of the *Kyôsei* concept

Faced with the conflict of having domiciled foreigners in the daily lives of the Japanese, the Japanese mass media initially concurred with the opinion that foreigners should be assimilated into Japanese culture so that they would not disturb the social order.²³ However, empirical knowledge that such an approach only worsened the conflict was accumulated. For example, at a kindergarten in Ôkubo, trouble with foreign parents decreased after they adopted a new approach that stressed the importance of valuing diversity.²⁴ By educating Japanese parents and children on how to coexist with people with different cultures and values, the community became ready to accept domicile foreigners.

Philosopher and civic activist Hanasaki Kôhei calls the condition in which different values coexist, a state of *Kyôsei*. According to Hanasaki, the most important principle of *Kyôsei* is “to accept incomprehensible matters as they are.”²⁵ *Kyôsei* can be achieved only “through an exchange of information for the purposes of coexistence based on a close personal relationship.”²⁶ In such an equal and horizontal relationship, people will learn and

According to the survey conducted by the Japan Foundation in 2000, the number of NGOs that provide Japanese language courses for domicile foreigners rose sharply after 1991. See The Japan Foundation, *Nihon No Kokusai Kôryû Katsudô Dantai No Genjô: Kokusai Kôryû Dantai Chôsa 2000nen* (Current Situation of International Exchange Associations in Japan: Report of the Survey of International Exchange Associations, 2000) (Tokyo: The Japan Foundation, 2001), 12.

²³ Yoshida Toshimi, “Tabunka Shugi,” (Multiculturalism) *Gendai Shisô* 28, no. 3 (February Special Issue 2000), 92.

²⁴ Inaba, “‘Tôkyô Esunikku Kûkan’ No Uchigawa,” 54-55.

²⁵ Hanasaki, ‘*Kyôsei*’ *Eno Shokuhatsu*, 82

²⁶ Hiraike, “Nettowâkingu,” 8.

familiarise themselves with the necessary “manner” to solve the problems and reach an agreement with the others.²⁷ The image of *Kyôsei* as ‘a process to learn how to behave in the face of cultural diversity’ is particularly similar to the model of the Public Sphere for Coexistence which I mentioned in Chapter 1.

Since the 1980s, Japanese activists started to advocate “a powerful logic of ‘proposal-style’ (*teian-gata*) social activism which argues that true movement autonomy is only possible through a realistic engagement with the state and market.”²⁸ In other words, the former movement only requested the government to change while the new one proactively tried to change their communities on their own initiatives, often in collaboration with the municipal governments.²⁹ The mid-1980s was a “historical turning point” of the Japanese civic movement as they turned from ‘anti-government’ to ‘collaboration with the government’.³⁰ It would be possible to call it a shift from the Coutner Public Sphere model to the *Kyôsei* – the Public Sphere for Coexistence model. By the beginning of the 1990s, such collaboration had already become a premise of the Japanese civic movement.³¹

What provided a theoretical backbone to this shift was the Networking Theory, developed by Jessica Lipnack and Jeffrey Stamps of the Networking Institute, Inc.³² According to Lipnack and Stamps, a network is “a web of free-standing participants cohering

²⁷ Hanasaki, *Aidenthithi To Kyôsei No Tetsugaku*, 212-213.

²⁸ Simon Andrew Avenell, “Civil Society and the New Civic Movements in Contemporary Japan: Convergence, Collaboration, and Transformation,” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 35, no. 2 (2009), 249.

²⁹ Hiraïke, “Nettowâkingu,” 7.

³⁰ Nakayama Atsuo, *Boranthia Shakai No Tanjô: Giman O Kanjiru Karakuri* (The Birth of the Volunteer Society: a Delusive Trick) (Tsu: Mie Daigaku Shuppankai, 2007), 208.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 117.

³² Interestingly, their book, *Networking*, which was translated into Japanese in 1984, has not been well known in their home country, the United States and the impact of their theory was exceptionally strong in Japan. See Sengo Nihon Kokusai Bunka Kôryû Kenkyûkai, *Sengo Nihon No Kokusai Bunka Kôryû*, 114.

through shared values and interests. Networks are composed of self-reliant people and of independent groups,” which was to declare a shift from traditional organising structures based on a hierarchical system to “systems of intertwining, densely populated networks ... supplementing, weaving through, and sometimes entirely eclipsing bureaucracies.”³³ An important principle in the theory is that everyone is equal in a network and no one dominates the other.³⁴

The Networking Theory became exceptionally popular among Japanese civic movement activists in the 1990s. An article in the *Asahi Journal* in 1984 named ‘networking’ as a keyword for the revival of the Japanese civic movement.³⁵ The Networking Association, an NGO for the practice of networking activities based on the theory was formed in Japan in the same year.³⁶ The reason for the remarkable popularity of the theory in Japan was, I argue, because the idea of networking well fitted the needs of the Japanese civic movement in two aspects. Firstly, the movement claiming the fundamental – or ‘revolutionary’ – changes in the society that dominated the 1960s and 70s faced a deadlock by the mid 1980s. This is because each movement became too specialised in one specific social problem. As a result, they failed to attract the attention of a large number of citizens. The idea of ‘networking,’ in which the connection itself was the most important, encouraged Japanese activists to regain wider viewpoints in their activities so that they would be able to appeal to a wider circle of ordinary citizens.³⁷ By connecting people and organisations together, regardless of their

³³ Jessica Lipsnack and Jeffrey Stamps, *The Networking Book: People Connecting with People* (New York and London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), 2.

³⁴ Jessica Lipsnack and Jeffrey Stamps, *The Age of Network: Organizing Principles for the 21st Century* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1994), 13.

³⁵ Hiraïke, “Nettowâkingu,” 7.

³⁶ Harima, “Nettowâkingu Undô No Shinka,” 3.

³⁷ Sengo Nihon Kokusai Bunka Kôryû Kenkyûkai, *Sengo Nihon No Kokusai Bunka Kôryû*, 114

differences in opinions, a new relationship between the movements and the society could be realised. The Network Theory's principle of maintaining the differences in opinions among participants fitted the idea of *Kyôsei* which values diversity.

The second point was that 'networking' conformed well to the shift in the nature of the movement. From the 'traditional' civic movement activists' point of view, there was only a hierarchical dichotomy of 'oppressing governments' versus 'oppressed people.'³⁸ Governments were always above the people and trying to control them. Such a hierarchical view is, however, denied in the Networking Theory. Rather, it locates governments in an equal position as citizens and insists that the two parties can collaborate with each other. Lipnack and Stamps give many examples of such collaborations in their books, including activities for expanding job possibilities³⁹ and the environmental movement in the USA.⁴⁰ In these examples, citizens and NGOs maintained their independent positions from the government, yet they collaborated with public authorities whenever it was possible.

2. Changes in the Public Authorities: Abandoning the Domination of the 'Public'

At the same time, the Japanese government also gradually changed its traditional policy of dominating the 'public' in the dichotomous model of 'public' and 'private'. In the field of social welfare especially, it shifted to an approach of collaborating with the civic movements and volunteer organisations proactively. One of the reasons for this development was the major budget cut in the 1980s. The Japanese government put a higher priority on the reduction of their public responsibilities in the field of social welfare to deal

³⁸ Douglas Lummis, "Korekara No Undô No Konkyo O Saguru," (Seeking the Basis of the Movement in the Future) *Gekkan Oruta* (January 2000), 10.

³⁹ Lipnack and Stamps, *The Networking Book*, 34

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 47.

with the shortage of the budget.⁴¹ In the 1990s, the public authorities “abandoned their position as the sole provider of public welfare services and started to take on a much more minor role as a manager only in charge of designing the social machinery.”⁴²

The Japanese government named this development as an introduction of ‘*Atarashii Kôkyô*’ (a new publicness), which was modeled upon the New Public Management policy of the Thatcher administration in the UK in the 1980s.⁴³ Facing an economic turndown after the ‘bubble’ economy boom, the Japanese government started to seriously construct a small government and introduce a new model in which the NGOs are considered as possible providers of public services.

The event that confirmed such a shift was the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake that hit the Osaka and Kobe areas in January 1995. Right after the earthquake, some two million people headed to Kobe as volunteers. “In any case,” writes a member of an NGO, “this is the first time in Japanese history that we have seen such a movement.”⁴⁴ This phenomenon greatly impacted the Japanese government in two ways.

Firstly, the large number of volunteers—its ‘quantity’—forced the government to establish a legal foundation to support them. The government set up a coordination committee for volunteer matters among related ministries merely a few weeks after the earthquake, and a bill for the incorporation of nonprofit organisations was submitted to the diet.⁴⁵ The Law to Promote Specified Nonprofit Activities was enacted in 1998, which

⁴¹ Abe Atsushi, *Shakai Hoshô Seisaku Jûzokugata Borantheia Seisaku* (The Public Policy Making Volunteers Subordinate to Social Security Policy) (Osaka: Osaka Kôritsu Daigaku Kyôdô Shuppankai, 2003), 68.

⁴² Ibid., 74.

⁴³ Sasaki Nobuo, “‘Aratana Kôkyô’ To Jichitai Keiei,” (The ‘New Publicness’ and the Management of Municipal Governments) *Chiiki Seisaku Kenkyû* 31 (June 2005), 7.

⁴⁴ Hayashi Tatsuo, “A New Generation of Volunteers?,” *AMPO* 26, no. 3 (1995), 30.

⁴⁵ Kusachi Kenichi, “‘Kôkyô No Rieki’ O Kimerunowa Shimin: NPO Hô Ga Dekite,” (It is

provided a legal basis to nonprofit organisations including the NGOs. The new law further enhanced the involvement of citizens' organisations in fields that had traditionally been dominated by the public authorities.

Secondly, through the relief activities for the victims, the importance of a tightly-knit network within the communities was realised. One volunteer notes, "Kobe's situation exposed the contradictions of the modern Japanese society, which had fragmented the people and accelerated isolation."⁴⁶ Because of poor interpersonal relations in the urban areas, many victims of the earthquake had difficulties receiving aid, and felt isolated. To cope with the destruction of local communities, the *Kyôsei* methodology, which was designed to facilitate community building and was adopted by the new civic movements, proved to be extremely effective. The Kobe municipal government officially adopted the relief plan developed by the Coordination Committee of the Local NGOs.⁴⁷ The 'networking' method of community rebuilding, which connects people and provides care for the victims, was highly appraised. The effectiveness of the civic movements' activities—their 'quality'—motivated the municipal governments to involve them in fields traditionally dominated by the public authorities.

The Municipal governments also started to collaborate with the NGOs on the issue of domicile foreigners in communities. For example, the Kanagawa prefecture entrusted a local NGO to conduct a survey of the domicile foreigners in 1988. This is one of the earliest examples of collaboration between the public authorities and a citizens' organisation. The

Citizens who Decide What is Public Interest: the Approval of NPO Law) *Gekkan Oruta* (February 1999), 5.

⁴⁶ Hayashi, "A New Generation of Volunteers?," 30.

⁴⁷ Kusachi, "'Kôkyô No Rieki' O Kimerunowa Shimin," 8.

report submitted to the municipal government pointed to a situation where foreigners were hardly accepted in the community and it recommended various plans to improve the situation.⁴⁸

“Realising a model of a vibrant society that enjoys diversity” had been the purpose of the new civic movement in the 1990s. It became an important goal for the municipal governments as well in the situation of the fragmentation of communities and the need for the coexistence of people from diverse cultures in Japan. The Japanese public authorities recognised the need for a public sphere where people with diverse cultures and values coexist — the ones following the Public Sphere for Coexistence model. Because both the civic movement and the public authorities adopted the idea of the Public Sphere for Coexistence, a collaboration between them became possible for the first time.⁴⁹ As a result of such a development, the character of the civic movement in the 1990s became totally different from that of the 1980s which followed the model of the Counter Public Sphere.

⁴⁸ Sengo Nihon Kokusai Bunka Kôryû Kenkyûkai, *Sengo Nihon No Kokusai Bunka Kôryû*, 95-96.

⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the policy change did not necessarily mean that the public authorities totally gave up on their control over the matters happening in public spheres. Social scientist Abe Atsushi named the new national policy on volunteers introduced in the 1990s “the public policy that makes volunteers subordinate to the social security policy”. Abe points out the manipulative nature of the new policy in which the government creates an environment where the volunteers are unconsciously mobilised in accordance with its social security policy. In other words, there is a risk that the policy for supporting ‘voluntary’ activities might make them an agent of the government. See Abe, *Shakai Hoshô Seisaku Jûzokugata Boranthia Seisaku*, 124.

Sociologist Nakano Toshio also warns that it would be a mistake to stress too much that the role and power of government is declining and that of the citizens is expanding. According to Nakano, the ‘proposal-style’ public participation has a risk in becoming “a low-cost and effective alternative for public authorities”. See Nakano Toshio, “Boranthia Dôingata Shimin Shakairon No Kansei,” (The Trap of the Model of Civil Society Based on Volunteers) *Gendai Shisô* 27, no. 5 (May 1999), 76.

Section 3. Public Theatres as a Sphere of *Kyôsei* and the Adoption of Applied Theatre

The introduction of the model of the Public Sphere for Coexistence also affected the Japanese theatre community a lot. Theatre was considered an effective tool to create a relationship of *Kyôsei* and a public support scheme for theatre was quickly established in the 1990s. It was recognised that theatre venues, especially the ones located in local communities, had much potential to be a space where community members could experience *Kyôsei*. These venues, usually set up by the municipal governments, were called the ‘public theatres’. In this section, I will discuss the background of the rapid increase in financial support from the government to the arts and the development of public theatres.

1. Financial Support from the Government to Theatre

In the late 1980s, ‘resident participation’ was introduced to achieve revitalization of the local community. Traditionally, the terms ‘civic movement’ and ‘volunteer activities’ had a nuance of ‘extraordinary’ activities to them by the organisations of activists and socially conscious residents, detached from the ‘ordinary’ citizens. Yet what ‘resident participation’ suggested was a society in which ordinary citizens could participate in social activities in their daily lives.⁵⁰ With the introduction of this concept, ‘volunteer activities’ in Japan began to include cultural activities.⁵¹

The report of the National Land Agency published in 1997 listed the following six positive outcomes from collective cultural activities in regional communities:

⁵⁰ Nakayama, *Boranthia Shakai No Tanjô*, 214.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 215.

- i. Development of regional communities: Through cultural activities that attract various individuals in the region, a strong and sustaining sense of community will be developed.
- ii. Fostering regional identities: By connecting cultural activities with the historical background of the region, identities of the region will be established.
- iii. Development of human resources: Regional leaders will be nurtured through activities.
- iv. Publicity of the region: Cultural activities will disseminate information on the region.
- v. Enhancement of the exchanges with other regions and foreign countries: Cultural activities will become a platform for exchanges.
- vi. Economic development: Events will have positive results such as the development of regional tourism.⁵²

It is notable that cultural activities including arts were considered “a political and economic enterprise that greatly affects citizens’ daily lives.”⁵³ An official recognition of the ‘publicness’ of the arts became the basis for integrating a support scheme for the arts to urban planning.

On top of that, it was also recognised that the arts could greatly contribute to resolving the issue of domicile foreigners in communities. As the number of foreigners rose, the diversity among them also became greater. The diversity of the foreigners was not only in their nationalities and professions but also in their relationship with their Japanese neighbours. The isolation of the foreigners in the community became another challenge for the municipal governments. A system to engage foreigners who were alienated from the society became

⁵² National Land Agency (ed.), *Shimin No Katsudô Ga Tsukuru Miryokuaru Chiiki: Jûmin Sanka Niyoru Chiiki Kasseika Nikansuru Chôsa Hôkoku* (Creation of Attractive Regional Communities by Residents’ Activities: Report of the Survey on the Revitalization of Communities through Residents’ Participation) (Tokyo: Ôkurashô Insatsukyoku, 1997), 3.

⁵³ Nakamaki Hirochika et. al., *Kachi O Tsuruku Toshi E: Bunka Senryaku To Sôzô Toshi* (Towards the Value-creating City: Cultural Strategy and Creative City) (Tokyo: NTT Shuppan, 2008), 117.

necessary.⁵⁴ Arts, including theatre, started to gain much attention from the public authorities as a promising candidate of such a system. In other words, arts began to be considered as a tool to realise *Kyôsei* – the model of Public Sphere for Coexistence.

In the 1980s, the BTT was the only theatre company that consciously used the term ‘publicness’ when they talked about their theatre activities. This term motivated them to collaborate with the civic movements. However, in the 1990s, the whole theatre community started to deal with the issue of ‘public’ theatre under the slogan of *Kyôsei*.

In 1990, *Geijutsu Bunka Shinkô Kikin* (The Japan Arts Council) was established under the auspices of the Agency for Cultural Affairs with an initial fund of 50 billion yen from government subsidy and some 10 billion yen of donations from private companies. The Japan Arts Council’s budget came from the interest of the fund, and it gave out grants of 2.1 billion yen in its first year and 3.2 billion yen in the following year which was far bigger than the total amount of grants — around 100 million yen — given by the Agency for Cultural Affairs before the Japan Arts Council’s establishment.⁵⁵ It was truly “a landmark development”⁵⁶ in the history of Japanese theatre which had never enjoyed such extensive support from the public authorities before.

In addition to the Japan Arts Council, another support scheme named the Arts Plan 21 was started in 1996. While the strategy of the Japan Arts Council was to support as many companies and artists as possible by making the amount of each grant relatively small, the Arts Plan 21 aimed to develop core arts companies by supporting a small number of selected

⁵⁴ Ibid., 213.

⁵⁵ Satô, *Gendai Engeki No Firudowaku*, 131.

⁵⁶ Yamato Shigeru, “Butai Geijutsu Eno Josei O Kangaeru,” (On Financial Support to the Performing Arts) *Engekijin* 5 (July 2000), 85.

ones intensively.⁵⁷ The Arts Plan also introduced a multi-year support scheme which had never been realised under the traditional support scheme before because of the annual budget system of the government.⁵⁸ The Arts Plan 21 was restructured into the New Century Arts Plan in 2002, which became a more comprehensive support scheme having international theatre collaborations and included children's participation programmes in its scope.⁵⁹ It was also equipped with a support scheme for public theatres which I will discuss in detail later.

It was noteworthy that the Agency for Cultural Affairs requested proactive inputs from the theatre community during the process of establishing the support schemes. In the planning process of the Arts Plan 21, the officers-in-charge at the Agency held several briefing sessions for the theatre community. One of the officers told the artists frankly that the "Agency's intention was not to make this session an empty gesture of listening to the artists but to gather practical inputs and opinions for improving the system, which is critically important for the maintenance of the budget."⁶⁰ The Agency asked for the cooperation of the artists to combat the pressure from the Ministry of Finance to reduce the cultural budget. In earlier years, when theatre aimed to establish a space to generate discourses confronting the public authorities, government officials were in "serious fear of the people's revolution" through theatre.⁶¹ The perception of the bureaucracy had greatly changed since then.

⁵⁷ Saitô Hideaki, "Heisei 6 Nendo Bunkachô Shisaku To Engeki," (The Policy of Agency for Cultural Affairs in 1994 and Theatre) *Join* 7 (June 1994), 6.

⁵⁸ Fujita Asaya, "'Âtsu Puran 21' Zen Hôkoku," (A Complete Report of Arts Plan 21) *Join* 13 (February 1996), 2.

⁵⁹ Shimizu Isao and Kanesada Tadashi, "Bunka Geijutsu Sôzô Puran, Shin Seiki Âtsu Puran, Ni Tsuite," (On the New Century Arts Plan) *Join* 38 (September 2002), 14-16.

⁶⁰ Fujita, "'Âtsu Puran 21' Zen Hôkoku," 10.

⁶¹ Ei Kisei, "Bunsan To Shûseki: Rejidento Siatâ O Kangaeru 2," (Dispersal and Centralization: On the Resident Theatre 2) *Teatoro* 613 (February 1994), 124.

However, for many artists, the “change” happened too quickly. The senior vice president of the Association of Japanese Theatre Companies recalls, “Everything developed extremely quickly and new schemes were introduced before we were ready... We cooperated together to publicise the new support schemes to our members although we had mixed feelings about the power of the government.”⁶² Director / playwright Hirata Oriza (1962-), whose theatre company *Seinendan* (The Youth Troup) was one of the first batch of companies supported by the Arts Plan 21, also expressed his bewilderment. He writes, “For quite some time, I had been working hard to change the ‘tradition’ of Japanese theatre companies—all actors had to support themselves with part-time jobs... However, the ‘special support’ from the Agency made it possible suddenly.”⁶³ The huge amount of funds that started to pour into the theatre industry in the first few years of the 1990s brought a drastic change to the theatre community.

Sociologist Satô Ikuya argues that it is impossible to pinpoint any clear purpose for the introduction of new governmental support schemes for theatre.⁶⁴ His argument was widely shared by theatre practitioners of that time, and many of them felt that “the real intentions of the public authorities were vague and unclear.”⁶⁵ Nevertheless, considering the synchronicity with the development in the field of social welfare, governmental support for theatre may also be understood as a result of the shift of governmental policy away from the domination of the ‘public’. The government altered its attitude to a more collaborative one

⁶² Nakazato Ikuko, “Engeki To Soshiki: Nihon Gekidan Kyôgikai Eno Michi 2,” (Theatre and Institute: Establishment of The Association of Japanese Theatre Companies 2) *Join* 3 (July 1993), 4-5.

⁶³ Hirata Oriza, “Haiyû Ga Engeki De Seikatsushiteiku To Yûkoto,” (Actors should be able to Support Themselves by the Income from Performances) *Jamci* 24 (August 1996), 5.

⁶⁴ Satô, *Gendai Engeki No Fîrudowâku*, 179-180.

⁶⁵ Nishidô Kôjin, “‘Nikoku’ O Meguru Shomondai,” (Issues Related to the New National Theatre) *MUNKS* 4 (August 1993), 63.

with the artists following the overall trend in the late 1980s and 1990s. It was the artists, I argue, who were ignorant of such a development in the public authorities.

2. The Response from the Artists: Hirata Oriza and Theatre as a Tool for *Kyôsei*

Although it was a belated reaction, theatre practitioners started to form their associations and alliances that could be counterparts of the government.⁶⁶ Young artists who started their careers in theatre after 1990 played major roles in this movement. Hirata Oriza was one of the most influential artists among them. He theorised his own methodology and named it ‘the theatre of relationships’. With this theory, Hirata clearly established a model of theatre as a tool for *Kyôsei*, which would be realised in collaboration with the public authorities.

Those who started to do theatre after the collapse of the bubble economy, including Hirata, tackled the agenda of “how to escape from the festival-like atmosphere of the bubble economy.”⁶⁷ Their plays eliminated the typical “artistic” theme of ‘the 1980s theatre’ and employed more social and historical themes. They shared a perception that “theatre is a social entity and theatre practitioners have to be conscious about it in their creative activities.”⁶⁸ It might sound like what the Angura theatre practitioners insisted on in the

⁶⁶ For example, see Hirata Oriza et. al., “Fôramu No Jidai,” (The Age of the Forum) *Join* 2 (March 1993), 6-16, Miyakawa Yutaka, “‘Nikoku Mondai’ No Honshitsu O saguru,” (Looking into the Essence of the Issues on the New National Theatre) *Teatoro* 602 (April 1993), 42-46, Sakate Yôji, “Futatsu No ‘Kai’ nitsute,” (On the Two Groups) *Teatoro* 604 (June 1993), 114-115, and Sakate Yôji and Betsuyaku Minoru, “Dai 4 Kai Nihon Gekisakka Taikai, Kumamoto Taikai, O Kaisaishimasu,” (Announcement on the Fourth General Meeting of Japan Playwrights Association) *Serifu No Jidai* 34 (Winter 2005), 148-155.

⁶⁷ Miyazawa, *Tokyo Daigaku ‘80 Nendai Chika Bunkaron’ Kôgi*, 215.

⁶⁸ Watanabe Tamotsu et. al., “1993 Nen Kamihanki, Gekikai No Jiken To Butai No Seika,” (News and Achievements in the First Half of 1993) *Teatoro* 607 (September 1993), 22-23.

1960s and 70s, however, one clear difference is that young artists in the 1990s did not seek a fundamental change in the society anymore.

Theatre critic Hasebe Hiroshi points out that all artists felt that the words uttered on stage had lost their efficacy as a result of the great social turbulence in the first half of the 1990s, including the end of the Cold War, the collapse of the bubble economy and the gas attack on the Tokyo subway by the Aum Shinrikyô cult in 1995. Because of the instability of the society, which often entailed deadly incidents, theatrical expression in the 1990s focused on the sense of “being alive.” “This does not mean,” Hasebe argues, “that the realistic theater has regained its voice, but that the theater of the 1990s is focused on raising the question, ‘What is (the nature of) the real?’”⁶⁹

Young artists such as Sakate Yôji (1962-) and Kaneshita Tatsuo (1964-), who dealt with social and historical themes, were considered the representatives of such an interest in the ‘real’.⁷⁰ But it was Hirata Oriza who showed his obsessive commitment to the ‘real’. The book on his basic methodologies, *Engeki Nyûmon (An Introduction to Theatre)*, began with a chapter titled “‘real’ in theatre and ‘real’ in reality”, which shows how important the concept of ‘real’ was for him.

In Hirata’s view, the ‘real’ is related to the question of how people with diverse values can coexist. According to him, lines spoken on stage can acquire their reality through the negotiation of the context among the actors themselves as well as between the actors and the audience members. Each person has his or her own world-view or ‘context’ based on

⁶⁹ Hasebe Hiroshi, “The Sense of Being Alive: Japanese Theater in the 1990s,” in *Half a Century of Japanese Theater: 1990s Part 1*, ed. Japan Playwrights Association (Tokyo: Kinokuniya, 1999), 14.

⁷⁰ Kawasaki Kenko, “‘Pandora No Kane’: Tennôsei Ni Kuikonda ‘Amerika’,” (*The Bells of Pandora: ‘America’ Eroding into the Emperor System*) *Higeki Kigeki* 595 (May 2000), 13.

personal experiences and cultural backgrounds. One very simple example is that the sizes we imagine when we hear the word ‘large’ will not be identical from person to person. Such a gap in perceptions might not be an issue in ‘real’ life, however, it becomes a major problem in theatre when actors have to speak lines written by another person. Unless the contexts of all actors are reconciled, the gap will be exaggerated and will become visible on stage.⁷¹

The negotiation between the actors and the audience members is even more difficult because there is no direct and mutual communication between them. Nevertheless, Hirata insists that an ‘internal dialogue’ is still in effect because the “performers and the audience members are sharing the same time and space, so they are living a virtual community together.”⁷² However, as I argued earlier, the diversity in Japanese society’s values in the 1990s became much greater than previous decades. Hirata is also aware of that. He argues that the challenge of theatre in such a diverse society is “to create a theatre that can negotiate with diverse audiences through various ways.”⁷³

Hirata named his theatre ‘the theatre of relationships’. To share a context, the relationship between the actors and the audience members are of the greatest importance. And the achievement of the ‘real’ that emerges from such a relationship is the goal of his theatre. It is noteworthy that Hirata takes the most influential Angura theatre artist, Kara Jûrô, as an example of his opposite extreme in *An Introduction to Theatre*. The lines spoken in Kara’s plays are the kind that Hirata negates because they would never sound real to him. However, Hirata admits, the audience still accepts Kara’s lines. This is because Kara’s lines

⁷¹ Hirata Oriza, *Engeki Nyûmon* (An Introduction to Theatre) (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1998), 155-156.

For more details of Hirata’s practical theories on the negotiations of contexts, see Hirata Oriza, *Engi To Enshutsu* (Performance and Direction) (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 2004), especially chapter 3.

⁷² Hirata, *Engeki Nyûmon*, 190-191.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 192.

are equipped with a unique power and dynamism, such that the audience is “forcibly convinced” by them.⁷⁴ There are no negotiations for context, but Kara’s context is imposed on the audience. Hirata’s argument on Kara shows that these two playwrights’ basic principles of theatrical creation are fundamentally different. Such a difference, I argue, also comes from the difference in the type of public sphere they were trying to open up with their theatre. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, the Angura theatre movement, including Kara, tried to establish public spheres following the Counter Public Sphere model through their theatre by accompanying the New Left Movement. To realise their ‘revolution’, what was needed was not to negotiate with the others, but to persuade them to join their ‘revolution’. Conversely, Hirata wished to use his theatre to realise public spheres that are compatible with the idea of the Public Sphere for Coexistence where people could learn how to negotiate with values and cultures alien to them.

Sociologist Ueno Chizuko points out that *Kyôsei* could actually be a very uncomfortable experience. “The customs, behaviour and thoughts that you can neither understand nor agree with”, she argues, “would constantly be within your sights and interfere. It would be disturbing.”⁷⁵ Sakai Naoki claims, “The social relationship in which people respect one another cannot be built unless we go through a process which requires psychological distress, such as hurting each other, condemning each other or defending oneself desperately.”⁷⁶ In other words, “the distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’, and the

⁷⁴ Ibid., 24.

⁷⁵ Ueno Chizuko and Chong Yonhe, “Gaikokujin Mondai Towa Nanika: Aidenthithi Kaitai No Gerira Senryaku,” (On Issues related to Foreigners: a Guerilla Strategy for the Deconstruction of Identity) *Gendai Shisô* 21, no. 9 (August 1993), 73.

⁷⁶ Sakai Naoki, *Zôho ‘Sekaishi’ No Kaitai: Honyaku, Shutai, Rekishi* (Deconstructing ‘World History’: Translation, Subjectivity and History, Extended Edition) (Tokyo: Ibunsha, 2004),

identification of ‘us’ will change in the course of the negotiation in which one questions his/her identity and hurts him/her-self.”⁷⁷

In his essay, Hirata aims to use theatre as an effective tool to learn the method of such “negotiation”. What would happen in his ‘theatre of relationship’ that aims to negotiate with the various ‘contexts’ of audience members would be similar to what would happen in the process of realising *Kyôsei*. Hirata claims that theatres should be integrated into the project of communion revitalisation by setting up an environment where people can continuously participate in theatrical creations.⁷⁸

In his *Geijutsu Rikkokuron (On an Arts-based National Development)* published in 2001, Hirata elaborated his argument. When people become more mobile and start choosing more freely the place they want to live in, municipal governments will face fierce competition to attract new residents. “Local governments,” Hirata argues, “have to appeal to potential residents by demonstrating their communication skills of listening to the new community members.”⁷⁹ Communities that should be built are the ones in which diverse cultures and values can coexist together and theatre would be an efficient tool to realise it. Hirata claims that this is the very reason why municipal governments should support theatre.⁸⁰

294.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 293.

⁷⁸ Hirata’s view on theatre were supported by a substantial number of contemporary scholars and critics. For example, members of the critics’ group, MUNKS, published a journal that discussed most extensively the issue of the ‘publicness of theatre’ in the 1990s, and expressed similar ideas with Hirata. They argued that theatre in the 1990s had to deal with the multi-cultural environment emerging in Japan and theatre had to play a role in facilitating the coexistence of different cultures. See Uchino Tadashi et. al., “‘Kokyô No Gekijô’ Ni Mukatte,” (Towards the ‘Public Theatre’) *MUNKS* 8 (June 1995), 7-9.

⁷⁹ Hirata Oriza, *Geijutsu Rikkokuron (On Arts-based National Development)* (Tokyo: Shûeisha, 2001), 57.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 51-52.

Hirata proactively took initiatives to form theatre practitioners' associations to advocate his ideas in the actual political situation. *Gendai Engeki Renrakukai* (The Contemporary Theatre Network, 1992) and *Engekijin Kaigi* (The Japan Performing Arts Association, 1998), are examples of associations that Hirata played a major role to set up. Hirata also energetically participated in the process of formulating the Basic Act for the Promotion of Culture and the Arts which was eventually enacted in 2002.⁸¹ As an extension of it, he became a consultant to the Cabinet Secretary of the Hatoyama administration in 2009.⁸² Hirata occupied a position in the government that enabled him to pursue his idea of an Arts-based National Development. Hirata can be recognised as an artist who adapted the idea of the Public Sphere for Coexistence and developed the most effective strategy to realise it.⁸³

After the establishment of the Japan Arts Foundation in the 1990s, the creative environment of Japanese contemporary theatre changed quickly and drastically. One of the major reasons for such changes was that the government abandoned the policy to dominate the 'public' and admitted the idea of the Public Sphere for Coexistence, which also happened in the field of the civic movement. At the same time, the theatre community had Hirata Oriza, an ideologue of a new theatre for *Kyôsei*, which was totally different from the theatres

⁸¹ Hirata Oriza et. al., "Atarashii Bunka Shisaku Towa Nanika," (On the New Cultural Policy) *Engekijin* 9 (2002), 9-10.

⁸² Ômuro Kazuya and Fujitani Kôji, "Bunka Seisaku Mezasu Hôkôwa: Naikaku Kanbô Sanyo Ni Shûnin, Hirata Orizashi," (The Direction of Cultural Policy: Interview with the Consultant to the Cabinet Secretary, Mr. Hirata Oriza) *Asahi Shimbun* (2 November 2009).

⁸³ Hirata experimented to create a theatre as a public sphere by taking a position of the artistic director of Fujimi City Cultural Centre Kirari Fujimi in Saitama Prefecture between 2002 and 2006. However, he seems to be more interested in creating political and structural platform to develop public spheres than creating public spheres by himself. His deep involvement in the advisory roles to the government should be an example of this tendency.

with the characteristics of the Counter Public Sphere model in the previous decades. Because both the public authorities and theatre artists adopted the model of the Public Sphere for Coexistence, the collaboration between these two parties greatly advanced within merely a few years.

3. The Emergence of ‘Public Theatres’ and Suzuki Tadashi

Hirata, himself an owner of a small theatre venue in Tokyo, repeatedly stressed on the importance of theatre as a ‘base’. It might be possible for a theatre company to temporarily create public spheres that have the features of the Public Sphere for Coexistence model through their activities. However, Hirata argues, the know-how and experience accumulated would not be shared and elaborated by other practitioners unless there is a system to connect them.⁸⁴ Theatre venues that are deeply rooted to the community would be a platform for such networks so that public spheres would be firmly established on a long-term basis. The ‘public theatres’ that started being built mainly by municipal governments in the 1990s were built to meet such requests.⁸⁵

The ‘public theatres’ that I will discuss in this section were not the first example of cultural facilities built by the municipal governments. In the 1980s, there was a rush to build multi-purpose halls that were commonly called ‘public halls’.⁸⁶ One scholar points out that the motivation of the municipal governments was nothing but the expansion of domestic

⁸⁴ Nagai Taeko et. al., “Bunka Geijutsu Shinkô Kihonhô De Nani Ga Kawarunoka?,” (The Effect of the Basic Act for the Promotion of Culture and the Arts) *Join* 37 (June 2002), 42.

⁸⁵ Municipal governments were the major advocates of ‘public theatres’ because the participation of community members was essential for their activities. However, private theatres could also be called ‘public theatres’ if they satisfied that criteria. See Shimizu Hiroyuki, “Kôkyô Hôru No Unei To Gekijôhō O Kangaeru,” (On the Management of Public Halls and Theatre Act) *Engekijin* 19 (2005), 50.

⁸⁶ Itô Yasuo et. al., *Shintei Âtsu Manejimento Gairon* (Arts Management, New Edition) (Tokyo: Suiyôsha, 2001), 151.

demand.⁸⁷ However, it is undeniable that there was a particular reason as to why cultural facilities were chosen for the governments to pour their funds into. It is probably due to the perception that mental and spiritual enrichment was more important than material satisfaction, which was advocated by Prime Minister Ôhira with his famous slogan, ‘*Bunka No Jidai*’ (the era of culture) declared in 1980.⁸⁸

The idea that “if you build the building, the software will be developed spontaneously” was widely supported in the 1980s. In 1981, Ethnologist Umesao Tadao, who was a leader of an advisory group to the Prime Minister and a highly influential name in cultural policymaking, stated, “If you make hardware, software will follow. Everybody will start to develop the contents. You need a lot of resources to build hardware. Software is about wisdom, which all of us are readily equipped with.”⁸⁹

In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Frantz Fanon argues, “If the building of a bridge does not enrich the consciousness of those working on it, then don’t build the bridge, and let the citizens continue to swim across the river or use a ferry... The citizen must appreciate the bridge. Then, and only then, is everything possible.”⁹⁰ The idea of building public halls without a detailed survey of the needs of the citizens was totally opposite to what Fanon claims. Actually, the public halls’ frequency of use tended to be extremely low and they were exposed to severe criticism by the 1990s.

‘Public theatres’ were planned to respond to the criticism against the ‘public halls’ which were detached from the communities. Responding to the discourses of the role of

⁸⁷ Itô Yasuo et. al., “‘Kôkyô Hôru’ Kara ‘Kôkyô Gekijô’ E,” (From Public Halls to Public Theatres) *Engekijin* 3 (Spring 1999), 5.

⁸⁸ Satô, *Gendai Engeki No Firudowaku*, 151-152.

⁸⁹ Tsuno Kaitarô, “Kokka Dezainâ Toshiteno Chishikijin: Umesao Tadao Ron 2,” (Intellectuals as Designers of the State: On Umesao Tadao) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 420 (August 1982), 69.

⁹⁰ Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 141.

theatre in the society in the 1990s, they were meant to be spaces to practice *Kyôsei* for revitalisation of community participation. In 1994, *Zaidan Hôjin Chiiki Sôzô* (the Japan Foundation for Regional Art-Activities) was established under the Ministry of Home Affairs to provide practical information for the management of regional public theatres.⁹¹ Public theatres were integrated into the national project to realise *Kyôsei*.

The Shônandai Cultural Centre in Fujisawa city, Kanagawa prefecture and the Art Tower Mito in Mito city, Ibaraki prefecture, both opened in 1990 are considered to be the first public theatres.⁹² In each case, the municipal governments invited well-known theatre directors to be artistic directors. Suzuki Tadashi, who became the first artistic director of the Art Tower Mito, energetically established his model of the public theatre.

Suzuki, who was once one of the ‘three giants’ of the Angura theatre movement in the 1960s, surprised the theatre community in 1976 by moving suddenly to Toga village, a small mountain village in Toyama prefecture some 200 kilometers away from Tokyo, with his theatre company.⁹³ He insisted that Tokyo was just one region in Japan⁹⁴ and the overconcentration of theatre in Tokyo had to be resolved to create original Japanese expressions.⁹⁵

After he moved to Toga, Suzuki closely collaborated with the municipal government. The population of the village was only 1,191 in 1986, however, more than one thousand audience members visited the village from all over the country during the performances of

⁹¹ Suzuki Tadashi et. al., “Chiiki To Bunka Sôzô No Mirai,” (The Future of Cultural Creation in the Region) *Engekijin* 10 (2002), 22-23.

⁹² Moriyama Naoto, “‘Kôkyô Gekijô’ To ‘Hihyô’: ’90 Nendai’ O Koete,” (Public Theatre and Criticism: Going beyond the 1990s) *PT* 12 (July 2001), 9.

⁹³ Senda Akihiko, “Shôgekijô Kûkan Ga Umidasu Mono,” (What Small Theatre Space Creates) *Teatoro* 413 (July 1977), 86.

⁹⁴ Suzuki, “Konkyochi Ni Tsuite,” 44.

⁹⁵ Suzuki et. al., “Chiiki To Bunka Sôzô No Mirai,” 20.

Suzuki's Waseda Little Theatre.⁹⁶ He started the first international theatre festival in Japan, Toga Festival in 1982 that even boosted the number of visitors. To cope such a large number of visitors, which exceeded the total population of the village, Suzuki had to negotiate with the municipal government on a regular basis.

Responding to Suzuki's initiative, the village spent 210 million yen between 1980 and 1982 to build theatres and accommodations to host the festival. Suzuki later persuaded Toyama prefectural government and the University of California to sponsor the expansion of his theatre facilities in Toga.⁹⁷ As critic Nishidô Kôjin argues, Suzuki was surely the pioneer Japanese theatre practitioner in collaborating with the governments. Thus, he was in a highly advantaged position to set a model of the public theatre. In the course of his experiments since the late 1970s, he had developed his own theory on the 'publicness' of theatre. Taking a momentum at Art Tower Mito, he energetically started to realize his model of the public theatre.

Suzuki made a strong request to set up a resident theatre company in the Arts Tower Mito. He claims, "What is essential is to establish a group of specialists in theatrical creation. In an extreme instance, I don't even need a facility."⁹⁸ It should be noted that Suzuki's claim – setting up the contents before preparing hardwares – was clearly opposite to Umesao's argument in 1981 which I quoted earlier. As a result, the first resident company attached to a theatre was established concurrently with the opening of the Art Tower Mito.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Misawa Shinichi, "Engeki Patoron No Chihô Jichitai," (Municipal Governments as a Patron of Theatre) *Teatoro* 524 (October 1986), 69.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 68-69.

⁹⁸ Suzuki Tadashi et. al., "Bunka Sôzô No Mirai," (The Future of Cultural Creation) *Engekijin* 19 (2005), 22.

⁹⁹ Itô Yasuo and Kobayashi Mari, "Engeki To Seido: 21 Seiki No Gekijô To Gekijôhō, Gekijô Jôrei," (Theatre and Organization: Theatres in the 21st Century, Theatre Act and Theatre Regulations) *Engekijin* 5 (July 2000), 61.

There were two types of creative activities in public theatres, namely a) professional creations for artistic merits and b) participatory activities adopting the methodology of applied theatre.¹⁰⁰ The first type of activity was to foster regional identities through the pride that the community possessed for its excellent artistic achievements.¹⁰¹ The second type would lead to the development of regional communities as well as human resources. Suzuki explicitly valued the former aspect and his theatre became an ‘arts promotion’ type of public theatre.¹⁰²

Nevertheless, the latter aspect had a direct relationship with the establishment of theatre as public spheres, which was even more important considering the background of the idea behind public theatres. Shimizu Hiroyuki, who has been an influential advocator of the concept of public theatres, insisted on the idea that public theatres had to be equipped with both directions of outcome-oriented artistic creation and process-oriented community participation.¹⁰³ If we accept his definition, Suzuki’s model would be an incomplete public theatre.

4. The Setagaya Public Theatre as a ‘Culmination’

The Setagaya Public Theatre (SePT) opened in 1997, successfully combining the two elements of public theatre. It was equipped with resources that enabled process-oriented participatory activities to take place as the central pillar of its activities. At the same time, it also aimed for high-quality theatrical creations. It was why the SePT was called “a

¹⁰⁰ Suzuki Kôjirô, “21 Seiki No Kôkyô Gekijô,” 72.

¹⁰¹ Ei Kisei, “Kaifuku No Jidai No Chiiki Gekijô,” (Regional Theatre in the Period of Recovery) *Engekijin* 3 (Spring 1999), 133.

¹⁰² Tsumura Takashi, “Yume No Âto Sentâ O Mezashite,” (Towards the Dream Art Centre) in *Dai 2 Kai Sekai Gekijô Kaigi Happyô Ronbunshû* (the 2nd International Theatre Conference Proceedings) (Nagoya: Sekai Gekijô Kaigi Jikkô Iinkai, 2004), 117.

¹⁰³ Suzuki, “21 Seiki No Kôkyô Gekijô,” 72.

culmination of public theatres”¹⁰⁴ and “an ideal model of public theatre.”¹⁰⁵ Satô Makoto of the BTT became the first artistic director of the theatre and played a pivotal role in preparing the theatre by defining its concept.

As I discussed in the previous chapters, the BTT was a theatre company that devoted themselves to establishing public spheres through their activities. The fact that the leader of the BTT became the artistic director of a public theatre, which is meant for the Public Sphere for Coexistence model, and even became “the most outstandingly successful example of it”¹⁰⁶ proves that the transition from the model of Counter Public Sphere to the model of Public Sphere for Coexistence in the 1990s was completed with the establishment of the SePT. Nevertheless, it did not mean that Satô had simply abandoned what he had done. Rather, he connected the methodology developed in the previous period to the idea of the Public Sphere for Coexistence with careful and thoughtful consideration.

4-1. Satô Makoto’s Involvement in the planning of the SePT

The BTT was conscious about the relationship between theatre and society since its earliest years. Their first manifesto, the Communication Plan No. 1 which was published in 1968, included the idea of ‘theatre as a base’. It was a declaration that theatre could and should be a public cultural facility.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Ei Kisei, “Kôkyô Gekijô Eno Mosaku: Kôsetsu Mineika To Senmonka No Jôchû E,” (Looking for Public Theatres: the Possibility of ‘Setting-up by the Government, Running by the Private Sector’ Model and the Necessity of Resident Professionals) *Teatoro* 672 (September 1998), 35.

¹⁰⁵ Satô Makoto et. al., “Geijutsu Kantoku No Shigoto,” (The Role of Artistic Director) *Teatoro* 679 (March 1999), 25. It was Kuriyama Tamiya, the artistic director of the New National Theatre who made the comment.

¹⁰⁶ Nishidô Kôjin, “Geijutsu Kantoku Towa Dareka? Posuto Satô Makoto O Sagasu,” (Who can be an Artistic Director?: Looking for ‘Post Satô Makoto’) *Teatoro* 700 (November 2000), 40.

¹⁰⁷ Satô Makoto et. al., “Setagaya Paburikku Shiatâ No Shuppatsu; Kôkyô Gekijô wa Douyû

Nevertheless, the ‘base’ theatre plan did not work in reality because the BTT lacked both the capability and resources to maintain a theatre. To make theatre not just a venue for staging performances but also a place for people to gather and participate in creative activities in order to develop a public sphere, staff members with knowledge, experience and vision were needed. They should not just be in charge of the maintenance of the venue but should also be in charge of facilitating creative activities of ordinary citizens. At the point of the Communication Plan No. 1, members of the BTT did not have the capabilities to handle such programmes. They realised the need to have proper staff in order to run a theatre as a public cultural facility.¹⁰⁸ The ample specialised staff members in the SePT, which I will discuss in detail later, might be a reflection of this experience. Although the BTT’s activities in the 1980s centered on the mobile theatre, the idea of the ‘base’ theatre was not completely forgotten. The argument on the necessity for theatre continued within the company.¹⁰⁹

Meanwhile, around 1988, the Setagaya Ward in Tokyo started planning for a new cultural facility as part of the redevelopment project of the Sangenjaya area. Setagaya was an area where the BTT had collaborated with the local citizen groups since the late 1970s, which made Setagaya a special place for the company.

Setagaya was also special in another aspect — the municipal government was supportive of the civic movement from an early period. When the BTT held its performance at the Hanegi Park in the 1980s, for example, the mayor of the ward attended it and gave a welcome speech. He also attended a festival organised by citizen groups, which was an

Yakuwari Ga Arunoka,” (The Start of Setagaya Public Theatre: Roles of the Public Theatre) *PT* 1 (April 1997), 38-39.

¹⁰⁸ Abe Nobuyuki, “Gekijō O Motomete: Doitsu No Gekijō To Bokura No Engeki Undō,” (Seeking a Theatre: Theatres in Germany and Our Theatre Movement) *Teatoro* 350 (May 1972), 51.

¹⁰⁹ Tsuno Kaitarō and Saeki Ryūkō, “Gekijō: Kōkyō No Engeki Wa Kanōka,” (Theatre: The Possibility of Theatre of Publicness) *Hyōgikai Tsūshin* 27 (August 1982), 5.

unusual gesture from the public authorities of that time.¹¹⁰ Such early encounters made it easy for both parties to collaborate when the idea of a New Public Management and *Kyôsei* was introduced to the regional governance in the 1990s. In Setagaya, civic movement activists “naturally considered public authorities not as a target of hostility but as a partner to work with.”¹¹¹ At the same time, it was a natural choice to invite Satô who had been in a close relationship with the local community as an advisor to the planning of the new theatre for the municipal government.¹¹² It was a chance for Satô to realise the idea of a ‘base’ theatre in collaboration with the Setagaya municipal government.

Nevertheless, there was a division of opinion among the members of the BTT. Saeki Ryûkô, who had been the most active in presenting his opinion on the ‘publicness’ of theatre, insisted that the artists should keep a distance from the public authorities to maintain an objective and critical position against the powers that be. He was afraid of the risk of conciliation with the government.¹¹³ Satô, on the other hand, claimed that there was a need to “change the logic of the government from the inside.”¹¹⁴ Thus, there was a difference between Saeki, who stuck with the image of theatre as a Counter Public Sphere, and Satô, who took a position similar to Hirata Oriza and found a possible way to create theatre that connects people together that was different from the previous period. For Satô, it was critically important to find a way to respond to the public authorities equipped with a new

¹¹⁰ Matui Kentarô and Saitô Keiko, “Setagaya No Machizukuri Kara Umareta Setagaya Paburikku Shiatâ,” (Setagaya Public Theatre, born from the Community Development Activities in Setagaya) in *SPT educational 2*, ed. Gakugei (Curation Department), Setagaya Public Theatre (Tokyo: Setagaya Public Theatre, 2008), 29-30.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 37.

¹¹² Matsui Kentarô, “Oboegaki: Engeki Wâkushoppu,” (Notes on Theatre Workshop) *Yamaneko Gekijô Tsûshin 2* (May 1989), 19.

¹¹³ Matsui, interview.

¹¹⁴ Nishidô, “Geijutsu Kantoku Towa Dareka?,” 41.

concept of *Kyôsei*.¹¹⁵ He found a possible way to connect the ‘publicness of theatre’ debate that had been done in the BTT to the project of the Setagaya Public Theatre.¹¹⁶ Satô wished to “draw a picture of the ‘new public’ based on previous experiences.”¹¹⁷

Nevertheless, the ‘integration’ of public authorities and the BTT did not necessarily go smoothly. Although Satô admitted that “the municipal government had certainly changed,”¹¹⁸ he felt that “the ‘publicness’ of theatre was very different from the image of ‘publicness’ in the bureaucracy’s minds.”¹¹⁹ The difference in their perceptions was still huge, and negotiation between two parties was necessary.

It was fortunate that it took nine long years before the actual opening of the theatre because it was planned as part of a large-scale redevelopment of the area. It became a period where Satô could refine his concepts of the new theatre and set up a system for smoother communication with the municipal government.¹²⁰ It also enabled him to integrate the regional civic movements to the activities of the SePT.¹²¹ As a result, the SePT became a “place where three parties, namely the public authorities, citizens and theatre practitioners could meet and collaborate with each other.”¹²² Such a close relationship with the municipal government and the citizens’ organisations was essential for the SePT to conduct their community-based activities. It can be said that the attempt that the BTT made in the 1980s, in spite of the neglect by the mainstream theatre community, finally saw the light. This was

¹¹⁵ Satô Makoto, “Engeki No Kakushinhan 10,” (Convinced Criminal of Theatre 10) *Teatoro* 665 (February 1998), 92.

¹¹⁶ Matsui, interview.

¹¹⁷ Satô, interview.

¹¹⁸ Satô, “Engeki No Kakushinhan 10,” 92.

¹¹⁹ Satô Makoto, “Engeki No Kakushinhan 1,” (Convinced Criminal of Theatre 1) *Teatoro* 654 (April 1997), 104.

¹²⁰ Satô et. al., “Geijutsu Kantoku No Shigoto,” 25.

¹²¹ Matsui and Saitô, “Setagaya No Machizukuri Kara Umareta Setagaya Paburikku Shiatâ,” 34.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 43.

achieved through the shifting from the Counter Public Sphere model to the Public Sphere for Coexistence model.

4-2. The Concept of the SePT

Satô's basic idea on the SePT was to make it a 'third generation theatre'. According to him, the 'first generation' was the public halls built in the 1980s that were mainly meant to be rented out. The 'second generation' was the theatres which had "total coordination in terms of organisation and management, for artistic creations."¹²³ The early public theatres can be considered as an example of the 'second generation'. Both the first- and second-generation theatres were designed as an 'empty space' so that their main users—those who use the stage—could use the space freely.¹²⁴

The 'third generation' however, is a theatre that has a much closer relationship with the community. According to Satô, an organic connection with the residents of the area would be generated, and the theatre will be a proactive subject in conducting its own programmes. The activities of such third-generation 'public theatres' will inevitably possess an aspect of the community members' movement and theatres will be "a school of citizens' autonomy."¹²⁵ Public theatres were also expected to be a provider of educational programmes that started being adopted by many elementary / junior high / high schools since 2000 as a result of the introduction of a more relaxed education policy.¹²⁶ Public theatres

¹²³ Satô Makoto and Shimizu Hiroyuki, "Paburikku Shiatâ No Kanôsei," (The Possibility of Public Theatre) in *Watashitachi No Gekijô* (Theatres Belong to Us) ed. Shimizu Hiroyuki (Tokyo: Geidankyô Shuppanbu, 1993), 9.

¹²⁴ Shimizu, "Kôkyô Hôru No Unei To Gekijôhō O Kangaeru," 43-44.

¹²⁵ Ei Kisei, "Bunsan To Shûseki: Rejidento Siatâ O Kangaeru 4," (Dispersal and Centralization: On the Resident Theatre 4) *Teatoro* 616 (February 1994), 127.

¹²⁶ Kawashima Hideki, "Hajime Ni 'Engeki Wākushoppu' Arika," (Theatre Workshops First) in *SPT educational 3*, ed. Gakugei (Curation Department), Setagaya Public Theatre (Tokyo:

with participatory programmes became an educational tool to realise a public sphere for *Kyôsei*.

Nevertheless, the change in theatres was not enough to establish a sustainable system of citizens' participation. It was also necessary to change the mindsets of the users of public theatres, such as the citizens, creative groups and volunteer groups.¹²⁷ Educational programmes of the public theatres worked as a mechanism to foster the reformation of consciousness too. 'Agora' was a keyword that Satô introduced to describe an ideal model of public theatres, in which "diverse people gather and create together."¹²⁸ Satô's 'note' on the idea of public theatres, which has been displayed at the entrance of the SePT, shows the concept concisely:

Theatre is an agora
Where I always meet
Someone I'm not familiar with
Or my other self.

Laugh, sing, dance
In this field of lights
Theatre is an agora
It always begins from this place
A journey to the stories
A dream for tomorrow.¹²⁹

Setagaya Public Theatre, 2009), 35.

¹²⁷ Ei Kisei, "Bunsan To Shûseki: Rejidento Siatâ O Kangaeru 12," (Dispersal and Centralization: On the Resident Theatre 12) *Teatoro* 625 (January 1995), 128. 128-131.

¹²⁸ Kawashima Hideki, "Koremadeni Nai Kôkyô Shisetsu O Mezashite," (Aiming for a Totally New Public Institution) in *SPT educational 2*, ed. Gakugei (Curation Department), Setagaya Public Theatre (Tokyo: Setagaya Public Theatre, 2008), 43.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 43.

To secure the ability to maintain the programmes for these purposes, public theatres requested different elements from traditional theatres in terms of hardware and organisation. Regarding hardware, large rehearsal rooms and studios were required on top of an auditorium where the outcome of the activities was staged.¹³⁰ Organisation-wise, the participation of citizens in the process of planning, management and implementation of projects was highly recommended.¹³¹ It posited community members on the side of producers of culture rather than consumers.¹³² These elements confirmed the transformation from the model of ‘public halls’ to public theatres.

The workshop methodology which the BTT learned from PETA in the 1980s became the most important tool to realise an *agora* at the SePT. As I discussed in the previous chapter, it was known that the workshop was a very useful tool to let strangers understand each other through the practices of the BTT and other various civic movements. Its advantage was still valid even after the purpose of the movement shifted from the establishment of public spheres with the characteristics of Counter Public Sphere to building the ones that suit the model of Public Sphere for Coexistence. The principle of the workshops, which was to respect every single participant’s opinions, was highly compatible with the nature of *Kyôsei*, in which diverse values coexisted.¹³³

¹³⁰ Shimizu Hiroyuki, “Gekijô Sekkei To Butai Geijutsu,” (The Design of Theatres and Its Effect on Performing Arts) *Teatoro* 600 (February 1993), 81-82.

¹³¹ Nakagawa Ikuo, “Jichitai Bunka Gyôsei To Kôkyô Gekijô: Sono Genzai To Mirai,” (Cultural Policies of Municipal Governments and Public Theatre: Present and Future) *Engekijin* 3 (Spring 1999), 50.

¹³² Itô et. al., “‘Kôkyô Hôru’ Kara ‘Kôkyô Gekijô’ E,” 9-10.

¹³³ Kawashima Hideki, “Sâ Hajimemashô,” (Let’s Begin) in *SPT educational 3*, ed. Gakugei (Curation Department), Setagaya Public Theatre (Tokyo: Setagaya Public Theatre, 2009), 140.

Matsui Kentarô (1956-), who was also from the BTT and who played a major role in setting up the SePT's concept, points out that a theatre workshop is not only an activity of the theatre but also a springboard that affects the entire concept of a 'public theatre'. Through his experience at the BTT, Matsui was confident that theatre workshops would be able to let participants "review their community's culture so that they could enrich their lives through theatre."¹³⁴ By conducting theatre workshops, he believed that the SePT would become an ideal space where the community would meet and participate in theatre. Because the BTT decided to shift their focus from applied theatre to artistic creation around 1990 as I discussed in the previous chapter,¹³⁵ the SePT became the only direct and legitimate successor of the BTT's workshop methodology.

Although the workshop had been widely used by civic movement activists, it was still not generally well known when the planning of the SePT started in the late 1980s. Thus the theatre workshops, which had elements of both applied theatre *by* and *with* communities, were held every year since 1989 as pre-opening events to introduce the methodology to residents as well as to officers of the municipal government of Setagaya. For example, the first workshop titled *Setagaya Engeki Kôsakubô (The Setagaya Theatre Workshop)* was held in February and March 1989. It was themed on 'marriage', and participants collected stories from people related to marriage ceremonies such as an owner of a photo studio, a shintô priest who conducts traditional wedding ceremonies, and a consultant at a marriage agency. They created a theatre performance through a series of workshops and staged it. The workshops to rediscover their community through theatre, which was designed in the standard three-phase configuration of PETA's workshop, were continued even after the opening of the SePT. The

¹³⁴ Matsui, "Oboegaki: Engeki Wâkushoppu," 20.

¹³⁵ See note 256 of Chapter 3.

officers who observed the whole process of the workshop were shocked by the proactive engagement of the participants because they were used to the reactive response of citizens to government-led events. This experience changed their mindset and there were no objections from them to include workshops in the SePT's activities.¹³⁶

The SePT defines theatre as 'a place where workshops are conducted' along with the traditional 'place where plays are staged'.¹³⁷ One of the staff members even claims, "The history of the SePT is a history of the workshops."¹³⁸ The SePT's workshops provided an opportunity to learn about "the socially vulnerable people and the coexistence of diverse cultures in a non-oppressive manner through the collaboration among community members."¹³⁹

Nevertheless, there was still a strong perception that the "educational aspect of theatre was secondary to artistic achievements."¹⁴⁰ The applied theatre methodology which values the process of the project rather than the outcome challenged the traditional perception and forced a change in the evaluation of theatre.¹⁴¹ The SePT, as a theatre established by the municipal government, requested the officers to adopt new criteria to evaluate the activities of the theatre. By adopting theatre workshop methodology, SePT became a model of the 'third generation' public theatre as Satô intended.

¹³⁶ Kawashima, "Koremadeni Nai Kôkyô Shisetsu O Mezashite," 46-47.

¹³⁷ Kawashima, "Hajime Ni 'Engeki Wâkushoppu' Arika," 34.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 32.

¹³⁹ Matsui Kentarô and Saeki Ryûkô, "Engeki Daigaku Kôsô O Meguru: 'Engekitekina Chi' To 'Hiyôtekina Shutai' O Kôchikusuru," (Planning Theatre University: Development of 'Theatrical Intelligence' and 'Critical Subjects') *MUNKS* 11 (February 1997), 78-79.

¹⁴⁰ Kobayashi Mari, "Kôkyô Hôru Niokeru Engeki To Kyôiku," (Theatre and Education at Public Halls) *Engekijin* 21 (November 2005), 73-74.

¹⁴¹ Ei Kisei, "Bunsan To Shûseki: Rejidento Siatâ O Kangaeru 25," (Dispersal and Centralization: On the Resident Theatre 25) *Teatoro* 641 (April 1996), 103.

Public theatres require a shift from the traditional model of theatre in many aspects including the style of management. The typical management structure of ‘public halls’, with leased officials from the municipal governments who were not interested in performing arts, would not work in public theatres.¹⁴² Therefore, staff members of public theatres consisted mainly of specialists of theatre activities.

The basic premise of public theatres’ organisation was to have an artistic director. Critic Kan Takayuki insists that the existence of an artistic director who has the power to decide project plans, personnel matters and budget allocations is essential.¹⁴³ Satô Makoto defined his role as the artistic director of the SePT as “assuring that creators’ opinions always have priority over the municipal government’s in case of conflicts between the two parties.”¹⁴⁴

The artistic director system was first introduced in private theatres that were built by commercial companies during the ‘bubble’ economy boom. The management of these theatres was usually done by staff members temporarily assigned from a parent company, and they had very limited experiences and knowledge of running theatres. Thus, a number of artists were invited as artistic directors to provide the know-how as well as a personal network in the theatre community.¹⁴⁵

One of the first examples of these commercial theatres, the Spiral Hall, built by fashion company Wacoal in the fashionable district of Harajuku, Tokyo in 1985, invited Satô Makoto as its first artistic director.¹⁴⁶ A fashionable building in Tokyo and a director of a

¹⁴² Suzuki et. al., “Kôkyô Gekijô O Meguru,” 2.

¹⁴³ Kan Takayuki, “Engeki To Gekijô No Kôkyôsei Towa Nanika 1,” (Publicness of Theatre 1) *MUNKS* 15 (May 2001), 57.

¹⁴⁴ Satô et. al., “Geijutsu Kantoku No Shigoto,” 25.

¹⁴⁵ Shimizu Hiroyuki, “Engeki No Shimei To Yakuwari: Ima Kôkyô Gekijô O Kangaeru,” (Purposes and Roles of Theatre: On Public Theatres) *Shingeki* 439 (October 1989), 98.

¹⁴⁶ Shichiji Eisuke, “Rinennaki Rinen O Koete,” (Beyond the Principles without Philosophy) *Teatoro* 597 (November 1992), 30.

theatre company that pursued a ‘people’s theatre’ thesis sounds incompatible. However, Satô directed opera performances along with the BTT productions during that period, thus he was likely invited as an opera director in this case. Satô then became an artistic director of another private theatre called Bunkamura set up by a Tôkyû conglomerate in 1989. As the artistic director, he enjoyed the power to decide programmes and set the basic direction of the theatre.¹⁴⁷ Although these theatres are not categorised as public theatres, they provided the model of an artistic director system and Satô Makoto accumulated experiences as an artistic director in these theatres.¹⁴⁸

Public theatres required their staff members and artists who conduct programmes to acquire different skills and knowledge from ‘public halls’. Workshops and educational programmes of public theatres are usually conducted by actors and directors. The skills required in these activities are those of facilitators, which might be totally different from the skills to create theatre productions.¹⁴⁹ I pointed out that PETA valued the skills to facilitate workshops more than acting skills when they recruited members in the previous chapter. These skills started to be recognised in Japan.

An administrative staff also had to be armed with the specialised skills of accumulation and dissemination of information because public theatres were expected to be a

¹⁴⁷ Toshimitsu Tetsuo, “Tôkyû Bunkamura Siatâ Kokûn Geijutsu Kantoku Kushida Kazuyoshi Ni Kiku,” (Interview with Kushida Kazuyoshi, Artistic Director of Tokyu Bunkamura Theatre Cocoon) *Teatoro* 559 (September 1989), 105.

¹⁴⁸ Actually, some arguments on public theatres include Bunkamura as an example of a public theatre. In these cases, Bunkamura tended to be categorised in the same category as early public theatres such as Arts Tower Mito and Shônandai Cultural Centre. See Yoshimoto Mitsuhiro, “Toshi Infura Toshiteno Gekijô,” (Theatre as an Urban Infrastructure) *Shingeki* 439 (October 1989), 106-107, Matsui Kentarô et. al., “Heisei No Engeki O Kataru,” (Discussing Theatres in Heisei Era) *Teatoro* 563 (January 1990), 58 and Shimizu, “Engeki No Shimei To Yakuwari,” 98.

¹⁴⁹ Suzuki et. al., “Kôkyô Gekijô O Meguru,” 17.

community centre of the region.¹⁵⁰ As Satô argues, public theatre forced artists and staff members to put themselves in a different stream of theatre and to relate their specialties to the society.¹⁵¹ The SePT recruited staff members who were specialists in conducting workshops and educational programmes from the very beginning.¹⁵² Technical staff and producers were also expected to assist in the workshops when necessary. Satô carefully chose the staff who shared the vision of the new theatre when he recruited them.¹⁵³

5. A Nation-wide Extension of the Workshop Methodology

5-1. The BTT – PETA Workshop as a Standard

The workshops held as pre-opening events of the SePT were based on the BTT's workshop methodology as I discussed earlier, and were actually facilitated by members of the BTT.¹⁵⁴ The methodology was already well established and developed, and it proved to be suitable to the SePT's direction.¹⁵⁵ The success of the pre-opening event led the other public theatres to adopt a similar methodology of applied theatre. It also helped that Satô and Matsui had published numerous articles and papers about theories and practices of their workshop methodology. For example, a theatre journal *MUNKS*, in which Matsui Kentarô participated as an editor, and the SePT's own journal *PT* became strong advocates of the workshop / applied theatre methodology. They provided clear and persuasive directions for the staff of public theatres all over the country. For instance, the Fukuoka City Foundation

¹⁵⁰ Itô et. al., “‘Kôkyô Hôru’ Kara ‘Kôkyô Gekijô’ E,” 17.

¹⁵¹ Satô et. al., “Setagaya Paburikku Shiatâ No Shuppatsu,” 43.

¹⁵² Takahagi Hiroshi, “Kôkyô Gekijô No Kankyaku Towa?,” (Audience of Public Theatre) *Higeki Kigeki* 681 (July 2007), 44.

¹⁵³ Komiyama Chizuko, et. al., “Edhukêshon Puroguramu No Genba Kara,” (From the Practice of Educational Programs) *Engekijin* 3 (Spring 1999), 71-72.

¹⁵⁴ Matsui Kentarô, “Oboegaki: Engeki Wâkushoppu,” 27.

¹⁵⁵ Yamazaki Masakazu et. al., “Engeki No Kôkyôsei Towa Nanika,” (On the Publicness of Theatre) *Join* 8 (October 1994), 19-20.

for Arts and Cultural Promotion had a strong relationship with the SePT and totally adopted its workshop model in their activities.¹⁵⁶

Creating their own media was a strategy of the Angura theatre movement in the 1970s. As I discussed in previous chapters, the BTT continued to publish its own periodicals, such as the *Contemporary Theatre Quarterly*, the *Concerned Theatre Japan* and *The Council Report*. This ‘tradition’ was inherited by *MUNKS* and *PT*, and it eventually contributed to the nation-wide dissemination of the workshop methodology. Matsui also trained staff of other public theatres through a lecture series held in collaboration with the Japan Foundation for Regional Art-Activities.¹⁵⁷

As a result of these efforts, participatory activities at public theatres, especially the BTT / PETA style workshops, quickly extended all over Japan.¹⁵⁸ The term ‘workshop’ became a common word in public theatres and became one of the “three sacred treasures” of public theatres.¹⁵⁹ The methodology which had been developed by the BTT was finally accepted in numerous public theatres as a common standard.

¹⁵⁶ Takahashi Tomomi, “‘Moshikashitara Engekutte Kawarukamo?’ Toyû Kimochi O Taisetsuni,” (Appreciating the Impression of ‘Theatre can Change’) in *SPT educational 3*, ed. Gakugei (Curation Department), Setagaya Public Theatre (Tokyo: Setagaya Public Theatre, 2009), 64.

¹⁵⁷ Niinuma Yûko, “‘Ikiteiku Chikara’ O Hagukumu, Sorega Morioka No Bunka Omo Hagukumu,” (The Growing Culture of Morioka City by Nurturing the Ability to Live) in *SPT educational 3*, ed. Gakugei (Curation Department), Setagaya Public Theatre (Tokyo: Setagaya Public Theatre, 2009), 53.

¹⁵⁸ Japan Foundation for Regional Art-activities, *Hôru Ni Okeru Shimin Sankagata Jigyô Nikansuru Chôsa Kenkyû* (A Survey of the Citizens-Participation-Type Activities at Public Halls) (Tokyo: Japan Foundation for Regional Art-Activities, 1999), 39.

¹⁵⁹ Tsumura Takashi, “Chiiki Sôzô Deno Wâkushoppu Jirei,” (The Workshop Activities Conducted by the Japan Foundation for Regional Art-activities) *PT 4* (April 1998), 40.

5-2. Development of Various Workshops

Because of the background of Satô, there was the anticipation that the BTT would be a resident company of the SePT.¹⁶⁰ However, the SePT took another option, which was to collaborate with various practitioners of workshops who had been trying to develop their own models.

For example, playwright and director Kisaragi Koharu had been involved in workshops for elementary school students commissioned by the Setagaya Art Museum since 1986.¹⁶¹ She further elaborated it in a two-week workshop in Hyogo prefecture in 1991 and developed her own style of educational theatre for children.¹⁶² She posited workshops as one of the major pillars of her theatrical activities along with creations at her theatre company, which was a risky choice for a professional theatre director because spending a substantial amount of time and energy on educational theatre might damage her reputation as an artist in a highly competitive Japanese theatre scene.¹⁶³

An ex-BTT member Hanasaki Setsu started her own group to organise applied theatre which eventually became an NGO of theatre workshops, the Theatre Design Guild in 2006. To tackle the social themes like domestic violence and sexual harassment, Hanasaki adopted Augusto Boal's 'forum theatre' method which had also influenced PETA.¹⁶⁴ In other words, she traced back to one of the origins of applied theatre *by* the communities to develop her own

¹⁶⁰ Satô and Shimizu, "Paburikku Shiatâ No Kanôsei," 18.

¹⁶¹ Kisaragi Koharu et. al., "Geijutsu To Komyunithi O Setsugô Suru," (Connecting Arts and Community) *PT* 4 (April 1998), 49.

¹⁶² Matsui Kentarô, "Engeki To Kyôiku: Kisaragi Koharu No Katsudô O megutte," (Theatre and Education: On Kisaragi Koharu's Activities) *MUNKS* 5 (December 1993), 56-58.

¹⁶³ Kashiwagi Yô and Matsui Kentarô, "Kisaragi Koharusan No Koto," (On Kisaragi Koharu) in *SPT educational 2*, ed. Gakugei (Curation Department), Setagaya Public Theatre (Tokyo: Setagaya Public Theatre, 2008), 97.

¹⁶⁴ Hanasaki Setsu et. al., "Kangae, Tameshitemiru Batoshiteno Engeki: Hiyokuatsusha No Engeki Fesuthibaru Ni Ittekita," (Theatre as a space for thinking and trying: Report of Festival of Theatre of the Oppressed) *Gekkan Oruta* (August/September 1997), 38-39.

methodology. Another methodology of applied theatre, Theatre in Education, which was developed in the United Kingdom, was also introduced in Japan around 2000.

In addition to these attempts of applied theatre, there was another group of directors who adopted the workshop methodology purely for artistic creation. One of the leaders of this movement was Noda Hideki, who was once the most influential playwright / director of the '1980s theatre'. After he dissolved his Dreaming Bohemian theatre company in 1992, Noda went to the UK to study. There, he met Simon McBurney of the Théâtre de Complicité and adopted McBurney's workshop-based creative methodology as the basis of his creation.¹⁶⁵ This type of workshop also became popular among Japanese theatre artists partly thanks to Noda's strong influence.

The SePT proactively collaborated with these practitioners. Kisaragi was invited to conduct a series of workshops targeting junior high school students,¹⁶⁶ and Hanasaki played a major role as a facilitator of the SePT's workshop programmes.¹⁶⁷ Komiyama Chizuko, who acquired a deep knowledge on Theatre in Education at the London City University, joined the SePT as a producer / curator.¹⁶⁸

Matsui Kentarô explains that the reason for collaborating with Kisaragi is as follows: Initially the SePT staff expected that the participants of their workshop programmes would be those who were interested in utilising theatre for the betterment of their daily lives, which was

¹⁶⁵ Matsui Kentarô, "Wâkushopputeki Narumono' No Rekishi O Tadotte," (Tracing the History of Workshops) in *SPT educational 2*, ed. Gakugei (Curation Department), Setagaya Public Theatre (Tokyo: Setagaya Public Theatre, 2008), 61.

¹⁶⁶ Kashiwagi and Matsui, "Kisaragi Koharusan No Koto," 96.

¹⁶⁷ Hanasaki Setsu and Matsui Kentarô, "Wâkushoppu No Genryû," (The Origin of the Workshop) in *SPT educational 2*, ed. Gakugei (Curation Department), Setagaya Public Theatre (Tokyo: Setagaya Public Theatre, 2008), 62.

¹⁶⁸ Kisaragi et. al., "Geijutsu To Komyunithi O Setsugô Suru," 51.

exactly the purpose of applied theatre. Nevertheless, most of the participants were actually budding actors who wished to learn acting skills. The SePT realised the need for a channel to reach community members who had not had any contacts with the theatre yet,¹⁶⁹ and children were identified as an important target. Kisaragi, who had a lot of experience working with children, was an ideal partner for that purpose.

The General Producer of the SePT, Takahagi Hiroshi (1953-), played a pivotal role in the field of the 'creative' workshop for artistic creation. Takahagi, who had once been the producer of Noda Hideki's *Dreaming Bohemians*, agreed to make the SePT 'a theatre of workshops'.¹⁷⁰ However, his perception on workshops was different from ex-BTT staff like Matsui. According to Takahagi, workshops for ordinary citizens, which originated from the BTT / PETA, form the 'first phase' of the SePT's workshop programmes. In the 'second phase', the target participants of workshops shifted to theatre specialists and the purpose would be to teach theatrical expressions. In the 'third and final phase', workshops are conducted solely for the staging of an outcome.¹⁷¹ It was a hierarchical system with the 'third phase' workshop at the top, which was a totally different vision from Matsui's. As the SePT adopted diverse models of workshops, there were two different perceptions of workshops in one theatre. It became one of the reasons why the SePT later produced two different types of international collaborations with Southeast Asia, which I will discuss in detail in the next chapter.

¹⁶⁹ Kashiwagi and Matsui, "Kisaragi Koharusan No Koto," 95.

¹⁷⁰ After *Dreaming Bohemians* was dissolved, Takahagi studied arts administration for one year at Columbia University with the grant from Saison Foundation. His research topic was the theories of public support to the arts. See Takahagi Hiroshi, "Koronbia Daigaku Âtsu Adominisutorêshon Puroguramu Ryûgaku Hôkokusho," (Report of my Study at the Arts Administration Program, Columbia University) *Teatoro* 615 (April 1994), 50.

¹⁷¹ Takahagi Hiroshi et. al., "Wâkushoppu No Genzai," (The Current Situation of Workshops) *Join* 42 (September 2003), 18-19.

Section 4. Conclusion

Until the 1980s, social-oriented Japanese contemporary theatre was widely considered as a device to realise discursive spaces that have the characteristics of Counter Public Sphere in which confrontational discourses against public authorities were created. In such a situation, theatre and public authorities, such as the national / municipal governments and large companies, had hardly any chance to cooperate with each other. Nevertheless, in the 1990s their relationship became closer because both parties adopted the model of the Public Sphere for Coexistence under the ideology of *Kyôsei*. The changes in the government were especially rapid and artists were required to cope with it. The formation of various associations of theatre practitioners is an example of the reactions from the artists. Younger generation artists including Hirata Oriza and Sakate Yôji led such a movement.

In response to the increase in public support to theatre, the social role of theatre was widely discussed and the ‘publicness’ of theatre was at stake. Hirata theorised and advocated a model of theatre that acts as a tool for the revitalisation of the community. A new type of theatre called ‘public theatres’ started being built by municipal governments as bases of participatory activities.

The methodology that was widely adopted in the public theatres all over Japan was the applied theatre *with / by* the communities represented by the workshops which was imported from Southeast Asia by the BTT in the 1980s. It was ‘grafted’ onto the SePT and developed as a concrete model of public theatres. Because the public theatres all over the country followed the model of the SePT, its workshop methodology was widely adopted as a standard. The methodology that originated from Southeast Asia finally became a standard in

Japan. It was an important achievement in the history of theatre exchanges between Japan and Southeast Asia.

The nation-wide adoption of the workshop methodology can be considered as a direct extension of the BTT's attempts in the 1980s. However, the origin of the methodology was not necessarily recognised in the development. It was adopted only as an effective tool for regional community building. In other words, the international aspect which had been recognised in the practices of workshops in the 1980s was ignored in the development of the public theatres.

It was the other development in the 1990s—the rise of international theatre collaborations between Japan and Southeast Asia—that tackled the issue of the actual relationship between Japan and Southeast Asia which I will discuss in the next chapter. Satô Makoto and the SePT collaborated with a governmental agency and initiated projects to deal with the issues that had remained since the Angura theatre movement, i.e. the Japanese self-recognition as aggressors in relation to Southeast Asian countries and the failure in creating discourses that could be shared by their counterparts in Southeast Asia. The international collaborations were the 'culmination' of developments since the 1960s.

Chapter 5. The Japanese Cultural Diplomacy and Theatre Collaboration Projects

In this chapter, I will discuss the second significant development of the 1990s, the rise of international theatre collaborations between Japan and Southeast Asia. Since its opening in 1997, the SePT actively organised theatre collaborations with Southeast Asian artists. The number of collaborations between Japanese artists and foreign artists steadily increased in the 1990s.¹

Although it was common in the 1990s for a Japanese theatre company to be on an overseas tour, many artists felt that nothing much had been gained through the experience.² That was why collaborations, which would enable a deeper exchange, attracted much attention from Japanese theatre practitioners, especially since there was a strong trend of seeking collaborations with Asian counterparts in the middle of the 1990s.³ One critic even claimed, “The future of Japanese avant-garde theatre depends on international collaborations.”⁴ The SePT’s collaborations with Southeast Asia led to such a trend, and eventually brought a ‘boom’ of international collaborations with Asian artists. I argue that it was the very first time in the history of Japanese theatre that Southeast Asian theatre became a major counterpart.

¹ According to the survey of the Japan Centre, Pacific Basin Arts Communication, the number of collaborations was 107 in total (those staged in Japan were 84 and those staged overseas were 23. The figures include theatre, dance, opera and other genres of performing arts). The figure increased to 136 in total (108 in Japan, 28 overseas) in 1998 and then 221 in total (176 in Japan, 45 overseas) in 2003. Source: Japan Centre, Pacific Basin Arts Communication, *Performing Arts Exchange Yearbook* (Tokyo: Japan Centre, Pacific Basin Arts Communication, 1994, 99 and 2004).

² Uchino Tadashi, “Kawamura Takeshi No Nyûyôku,” (Kawamura Takeshi in New York) *Teatoro* 670 (July 1998), 81.

³ Uchiyama Jun, “Nihon To Chûgoku No Engeki Taiwa: ‘Nicchû Engeki Fôramu’ To Chûgoku No ‘Hamuretto’,” (Theatre Exchange between Japan and China: Japan-China Theatre Forum and Chinese *Hamlet*) *Higeki Kigeki* 535 (May 1995), 6-7.

⁴ Shichiji Êsuke, “90 Nendai Engeki No Zenei To ‘Zenei Geki’,” (Theatre in the 1990s and the Avant-garde) *Teatoro* 672 (September 1998), 38.

However, international collaborations require a totally different scale of budget which the SePT alone could not bear. The institute which became a partner of the SePT in their endeavour of pursuing theatrical collaborations with Southeast Asia was the Japan Foundation, an organisation specialising in international cultural exchanges, established by the Japanese government.

In the first section of this chapter, I will review the development of the Japanese cultural diplomacy, paying special attention to the Japan Foundation. I argue that Japanese cultural diplomacy adopted the model of the Public Sphere for Coexistence in the 1990s (similar to the development in the field of social welfare that I discussed in the previous chapter) and it made the cooperation between the Japan Foundation and theatre artists possible. The second section will focus on the early collaborations with Southeast Asia. I will argue that in spite of the success of the theatre productions, they did not tackle the issue of the Japanese self-perception as aggressors of Asian countries. The third section will focus on the collaborations that dealt with historical issues. They reflect the issues and concerns of Japanese contemporary theatre in relation to Southeast Asia which has accumulated since the Angura period. In my opinion, they are ‘culmination’ projects of the Japanese-Southeast Asian relationship, and I will discuss their achievements and problems as well.

Section 1. The Japan Foundation and Theatre Collaborations

In its early years since its establishment in 1972, the main purpose of the Japan Foundation was to combat the misunderstandings about Japanese business practices overseas

in order to ease the tension in the countries where there were Japanese direct investments.⁵ In the field of arts exchange, it concentrated on the introduction of stereotypical and ‘official’ Japanese culture represented by the traditional arts. Although the Japan Foundation was set up as a semi-independent organization from the government, its activities can be considered as little more than a cultural diplomacy that was in support of the Japanese business sector.

In 1988, Primeminister Takeshita Noboru declared the ‘Takeshita Doctrine,’ which set up a fundamental diplomatic policy for Japan in the post-Cold War era. Cultural exchange was considered as one of the main pillars of Japanese diplomacy, and the introduction of foreign cultures to Japan, along with the introduction of Japanese culture overseas, was requested. Responding to this, the Japan Foundation set up the ASEAN Cultural Centre in 1990 – the first publicly funded organisation charged with introducing other cultures to Japan.⁶ This was a major shift from the one-way export of Japanese culture to a two-way exchange of cultures.

It was not an arbitrary choice that the new centre targeted Southeast Asia. Japan had become an economic giant by the late 1960s thanks to its rapid economic recovery after World War II, and the leaders of Japan felt the need to show the world, in particular the United States, Japan’s contributions to commensurate with its status. The decline of America’s presence in Southeast Asia in the 1970s, which resulted from a mixture of incidents such as their defeat in Vietnam, the introduction of the Nixon Doctrine and the détente with China, gave Japan possibilities and chances to perform such contributions to the

⁵ Peter J. Katzenstein, *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005), 152.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 154.

region.⁷ The quick expansion of the Japanese Official Development Assistance (ODA) in Southeast Asia from the mid 1960s is an example of Japan's efforts to take a diplomatic initiative in the region. Southeast Asia was regarded as the only region where Japan could pursue an independent diplomacy, and thus Southeast Asia became a field to experiment with projects in, in order to show Japan's capability as a leader of the region. The ASEAN Cultural Centre was another experiment of Japanese cultural diplomacy targeting this region.

1993 became a year of turbulence for Japan's domestic politics when the first non-Liberal Democratic Party government since 1955 was established. The new premier, Hosokawa Morihiro of the Japan New Party, was eager to redefine Japanese cultural diplomacy and set up the Advisory Group on International Cultural Exchange right after his inauguration. The final report of the Advisory Group, submitted on March 1994, stressed the importance of further extending the scope of international cultural exchanges from that of the Takeshita Doctrine.⁸ The report claimed to add a new area to cultural exchanges, which was to initiate activities to create a stable basis for diverse cultures to coexist peacefully. "In the post-Cold War era," the report argues, "cultural and ethnic conflicts are replacing ideological conflicts among nation-states. Thus, activities to enhance the tolerance towards different cultures are an absolute necessity."⁹

The idea of valuing cultural diversity and enhancing tolerance among people of different cultures was further developed and named *Kyôsei* during the time when Prime

⁷ Tamaki Kazunori, "Nihon to ASEAN no Pâtonâshippu," (The Partnership between Japan and ASEAN) in *Ajia Seiji No Mirai To Nihon* (The Future of Asian Politics and Its Implications for Japan), ed. Okabe Tatsumi (Tokyo: Koiso Shobo, 1995), 240.

⁸ Kokusai Bunka Kôryû Ni Kansuru Kondankai, *Atarashii Jidai No Kokusai Bunka Kôryû* (*International Cultural Exchange in the New Era*) (June, 1994), 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 2

Minister Hashimoto Ryûtarô came into power in 1996. In his speech in Singapore on December 1997, Hashimoto introduced *Kyôsei* as a keyword for a new relationship between Japan and Southeast Asia, and proposed to form the Multinational Cultural Mission, which would consist of public intellectuals from Japan and the ASEAN countries who would be tasked to set up concrete policies to realise *Kyôsei*.¹⁰

The Multinational Cultural Mission's *Action Agenda* claims, "The diverse and distinct cultural identity of each participating country must be recognised and respected as having a value of its own. Inter-cultural co-existence warrants partnerships that are concluded between equals and this should be the spirit that guides us in our shared endeavours."¹¹ The model of the Public Sphere for Coexistence, in which diverse cultures and values coexist, was officially introduced into the field of international cultural exchanges. The Japan Foundation's mission was extended to include the realisation of such a public sphere that would spread beyond borders of nation-states.

Similar to the other fields that I have discussed in the previous chapter, *Kyôsei* soon became a popular word in the field of international cultural exchanges. Scholar Hirano Ken'ichiro, who has been a strong influence on the Japan Foundation, explains the phenomenon: "The interested Japanese have summed up all these new trends [in the field of international cultural exchanges] in the idea of *Kyôsei*, a magic word for many people." However, he cautions that the term could easily become empty unless 'hands-on' efforts make it concrete. "In my opinion," he continues, "*Kyôsei* is not just about mutual respect for

¹⁰ Hashimoto Ryûtarô, *Prime Minister's Speech at the Singapore Lecture*, 14 January 1997, Singapore.

¹¹ Multinational Cultural Mission, "Action Agenda," retrieved from the website of Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet. <http://www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/980511cultural.html> (accessed 21 January 2011).

cultural differences. It also demands that people of different cultures work together for a common purpose.”¹²

What Hirano considers as examples of ‘hands-on’ programmes for *Kyôsei* are the collaborative theatre projects by the Japan Foundation.¹³ Theatre collaborations were highly suitable to present the concept of *Kyôsei* because the process of creation, in which diverse artists gather and create together, was visible and the outcome of it could be obviously presented as a production.

In 1995, the Japan Foundation started two programmes for international theatre collaborations, namely the Asia Centre programme, and the Exchange, Study and Training Program for Asian Theatrical Artists. The former was under a newly established department called the Asia Centre, which was the immediate successor of the ASEAN Cultural Centre with an extended scope in targeted geographical areas and in the fields of programmes. The latter programme was handled by the Performing Arts Division, where they collaborated with theatres and practitioners, including the Setagaya Public Theatre. As I will argue later, both of them had Southeast Asia as their main target area.

Through these programmes, the Japan Foundation produced two early collaborations of a similar nature which were ‘symbols’ of the new concept or *Kyôsei* — The project under the Asia Centre programme was a multi-national collaboration, *Lear*, while the collaboration under the Performing Arts Division was a Thai-Japanese collaboration *Akaoni (Red Demon)*,

¹² Hirano Ken’ichiro, “Japan’s Cultural Exchange Approaches in Asia Pacific,” in *Peace Building in the Asia Pacific Region*, ed. Peter King and Yoichi Kibata (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1996), 93.

¹³ Hirano Ken’ichirô, “Kokusai Bunka Kôryû no Naka no Kokusai Kôryû Kikin.” (The Japan Foundation and the Trends of International Cultural Exchange) *Kokusai Kôryû* 97 (October 2002), 123.

both first staged in 1997. In the next section, I will discuss how these projects were realised and point out their significance and problems.

Section 2. *Lear* and *Red Demon*: The International Collaboration Projects as a ‘Symbol’ of the Public Sphere for Coexistence

1. The Asia Centre and *Lear*

The ASEAN Cultural Centre, which was set up by the Japan Foundation in 1990 to realise the ‘two-way’ cultural exchange, extended its regional contacts with theatre artists through their activities. For example, it invited *Three Children*, co-directed by Malaysian Krishen Jit who had been close to Satô Makoto and Singaporean Ong Keng Sen (1963-) to be staged in Japan.¹⁴ During his stay in Japan, Ong attended a symposium in Yokohama and talked about the situation of contemporary theatre in Singapore.¹⁵ His clear vision and message, which appeared in Japanese theatre journals, positioned him as a new leader of Southeast Asian theatre.

This was the main reason why right after the establishment of the Asia Centre in 1995, Ong was selected by the Japan Foundation’s producer, Hata Yuki, to direct a theatre collaboration that would symbolise the concept of *Kyôsei*. Hata found Ong one who was “seriously thinking about the nature of the ‘New Asia’ and the ‘New Asians’... in Singapore, a city-state where various races live together.”¹⁶ Ong’s vision of the ‘New Asia’, where

¹⁴ Jit, *An Uncommon Position*, 106.

¹⁵ Ong Keng Sen et. al., “Kangakuteki Eijian Angura: PAW ’92 Yokohama Sinpojiumu Daijyesuto,” (A Noisy Asian Angura: Report of PAW 92 Yokohama Symposium) *Les Specs* 473 (June 1992), 37.

¹⁶ Hata Yuki, “Chichi O Ayameru Ko Tachi: Ajia Ban ‘Ria Ô’ No Seisaku,” (Children Who Kill Their Father: Production of an Asian Version of *King Lear*) *Kokusai Kôryû* 78

diverse people and cultures coexist, was considered in line with the concept of *Kyôsei*. Actors were mainly from Southeast Asian countries, namely Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, China and Japan, which was not surprising considering the network which was built during the time of the ASEAN Cultural Centre. Hata claims that she had no worries on producing a new collaboration because they had already known people and accumulated experiences through the ASEAN Cultural Centre's activities.¹⁷

This collaboration resulted in the staging of *Lear* in Tokyo in 1997 and it toured to Asia, Australia and Europe in 1999, where it attracted exceptional attention from the mass media as a non-commercial theatre project. All the major newspapers, theatre journals and even fashion magazines for general readership covered the story, and the Japanese national broadcasting company NHK broadcasted the recorded performance as well as documentaries of the process. The 1999 world tour also won much attention and, in Singapore, then Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong attended the performance.¹⁸

The script by Japanese Kishida Rio was based on Shakespeare's *King Lear*. Hata explains the reason as follows: "A completely new play... would make it impossible to avoid introducing a bias in favour of the culture that the playwright belonged to. Consequently, I considered proposing to do a work that was not from a specific Asian country and also already had a universal existence."¹⁹ The strategy of *Lear* was to juxtapose Asian cultures without any alterations on the neutral and "universal" base of Shakespeare. Japanese Noh actor Umewaka Naohiko was cast as the protagonist, the Old Man, and Chinese

(January 1998), 93.

¹⁷ Ibid., 92.

¹⁸ Hata Yuki, "6kkakoku Koraborêshon 'Ria' No Sonogo," (Latest Development in the Six-country Collaboration, *Lear*) *Kokusai Kôryû* 84 (July 1999), 108.

¹⁹ Hata, "Chichi O Ayameru Ko Tachi," 92.

Beijing Opera actor Jiang Qihu as the Older Daughter who ousts the Old Man. Traditional performances from Southeast Asia such as the Khon dance drama of Thailand and Puncak Silat of Indonesia were also incorporated, and the music was played with the Japanese *biwa* string instrument and the Indonesian gamelan.

The same strategy applied to the language too. For instance, the lines in the scene where the Older Daughter blinds the Old Man's Royal Attendant are as seen below:

Older Daughter: 你是忠实之犬。就靠着你的嗅觉和记忆去寻找你的主子去吧！
(Mandarin: You're a loyal dog. You may return to my father's side, relying on the scent of memories.)

Loyal Attendant: Siapakah engkau? (Indonesian: Who is that?)

Woman: そんなことより、あんた、眼。(Japanese: What happened to your eyes?)²⁰

This strategy of *Lear*, I argue, was employed to realise and demonstrate the recommendation of the Multinational Cultural Mission which requested that “the diverse and distinct cultural identity of each participating country to be recognised and respected as having a value of its own”. *Lear* was presented as a reflection of “the reality of the new Asia” with a structure in which “any number of layers of differences overlapped, in nationality and culture, and between tradition and the contemporary world.”²¹

The message of *Lear* was correctly comprehended by the audience. A Japanese critic points out that the usage of many languages in *Lear* reflects the contemporary situation in which we have lost a truly reliable language. However, he continues, “the forced integration... would naturally entail the functioning of political reform, which would result in

²⁰ Kishida Rio, “Lear,” in *Asian Shakespeare Intercultural Archive* translation and audio transcript by Daphne Boey, Lee Chee Keng, Lewa Pardomuan, Takiguchi Ken, Yong Li Lan and Matt Yoxall. <http://a-s-i-a-web.org/> (accessed 28 January 2011).

²¹ Hata, “Chichi O Ayameru Ko Tachi,” 94.

‘the nightmarish world possessed by the Older Daughter’”. He concludes that it is necessary for the “discovery of ‘a New Asia’, the creation of a situation in which different cultures can coexist.”²² A review appeared on Singapore’s *The Straits Times* read, “(*Lear* creates) a new Asian drama based on a Shakespearean play that would be unicursal in outlook,” yet “(brought) to Japanese audiences new Asian plays that transcend national styles and forms.”²³ Indonesian critic Goenawan Mohamad refers to Ong’s claim for the discordance rather than the harmony in *Lear* and writes, “Discordance is a vessel that can accept the diversity we will see in the next millennium. We cannot expect simple solutions for the complex and diverse challenges we will face in the new millennium. We cannot easily draw the images of what we do not know at the moment – the ‘foreign elements’... *Lear* is a production to comprehend everything – the old and the new, tradition and modernity, and masculinity and femininity. There are no spatial and temporal distances. All kinds of heterogeneity are revealed. This is a story of merciless compromise and coexistence.”²⁴ *Lear* was created to present the vision of a Public Sphere for Coexistence in Asia. These reviews prove that *Lear* achieved that goal.

²² Murai Ken, “Ajia, Sokoni Ikiru Warewarejishin O Toumono,” (Questions Addressed to Asia and Those Who Live in It) *Ajia Sentâ Nyûsu* 7 (Winter 1997) 13-14.

²³ Kwan Weng Kin, “Ong’s *Lear* Takes Tokyo by Storm,” *The Straits Times: Life!* (12 September 1997).

²⁴ Goenawan Mohamad, “Surat dari Tokyo: Dan sang Bapak Harus Dibunuh,” *D&R* XXIX, no. 6 (27 September 1997), 65.

2. The Performing Arts Division's Programme and the Involvement of the Setagaya Public Theatre: *Red Demon*

2-1. Satô Makoto as a Networker with Southeast Asia

The Performing Arts Division did not have any clear motivation for international theatre collaborations when the Exchange, Study and Training Programme for Asian Theatrical Artists started. This can be seen from how the aspect of 'study and training' was prioritized during the earliest stage. The first few projects were meant to provide young Asian practitioners with an opportunity to receive professional training in Japan.²⁵ Therefore, they started the programme independently from the Asia Centre without any exchange of information. Nevertheless, they found difficulties in finding Japanese institutions that would receive trainees from Asia, and gradually shifted their focus to the creation of collaborative theatre pieces, which was similar to the Asia Centre programme.²⁶

Because the Performing Arts Division did not have a network to carry out such collaborations, they decided to build a system in which three parties—the Foundation's overseas offices which act as liaisons, the Japanese theatres or theatre companies that host the project and the Division itself—communicate closely with each other.²⁷ When the programme started in 1995, there were five overseas offices in targeted areas of Asia.

²⁵ For example, in one of the earliest projects, the Japan-Indonesian *Niji No Densetsu* (The Legend of the Rainbow) was planned with a focus on the training aspect. The description of its purpose reads: "There have been many cases of international collaborations based on the relationship between individual artists. The first and foremost purpose of these projects was to create a production under the direction of a particular director. The purpose of The Legend of the Rainbow is totally different. The aim of this project is to help nurture young artists and theatre technicians in Asian countries, and enhance the exchange of information between Japan and Indonesia." See The Japan Foundation Performing Arts Division (ed.), *Nihon-Indonnesia Butaigeijutu Kôryû, Kenshû Jigyô Hôkokusyo: Niji No Densetsu* (Report of Japan-Indonesia Exchange and Study Project, *The Legend of Rainbow*) (Tokyo: The Japan Foundation, 1997), 2.

²⁶ Yamashita Yôko, interview by author, Tokyo, 15 September 2009.

²⁷ Ibid.

However, because the offices in New Delhi and Beijing opened just a year before, only three offices in Southeast Asia, namely the Bangkok, Jakarta and Kuala Lumpur offices, were capable of taking part in the programme.²⁸ Southeast Asia therefore, took a prime position in the programme.

Satô Makoto was an outstanding figure in terms of the network with the Southeast Asian theatre practitioners and he became the most important collaborator of the Performing Arts Division. It may not be an exaggeration to say that he was the only Japanese theatre artist who could behave as a networker with the region. In the previous chapter, I discussed how Sato's BTT started its exchange with the Philippine's PETA in the late 1970s and greatly influenced the people's culture movements in Japan. Around the same period, PETA tried to extend their regional network with Southeast Asian practitioners of applied theatre through their annual summer workshops. This became an opportunity for the BTT to get to know them as well. PETA was thus a 'connector' of the Southeast Asian theatre practitioners.²⁹ In a period when no internet was available and even overseas calls were too expensive to be made regularly, newsletters were effective as a tool of communication and for sharing information. The BTT started to publish English newsletters "not only to introduce our culture and theatre but also to share information with our Asian friends."³⁰

²⁸ The relative concentration of overseas offices in Southeast Asia is perhaps a result of the Foundation's traditional policy which gave priority to the region mentioned earlier.

²⁹ It is probably through PETA's connections that the name of the BTT was listed in the editorial board of the *Third World Popular Theatre Newsletter* which started to be published in 1982. See Dickson Mwansa et. al., "Editorial," *Third World Popular Theatre Newsletter* 1, no. 1, (January 1982), 3-5.

³⁰ Kiritani Natsuko, "Shuppan Niyoru Komyunikêshon Keikaku No.2," (Communication Plan No. 2 through Publications) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 18 (February 1981), 42.

Because the BTT shifted their focus from applied theatre to artistic creations around 1990, Satô started his personal attempts to extend the network in collaboration with the Japan Foundation.³¹ What connected the Japan Foundation and Satô was a program called the Asian Traditional Performing Arts (ATPA) programme started in 1976. During the period when the Japan Foundation focused on exporting Japanese culture to “combat the misunderstandings about Japanese business practices overseas,” ATPA was an exceptional program that aimed to introduce foreign cultures to Japan. In this experimental program, young staff members of the Japan Foundation tried unconventional methods. At the third ATPA in 1981, they staged traditional Southeast Asian mask performances with no intermissions. Audiences could freely enter and exit the auditorium during the performances. This was to mimic the actual staging of the Asian traditional performing arts that are often performed overnight in their own communities. The staff in charge of ATPA at the Japan Foundation Wada Jun actually wished to stage the event in the tent theatre of the BTT as all-night performances.³² He preferred the ‘underground’ environment of the tent theatre to the ‘official’ setting of the actual site, the National Theatre.

Although the staging at the tent theatre was not realised, Satô Makoto agreed to direct the *Asian Masks Exhibition* which was held as part of the third ATPA. It was an exceptional case of collaboration between a governmental institute and a radical theatre artist during a time when theatre circles still possessed a strong antipathy towards public authorities. Satô was actually criticised for collaborating with the public authority.³³ However, he admits that

³¹ Satô Makoto and Toshimitsu Tetsuo, “Kajôna Konran No Nakade,” (In the Chaotic Situation) *Teatoro* 577 (March 1991), 144.

³² Satô Makoto et. al., “Ajia Kara no Kaze,” (A Wind from Asia) *Kokusai Kôryû* 27 (March 1981), 9.

³³ Unami Akira, “Bunka Sangyô No Kôzô,” (The Structure of the Cultural Industry) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 408 (August 1981), 103.

the involvement in ATPA gave him motivation to look into the Asian performing arts along with the encounter of the Thai people's theatre through *Ugly JASEAN* and PETA.³⁴ The enthusiasm of the young staff members of the Japan Foundation enabled the collaboration with Satô, and the strong relationship generated a deep mutual trust between Satô and the Japan Foundation.

With a financial assistance from the Japan Foundation, Satô started the Asian Contemporary Arts Workshop (ACAW) project. A group which consisted of contemporary dancers (Sato's wife, Takeya Keiko, and Kawamura Izumi), contemporary musicians (Takahashi Yûji of the Water Buffalo Band, and pianist Miyake Haruna), a BTT member, Kiritani Natsuko, and Satô himself, visited five cities, namely Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, Jakarta, Jogjakarta and Denpasar in 1990. They presented small showcases along with open discussions with local artists, critics and researchers based on the themes of "tradition and contemporary" and the "Asian contemporary performing arts network."³⁵ The discussions were rather fruitless because of the overly general themes. However, it became a precious first step for Satô to build a different personal network from the one built through PETA.³⁶ The artists Satô encountered in the project included Malaysian director / critic / scholar Krishen Jit, choreographer / dancer Marion D'Cruz, Thai dancer Naraphong Charassri, dance company Maya, Indonesian choreographer / dancer Sardono Kusumo, poet / dramatist WS Rendra and director Boedi S Otong.³⁷

³⁴ Satô, interview.

³⁵ Satô Makoto, "A Footprint of Collaboration," in *Track of Wind: The Dance Eastern Wind—Along with the Asian Artists*, ed. Nezu Kanako (Tokyo: Dance 01, 2004), 18.

³⁶ Satô, interview.

³⁷ Satô Makoto and Ôtori Hidenaga, "Kuro Tendo No 'Ajia': 20nen No Kiseki," (The Black Tent Theatre and Asia: Looking Back the 20 Years of Exchange) *Butai Geijutsu* 3 (April

The newsletter was again the tool chosen by Satô and Takeya to maintain the network that was formed through the ACAW. Sato recalls, “For approximately two years since this tour, my partner, Keiko, and I have issued a small, simple pamphlet (stapled copies of written communications with the approximately one hundred people who were engaged in this tour) named the ‘ACAW News Letter’.”³⁸ “A strong network... that benefitted us later,” he claims, “was built through the exchanges via the newsletter.”³⁹

Satô continued to extend his network even after the ACAW. The most important encounter for him was the one with Singapore’s Kuo Pao Kun. Satô directed Australian playwright John Romeril’s *The Floating World* for the Japan-Australia Cultural Exchange programme jointly produced by the Tokyo International Festival of Performing Arts ’95 and the 10th Melbourne International Festival of the Arts in 1995.⁴⁰ Romeril, who had known Kuo since the time Kuo studied at the National Institute of Dramatic Arts (NIDA) in Sydney, introduced Kuo to Satô.⁴¹ When Kuo stayed in Japan for four months under the Asia Leadership Fellow Programme organised by the Japan Foundation and the International House of Japan in 1997, Satô invited him to the Southeast Asian Theatre Seminar. Kuo was the keynote speaker of the seminar, and his speech brought a decisive impact to the Setagaya Public Theatre’s attitude towards international collaborations.⁴² Satô and the BTT also

2003), 15.

³⁸ Satô, “A Footprint of Collaboration,” 18.

³⁹ Satô, interview.

⁴⁰ Sawada Keiji, “The Japanese Version of *The Floating World*: a Cross-cultural Event between Japan and Australia,” *Australian Drama Studies* 28 (April 1996), 5.

⁴¹ Satô, interview.

⁴² Kuo Pao Kun, “Challenges to Asian Public Intellectuals: New Millenium, Old Challenges, Same Tasks,” in *Culture, Development, and Emancipation: the Search for a New Paradigm (Asia Leadership Fellow Program 1997 Program Report)*, ed. The Internatioanl House of Japan and the Japan Foundaiton Asia Centre (Tokyo: International House of Japan, 1999), 36.

Kuo conducted research on the ordinary Japanese people’s experiences of the war which resulted in Kuo’s *Spirits Play* which was staged in Singapore and Hong Kong under

co-organised a retrospective of Kuo's works in Tokyo in collaboration with the Agency of Cultural Affairs in 2000.⁴³ Kuo eventually became Satô's closest collaborator. Throughout the 1990s, Satô's personal network with the Southeast Asians gradually developed through his continuous efforts.

Satô was an ideal partner for the collaboration programme of the Japan Foundation's Performing Arts Division. Satô had a long-lasting relationship with the Japan Foundation since ATPA, and had a strong platform in the SePT which had started projects for the Public Sphere for Coexistence that shared a basic idea of *Kyôsei*. Satô also had a motivation behind working with the Japan Foundation that had supported his networking attempts. According to a staff of the SePT, Matsui Kentarô, Satô consciously tried to "experiment with the Japan Foundation's new missions."⁴⁴ The Japan Foundation and Satô Makoto / the SePT thus established a strong relationship with each other.

2-2. Red Demon

After shifting the purpose of the Performing Arts Division's programme from training to collaboration, a Thai-Japanese collaboration, *Akaoni (Red Demon)* was staged in 1997 as the first theatre collaboration. It was also the first full-scale joint project between the Japan Foundation and the SePT. Satô set the prime goal of the project as the creation of a

the direction of Ong Keng Sen. (Ibid., 47) It was also planned to be staged in Tokyo in 2000, however, the Agency for Cultural Affairs was against the staging of the war-themed play and it was replaced by another play. See Kuo Pao Kun, "Violence and Memory," in *Kuo Pao Kun: And Love the Wind and Rain*, ed. Kwok Kian Woon and Teo Han Wue (Singapore: Cruxible, 2002), 126-127.

⁴³ Muneshige Hiroyuki, "'Ajjia Engeki' Ni Takaru: Ajia Âto Fesuthibaru No Koto," (Hitting on Asian Theatre: On Asian Art Festival) *Teatoro* 700 (November 2000), 102.

⁴⁴ Matsui, interview.

high-quality theatre production.⁴⁵ As a ‘theatre of workshops’, it might have been most desirable for the SePT to use the methodology of the BTT / PETA-style workshop for international projects. However, it could not be straightforwardly applied because the model was designed to be used in a group where the members substantially shared the same background. For instance, the BTT had known PETA since the late 1970. However, they never collaborated with PETA before to create a piece until 1997.⁴⁶ Therefore, the workshop methodology for creation—the ‘non-BTT’ workshop—was used in *Red Demon*.

Satô approached playwright / director Noda Hideki, who introduced Simon McBurney’s workshop-based creative methodology. Takahagi Hiroshi, who was once a member of Noda’s Dreaming Bohemian theatre company, was in charge of the project at the SePT. In a sense, it was a collaboration detached from the ‘tradition’ implanted by the BTT to the SePT. For Satô, who consciously “experimented the Japan Foundation’s new missions,” *Red Demon* was a project to represent the vision of the Japan Foundation’s new agenda — the building of an international Public Sphere for Coexistence — which was similar to *Lear*.

Red Demon is a story about people with different languages and cultures encountering one another. A strange-looking foreigner drifts to a shore near a local community. The community members call him the Red Demon and try to kill him. Only That Woman, who has been given the cold shoulder in the community, can relate to him, although verbal communications do not exist between them.

⁴⁵ Satô Makoto, "Engeki No Kakushinhan 11," (Convinced Criminal of Theatre 11) *Teatoro* 666 (March 1998), 90.

⁴⁶ The first collaboration of BTT and PETA was *Romeo and Juliet: A Comedy* staged in 1997, which was staged in 5 cities in Japan and Manila.

Red Demon: @@@@ [Give me some water.]

That Woman: No, no. I'm not tasty. I'm not!

Red Demon: @@@@ [I drifted for many days and didn't have water. Give me some, please.]

The Red Demon tries to explain by making a gesture, but even his gesture is incomprehensible for us. His gesture of asking for water is to lie flat on his back and slowly stick out his tongue. Both his language and his gestures are totally incomprehensible to us.

Red Demon: @@@@ [Water. Over there.]

The Red Demon extends his arm toward That Woman.

That Woman: Humans are not tasty! 90% of our body consists of water!⁴⁷

Noda himself performed the role of the Red Demon in the production along with twelve Thai performers. It was staged at a small venue — the Theatre Tram at the Setagaya Public Theatre in December 1997. Actually, the play was not written for this particular project. It was first staged one year earlier than the Thai version with an all-Japanese cast except for the Red Demon character which was played by an English actor. In 2003, the 'London version' was staged with an all-English cast except for Noda who played the Red Demon, which was the opposite configuration of the original Japanese version. This shows that the theme of the play is universal and is applicable to different cultural contexts. Locations, cultures and languages are interchangeable in *Red Demon*.

A critic who followed up on most of the versions of *Red Demon*, Ôtori Hidenaga, writes that when he watched the first staging, he thought *Red Demon* was a story about a

⁴⁷ Noda Hideki and Ôtori Hidenaga, *Noda Hideki, Akaoni No Chôsen* (Noda Hideki and the Challenge of *Red Demon*) (Tokyo: Seidosha, 2006), 236-237.

traditional Japanese village community. However, the versions that were created with foreign actors made him realise that the true theme of the play is the diversity of communities and the ‘foreigners’ that they need to deal with.⁴⁸ “We have to live in the world filled with differences,” he argues, “and *Red Demon* shows how different kinds of communication can be established when verbal communication does not work.”⁴⁹ Along with *Lear*, *Red Demon* successfully crystallizes the idea of *Kyôsei*. *Red Demon* was also successful in terms of creating a theatre of a high-standard, which was an original aim of Satô Makoto. It was chosen as the best production of the year by three critics in major theatre journals.⁵⁰

Both *Lear* and *Red Demon* were productions that represented a symbolic model of the international Public Sphere for Coexistence where diverse cultures coexist with respect to differences. Because they were ‘symbols’, the narratives spoken became either universal ones like Shakespeare or neutral ones applicable to any cultural context. In other words, *Lear* and *Red Demon* became allegorical because they were not based on any specific historical and social contexts. Thus, their message was clearly comprehended by the audience. The clarity of their message is perhaps the main reason for the huge success of these two productions.

The success of these collaborations entailed a ‘boom’ of international collaborations with Asian theatre.⁵¹ Noda Hideki himself admits, “I find that more and more Japanese

⁴⁸ Ibid., 221.

⁴⁹ Ôtori Hidenaga et. al., “Gendai Sekai Engeki Eno Apurôchi,” (An Approach to Contemporary Theatre in the World) *MUNKS* 12 (February 1999), 38-39.

⁵⁰ Takahagi Hiroshi, “‘Akaoni’ Projekuto Hôkoku: Ajia Butai Geijutsuka Kôryû Kenshû Jigyô by Kokusai Kôryû Kikin 1997-98,” (Report of the *Red Demon* Project: Exchange, Study and Training Program for Asian Theatrical Artists by the Japan Foundation, 1997-1998) *PT* 5 (August 1998), 55.

⁵¹ Nevertheless, the ‘Asia’ in this boom was mainly East Asian countries, especially Korea

theatre artists have endeavored to set up international collaborations since *Red Demon*. I'm proud that the three-day production at a tiny venue has impacted such a big movement."⁵²

The sharing of the model of the Public Sphere for Coexistence made collaborations between artists and public authorities possible, and public theatres were born. Now, the collaboration between public theatres and cultural diplomacy became possible because the Japan Foundation had adopted the idea of the Public Sphere for Coexistence.

4. The Problems of International Collaborations as Symbols

Matsui Kentarô found the success of *Lear* and *Red Demon* unsatisfactory, for he had been trying to 'graft' the legacy of the BTT onto the SePT. His criticisms were on the following two points.

Lear's strategy was, as I argued, to juxtapose diverse Asian cultures without any alteration, and to let performers speak in their mother tongues. There was a consciousness to treat all cultures equally in the project. Nevertheless, Matsui still questions the casting of *Lear*, as the most important two roles—the Old Man and the Older Daughter—were given to the Noh actor from Japan and the Beijing opera actor from China respectively. Matsui argues that subliminal cultural imperialism was at work in *Lear* and that the culture with a strong tradition always won the competition against the cultures whose traditions had not been firmly established yet.⁵³ What Matsui found was a hierarchical structure in *Lear* despite its

and China. Southeast Asia was not the main target of private initiatives for collaborations. There are two possible reasons: firstly, the artists' network in the region was not well developed and shared in the Japanese theatre community even after these two projects. I will discuss this problem in a moment. Secondly, the cost of collaboration with Southeast Asia may have been much higher than that with Korea and China.

⁵² Noda and Ôtori, *Akaoni No Chôsen*, 305.

⁵³ Matsui Kentarô, "'Aida No Shima' Ni Okeru Tekusuto No Seisei," (Generation of Texts in *The Island In Between*) *Shiatâ Âtsu* 14 (February 2001), 73-74.

concern for equality. Indian critic Rustom Bharucha also points out the existence of such hierarchy with the “East Asian forms [Noh and Chinese opera] being given precedence over [the] South-East Asian performance traditions.”⁵⁴

John Tomlinson points out that the issue on ‘who speaks’ is critically important in the discussion of cultural imperialism, and the language used to ‘speak’ means a lot. He argues, “There is a sense in which writing in English, and drawing primarily on English-language sources, may be reproducing the practices of cultural imperialism in the very act of discussing them.”⁵⁵ *Lear* seems to be successfully avoiding this problem by letting all the performers speak in their own language. However, I argue that what Matsui wished to point out is that there is a more subtle structure in *Lear*. Even in its ‘equal’ system, the power dynamics of the cultures represented were unconsciously premised and posited in a cultural hierarchy, which forced the weaker cultures to play secondary roles.

Charles Taylor claims that to premise the equality of cultures without studying them would result in another kind of arrogance of assuming one’s own superiority.⁵⁶ In spite of (or probably because of) its superficial equality, *Lear* may have been trapped in the pitfall that Taylor points out. Malaysian Krishen Jit writes, “Southeast Asia, with the prime exception of Singapore, [has] so far been passive in the project of mounting large-scale multicultural works with a global reach. One of the consequences is that the regions eliminated from the multicultural race have been more ‘consumed’ than have acted as consumers, and their artistic

⁵⁴ Rustom Bharucha, *Consumed in Singapore: The Intercultural Spectacle of Lear* (Singapore: Center for Advanced Studies NUS and Pagesetters Services, 2000), 29.

⁵⁵ John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism: a Critical Introduction* (London and New York: Continuum, 1991), 28.

⁵⁶ Charles Taylor, “The Politics of Recognition,” in *Multiculturalism*, ed. Amy Gutmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 67-68.

objects in the orientalist sense tend to get exoticised.”⁵⁷ In short, *Lear* could not reach the stage of what Taylor calls a “fusion of horizons... within which what we have formerly taken for granted as the background to valuation can be situated as one possibility alongside the different background of the formerly unfamiliar culture”⁵⁸ to overcome the superior-inferior binary. It might have seemed like a ‘fake’ equality to Matsui who valued the principles of the BTT’s workshop where all participants should take equal part in every aspect.

The second point that Matsui criticises *Lear* and *Red Demon* on is the risk of covering up the fundamental problems that arise when supposedly neutral narratives without any concrete historical / social contexts are used. Noda Hideki is an artist who led the ‘1980s theatre’ which converted the ‘small theatre movement’ that had been an ‘underground’ entity into a mainstream commercial entertainment. As I discussed in Chapter 3, the ‘1980s theatre’ eliminated the Leftist’s political messages which had always been attached to plays by the previous generations, and focused on pure and naïve ‘self-searching’ themes.

Red Demon was, in a sense, a production that applied the style of the ‘1980s theatre’ to an international collaboration with Southeast Asia. Its narrative carefully erased all specificity that could be connected to any particular social context. Matsui reads it as Noda’s declaration that a “purely artistic cultural exchange is possible only after the ‘deodorisation’ of social and political concerns.”⁵⁹ In other words, *Red Demon* was not an ‘Asian’ theatre collaboration. In contrast to *Lear*, which claimed to reflect the reality of the ‘New Asia,’ the narrative of *Red Demon* does not contain any elements specific to the region.

⁵⁷ Jit, *An Uncommon Position*, 114.

⁵⁸ Taylor, “The Politics of Recognition,” 67.

⁵⁹ Matsui, interview.

In that sense, it occupies a very different position from the projects I have discussed in this thesis.

I would like to add that the process of *Red Demon* ignored the accumulation of the experiences of the ‘people’s culture’ movement in the 1980s. Noda talks about Thai contemporary theatre in his interview:

Interviewer: Isn’t there any energetic expressions by the Thai youth, such as a rebellious mindset and a destruction of old traditions?

Noda: My collaborators in *Red Demon* should have it, and probably our audience shared it. However, I didn’t find any interesting contemporary theatre in Thailand.

Interviewer: Are they at the early stage of development? Or have theatres not been rooted into Thai society?

Noda: They might be at the takeoff period. It does not necessarily mean the future is promising, though.⁶⁰

Here, the history where the ‘energetic’ and ‘rebellious’ Thai people’s culture movement greatly influenced the Japanese civic movement in the 1980s is totally negated.

Noda says in an interview, “It might be a good idea to work with Thai actors a bit more if I find that we are on the same wavelength. Or I can start with my British friends.”⁶¹ For him, Thai artists were interchangeable with British artists.

Just as *Red Demon* ignored the specificity of the collaborating country and region, it also negated the long-lasting arguments and struggles on the Japanese war responsibility since the New Left movement. In that sense, this collaboration shared the same limitation as the activities of the BTT in the 1980s. As a result, the narratives that could have been shared by

⁶⁰ Noda Hideki, “Ibunka Kôryû Toiu Kôfuku,” (A Joy of Intercultural Exchange) *Serifu No Jidai* 32 (Summer 2004), 71.

⁶¹ Noda and Ôtori, *Akaoni No Chôsen*, 87.

both the Japanese artists and their Southeast Asian counterparts were not created. In other words, it only superficially symbolised the idea of *Kyôsei*, yet it failed to develop discourses that could become a basis for the actual relationship of *Kyôsei* based on the model of the Public Sphere for Coexistence—respecting each other’s culture on a totally equal basis. *Red Demon* and *Lear* eventually ‘used’ Southeast Asian artists to develop the symbol of *Kyôsei*, which is similar to the way the BTT in the 1980s ‘used’ PETA to develop their model of the people’s theatre. For Satô and Matsui who knew the problems that the BTT was facing in the 1980s, projects that could tackle the unsolved problems were necessary.

Section 3. *The Island In Between*: Towards a Concrete Public Sphere

1. Inputs from Two Symposiums

After *Red Demon*, the Setagaya Public Theatre started preparing for a new theatre collaboration with Southeast Asia with the aim of establishing not a ‘symbol’ but a concrete public spheres. The new public spheres, however, were to have characteristics of the Public Sphere for Coexistence unlike the BTT’s project in the 1980s, in which the public spheres beyond borders that maintained the characteristics of the Angura theatre movement – the model of the Counter Public Sphere. This time, Matsui Kentarô took the initiative to set up a project. Two international symposiums contributed significantly to concretise the image of the project.

1-1. The Southeast Asian Theatre Seminar (1998)

The first symposium was the Southeast Asian Theatre Seminar co-organised by the SePT and the Japan Directors Association in 1998. This event was remarkable in the following two ways. Firstly, the seminar was the very first occasion where “Satô’s personal network and experiences developed through his activities were widely shared with Japanese theatre practitioners.”⁶² As I discussed earlier, Satô’s network had been extending his network all through the 1980s and the 1990s, however, such attempts were hardly covered by the Japanese media. Satô did not proactively publicise it either. In an interview in 1991, he says that the “BTT has no intention to become a source of information on Asian theatre at the moment.”⁶³

As the artistic director of the SePT, he decided to make the seminar “an opportunity to open up my network with Asian theatre practitioners and build a broader channel in Japan to communicate with Asian counterparts.”⁶⁴ Participants of the seminar included Singapore’s Kuo Pao Kun, Malaysia’s Krishen Jit and Indonesia’s Putu Wijaya. They were all from Satô’s personal contacts. As one Japanese critic writes, it was “probably the very first open discussion between Japanese artists and Asian directors in such a scale.”⁶⁵ At the same time, it became an official announcement of the SePT on their serious interest in having exchanges with Southeast Asia.

⁶² Sakate Yôji, “‘Ajia Zuiichi no Takotsubo’ Karano Dasshutsu: Tônan Ajia Engeki Kenshû Seminâ No Goannai,” (Escape from the Deadlocks: an Invitation to Southeast Asian Theatre Seminar) *Teatoro* 665 (February 1998), 119.

⁶³ Satô and Toshimitsu, “Kajôna Konran No Nakade,” 138.

⁶⁴ Satô Makoto, “Engeki No Kakushinhan 12,” (Convinced Criminal of Theatre 12) *Teatoro* 667 (April 1998), 75.

⁶⁵ Seto Hiroshi, “Ajia Shokoku Tono Kokusai Engeki Kôryû O Kangaeru,” (On International Theatre Exchange with Asian Countries) *Jamci* 34 (April 1998), 34.

The second significance of the seminar is that the discussion was considered the basis of collaborations between Japan and Southeast Asia. The theme of the seminar was ‘war’ which was set by Satô. He explains the reason for setting such a theme: “Southeast Asia,” he wrote in the pamphlet of the seminar, “has been an active centre for a number of mutual exchanges between dramatists in Asia, excluding Japan... We can think of many reasons for that but in the end, we always come up against the ‘Pacific War’. When we look at Southeast Asia and try to imagine a collaboration leading to the creation of a dramatic work, it is meaningful to examine the War once again from a dramatists’ unique viewpoint, as it was the War that became a starting point (or a separation point) for both of us. In other words, without that examination, I don’t believe that there will be a true mutual relationship between Southeast Asia and us.”⁶⁶

It was a chance for Satô to work out the issue of the war and the responsibility of the Japanese which had been remained unsolved since his Angura days, through the direct discussion with Southeast Asian practitioners. Nevertheless, the attempt was far more difficult than expected. The dialogue between the Japanese and the Southeast Asians did not really happen because the perceptions of the war were so different between the two parties. Most of the Japanese speakers’ speeches were about their personal feelings about the war⁶⁷ and some participants “seriously suspected whether or not the Japanese artists wished to collaborate with the Asians.”⁶⁸ Satô originally planned to issue a joint statement by the

⁶⁶ Satô Makoto, “A Call for a ‘Southeast Asian Theatre Seminar’,” in the flyer of Southeast Asian Theatre Seminar (Tokyo: Japan Directors Association, 1997).

⁶⁷ Satô, “Engeki No Kakushinhan 12,” 76.

⁶⁸ Imamura, “Motomeyo, Saraba...,” 50.

participants. However, he had to give it up eventually because the argument in the seminar did not reach any conclusion.⁶⁹

Satô wished to make the seminar a forum not to condemn the war based on ethics and ideologies but to collect and examine the historical facts through the collaborative efforts of the participants.⁷⁰ “If you hope to build an ‘equal’ relationship for such a purpose”, he insists, “a one-sided expression of emotion, even out of goodwill, is misbehavior because it will not allow your counterparts to speak up.”⁷¹ In those terms, this seminar can be evaluated as a complete failure. However, as one participant points out, “realising the failure is still an achievement of the seminar.”⁷² What was revealed by the failure was that there was hardly any shared perception of the war between the Japanese and the Southeast Asians. In other words, the “starting point” to realise “a true mutual relationship” did not exist at all.

It was obvious that the approach of *Red Demon* would not be able to deal with the problem raised in the seminar. Satô and the SePT recognised the need for another kind of collaboration that would concretely tackle the theme of World War II.

1-2. The Conference for Asian Women and Theatre (1992-2001)

The second conference that helped to shape the SePT’s new approach to international collaborations was the Conference for Asian Women and Theatre initiated by playwright / director Kisaragi Koharu who had collaborated with the SePT before in workshop programmes for children. Although the SePT was not officially involved, Matsui was invited to participate in the conference because of his rich experiences in exchange projects

⁶⁹ Satô, interview.

⁷⁰ Satô, “Engeki No Kakushinhan 12,” 76.

⁷¹ Ibid., 76.

⁷² Seto, “Ajia Shokoku Tono Kokusai Engeki Kôryû O Kangaeru,” 34.

with Asian counterparts.⁷³ The first conference was held in Japan in 1992 followed by the second in Manila in 2000. The third conference in Japan was held in spite of the sudden death of Kisaragi in 2001.

What Matsui found in the conferences was that there was always a division between Japan and the rest of Asia. As Satô points out in his call for Southeast Asian Seminar, there was already a theatre artists' network in Asia and artists of the region were prepared to face different cultures and conflicts among themselves. However, according to Matsui, Japan was not yet ready to deal with cultural conflicts in encounters with foreign cultures.⁷⁴

The third conference discussed the possibility of collaborations as a method to fill the gap between Japan and the Asian countries that had become clear in the second conference.⁷⁵ Kisaragi hoped to find a way "to work face-to-face with unknown people in Asia"⁷⁶ using the method of applied theatre *with* and *by* the communities. Collaborations that employed the methodology of applied theatre were considered a promising tool to realise Kisaragi's vision.

The Southeast Asian Theatre Seminar showed that the Japanese and the Southeast Asians were still strangers to each other. There was an urgent need to deal with the issue of the war as it was the 'first step' towards a mutual relationship between the two parties. Conversely, the Conference for Asian Women and Theatre provided a vision of a collaboration with the applied theatre methodology which values the process in the project more than the outcome. New collaborations of the SePT were thus planned to reflect these

⁷³ Kisaragi et. al., "Ajia, Josei, Engeki," 33.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 36.

⁷⁵ Tonooka Naomi, "Ajia No Josei Engekijin Wa Ima: Dai 3 Kai Ajia Josei Engeki Kaigi Hôkoku," (The Current Situation of Female Theatre Practitioners in Asia: Report of the Third Conference for Asian Women and Theatre) *Teatoro* 707 (May 2001), 44.

⁷⁶ Kisaragi et. al., "Ajia, Josei, Engeki," 44.

inputs.⁷⁷

2. *The Island In Between*

Satô Makoto and Matsui Kentarô made a preliminary research trip to Southeast Asia for a new collaboration in November 1998. Directors Sakate Yôji and Koike Hiroshi, as well as the Japan Foundation's officers-in-charge, Doi Katsuma and Yamashita Yôko, accompanied them. Several collaborations such as Sakate's collaboration with Indonesian artists, *Nanyô Kujira Butai (Whalers in the South Seas, 2000)*, were created as a result of the research trip.

A Malaysian-Japanese collaboration, *Aida No Shima (The Island In Between)*, was another outcome of the trip. It could be considered as a summation of international collaborations for a concrete public spheres. Before the research trip, the Japan Foundation and the SePT chose Malaysia as a counterpart for the next collaboration, and they stayed in Kuala Lumpur for five days to source for possible collaborators.⁷⁸ They aimed to extend the network to younger generations apart from Satô. Nevertheless, the existing personal network of Satô was still a firm basis for the project—all the arrangements in Kuala Lumpur were made by Marion D'Cruz (1953-), who had been in Satô's ACAW network.

⁷⁷ Southeast Asian practitioners shared the idea that the international collaboration between Japan and Southeast Asia should pay more attention to the process than the outcome. For example, Malaysian director Krishen Jit, who had been an important collaborator for both Satô and the Japan Foundation, claimed that the Foundation's ASEAN Cultural Centre "had been valuing the production more than the process... However, we should not have the illusion that we can achieve something in a short period. Cultural exchange has to be considered as a continuous process". See Ishii Yoneo et. al., "Jihatsutekina Ningen Dôshi No Kôryû No Tameniwa; ASEAN Bunka Sentâ wa Nani O Nasubekika," (For the Spontaneous Exchange between Human Beings: the Mission of the ASEAN Cultural Centre) *Kokusai Kôryû* 60 (December 1992), 49.

⁷⁸ The reasons why Malaysia was chosen were, firstly, there were no collaborations with Malaysia and secondly the Foundation has an overseas office in Kuala Lumpur. In short, there was no specific reason- at least on the Foundation's side. Doi Katsuma, interview by author, Tokyo, 15 September 2009.

What Satô stressed in the meetings with Malaysian candidates were the following two points. First was the importance of realising a collaboration that eliminated “imperialism of any kind”. In *Red Demon*, for example, even the way time was spent backstage had to follow a Japanese style. Satô and Matsui hoped to let all participants of *The Island In Between* be equal in all aspects.⁷⁹ What was in Satô’s mind might be the principle of the BTT / PETA workshop, where ‘everybody participates in equal status and creates their own narratives’.

The Island In Between was written by Malaysian Jo Kukathas (1962-) and Kam Raslan and directed by Kukathas herself. It was a major change from *Red Demon* which was written and directed by Japanese Noda Hideki, which meant that both the financial and creative initiatives were taken by Japanese side. The structure of *The Island In Between* separated these two elements to avoid a hierarchical system being created through the Japanese ‘domination’ of resources. Mainly produced by Matsui, *The Island In Between* was staged in Tokyo in February 2001 and Kuala Lumpur in August of the same year.

Secondly, Satô stressed during the meeting that, “We do not want to avoid even the difficult questions for Japan, including Japan’s involvement in the Second World War.”⁸⁰ It was a direct reflection of the Southeast Asian Theatre Seminar that had been held earlier in the year. Satô and Matsui were determined to tackle the issue of the war in the next collaboration because of the problems found in the seminar.⁸¹

Their selection of possible collaborators in Malaysia well reflected their strong will. Satô’s original plan was what Huzir Sulaiman, one of the directors which they met during the

⁷⁹ Jo Kukathas, interview by author, Singapore, 10 March 2009.

⁸⁰ Kukathas, interview.

⁸¹ Matsui, “‘Aida No Shima’ Ni Okeru Tekusuto No Seisei,” 73.

research trip, had proposed. It was to dramatise the true story of his grandparents who got married during the Japanese occupation. Satô was attracted to the idea of narrating the daily lives of people under the extraordinary situation of the war in a matter-of-fact tone. Nevertheless, it was not realised because Sulaiman did not agree to the conditions proposed by the Japan Foundation and the SePT.⁸²

They eventually chose Jo Kukathas, who enjoyed great popularity in Malaysia with her signature political satire, as a collaboration partner. Kukathas's Instant Café Theatre Company's aggressive approach to politically controversial themes reminded Satô of the early BTT's political theatre.⁸³ Kukathas's father, Veerasingam (1929-1994), who was a well-known journalist with his penname K. Das, learned Japanese during the occupation⁸⁴ and even wrote a play on the Japanese occupation. Because of his influence, the idea of creating a play about the Japanese occupation was highly attractive for Kukathas.⁸⁵ Satô and Matsui intentionally picked candidates who shared a personal interest in the issue of the war.

During the writing process of the play, Matsui himself joined in as a dramaturge and helped Kukathas and Raslan. He arranged a number of interviews in Japan to collect the voices of people who had experienced World War II. At the same time, Malaysian artists conducted research at the National Archive of Singapore and found many voices in its oral history archives. All the voices collected were shared by the creative team in workshops so

⁸² Sulaiman wished to direct this production by himself because it is related to his personal history. Nevertheless, Satô insisted to let Kukathas direct it because Sulaiman was considered inexperienced as a director to lead the project of this scale. Sulaiman later wrote a play based on the same plot and published it as *Occupation*. It premiered at the Singapore Arts Festival in 2002. See Huzir Sulaiman, "Occupation," in *Eight Plays*, ed. Joan Lau and Huzir Sulaiman (Kuala Lumpur, Silverfish Books, 2002).

⁸³ Kukathas, interview.

⁸⁴ Kua Kia Soong (ed.), *K. Das & the Tunku Tapes* (Petaling Jaya: Strategic Info Research Development, 2002), 146.

⁸⁵ Kukathas, interview.

that “a theatrical space in which the diverse ‘voices of others’ and the narratives on historical ‘memory’ echoed in polyphony” could be created.⁸⁶

The Island In Between is a story set on an island somewhere between the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra Island where ghosts are trapped forever. The ghosts represent the history of Malaya – Okada, a Japanese soldier who was killed in a battle, represents the time of World War II, Oichi, a Japanese Karayuki-san who was sold to Singapore as a prostitute in the late 19th century, Asif, from the period of the kingdom of Malacca, George, who symbolises British colonisation as a failed businessman in Malaya along with Daiko, a harlequin. We see some living characters such as Zainal, a Malay architect who helps in a Japanese project of building a bridge between the mainland and the island, and Aida, a mysterious Malay girl who can feel spirits.

The Island In Between has an aspect of the ‘reminiscence theatre’ type of applied theatre *with* the communities, in which plays are built based on the memories and experiences of the elderly. Memories collected through individual interviews, group discussions and pieces of writing are improvised, dramatised and made into a theatre piece.⁸⁷ The following scene from *The Island In Between* well reflects this approach.

Okada: One day. Our unit. Struggling through the jungles. I came across one of the kempeitai. He asked me “Are you alone?” I said “No. My companion is behind.” “Then why didn’t you kill him. We can’t wait for stragglers. Kill him.” And he put his gun in my hand and pushed me back.

Oichi: And what did you do?

Okada: (*To Oichi*) Why do you want to know? (*to audience*) Why are you so interested?!. Some sadistic pleasure?

⁸⁶ Matsui, “‘Aida No Shima’ Ni Okeru Tekusuto No Seisei,” 76.

⁸⁷ Prendergast, *Applied Theatre*, 169.

Zainal: If we can't really understand then it is better not to remember at all.

Aida: That's very convenient.

...

If it's not in your memory then dismiss it. But it is my own memory. How am I supposed to not remember it at all?

Zainal: But you weren't even born.

Oichi: Why is she angry. She wasn't even born.

Aida: (*She stands up*) It was in my grandmother's memory! She passed her memories onto me when she died. They are now my memories.⁸⁸

As the story goes on, the ghosts gradually invade the world of the living – the past begins to conquer the present. In this island “where the past lives in the present,”⁸⁹ Kukathas's position is similar to that of Edward Said who insists, “The main idea is that even as we must fully comprehend the pastness of the past, there is no just way in which the past can be quarantined from the present.”⁹⁰

The polyphonic approach would be, in a sense, a way to ‘quarantine’ the past from biases. *The Island In Between* attempted to obtain plural viewpoints of history. The Japanese perception on history was well respected as well as the Malaysian understanding of historical events. The diversity of views and values were well regarded. In that sense, the production well reflected the idea of the Public Sphere for Coexistence.

The Island In Between can be considered as a culmination of the theatre exchange between Japan and Southeast Asia because of the following three features. Firstly, it stepped into the issue of the war which had not been resolved since the Angura theatre movement in the 1960s and 70s. Secondly, it adopted a principle of the applied theatre *with* communities

⁸⁸ Jo Kukathas and Kam Raslan, “The Island In Between,” (Tokyo: Setagaya Public Theatre, 2001), 62-63.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 28.

⁹⁰ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 4.

which the BTT had developed through their exchange with PETA. Thirdly, it was planned based on the cooperation between a public theatre and a governmental institute. The adoption of the model of the Public Sphere for Coexistence by both parties realised the collaboration between artists and a governmental institute. This was a significant development in the 1990s. *The Island In Between* reflected almost all aspects of the developments between Japan and Southeast Asia since the 1960s.

3. Issues and Problems

Combining all the issues and elements of the past exchanges between Japan and Southeast Asia into a project was, however, not an easy task. *The Island In Between* actually faced a number of problems related to all the three features I pointed out. First, as a collaboration that adopts the methodology of applied theatre *with* communities, there was an issue about how to present the process-oriented collaboration to the audience. Second, the involvement of a governmental organisation which brought a huge budget with it raised a concern about Japanese control over the entire project. Third, there was a strong reaction from the Japanese government as the project was the first to tackle historical issues of the war.

In this section, I will discuss these problems and issues further. Some of these problems are more relevant to the SePT while others seem more relevant to the Japan Foundation. However, it would be neither appropriate nor possible to distinguish clearly which problem belongs to which organisation because the relationship between the two organisations was not fixed, and the attitude of one party substantially affected the other's decision-making even in matters that were not under that party's direct control.

3-1. The Presentation Strategy of the Process-oriented Collaboration

The first problem was related to the question of how projects where processes rather than the outcomes are valued can be best represented. As a collaboration that adopted the methodology of applied theatre *with* the community, *The Island In Between* valued the process of creation as well as the final production. Research and interviews, which were conducted not only by the playwrights but also by the performers, were an important part of the creative process. The workshops during the rehearsal period provided an opportunity for all participants to share their various views on the history of Malaysia. They sought narratives which could be shared by both the Japanese and the Malaysians through the whole process of creation. In other words, participating artists created theatre as the Public Sphere for Coexistence based on their research on the war during the rehearsal process. Another collaboration that resulted from the research trip organised by Satô Makoto, the Japanese-Indonesian collaboration, *Whalers in the South Seas* also took a similar approach and valued the process of the creation more.

However, the audience heavily criticised these productions. For example, a review on *Whalers in the South Seas* reads, “the Indonesian performers seem to be used merely as a mirror to reflect the Japanese situation.”⁹¹ The critic understands that “it might not have been the case in the process of creation.” However, “the audience has no other clues other than the theme presented on stage.”⁹² We can read the critic’s frustration and eagerness to know what happened in the “process of creation”.

⁹¹ Nakamura Takao and Ichinose Kazuo, “Engeki Jihyô,” (Monthly Theatre Review) *Higeki Kigeki* 605 (March 2001), 80.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 80.

This is in stark contrast to the cases of *Lear* and *Red Demon*, where the collaborations focused more on the outcome rather than the process. The messages of these productions were straightforwardly reflected in the stagings and were more comprehensible for the audience. On the other hand, in the process-oriented collaborations, the final production could not satisfactorily reflect all the processes of the creation. The public sphere created through the collaboration was not necessarily opened to the public but shared only by the participants.

One of the reasons why the methodology of applied theatre *with* the community in the international collaboration did not work well with the Japanese audience is probably because of the lack of basic information on the culture and society of their counterparts. If the project had been done within a community which the audience belonged to, the information—or ‘context’, if I use the term of Hirata Oriza—would have been widely shared, thus the “negotiation of the context” would not have been difficult. However, in the case of the international collaboration with Southeast Asia, the amount of information possessed by the Japanese audience on the region was much smaller. The apprehension of the play by the audience was greatly reduced and it ignited an eagerness to know the process of the play rather than the play itself.

Hotel Grand Asia, another international collaboration co-organised by the Japan Foundation and the SePT which was held between 2003 and 2005, was supposed to deal with the issue of how to present process-oriented collaborations.⁹³ It was an attempt to fully adopt the methodology of collective creation and build a concrete model of collaboration as

⁹³ Setagaya Public Theatre, *Press Release of “Ajia Gendai Engeki Koraborêshon Purojekuto, Ajia No Engeki No Nakae”* (Asia Contemporary Theatre Collaboration Project, Going into Asian Theatre) (Tokyo: Setagaya Public Theatre, 2003), 1.

an applied theatre. The project was started with sixteen artists which were invited by Matsui Kentarô of the SePT. The goal was open during the very initial stage of the project and after a three year process, the style of presenting the outcome had not been concretely set. Matsui tried to find a new model of collaboration through workshops that were repeatedly held in Japan, Indonesia and the Philippines.

Nevertheless, they eventually could not find a new format for the presentation of the process-oriented international collaboration. The final production was staged as an omnibus play by all the participants. Jo Kukathas, who participated in both *The Island In Between* and *Hotel Grand Asia* confesses that the “process of *Hotel Grand Asia* was truly enriching, however, when the goal of creating a show came in, we made the same mistakes.”⁹⁴ A critic writes on the production, “I am so much interested in what was discussed in the workshops and how it affected each artist. However, it was disappointing that the rich process was not reflected in the final production.”⁹⁵ After spending three long years and a lot of effort and resources, *Hotel Grand Asia* ended up as a similar or even more disastrous failure than *The Island In Between*. Singaporean participant Ivan Heng concisely describes the project as “great process, terrible play.”⁹⁶ The formula to convert a “great process” to a “great play” could not be invented.

3-2. The Fear of Cultural Imperialism which Resulted from Governmental Funding

The adoption of the model of the Public Sphere for Coexistence in the 1990s enabled the cooperation between artists and the government. The close collaboration between the

⁹⁴ Kukathas, interview.

⁹⁵ Seki Kiyoshi and Akiba Hirokazu, “Engeki Jihyô,” (Monthly Theatre Review) *Higeki Kigeki* 656 (June 2005), 84.

⁹⁶ Kukathas, interview.

SePT and the Japan Foundation in international theatre collaborations was the significant result of this development. The involvement of a governmental institute brought a substantially larger budget for collaborations between Japan and Southeast Asia than the theatre exchanges at the private level in the 1980s. The cost of the BTT's exchange with PETA was basically borne by the members of the company. Even PETA members were astonished by the humble standard of life of BTT members as I mentioned in the previous chapter. As a result, the economic perspective was not emphasised in their relationship and the difference in the economic power of their countries did not matter greatly when organising projects.

The budget prepared by the Japan Foundation in the 1990s was, however, huge. Indian critic Rustom Bharucha argues that *Lear*'s \$1.5 million budget "represents a totally different scale of financial investment from most theatre productions, not just at local and national levels, but at intercultural levels as well... [which] can compete with the big stakes of 'masterpieces' directed by Peter Brook and Ariane Mnoushkine."⁹⁷

Bharucha also criticises the huge budget of Peter Brook's epoch-making international collaboration, *Mahabharata*, as a "blatant [and accomplished] appropriation" of the Indian culture based on its huge budget that determines the inequality between the powerful West and the inferior East.⁹⁸ He found a similar risk in the Japanese control over the collaborating Asian countries because of *Lear*'s extraordinary budget size.

Although *Lear*'s director Ong Keng Sen repeatedly insists that "finally Asians achieve the economic power to fund such a collaboration and define themselves" during the

⁹⁷ Bharucha, *Consumed in Singapore*, 19.

⁹⁸ Rustom Bharucha, *Theatre and the World: Essays on Performance and Politics of Culture* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1990), 96.

preparations of *Lear*,⁹⁹ the very reason *Lear* had to wait two years for its international tour after its premier in Tokyo was because the local organisers in Asia could not afford to pay their share of the production costs. Even though the huge initial cost was fully borne by the Japan Foundation, each country could not prepare even the relatively small (but still big in comparison with ordinary productions) budget for hosting the tour. It was only when the Hong Kong Arts Festival and the Singapore Arts Festival, which are the largest arts festivals in the region, decided to invite *Lear* as a part of the festivals, that they could start the tour.

In such conditions, as Bharucha points out, there was a danger of the control of cultural capital in the shaping of inter-Asian collaborations by Japan and, possibly, by the richer ASEAN nations, “thereby risking a new form of neo-colonisation in intercultural practice.”¹⁰⁰ Although Ong recognises such a danger when he says that “You must be careful to avoid accusations of appropriation and colonialism... the economic master could easily assume the place of the new colonialism,”¹⁰¹ he himself had to confront the “economic master,” Japan. As Malaysian director Krishen Jit points out, the Japan Foundation “became concerned when, during the European tour in particular, the role of the director in creating *Lear* was thrust above and beyond the funding bodies.”¹⁰² The question of ownership of the production was a tricky matter to resolve. It could not, on the one hand, be disidentified from the territorial hold of its chief investor, the Japan Foundation Asia Centre. On the other hand, the actual realisation of the production was inseparable from the vision of the

⁹⁹ Lee Chee Keng, “Negotiating ‘Culture,’ Re-presenting ‘New Asia’: a Case Study of Japan Foundation Asia Center’s Production of *Lear*” (Master’s Thesis, National University of Singapore, 2001), 80.

¹⁰⁰ Bharucha, *Consumed in Singapore*, 24.

¹⁰¹ Lee, “Negotiating ‘Culture,’ Re-presenting ‘New Asia,’” 80.

¹⁰² Jit, *An Uncommon Position*, 120.

director.¹⁰³ The relationship between the Japan Foundation and Ong became irreparable and the restaging of *Lear* eventually became impossible.

This issue is even more serious in international collaborations aiming for equal participation including *The Island In Between*. Satô's sworn friend, Singaporean Kuo Pao Kun, recognised the risk from early on. In a roundtable discussion during the second anniversary of the ASEAN Cultural Centre, he pointed out that the cost of all the conferences organised by the centre was solely borne by the Japan Foundation. He claimed that the cost related to cultural exchange programmes should be shared by Japan and the ASEAN countries.¹⁰⁴ As I have quoted earlier, many Asian theatre critics and practitioners showed their deep concern over the possibility of control by the Japanese side because of the power of money.

Initiatives to start collaborations had also always belonged to Japan. It was the Japan Foundation and its Japanese collaborators who decided how to set up the project and which country to work with. In *Lear*, for example, it was Hata Yuki of the Japan Foundation who invited Ong to direct it. Hata chose Ong because his Singaporean background and his vision of a 'New Asia' was suitable to symbolise the idea of *Kyôsei*.¹⁰⁵

In the case of *The Island In Between*, the Japan Foundation dispatched a group of Japanese artists to find possible collaborators. Jo Kukathas was chosen as the director of the production because of her strong interest in the narratives on the war and her socially committed style of theatre. Was there, however, any motivation or necessity for international collaboration on the Malaysian side? Marion D' Cruz's answer is negative.

¹⁰³ Bharucha, *Consumed in Singapore*, 20.

¹⁰⁴ Ishii et. al., "Jihatsutekina Ningen Dôshi No Kôryû No Tameniwa," 43.

¹⁰⁵ Hata, "Chichi O Ayameru Ko Tachi," 93.

She argues, “In the multicultural society like Malaysia, I don’t think there was that kind of consciousness that we should collaborate with, for example, with Singapore because they are Singaporeans.”¹⁰⁶ The premise in Malaysia is different from that in Japan and Malaysian artists are not very conscious about the necessity for international collaborations. Rather, as Hata herself admits, it was more necessary “to make a firm basis of domestic creative environment than venturing international collaborations.”¹⁰⁷ Satô Makoto insists that international collaborations should only be planned when all parties share strong motivations for it.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, there might be a disparity in the motivations among participants in the Japan Foundation’s programmes.

I would also like to point out that the international collaborations by the Japan Foundation adopted a particularly high-cost model. It is perhaps true that international collaborations cost more than domestic productions. As Bharucha says, “International production in Asia is not cheap.”¹⁰⁹ However, I have to state that the Japan Foundation’s model cost a lot. For example, Matsui Kentarô flew to Malaysia about ten times in one year during the preparation of *The Island In Between*. “Because we had a sponsorship from the Foundation”, he writes, “I could travel to Malaysia any time we encountered problems.”¹¹⁰

Such a high-cost model not only reinforced the impression of Japanese domination of the resources among Asian theatre practitioners but also affected the sustainability of the programme. The total budget of the Japan Foundation decreased from 20.1 billion yen in

¹⁰⁶ Marion D’Cruz, interview with author, Kuala Lumpur, 22 March 2009.

¹⁰⁷ Hata Yuki et. al., “Ajia No Engekijin Ni Kiku,” (Interviews with Asian Theatre Practitioners) *Shiatâ Âtsu* 8 (May 1997), 108.

¹⁰⁸ Satô, interview.

¹⁰⁹ Bharucha, *Consumed in Singapore*, 19.

¹¹⁰ Matsui, “‘Aida No Shima’ Ni Okeru Tekusuto No Seisei,” 75.

Fiscal 2001 to 18.4 billion in 2002 then to 16.8 billion in 2005,¹¹¹ which was about a 20% shrinkage in five years. The scrapping and building of programmes occurred extensively during that period and the Performing Arts Division's programme for Asian theatre collaborations, which was considered low in cost-effectiveness, was discontinued in 2002 although the *Hotel Grand Asia* project was approved on an ad hoc basis.¹¹²

It is true that the large governmental budget enabled the rapid expansion of international collaborations between Japan and Southeast Asia in the late 1990s. As I will discuss later, these collaborations left a rich and extensive regional network of theatre practitioners. It might have taken much longer to establish such a network without the ample budget from the Japan Foundation. Nevertheless, the unprecedentedly huge budget pumped into these collaborations raised concerns about a hierarchical relationship between Japan and Southeast Asia. It was another obstacle preventing the realization of public spheres with the characteristics of the Public Sphere for Coexistence, which requires the equal participation of diverse cultures and values.

3-3 Tackling the Issue of War: The Japan Foundation's Autonomy

The third problem of *The Island In Between* which I would like to point out is related to the theme of the play. As the 'culmination' of the exchanges between Japan and Southeast Asia, it was the first collaboration that squarely tackled the historical issue of the war. This was a reflection of the long-lasting concern of Japanese theatre, i.e. self-recognition as the aggressors of Asia. However, this aspect, which made the project significant in the

¹¹¹ Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, "Budget of the Japan Foundation." www.stat.go.jp/data/nenkan/zuhyou/y1519000.xls and www.stat.go.jp/data/chouki/zuhyou/18-12.xls (accessed 15 March 2011).

¹¹² Yamashita, interview.

history of the Japanese-Southeast Asian theatre exchanges, caused it serious trouble with the Japanese government.

The Island In Between got into trouble with the Japanese government right after its staging at the Theatre Tram at the Setagaya Public Theatre in February 2001. An officer of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs who watched the show spread his comments within the Ministry, expressing his concern over the issues of the comfort women and the Nanjing massacre during World War II that were described in the play. He was anxious that such a discourse would cause problems if it was staged in Malaysia in August as planned.¹¹³ Responding to the comment, the Japan Foundation requested Kukathas to delete the corresponding parts from the script. Kukathas, however, rejected it because “it couldn’t be changed without compromising the integrity of the production’s original motif and purpose.”¹¹⁴ There are four scenes that touch on the issues of the comfort women and the massacre during the Japanese occupation in *The Island In Between*.

Kit Yeng (the Ghost of a Chinese Malaysian who was killed during the war): Sergeant Yamamoto didn’t really like music.

Daiko: Jazz was banned by the Japanese Imperial army. He was beheaded. In the end.¹¹⁵

Sung (A living Chinese worker): I remember playing on the beach. The beach was covered in dead coral and I was playing with the broken pieces... It was not broken coral. It was human vertebrae. The beach was covered in human

¹¹³ Matsui Kentarō, “Kooperationen zwischen asiatischen Theatern,” (Theatre Collaborations in Asia) in *Theater in Japan*, ed. Eiichiro Hirata and Hans-Thies Lehmann (Berlin: Theater der Zeit, 2009), 227-228.

¹¹⁴ Kukathas, interview.

¹¹⁵ Kukathas and Raslan, “The Island In Between,” 26.

vertebrae. Chinese men and women and children of Malacca executed by the Japanese during the Occupation.¹¹⁶

Kit Yeng: What about the thousands beheaded. Their heads left to rot on poles.

The flies buzzing around the meat. Did you notice them?

...

Kit Yeng: What about the pretty girls who disappeared?

...

Daiko: Yes these are things neither of you want remembered. Comfort Women don't exist remember. It's too uncomfortable a memory. [*sic.*]¹¹⁷

Okada: The official album of my unit. (*He opens it and turns the pages*)... Chinese Woman with bound feet. Military training using bayonets and prisoners as target practice. Chinese women raped and mutilated in Nanking for reasons of ideology. Biological Warfare. Unit 731 Manchuoko injecting subject with bubonic plague. Man caught in possession of a radio. A small pile of bodies outside Kampong Balam. Shooting a deserter. Comfort Woman in Perak. Skeleton. Prisoner of war in Malacca. Food shortage at Pegan. Digging your own grave at Sandakan. Mass executions. Mass Graves. Mass. Mass. Mass.¹¹⁸

Another collaboration which resulted from the research trip in 1998, the Indonesian-Japanese *Whalers in the South Seas*, also has a scene on the comfort women.

The characters talk about their own experiences as comfort women in a scene:

Tateishi (a Japanese Soldier): Where are you from?

...

Woman 5: That day, soldiers came.

Woman 2: "We'll take women."

Woman Wrapping Her Head with a Cloth: (*In Indonesian*) "We'll take women."

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 42.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 61-62.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 83.

Woman 4: We'll give her an education.

Woman 5: She'll be a nurse.

Woman 3: We'll kill her family if she doesn't come.

...

Woman 5: Until five o'clock for those who are in Army uniform.

Woman 1: 2 Yen 50 Sen.

Woman 2: 3 Yen 50 Sen for civilians in military service.

Woman 4: 12 Yen 50 Sen if you stay overnight.

Woman 5: (*Extends her arm*) A ticket and a condom.

...

Woman 4: That day, soldiers rushed in,

Monica: (*In Indonesian*) And made you *Rômusha* and kidnapped me... I cannot have an abortion because it's against God's instructions... I cannot give birth because I was treated too badly.¹¹⁹

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not complain about *Whalers in the South Seas* which was staged merely three months before *The Island In Between*.¹²⁰ This suggests that the complaint from the Foreign Ministry's officer was not an official complaint but a spur-of-the-moment comment. For this officer, the policy of creating *Kyôsei* as set by the Hashimoto Doctrine would be no more than flowery words, and it was much more important to avoid any possibilities of conflicts.

We can find here that what the term *Kyôsei* meant was different between the government and the artists. When Hashimoto doctrine set an agenda to achieve *Kyôsei* in the region, the image seems to be the multiculturalism. The projects symbolised this idea of *Kyôsei*, such as *Lear*, juxtaposed various cultures yet these cultures did not interact with each other and were not developed into narratives that could be substantially related to the people's

¹¹⁹ Sakate Yôji, "Nanyô Kujira Butai," (*Whalers in the South Seas*) *Serifu No Jidai* 18 (Winter 2001), 151-153.

¹²⁰ Yamashita, interview.

lives. On the other hand, what Satô, Matsui and Kukathas tried in *The Island In Between* can be considered as a practice of interculturalism. As I quoted Sakai Naoki earlier, “The social relationship in which people respect one another cannot be built unless we go through a process which requires psychological distress, such as hurting each other, condemning each other.”¹²¹ *The Island In Between* became an arena of such clashes. By tackling the issue of collective memories of the war, the production requested enormous amount of negotiations between cultures. Although *The Island In Between* was eventually staged in Kuala Lumpur without changes or cuts enforced by the Japan Foundation, the differences in the perception of *Kyôsei* between the government on the one hand and the SePT and Kukathas on the other became apparent through this incident.

The gap in the perceptions on *Kyôsei* between the two parties entailed a low assessment of the project by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Japan Foundation, which was in the middle of them, could not respond to this incident effectively and decisively. It was actually an occasion where the Japan Foundation’s resolve to stick to the idea of *Kyôsei* was tested. There had hardly been any discord between the Japan Foundation and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs when the Japan Foundation focused on the export of the official culture in the 1970s. As long as the project did not directly confront the government’s standpoints, the Japan Foundation showed an exceptional tolerance and flexibility as a governmental institute, and let its staff members execute even a highly ambitious project such as ATPA. Nevertheless, in the ‘second’ and ‘third’ phases of the Japan Foundation in which the denial of the official culture became more and more the case, there were more chances that the Japan Foundation’s projects, which involved artists in a more substantial manner, would

¹²¹ See note 76 in Chapter 4.

not conform to the government's policy. The Japan Foundation's arm's length principle was at stake. The problem that happened during *The Island In Between* is a case that made it obvious.

It has to be said, however, that the Japan Foundation failed to clearly present their 'resolve'. They lacked both the ability and the will to behave as a responsible collaborator. When asked by Kukathas and the SePT whether they could continue the project without any changes, the Japan Foundation could not give them a clear go-ahead but "kept saying 'probably'."¹²² In short, they could not even cope with a spur-of-the-moment comment from an officer of the Ministry. It may be why Sakate Yôji described *Whalers in the South Sea* not as a collaboration project with the Japan Foundation but as a commission by them.¹²³

The evaluation of *The Island In Between* by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was negative. *Whalers in the South Sea*, which also dealt with the issue of the war, did not receive a positive evaluation either. Eventually, by 2002, such evaluations became a clue to stop the Performing Arts Division's programme itself.¹²⁴ It was a sharp contrast with *Lear*, which maintained a very positive evaluation long after the project. The Mid-term Strategy of the Japan Foundation which was settled in 2000 recommended continuing international theatre collaborations modeled after *Lear* as "the central pillar of the Japan Foundation's activities for creating a sense of community in the Asian region."¹²⁵

¹²² Satô, interview.

¹²³ Sakate Yôji, "Joseikin Tono 10nen To Kongo No Tenbô," (10 Years with Public Funding and Future Prospects) *Serifu No Jidai* 18 (Winter 2001), 19.

¹²⁴ Yamashita, interview.

¹²⁵ The Japan Foundation, *Kokusai Kôryû Kikin 30nen No Ayumi* (30 Years of the Japan Foundation) (Tokyo: The Japan Foundation, 2006). 83.

We are able to read two things from the contrasting evaluations of the war-themed collaborations and *Lear*. First, the idea of *Kyôsei* – building public spheres that employs the Public Sphere for Coexistence model has still been a base line of Japanese cultural exchanges. Second however, there is a limit to the public sphere and the project will be penalised if it goes out of bounds. As long as the setter of the limit is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the autonomy of the Japan Foundation is called into question. The Japan Foundation changed its legal status to an independent administrative agency in 2003 and was requested to limit its activities to “the programmes that contribute to Japanese diplomacy.”¹²⁶ There was concern that it would entail greater control by the government.¹²⁷ If the public sphere created through international theatre collaborations is essentially under governmental control, it would be rather similar to the Liberalist model of the public sphere in which the public authority dominates the ‘public’ elements in the dichotomy of the ‘public’ and the ‘private’ than the Public Sphere for Coexistence model. The very existence of the public sphere as the ‘third sphere’ in between the public authority and the ‘private’ was at stake.

4. An Evaluation of *The Island In Between*

The existence of the issues and problems of *The Island In Between* which I have argued above does not mean that the project was a failure. Rather, I argue that it was a natural outcome because the project was not only a ‘culmination’ of the past exchanges

¹²⁶ Evaluation Committee of Independent Administrative Agency under Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Dai 4kai Gaimushô Dokuritsu Gyôsei Hôjin Hyôka Iinkai Giji Gaiyô* (Minutes of the 4th Evaluation Committee of Independent Administrative Agency under Ministry of Foreign Affairs) (19 April 2004). http://www.mofa.go.jp/Mofaj/annai/shocho/dgh/4g_gaiyo.html (accessed 12 January 2011).

¹²⁷ The theatre community also expressed its concern on this matter. For example, see Inoue Hisashi et. al., “Engeki ni Kôkyô Shien wa Hitsuyô Nainoka?,” (Is Public Support Necessary for Theatre?) *Join* 35 (December 2001), 22.

between Japan and Southeast Asia. It was also a ‘starting point’ for the collaborative creation of common narratives by the artists of the two regions as Satô Makoto claims in his call for a Southeast Asian Theatre Seminar.

It can be put this way: It was an important achievement for the project to reflect all the major developments which happened in the history of Japanese-Southeast Asian theatre exchanges. What made this possible was the adoption of the model of the Public Sphere for Coexistence by both the theatre artists and the government. Nevertheless, the shift from the model of the Counter Public Sphere (artists) or the Liberalist model of the private / public dichotomy (government) to the new model was a real challenge for both parties. Moreover, the building of public spheres in collaboration with overseas counterparts was an unprecedented project for Japanese contemporary theatre and cultural diplomacy. Therefore, it was not surprising that *The Island In Between*, which was the first project to tackle such a big challenge, faced problems in every aspect of the project. The fact that all the problems which I have pointed out in this section are related to the basis of the model of the Public Sphere for Coexistence proves how challenging the shift was to the new model. After *The Island In Between* which created a “starting point” for future exchanges between Japan and Southeast Asia, we are in the new stage where integrated solutions must be found to all the issues and problems which were incorporated in the project. This will realise the Public Sphere for Coexistence through theatre. It is a “start” of a new phase of exchanges between Japan and Southeast Asia.

The development after *The Island In Between*, however, did not lead to such a new phase of exchanges. On the contrary, the programme for collaborations under the Performing Arts Division, where *The Island In Between* was created, was terminated after

only a few productions because of the negative evaluation from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Japan Foundation's own detailed evaluation of the programme has not been properly done either.¹²⁸ Another department in charge of international collaboration, the Asia Centre, was also abolished in 2004 as a result of the Foundation's restructuring. Also, on the side of the SePT, Satô Makoto was "informed about the end of his term which he had never heard about before"¹²⁹ and dismissed from the position of artistic director in 2002. The reason for the dismissal was "surprisingly unclear."¹³⁰ Matsui Kentarô, who stayed on in the SePT even after Satô left the theatre and organised some projects including *Hotel Grand Asia*, eventually resigned from the SePT in 2008. The structure that enabled the international collaborations with Southeast Asia in the late 1990s and early 2000s was quickly lost in the late 2000s. The cost-effectiveness of the programme was given a high priority and the immediate and direct benefit to the diplomacy became the purpose of the Japan Foundation's exchange programmes. A new structure is required to continue the endeavour of theatre exchanges between Japan and Southeast Asia.

Section 4. Conclusion

Similar to the government's attitude and support to the arts which I discussed in the previous chapter, there was a significant shift in the Japanese cultural diplomacy in the 1990s. Because of the introduction of the idea of *Kyôsei*, the creation of the Public Sphere for Coexistence became an agenda of the Japan Foundation and theatre collaborations targeting

¹²⁸ Doi, interview.

¹²⁹ Satô Makoto, "Setagaya Paburikku Shiatâ No Dhirekushon," (The Direction of Setagaya Public Theatre) *PT* 12 (July 2001), 7.

¹³⁰ Nishidô, *Doramathisuto No Shôzô*, 68.

Southeast Asia were planned as symbols of the new concept. Satô Makoto, virtually the only theatre practitioner who could act as a networker with Southeast Asia, proactively collaborated with the Foundation in projects. The early two projects, *Lear* and *Red Demon*, were highly appreciated by theatre critics for presenting the concept symbolically. It gathered a lot of attention to Southeast Asia which had never been an object of interest in the Japanese theatre community before, and eventually made the region one of the epicenters of the ‘Asian theatre boom’ in the early 2000s.

In spite of the success of the productions, there was a serious setback. These ‘symbolic’ projects which employed universal narratives ignored what had accumulated through the exchanges since the 1980s, and even worse, constructed hierarchical structures among cultures based on the perception of ‘culturally specific differences’. Although the process-oriented international collaborations under the Performing Arts Division were rather ‘niche’ projects that did not attract much attention like *Lear* and *Red Demon* did,¹³¹ they were the most direct and recent results of the relationship between Japanese contemporary theatre and their Southeast Asian counterparts since the 1960s. The need to tackle the issue of the war had been a concern since the Angura theatre movement, and was considered the basis of an equal collaboration which would produce a narrative which could be shared by Japan and Southeast Asia. It reflected a principle of the Public Sphere for Coexistence model in which diverse values and cultures coexist on an equal basis. In these collaborations including *The Island In Between*, as Satô Makoto believes, “differences should be maintained and presented as a sense of discomfort. What is necessary is the respect to the difference.”¹³² This principle was squarely adopted in these projects, which can be considered as the first attempts

¹³¹ Doi, interview.

¹³² Satô, interview.

to build actual public spheres with the characteristics of Public Spheres for Coexistence through theatre.

Although the Japan Foundation's programme for collaborations brought a lot of developments, it cannot be denied that they started out too quickly without being adequately prepared. The Performing Arts Division's programme in particular, which started out as a training programme but later shifted its focus towards collaborative productions, did not have a concrete model. Therefore, once the objections from the government on dealing with the issue of the war were raised, it could not resist them. Eventually the programmes for international collaborations were scrapped by the end of the 2000s.

The 'boom' of international collaborations with Southeast Asia has gone, and the structure that played pivotal roles in the collaborations between Japan and Southeast Asia has disappeared. The next step for the future collaborations has to be figured out. I will discuss the outlook for the future in the concluding chapter.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

I set the primary purpose of this thesis as drawing up a comprehensive ‘map’ of the history of theatre exchanges between Japan and Southeast Asia. The ‘comprehensive’ aspect refers to the discussion of not only theatre movements but also related developments in other fields such as civic movement and cultural diplomacy in Japan. Taking a look at the ‘map’ drawn in the previous chapters, there are two distinctive dimensions of the argument – one is the nature of the public spheres created through the movements and the other is the perceptions and discourses on ‘Asia.’ In this concluding chapter, I will summarize how Japanese theatre movements discussed in this thesis can be seen in these facets.

Section 1. Public Spheres Created through Theatre Movements

1. Public Spheres in Japan

***Engeki Kairyô Undô* and Shingeki (Chapter 2, Section 1)**

The two earliest modern theatre movements in Japan, *Engeki Kairyô Undô*, which was initiated by the Meiji government in the 1880s, and the Shingeki theatre movement that was led by Osanai Kaoru in the early 20th century, share a lot of similarities. In terms of the model of public sphere, both movements subscribed to the Liberalist Model – the dichotomous model of the public and private.

Engeki Kairyô Undô was a project of the ‘public’ side to appeal to the Western superpowers. Conversely, Shingeki was established as a theatre which happened solely in the private sphere. As Osanai Kaoru claims, Shingeki was planned as a “laboratory” of

theatrical expressions that was detached from the society. In that sense, we can understand *Engeki Kairyô Undô* and *Shingeki* as two sides of a coin.

The Anti-Shingeki Theatre and the New Left (Chapter 2, Section 2)

The anti-shingeki theatre movement that emerged in the early 1960s was a major breakthrough in terms of the creation of public sphere. The theatre movement directly reflected the thoughts and ideas of the New Left movement, which reached its heights with the Anti Japan-US Mutual Security Treaty struggle in 1960. The newly established body of student struggles, the Bund collaborated with the spontaneously evolved ‘citizens’ and the demonstration against the Mutual Security Treaty became a space where these ‘citizens’ gather and create their own discourses against the government. Thanks to the concrete and immediate target of criticism, a discursive space that is equipped with the major features of the Counter Public Sphere model emerged almost all of a sudden. This public sphere was open to the ordinal ‘citizens’ who had never been involved in the political movement and many of these ‘citizens’ voluntarily joined the demonstrations. They gathered to discuss their common concern – the renewal of the Mutual Security Treaty – and created discourses against the Kishi Nobusuke government. The anti-shingeki theatre closely collaborated with the New Left movement and became a ‘voice’ of the ‘citizens.’ The plays of *Seigei* theatre company advocated the ideas of the New Left and captured the sentiments of the activists. It was a significant occasion that saw the possibility to directly relate theatre movement to the civic movement.

However, such collaboration among student activists, ‘citizens’ and theatre movement did not last long. Almost immediately after the “concrete and immediate” common concern –

the renewal of the Mutual Security Treaty – was lost, the New Left movement declined and the ties among participants were lost. The Counter Public Spheres created in the exaltation in 1960 also ceased to exist.

The Angura Theatre Movement (Chapter 2, Section 3)

Angura theatre movement started in the late 1960s was also a theatre movement that accompanied the New Left. However, its approach was different from the anti-shingeki theatre movement because the New Left movement during that period was split into the student and civic movements. In other words, there was no united ‘voice’ of the New Left movement that theatre could represent. Therefore, the Angura theatre movement invented their own strategies to create a discursive space independent from the New Left movement.

One of the strategies they adopted was to develop a discursive space through their own publications. Angura theatre artists energetically published their artistic and social commentaries in their periodicals such as the Black Tent Theatre (BTT)’s *The Contemporary Theatre Quarterly* and *Concerned Theatre Japan*, and Tenjô Sajiki’s *The Underground Theatre Quarterly*.

Another strategy was to invent a method to turn their audience into active participants in the theatre. By changing the relationship between the performers and the audience members, the Angura theatre movement tried to create a theatre that was also a discursive space. Traditionally the audience observes what is presented on stage in a passive position. The Angura theatre movement attempted to turn them into proactive participants in the discourses by adopting the methodology of applied theatre *for* the communities. Their choice of venues reflected this intention. Small spaces without proper theatre equipment

were the typical venues of Angura performances, which created an intimate atmosphere between the performers and the audience members. Two major Angura theatre companies, Situation Theatre and the BTT went even further by using tents for their performances, which successfully created a sense of unity among the performers and the audience.

Because of their strong interest in making their activities open discursive spaces, Angura theatre movement can be understood as an effort to turn their theatre into public spheres. However, because of their indirect connection with the New Left civic / student movements, it is hardly possible to find a unified voice on the participants' common issues, which is starkly different from the case of the anti-shingeki theatre. Unlike civic / student movements that were highly critical against the public authorities, Angura theatre did not hold clear voices against the government. Rather, it represented the sense of uncertainty of their contemporary youth. Although I still argue that Angura theatre movement possessed a nature of the Counter Public Sphere, it was more incomplete than the anti-shingeki theatre.

Furthermore, Angura theatre movement faced a problem of exclusion. As I discussed in Chapter 1, Habermas's model of public sphere was heavily criticised because it limits the participation of the minorities and the socially vulnerable. Angura theatre movement was started as a movement of young urban intelligentsia and participation of the 'ordinal' audience in the rural areas was minimized. Even though Angura theatre movement was incomplete as a project of the Counter Public Sphere, it suffered from the problem of that model.

Recognizing that, some Angura theatre companies that used tents as their venues started to tour to the rural areas to secure the participation from non-urban areas. One of these companies, the BTT explicitly named it a project of the 'people's theatre' in their

manifesto Communication Plan Number 1 in 1968, however, they eventually could not find an appropriate methodology to realize it.

The Activities of the BTT in the 1980s (Chapter 3)

The encounter with theatre workshop methodology of the Philippine Educational Theatre Association (PETA) in the 1980s meant a lot for the BTT. Theatre workshops can be understood as one variation of applied theatre *with / by* the communities, which brought further magnification of the BTT's scope from the methodology of applied theatre *for* the communities that they tried during the Angura period. By adopting the new applied theatre methodology designed for the empowerment of the people, the BTT finally became able to establish their own methodology of the 'people's theatre.'

They actively introduced this methodology to the civic movement activists as a means of creation of discourses on the common issues of the participants through various events including the Asian Theatre Forum 83 organised by the BTT, the *People's Culture Movement Forum* by the New Japan Literature Association and the *People's Plan 21* by PARC. By collaborating with the civic movements that tackled various social issues, I argue, the BTT tried to minimize the elimination of the minorities and the socially vulnerable. The theatre workshop methodology was tested and further developed through various practices in the fields and widely acknowledged and accepted by Japanese civic movement activists.

PETA's model of Theatre workshops was highly compatible with the conditions of the Counter Public Sphere. To empower the 'ordinary people,' workshops were open to the community members (although it is possible to argue that the selection of the community to participate by the workshop organizers is already a kind of manipulation and exercise of

power), and the workshops were carefully designed to eliminate hierarchical relationship among participants as well as between facilitators and participants. The discourses to be developed in the workshops are to combat the public authorities, most notably the dictatorship in Southeast Asian countries. The theatre workshops of the BTT shared these basic features.

The Nation-wide Dissemination of the Applied Theatre *with / by* the Communities

Methodology (Chapter 4)

The 1990s saw a rise of a new trend in Japanese civic movement that aimed to revitalise communities in collaboration with the public authorities. Based on the Networking Theory, this new movement valued diversity in the society and attempted to build a personal network that respects different values and thoughts in the community under the slogan of *Kyôsei* (conviviality or ‘living together’). The Japanese society in the 1990s experienced an inflow of foreigners and learning how to coexist with those with different ideas became an urgent agenda. The new civic movement’s goal was to set up a public sphere where community members encounter diverse types of people and learn how to live together with them. It was very similar to the idea of the Public Sphere for Coexistence. Theatre was considered a space to learn how to coexist with people with different values. Playwright / director Hirata Oriza played a major role in theorising a theatre that could create the Public Sphere for Coexistence. He called it the ‘theatre of relationship’ and proactively appealed to the government to support it.

There was a major shift in the government’s policy too. Traditionally, the Japanese government subscribed to a dichotomous model of the ‘public’ and the ‘private’ and attempted to dominate the ‘public’ side. However, since the late 1980s, the government

changed its attitude and started to reduce its role from a sole provider of social services to a designer of social machinery. As the effectiveness of the activities of the civic movement in the highly diverse society was acknowledged, the state and municipal governments sought to collaborate with the citizens' organisations. It was a shift from the dichotomous Liberalist model of public sphere to the model of the Public Sphere for Coexistence on the governments' side. Following the trend of enhancing cooperation between the public authorities and citizens, the Japanese government also quickly extended its support scheme for the arts. Within a few years, the relationship between the government and theatre artists completely changed from hostile to cooperative.

Municipal governments started to build a new type of theatres called 'public theatres,' which were meant to be platforms to realise a Public Sphere for Coexistence through its activities in the communities. Many artists participated in the project of the 'public theatres.' One of the most successful and influential models of the 'public theatre' was set up by the BTT's director, Satô Makoto, who became the artistic director of the Setagaya Public Theatre (SePT) which opened in 1997. What the SePT adopted as the basis of its activities was the workshop methodology that the BTT learned from PETA. As the 'public theatres' were meant to be a space to encounter other members of the community, a method to involve ordinary residents was required. Thus, it became critical to incorporate the methodology of applied theatre *with / by* the communities in order to achieve the goal of the 'public theatres.' Developed through the practices of the 1980s, the BTT's workshop was the most established and complete model of applied theatre *with / by* the communities available in Japan, and the experiments of the theatre workshops at SePT proved the efficacy of the methodology in spite of the shift of the type of public sphere to be created through the workshops. The success of

the workshops at the SePT greatly influenced the programming of other ‘public theatres’ and the BTT-PETA model of workshops was eventually adopted as the standard of the ‘public theatres’.

2. Public Spheres beyond National Borders

The development I summarised above, which is basically on what happened domestically in Japan, is within the scope of the *Kōkyōsei* discourses in the 1990s that I discussed in Chapter 1. Nevertheless, in the course of the theatre exchange between Japan and Southeast Asia, establishing public spheres to be shared beyond national borders became an issue.

It was the civic movements that advocated the idea of the “solidarity with Southeast Asian people” in the 1980s such as PARC that recognized the need to establish discursive spaces to discuss the common issues among ordinary people from Japan and Southeast Asia. Numerous events of *People’s Plan 21*, which adopted the BTT’s theatre workshop methodology as an important tool, aimed to be an arena of open discussions among the participants. Nevertheless, Japanese activists’ efforts did not work eventually. In contrast to the domestic success in establishing a model to develop public spheres through theatre workshops, the public sphere beyond national borders turned to be a difficult task.

The International Theatre Collaborations between Japan and Southeast Asia (Chapter 5)

The initiative from the cultural diplomacy in the 1990s brought a different approach to the creation of public spheres beyond national borders. By adopting an idea of *Kyōsei* in the

international arena, Japanese government proactively attempted to shift their cultural policy from the traditional ‘export’ of official cultures to the ‘creating together’ methodology. The Japan Foundation, which was established in 1972 as a semi-governmental organisation for international cultural exchanges, spearheaded the projects to realize *Kyôsei* in the international arena. International theatre collaborations that mainly targeted Southeast Asia were chosen as projects of *Kyôsei*. To implement the collaborations, the Japan Foundation collaborated closely with theatre artists. Similar to the development in the domestic theatre scene, the adoption of the model of the Public Sphere for Coexistence by the Japan Foundation enabled the cooperation between the governmental institute and the artists to take place. Artistic director of SePT Satô Makoto became its major collaborator because of his extensive personal network with Southeast Asian theatre artists.

The earliest projects, *Lear* and *Red Demon* (both premiered in 1997), were planned to symbolise the concept by juxtaposing plural cultures in each production. The positive reactions to these productions showed a good potential of the methodology of international theatre collaborations to realize *Kyôsei*.

Although these early project successfully symbolised the idea of *Kyôsei*, it did not develop discursive spaces where people learn how to coexist with the others who have different values and cultures. In other words, early collaborations did not create public spheres. Realizing that limit, Satô and Matsui Kentarô, another staff member of SePT who was originally a member of the BTT, started to plan international collaborations that would be able to become public spheres. Satô and Matsui stressed the need to tackle the issue of the Second World War and to admit Japan’s position as aggressors against Southeast Asian countries. It can be understood as a response to the limitation of the attempt of Japanese

civic movement to create a Counter Public Sphere with its Southeast Asian counterparts in the 1980s. In the 1980s, activists posited themselves as victims of the oppressive social structures in Japan and aimed to form a ‘victims’ alliance’ with Southeast Asians. To fight with such a structure was the common issue to form a Counter Public Sphere.

Satô and Matsui took a different approach in their theatre collaboration project. They did not aim to set a unified agenda any more. Rather, they tried to make the collaboration a ‘polyphonous’ sphere where plural voices echo with each other. *The Island In Between* (2001) was one of these theatre collaborations. The play incorporated plural viewpoints, yet the narratives were not simply juxtaposed but interacted with each other. By doing so, it had a potential to be turned to an arena where people learn how to coexist with different cultures although the performance failed to convey its message because of the lack of proper methodology for such a new approach. Nevertheless, it was a significant achievement that the project demonstrated the possibility of theatre collaborations as the Public Sphere for Coexistence.

Section 2. ‘Asia’ in Japanese Contemporary Theatre

The argument on the public spheres is closely related to the issue of ‘Asia.’ This is because the choice of the model of public sphere to be shared with their ‘Asian’ counterparts actually reflects how Japanese theatre artists and civic movement activists perceive the term ‘Asia.’ In this section, I will review each theatre movement’s perception on the term.

Both *Engeki Kairyô Undô* and Shingeki were basically theatre movements aimed to import the ‘advanced’ Western theatre method and aesthetics. Japanese theatre was considered inferior and backward compared to Western theatre. As the name *Engeki Kairyô* (The Reformation of Theatre) suggests, *Engeki Kairyô Undô* aimed to reform the “backward” Kabuki while Osanai insisted on staging only translated Western plays because Japanese plays were “uninteresting”.

Although there were lively discourses on Asia represented by *Kô-a Ron* and *Datsu-a Ron* that I discussed in Chapter 1 in the prewar Japan, there were hardly any references to Asia in these theatre movements. The absence of Asia was probably not a result of *Datsu-a* – dissociation from Asia but a result of the deep engagement in absorbing Western theatre. The advocator of *Datsu-a Ron*, Fukuzawa Yukichi also insisted on making Japan a civilized society by using Western civilization as a benchmark.¹ In *Engeki Kairyô Undô* and Shingeki, Western theatre became an absolute benchmark and there was hardly any room for other possibilities to be considered.

There was a popular sentiment that the Japanese people are the victims of the militarist leaders in the immediate postwar Japan. The self-identification as victims was so strong that Japanese position as the aggressors towards Asian countries was ignored. Thus, in contrast to the prewar period, the social discourse on Asia was almost disappeared in Japan in the 1950s.

Reflecting this general atmosphere, the postwar Shingeki also failed to create discourses on Asia. However, unlike general social discourses, there were no clear differences in Shingeki’s attitude to Asia between prewar and postwar periods because Asia

¹ Maruyama Masao, *Bunmeiron No Gairyaku’ O Yomu.* (Pursuing *An Outline of a Theory of civilization*) vol. 1 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1986), 94.

was not in its scope in both periods. Critic Kan Takayuki argues that there was no discontinuity between prewar and postwar Shingeki in terms of the theatrical aesthetics.² Prewar and prewar Shingeki shares a continuity in terms of the absence of Asia in their scope.

It was the Angura theatre movement that ended the long absence of ‘Asia’ in Japanese theatre. The New Left movement in the late 1960s, that Angura theatre was deeply connected with, experienced a ‘paradigm shift’ from the self-recognition as ‘victims’ to that as ‘aggressors’. In the student movement, it was the accusation from a Zainichi youth that triggered the shift, while in the civic movement, it was a call by a leader of *Beheiren*, Oda Makoto, to recognise the history of Japan’s invasion of Asia. The New Left movement turned their eyes to the ignored side of Japan’s colonialism —the history of colonising Asian countries.

The Angura theatre movement also paid much attention to the ‘victims’ of Japanese imperialism. Kara Jûrô of the Situation Theatre and Satô Makoto of the BTT especially, wrote a number of plays themed on the Zainichi Koreans and the Japanese occupation of Asia. The Angura theatre became the first theatre movement in Japan that paid primary attention to Asia. Kara even braved a tour to Asian countries namely Korea, Bangladesh and Palestine. It was a major ‘paradigm shift’ in the field of theatre too.

Nevertheless, the ‘Asia’ which both the Angura theatre movement and the New Left movement tried to deal with was not a concrete entity but only an image created by the Japanese. It cannot be denied that the anger of young Japanese people against the imperialistic aspect of Japan was genuine and pure. Based on the self-recognition as

² Kan, *Sengo Engeki*, 3.

‘aggressors’ of Asia, student and civic activists tried to connect themselves with ‘Asia’ through their struggles. Angura theatre artists also tried to engage their theatre to the struggles of the ‘Asians.’ However, such connections could not be established. The Angura theatre movement eventually failed to create narratives that reflect the self-recognition as the ‘aggressors’ because the ‘victims’ – ‘Asia’ – was nothing but a image. Japanese artists and activists could not ‘become’ ‘aggressors’ unless their ‘victims’ became a concrete entity. ‘Asians’ were imagined ‘others’ in their discourses, and they were detached from Japanese.

In the 1980s, one of the Angura theatre companies, the BTT started an attempt to turn the imagined ‘Asians’ to an concrete entity by establishing personal relationship with the artists practicing people’s theatre in Southeast Asian countries. The encounter with the Philippine Educational Theatre Association (PETA) was crucial. Members of the BTT regularly participated in PETA’s workshops held in the Philippines, which also became a place for them to extend their personal networks with theatre practitioners from other Southeast Asian countries.

The existence of the concrete partners changed BTT members’ perception of ‘Asia.’ In the manifesto of their ‘Asian Theatre’ thesis in 1978 – after experiencing Thai people’s theatre methodology yet before encountering PETA –, Tsuno Kaitarô took a mixed stance. When he discusses Japanese ignorance of Asian theatre, this ‘Asia’ means a region excluding Japan – the ‘traditional’ Japanese perception in the postwar period. However, once he posits Asian theatre against the European theatre, Japan becomes a part of ‘Asia.’

Later the BTT collaborated with the civic movement that insists to build Counter Public Spheres with their Asian counterparts beyond national borders. This ‘Asia’ was

posited as the ‘comrades’ to confront the oppressive international system together. The call for the united front by Japan and neighbor countries was, in a sense, a revival of the prewar *Kô-a Ron* although the fundamental conditions were different. It was a call not for the inter-government relationship but solidarity among citizens. The West was not the target to confront any more. The enemy now was the dictatorship in Southeast Asian countries. This call for the united front by the peoples of Japan and Southeast Asia was to form an alliance of the weak ‘Asians’ to compete the strong governmental machinery. In this discourse, Japan was considered as a part of ‘Asia.’

However, it was eventually revealed that the BTT failed to find the common issues that could be shared with their Southeast Asian counterparts. As a member of PETA pointed out, it was Japanese who benefitted more by importing Southeast Asian people’s theatre methodology. The BTT eventually failed to create a discursive space that can be shared by the ‘Asians’ including Japan. In this sense, Japan stayed outside of ‘Asia’

International theatre collaborations started in the 1990s were the project to create a ‘polyphonic’ space where various cultures coexist respecting each other through theatre. All participants of the collaboration were expected to collect the narratives that belong to their community, share them with the other participants in the creative process and developed them to a theatrical presentation. Although the presence of the nation-states was still strong as we saw in the case of *The Island In Between* when the Japanese government put a pressure to change the script, the project still set a template for the collaboration in which Japan aims to be a part of ‘Asia’ and coexist with the other cultures in this sphere. Now ‘Asia’ is not only a spatial concept but also cultural and epistemological concept.

What was stressed was the diversity in 'Asia.' Unlike former discourses on 'Asia' such as the claim for 'solidarity with Asians,' the theatre collaborations did not simply call for the unification of 'Asia.' 'Asia' is too diverse to share a single common issue in the region. By adopting the idea of the Public Sphere for Coexistence, theatre collaborations in the 1990s and the 2000s seem to reach a new perception of 'Asia,' which is different from either the *Kô-a Ron* that calls for an alliance of 'Asians' or *Datsu-a Ron* that insisted on dissociating to Japan from 'Asia.'

Recent theatre collaborations such as *The Island In Between* reached a *terminus ad quem* in terms of the methodology of creating public spheres through theatre as well as in terms of the perception of 'Asia.' Although this particular project encountered a lot of problems and was by no means a perfect example, I would like to stress that *The Island In Between* should be considered as the 'first step' towards establishing a working relationship between the Japanese and the Southeast Asian theatre practitioners. The methodology for joint works had to be developed through trials and errors in the projects that followed *The Island In Between*.

However, after *The Island In Between*, the attempts to have international collaborations between Japan and Southeast Asia faced a major slump. The programmes of the Japan Foundation were terminated. Satô Makoto and Matsui Kentarô left the SePT. The scheme that created *The Island In Between* had been dissolved. In spite of such a setback, what is required now is to step into a new stage in which the collaboration between the Japanese and the Southeast Asian theatre practitioners would continue based on the accumulation of past experiences and efforts. We need a new system for collaborative

creations between Japan and Southeast Asia, which is different from the traditional approach of compensating for the issues of previous period. At the very beginning of this thesis, I pointed out that the lack of references? Research? on the historical developments of theatre exchange between Japan and Southeast Asia. My exploration of this history shows how new projects have tended to be built on forgetting of previous attempts. If we fail to tackle this issue now and forget the developments in the field of 'Asian' theatre collaborations, we will repeat the same mistake.

Postscript: The Outlook for the Future

I wish to propose some practical recommendations for theatre collaborations in the near future in this postscript. I argue that it should reflect initiatives from the Southeast Asian side. All throughout the history of the Japanese-Southeast Asian theatre exchanges, it was always Japan that initiated the projects. As a result, there were many cases of the Japanese side being seen as ‘exploiting’ or ‘using’ Southeast Asia for their own agenda. In the 1980s, PETA members pointed out that the Japanese imported the workshop methodology from the Philippines for their own purposes. In the international collaborations during the 1990s and 2000s, it was the Japanese organisers who proposed projects to their Southeast Asian counterparts. It was also the Japanese side who picked collaborators who suited their purposes. In order to realise an equal partnership, which is essential for the building of a Public Sphere for Coexistence, a system which ensures an input from the Southeast Asian side is necessary.

What can be used as a basis for such a new system is the legacy of past Japanese-Southeast Asian collaborations—the extensive personal network among theatre practitioners. In the late 1990s, only Satô Makoto could perform the role of a “networker” between Japan and Southeast Asia. In less than a decade, the situation greatly changed and the regional network became far more extensive and dense.

This network has already produced new international collaborations. For example, one of the Indonesian participants of *Whalers in the South Seas*, Tony Broer, has continuously appeared in the productions of its director, Sakate Yôji, including *Saigo No Hitori Made Ga*

Zentai Dearu ('All' Includes Every Single Person) in 2002 and *Activity I/II* in 2003 which Broer directed himself.¹

A loose network consisting of the participants of the *Hotel Grand Asia* project was named the Rohan Journey and it has been initiating a number of collaborations even after the staging of the production in 2005. The Singaporean theatre company, The Necessary Stage, whose resident playwright Haresh Sharma is a member of the Rohan Journey, utilised this network and created a production that was a four-country collaboration. From this collaboration, they created a production titled *Mobile* and it premiered in 2006. Members of the Rohan Journey from Japan, Thailand, the Philippines and Singapore formed the main cast members of the production, which was themed on migrant workers in the region.

The director of *The Island In Between*, Jo Kukathas, who is also a member of the Rohan Journey, has been proactively involved in regional collaborations. She created an omnibus piece, *Break-ing*, with Malaysian members Loh Kok Man and Nam Ron in 2006 and she performed in *Balek Kampong* by The Necessary Stage in 2011. Loh repeatedly invited a Thai member of the Rohan Journey, Paradhith Prasarthong, to conduct workshops in Malaysia. Another member, Indonesian Dindon WS, also initiated his own collaboration, *on-off*. In 2007, the SePT invited *Mobile* to Tokyo as a follow-up project of *Hotel Grand Asia*, followed by *Break-ing* and *on-off* in 2008.² The network of the Rohan Journey is still very active.

¹ Rinkôgun, "Kako No Jôen Sakuhin 2001-2005," (Past Productions 2001-2005) Rinkôgun Official Website. <http://rinkogun.com/2001-2005/2001-2005.html> (accessed on 22 March 2011).

² The earlier collaborations, *Lear* and *Red Demon* also entailed some productions although the number was limited. For example, Ong Keng Sen's TheatreWorks theatre company produced *Desdemona* which was written by *Lear*'s playwright, Kishida Rio. Kishida also used the Singaporean participants of *Lear* in her productions. TheatreWorks has been continuing collaborations with Japanese artists, however, they do not necessarily stem from the network of *Lear*. Meanwhile, the Thai participants of *Red Demon* recreated the piece in the Thai traditional Likay style. It was staged at the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Space where Noda occupied the position of artistic director in 2009.

The network created by the collaborations was not limited to artists'. A Malaysian lighting designer, Mac Chan, who participated in *The Island In Between*, set up the Asian Theatre Technicians Network with Kuwaya Tetsuo of the SePT and other Asia-based technicians. The first meeting of the network, titled *Make Space*, was held in Singapore in 2006. Matsui Kentarô has started a network of producers called the Asian Producers Meeting in 2009. Three meetings have been held in Japan and in Malaysia. The theatre practitioners' networks in Asia are developing multi-dimensionally.

It is necessary to find a way to maintain and even extend such networks and continue efforts in making collaborations in the 'post-governmental funding' period. I would like to make four practical suggestions.

Suggestion 1: To Establish a Model of Low-cost Collaborations

First, it is necessary to establish a model of international collaboration that requires a relatively smaller budget. This is because large governmental funding that is equivalent to the Japan Foundation's programmes in the 1990s and the early 2000s is unlikely to be available. The approach that Matsui took during *The Island In Between*—of flying to Malaysia whenever he encountered a problem—will not be possible any more.

The cost of international communications has always been an issue of international exchanges, especially when the government does not fund the project. As I pointed out in Chapter 3, the lowered cost of overseas travel enabled the BTT to visit the Philippines to work with PETA. However, the cost of communication was still very expensive, thus they had to rely mainly on traditional mails for communication.³ The newsletter was another important

³ Matsui, Interview.

tool of communication, and Satô Makoto utilised it even in the 1990s to maintain his personal network developed through the ACAW project.

Thankfully, the Internet makes international communications drastically cheaper. The new information technology has enabled video chats and the online sharing of resources. By fully utilising these new developments, the cost of international collaborations can be reduced significantly.

However, these virtual means of course cannot replace physical meetings. Actual meetings with collaborators bring about much more information through frank exchanges of thoughts, which remain critically important for the process of theatre collaborations. The research for the production also requires the need to visit places and meet people that the production refers to. What is important is to find a formula that balances out these new means and the traditional methods with minimum cost.

Suggestion 2: To Search For Multiple Funding Sources

Second, it is also important to establish a model of international collaborations where funding comes from not one particular source but from multiple and dispersed sources. Collaterally, it will be effective in avoiding a ‘domination’ of the decision-making power by a sponsoring organisation or country, which was a point that was particularly criticised in the reviews of *Lear*.

In the 1990s and early 2000s, Japan was virtually the only country in Asia that allocated substantial resources for international theatre collaborations. However, Singapore, for example, is quickly establishing herself as a major supporter of Asian international collaborations. The Singapore Arts Festival, organised annually by the National Arts Council

of Singapore, has become a major platform for international collaborations. The Necessary Stage's *Mobile* was one of the productions commissioned by the festival. The former director of the Singapore Arts Festival, Goh Ching Lee, explains the intention: "The idea was to originate works and reverse the flow. There was a one-way flow in the earlier times, which was just importing existing works by the artists. Now we want to give the artists the opportunity to broaden their horizons, and we also hope to do a kind of matchmaking with the regional artists and partners."⁴

The available funding sources are becoming more diverse and multinational. Each grant-making body has its own agenda and target areas. Thus, the planning of international theatre collaborations requires a careful and detailed coordination considering the project's contents, participants and scale. It may be necessary to consider dividing a project into several phases and approach different funding sources to support each phase. An expertise in a total coordination of the project will be essential for its success.

Suggestion 3: To Nurture and Network Coordinators

Coordinators who have deep knowledge on the local situation and are part of an extensive international network are essential to handle collaborations with multiple funding. My third suggestion is to nurture coordinators and to build their networks.

If the collaboration is process-oriented and long-term, the producer's work will be very complex and will require careful and extensive coordination. If funding comes from plural sources or from different countries, the coordinator has to be familiar with various grant

⁴ Goh Ching Lee and Takiguchi Ken, "A Look at the Singapore Arts Scene, Invigorated in Recent Years by New Theaters and Festivals," *Performing Arts Network Japan* (6 June 2006). http://www.performingarts.jp/E/pre_interview/0606/2.html (accessed 15 March 2011).

schemes in different countries. It would be difficult to have only one producer to handle everything singlehandedly. Thus, I suggest having a network of producers and coordinators to provide possible solutions to the above demands. The Asian Producers Meeting that I mentioned earlier has the potential to be a platform to build a network of coordinators if it continues its activities.

Singaporean playwright and director Kuo Pao Kun once said, “It happened that governments took initiatives in international collaborations at an early stage. However, artists themselves should eventually take it on.”⁵ The current state of the Japanese-Southeast Asian theatre collaborations after the termination of the Japan Foundation’s programmes is in the very situation Kuo described. What is required now is to grow the seeds of large-scale governmental projects steadily and perseveringly. A close network of producers who have an ability to work as the total coordinators of international collaborations will be a key to the realization of a shift from government-led projects to more private and individual projects initiated by theatre practitioners.

Suggestion 4: To Review the Role of a Governmental Institute

The shift to private and individual collaborations, however, will not necessarily mean that there is no role for governmental institutes such as the Japan Foundation. I would like to stress that governmental institutes will be able to contribute to private collaborations by reviewing the mode of their involvements.

According to Satô Makoto, the actual producer of *Red Demon* was not Takahagi Hiroshi of the SePT but the director of the Japan Foundation’s Bangkok office, Komatsu

⁵ Kuo Pao Kun and Nishidô Kôjin, “Kyôkaisenjô No Engeki,” (Theatre on the Margins) *PT* 5, 42.

Junetsu.⁶ Komatsu coordinated the project effectively by tapping on his knowledge and utilising his personal network in the local theatre community of Bangkok as well as his personal connections with Japanese theatre practitioners.⁷

Because of the neutrality that comes with being a staff who is stationed in the overseas offices of an official institute, staff members of the Japan Foundation have the advantage and potential to be the core in a network of theatre practitioners. As early as 1981, Komatsu argued that the image of the Japan Foundation was that of an ‘intermediary’ that connects art practitioners.⁸ The recommended policy for the Japan Foundation would be to shift from the approach of ‘using a huge budget to dominate theatre collaborations’ to the approach of ‘connecting people based on their accumulated experiences and knowledge’. In short, I believe that the Japan Foundation should stop behaving like a faceless organisation that simply pumps money into a project. Each staff member should perform the roles of producer and coordinator with a unique position that is different from those in private theatre companies. By adopting this approach, the Japan Foundation will be able to maintain an influential position in collaborations between Japan and Southeast Asia even if they do not have any large-scale international programmes. Financial assistance will still be important, but with this approach, it becomes a secondary importance.

From Inter-‘national’ to Inter-‘cultural’

All the suggestions I have made in the previous sections are meant to release theatre

⁶ Satô, interview.

⁷ Komatsu personally knew Takahagi well and sounded out him on a possible international collaboration when he took home leave. (Yamashita, interview)

⁸ Komatsu Junetsu, “Geinô No Kôryû, Kansei No Kôryû,” (Exchange of Performing Arts, Exchange of Sensitivities) *Kokusai Kôryû* 27 (March 1981), 58.

collaborations from the burden of the nation-state. However, I would like to stress that nation-states are not the only structure that defines the culture. In the past collaborations, as Matsui Kentarô found out in the Conference for Asian Women and Theatre, the structure of ‘Japan versus the rest of Asia’—a perception based on the nation-state system—was dominant. The baggage of the nation-state system was so integrated into our perceptions that even collaborations for the Public Sphere for Coexistence could not easily escape from it.

Nevertheless, I wish to emphasise that the true relationship of *Kyôsei* can be realised only through a personal relationship that is beyond national borders. Respecting diverse values does not mean respecting the nation-state in which one’s counterpart belongs to. Rather, it means respecting the culture that each individual possesses and internalises. As Malaysian critic Sumit Mandal claims, it is important to make “a more self-conscious effort to go beyond the national self” so that “we can see and value everyday inter-cultural experiences.”⁹

I proposed a small-scale model of theatre collaborations based on personal networks of artists, producers and other practitioners. It is an effort to restructure the model for collaborations, which have been trapped in the view of ‘culturally specific differences’, into one that holds the view of ‘cultural differences’. In other words, it is a shift from the inter-‘national’ to the inter-‘cultural’. As I have discussed, there have been some initiatives for such small-scale collaborations between Japan and Southeast Asia to take place. They were derived from personal networks built as a result of large-scale collaborations. They have the potential to “go beyond the national self” so that we can realise a true relationship of *Kyôsei* through theatre exchanges.

⁹ Sumit Mandal, "Staging Asia," *Off The Edge* (May 2005), 58.

Bibliography

- Abe, Atsushi, *Shakai Hoshô Seisaku Jûzokugata Boranthis Seisaku* (The Public Policy Making Volunteers Subordinate to Social Security Policy). Osaka: Osaka Kôritsu Daigaku Kyôdô Shuppankai, 2003.
- Abe, Nobuyuki, "Gekijô O Motomete: Doitsu No Gekijô To Bokura No Engeki Undô." (Seeking a Theatre: Theatres in Germany and Our Theatre Movement) *Teatoro* 350 (May 1972), 48-54.
- Akimoto, Matsuyo, Hanada Kiyoteru and Hirosue Tamotsu, "Hitachibô Kaison Wa Ikiteiru." (Hitachibô Kaison is still Alive) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 246 (January 1968), 101-115.
- Amano, Keiichi, "'Shin Sayoku' To Han Sabetsu Ron." (The New Left and Anti-discrimination Discourses) In *Ima Naze Sabetsu O Tou Noka* (Questioning the Issue of Discrimination), ed. Kan Takayuki. Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1985.
- Anai, Fumihiko, *Beheiren To Dassô Beihei* (Beheiren and American Deserters). Tokyo: Bungei Shunjû, 2000.
- Aoyama, Tadashi, "Kugatsu No Tatakai: Kaihô No Uta Soshite Kôgai Yushutsu Tono Tatakai." (Struggle in September: A Song of Liberation and Fight against Pollution Export) *Geppô 'Kôgai O Nogasuna'* 2 (October 1977), 1-3.
- et. al., "Furukunatta Sutairu Wa Atarashiku Shinakuttya! Bokura No Undô Ni Merodî O," (The Old Style has to be Refreshed! We need a Melody in our Movement) *Geppô 'Kôgai O Nogasuna'* 2 (November 1977), 6-49.
- Arakawa, Shunji, "Han Kawatetsugeki O Yarioete." (Reflections on Anti-Kawasaki Steel Theatre) *Gekkan 'Kôgai O Nogasuna'* 2, no.34 (December/January 1978/1979), 40-43.
- Arendt, Hannah, *The Origins of Totalitarianism: New Edition*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1967.
- Arisue, Ken, "Tasedai Kôsa Sekai To Shimin Ishiki." (Civil Consciousness in the Multi-generational Society) In *Tabunka Tasedai Kôsa Sekai Niokeru Shimin Ishiki No Keisei* (Development of Civil Consciousness in the Multicultural and Multi-generational Society), ed. Watanabe Hideki and Arisue Ken. Tokyo: Keiô Gijuku Daigaku Shuppankai, 2008.
- Avenell, Simon Andrew, "Regional Egoism as the Public Good: Residents' Movements in Japan during the 1960s and 1970s." *Japan Forum* 18, no. 1 (2006), 89-113.
- , "Civil Society and the New Civic Movements in Contemporary Japan: Convergence, Collaboration, and Transformation." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 35, no. 2 (2009), 247-283.
- Bartak, Elinor, *The Student Movement in Thailand 1970-1976*. Clayton: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1993.
- Beckmann, George M. & Okubo Genji, *The Japanese Communist Party 1922-1945*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969.
- Benhabib, Seyla, "Models of Public Space: Hannah Arendt, the Liberal Tradition, and Jürgen Habermas." In *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1992.

- Bharucha, Rustom, *Theatre and the World: Essays on Performance and Politics of Culture*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1990.
- , *Consumed in Singapore: The Intercultural Spectacle of Lear*. Singapore: Center for Advanced Studies NUS and Pagesetters Services, 2000.
- , *Another Asia: Rabindranath Tagore and Okakura Tenshin*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- The Black Tent Theatre, “68/71 Undô Koryô Sôan.”(The Draft Mission Statement) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 5 (September 1978), 2-3.
- , “Sagyôba 10 Nen Kêkaku.” (Plan of Activities at the Workshop for Next Ten Years) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 5 (September 1978), 4-7.
- , “‘Chinmoku’ No Kiseki.” (The Trajectory of Silence) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 7 (May 1979), 19-22.
- , “Katsudô Sengen.” (The Declaration of Action) In the Flyer of *Buranki Goroshi Shanhai No Haru* (The Killing of Blanqui, Spring in Shanghai), inserted in *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 7 (May 1979).
- , “Kuroiro Tendo 68/71 No Akai Kyôshitsu.” (Red Classroom of The Black Tent Theatre) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 7 (May 1979). 42.
- , “Engeki O Kôkyô No Basho Ni!” (Bringing Theatre to Public Spaces) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 8 (June 1979), 4-5.
- , “Kôjô No Naka No ‘Cabaret Kim Jiha’: Yamashina Tekkô Jôen Kiroku.” (*Cabaret Kim Chi-ha* in a Plant: Record of Staging at Yamashita Steel Company) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 13 (April 1980), 45-49.
- , “Firipîno No Mitamama Nippon, Bunkakô.” (The Filipino Thoughts on Japanese Culture) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 23 (December 1981), 2-14.
- , “Ajia Minshû Engeki Wâkushoppu Ni Tsuite No Yobikake.” (Call for Asian People’s Theatre Workshop) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 23 (June 1982), 2-3.
- , “A.T.F. te Nandesuka!?” (What is ATF?) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 29 (February 1983), 2-8.
- , “ATF 83 Wa Konna Naiyô De Hirakareru.” (The Contents of ATF 83) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 29 (February 1983), 10-11.
- Boal, Augusto, *Theatre of the Oppressed*, trans. Charles A & Maria-Odilia Leal McBride. New York: Urizen Books, 1979.
- , *Games for Actors and Non-Actors*, trans. Adrian Jackson. London and New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Botham, Paola, “Witnesses in the Public Sphere.” In *Political Performances: Theory and Practice*, ed. Susan C. Haedicke et. al. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2009.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice. London: Routledge, 1984.
- Brecht, Bertolt, “A Short Organum for the Theatre.” In *Brecht on Theatre: The Development of an Aesthetic*, ed. / trans. John Willett. New York: Hill and Wang, 1964.
- Bunmee, Teerayut, “Tai: Mori Kara No Messêji.” (A Message from the Thai Forest) *Geppô ‘Kôgai O Nogasuna’* 2 (November 1977), 49-51.

- Calhoun, Craig, "Preface." In *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1992.
- , "Introduction: Habermas and the Public Sphere." In *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1992.
- Calinescu, Matei, *Five Faces of Modernity*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1987.
- Carlson, Marvin, *Theories of the Theatre: A Historical and Critical Survey, from Greeks to the Present*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984.
- Chong, Kyon-mo, "Nihon No Ajia Fukki Ni Tsuite Hitokoto." (A Comment on Japan's Re-entry into Asia) *Sekai Kara* 18 (Winter 1984), 92-93.
- David, Randolph S., "Soshiki Ni Torawarenai Jiyûjin Tsurumi Yoshiyuki Ga Kirihiraita Gakumon Towa." (The Scholarship Innovated by Tsurumi Yoshiyuki) *Gekkan Oruta* (March 1999), 4-9.
- Donaldson, Frances, *The British Council: The First Fifty Years*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1984.
- Dower, John W., *Embracing Defeat*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1999.
- Eagleton, Terry, *After Theory*. London: Allen Lane, 2003.
- Eckersall, Peter, *Theorizing the Angura Space: Avant-garde Performance and Politics in Japan, 1960-2000*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006.
- Editorial of *Ampo*, "Transcending Modernity: A Review of Concerned Theater Japan." *Ampo* 3-4 (March 1970), 44-46.
- Editorial of *Concerned Theatre Japan*, "On *Concerned Theatre Japan*." *Concerned Theatre Japan*, Special Introductory Issue (October 1969), 4-5.
- Editorial of *Gekkan 'Kôgai O Nogasuna'*, "10.6-7 Ajia Minshû Bunka No Yûbe Kawatetsugeki Hôkoku." (Report of Anti-Kawasaki Steel Theatre at *An Evening of Asian People's Culture*) *Gekkan 'Kôgai O Nogasuna'* 2, no.33 (November 1978), 30-42.
- Editorial of *Higeki Kigeki*, "Shôgekijô No Kankyaku." (Audience of Small Theatres) *Higeki Kigeki* 479 (September 1990), 70-71.
- Editorial of *Nettowaku*, "Tokushû Ichiran." (List of Feature Articles in *Network*) *Nettowaku* 300 (May 2009), 36-38.
- Editorial of *Sekai Kara*, "'Sekai Kara' Hakkan Ni Atatte." (Statement on the Inaugural Issue of *From the World*) *Sekai Kara* 1 (Summer 1979), 4-5.
- , "Pîpuruzu Puran 21 Sêki Ga Hajimatta." (People's Plan 21 has Started) *Sekai Kara* 33 (Autumn 1988), 1-2.
- Editorial of *Shingeki*, "Netto Waku" (Network), *Shingeki* 437 (August 1989), 68-69.
- Editorial of *Teatoro*, "Shô Gekijô To Angura." (Small Theatre and Angura), *Teatoro* 297 (April 1968), 92-93.
- Ei, Kisei, "Bunsan To Shûseki: Rejidentô Siatâ O Kangaeru 2." (Dispersal and Centralization: On the Resident Theatre 2) *Teatoro* 613 (February 1994), 122-125.

- , “Bunsan To Shûseki: Rejidento Siatâ O Kangaeru 4.” (Dispersal and Centralization: On the Resident Theatre 4) *Teatoro* 616 (February 1994), 124-127.
- , “Bunsan To Shûseki: Rejidento Siatâ O Kangaeru 12.” (Dispersal and Centralization: On the Resident Theatre 12) *Teatoro* 625 (January 1995), 128-131.
- , “Bunsan To Shûseki: Rejidento Siatâ O Kangaeru 25.” (Dispersal and Centralization: On the Resident Theatre 25) *Teatoro* 641 (April 1996), 102-105.
- , “Kôkyô Gekijô Eno Mosaku: Kôsetsu Mineika To Senmonka No Jôchû E.” (Looking for Public Theatres: the Possibility of ‘Setting-up by the Government, Running by the Private Sector’ Model and the Necessity of Resident Professionals) *Teatoro* 672 (September 1998), 32-35.
- , “Kaifuku No Jidai No Chiiki Gekijô.” (Regional Theatre in the Period of Recovery) *Engekijin* 3 (Spring 1999), 130-139.
- Endô, Takuo, “Ajia Engeki Wâkushoppu.” (Asian Theatre Workshop) *Teatoro* 450 (August 1980), 102-108.
- Evaluation Committee of Independent Administrative Agency under Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Dai 4kai Gaimushô Dokuritsu Gyôsei Hôjin Hyôka Iinkai Giji Gaiyô* (Minutes of the 4th Evaluation Committee of Independent Administrative Agency under Ministry of Foreign Affairs) (19 April 2004). http://www.mofa.go.jp/Mofaj/annai/shocho/dgh/4g_gaiyo.html (accessed 12 January 2011).
- Fanon, Frantz, *Black Skin White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann. London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1968..
- , *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Richard Philcox. New York: Grove Press, 2004.
- Foucault, Michel, *Power/ Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, trans. Colin Gordon et. al. New York: Pantheon Books, 1980.
- , *Discipline and Punish*, trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books, 1995.
- Fraser, Nancy, “Rethinking the Public Sphere.” In *Habermas and the Public Sphere* ed. Craig Calhoun. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1992.
- Fujita, Asaya, “‘Âtsu Puran 21’ Zen Hôkoku.” (A Complete Report of Arts Plan 21) *Join* 13 (February 1996), 2-25.
- Fujita, Hiroshi, “Angura Engeki No Shûhen,” (The Environment of Angura Theatre) *Teatoro* 324 (May 1970), 21-27.
- Fukuchi, Kazuyoshi, “Kankoku Minshû Engeki Ni Nani O Manabuka.” (What We should Learn from the Korean People’s Theatre) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 27 (August 1982), 43-45.
- Fukuda, Yoshiyuki, “Tôku Made Ikunda.” (We Go Far Away) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* (July 1961), 6-57.
- , “Kiroku No. 1,” (Document no. 1) *Kikan Dôjidai Engeki* 2 (1970), 85-150.
- , “Higeki To Kigeki,” (Comedies and Tragedies) *Kikan Dôjidai Engeki* 2 (1970), 76-84.

- et. al., “Ronri To Kyokô,” (Logic and Fiction) *Shingeki* 215 (March 1971), 50-82.
- Gillespie, John K., “Introduction: Kara Jûrô.” In *Alternative Japanese Drama*, ed. Robert T. Rolf and John K. Gillespie. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992.
- Goenawan Mohamad, “Surat dari Tokyo: Dan sang Bapak Harus Dibunuh.” *D&R* XXIX, no. 6 (27 September 1997), 65-66.
- Goh, Ching Lee and Takiguchi Ken, "A Look at the Singapore Arts Scene, Invigorated in Recent Years by New Theaters and Festivals." *Performing Arts Network Japan* (6 June 2006). http://www.performingarts.jp/E/pre_interview/0606/2.html (accessed 15 March 2011).
- Goodman, David Gordon, “Nihongo No Byôbu No Kage Kara.” (From Behind the *Byôbu* Screen of Japanese Language) *Kikan Dôjidai Engeki* 1 (Winter 1970), 9-11.
- , “Revolutionary Theatre: This is a Dream.” *Concerned Theatre Japan* 1, no. 4 (Winter 1970 – Spring 1971), 119-147.
- , “Kôï To Kankyô,” (Action and Environment) *Chûô Kôron* 86, no. 16 (December 1971), 298-317.
- , “Satoh Makoto and the Post-shingeki Movement in Japanese Contemporary Theatre” (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1982).
- , *Fujisan Mieta: Satô Makoto Ni Okeru Kakumei No Engeki* (We See Mount Fuji: The Revolutionary Theatre of Satô Makoto). Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 1983.
- , *The Return of the Gods: Japanese Drama and Culture in the 1960s*. Ithaca: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2003.
- Gordon, Robert, *The Purpose of Playing: Modern Acting Theories in Perspective*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2006.
- Greenblatt, Stephen, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press: 1988.
- Habermas, Jürgen, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: an Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1989.
- , “The Public Sphere.” In *Jürgen Habermas on Society and Politics: A Reader*, ed. Steven Seidman. Boston: Beacon Press, 1989.
- , “Further Reflections on the Public Sphere.” In *Habermas and the Public Sphere* ed. Craig Calhoun. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1992.
- , “Modernity — An Incomplete Project.” In *Postmodernism: A Reader*, ed. Thomas Docherty. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993.
- , *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*, trans. William Rehg. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996.
- Hakken No Kai, “Nekketsu Marukajiri Bôkentan.” (A Story of Energetic and Large-scale Adventure) *Kikan Dôjidai Engeki* 3 (1970), 216-227.
- Hamamoto, Tsuginori, “Ningen To Ningen No Kokusai Koryû O.” (Towards Human-to-Human Exchange) *Shisô No Kagaku* 415 (June Special Issue 1986), 99-107.

- Hanada, Kiyoteru, *Kindai No Chôkoku* (Overcoming Modernity). Tokyo: Miraisha, 1959.
- , “Mono Mina Uta De Owaru.” (Everything Finishes with Songs) In *Nihon Gensô Bungaku Shûsei: Hanada Kiyoteru* (A Collection of Japanese Fantasy Literature: Hanada Kiyoteru), ed. Ikeuchi Osamu. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankô Kai, 1994.
- Hanasaki, Setsu and Matsui Kentarô, “Wâkushoppu No Genryû.” (The Origin of the Workshop) In *SPT educational 2*, ed. Gakugei (Curation Department), Setagaya Public Theatre. Tokyo: Setagaya Public Theatre, 2008.
- et. al., “Kangae, Tameshitemiru Batoshiteno Engeki: Hiyokuatsusha No Engeki Fesuthibaru Ni Ittekita.” (Theatre as an arena for thinking and trying: Report of Festival of Theatre of the Oppressed) *Gekkan Oruta* (August/September 1997), 36-39.
- Hanasaki, Kôhei, “Kankoku Rôdô Undô No Myakudô Ni Furete: Higashi Ajia No Tabi Kara.” (Observing the Korean Labor Movement: Report of the East Asia Trip) *Sekai Kara 2* (Autumn 1979), 6-18.
- , “Grass-roots Movement in the Japanese Archipelago: Ideas and Experiences.” *AMPO* 17, no. 1 (1985), 34-41.
- , *Aidenthithi To Kyôsei No Tetsugaku Zôhoban* (Philosophy of Identity and Coexistence, Augmented Edition). Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2001.
- , *‘Kyôsei’ Eno Shokuhatsu* (Incitement to *Kyôsei*). Tokyo: Misuzu Shobô, 2002.
- Hariki, Yasuhiro, “Tsuka Kôhei No Shôgeki.” (The Impact of Tsuka Kôhei) *Serifu No Jidai 8* (Summer 1998), 86-94.
- Harima, Yasuo, “Nettowâkingu Undô No Shinka.” (Development of Networking Movement), *Nettowaku* 300 (May 2009), 2-4.
- Hasebe, Hiroshi, “Tsuka Kôhei No Kage: Noda Hideki, Kôkami Shôji No Kinsaku O Megutte.” (The Shadow of Tsuka Kôhei: On Recent Works of Noda Hideki and Kôkami Shôji) *Teatoro* 630 (June 1995), 42-46.
- , “The Sense of Being Alive: Japanese Theater in the 1990s.” In *Half a Century of Japanese Theater: 1990s Part 1*, ed. Japan Playwrights Association. Tokyo: Kinokuniya, 1999.
- Hashida, Nobuo, “Ajia Rodôsha Rentai O Toinaosu.” (Call for Solidarity among Asian Labors) *Sekai Kara* 13 (Autumn 1982), 82-91.
- Hashimoto, Ryûtarô, *Prime Minister’s Speech at the Singapore Lecture*, 14 January 1997, Singapore.
- Hata, Yuki, “Chichi O Ayameru Ko Tachi: Ajia Ban ‘Ria Ô’ No Seisaku.” (Children Who Kill Their Father: Production of an Asian Version of *King Lear*) *Kokusai Kôryû* 78 (January 1998), 92-95.
- , “6kkakoku Koraborêshon ‘Ria’ No Sonogo.” (Latest Development in the Six-country Collaboration, *Lear*) *Kokusai Kôryû* 84 (July 1999), 106-109.
- et. al., “Ajia No Engekijin Ni Kiku,” (Interviews with Asian Theatre Practitioners) *Shiatâ Âtsu* 8 (May 1997), 97-108.
- Hayami, Ken’ichi, “Daigaku To Gakusei Undô Ni Okeru Torotsukisuto No ‘Riron’ to Kôdô.” (The ‘Theory’ and the ‘Practice’ of Trotskyists in Student Activism) In *Seinen*

Gakusei Undô To Nihon Kyôsan-tô (Student Activism and Japan Communist Party). Tokyo: Nihon Kyôsan-tô Chûô Iinkai Shuppankyoku, 1973.

Hayashi, Shinobu, "Kyôdôsha No Pêji: Tôkyô Chihô Wa Odango Kara Hajimatta!" (Note of Collaborators: Tokyo Group Started with Rice Dumplings!) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 17 (November 1980), 43-45.

Hayashi, Tatsuo, "A New Generation of Volunteers?" *AMPO* 26, no. 3 (1995), 28-31.

Hiraike, Yoshikazu, "Nettowâkingu: Shimin Undô Saisei No Kîwâdo Nanoka?" (Networking: a Keyword for the Revival of Citizens' Movement?) *Asahi Jânaru* 26, no. 43, 6-9.

Hirano Ken'ichiro, "Japan's Cultural Exchange Approaches in Asia Pacific." In *Peace Building in the Asia Pacific Region*, ed. Peter King and Yoichi Kibata. St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1996.

—————, "Kokusai Bunka Kôryû no Naka no Kokusai Kôryû Kikin." (The Japan Foundation and the Trends of International Cultural Exchange) *Kokusai Kôryû* 97 (October 2002), 119-124.

Hirata, Oriza, "Haiyû Ga Engeki De Seikatsushiteiku To Yûkoto." (Actors should be able to Support Themselves by the Income from Performances) *Jamci* 24 (August 1996), 5.

—————, *Engeki Nyûmon* (An Introduction to Theatre). Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1998.

—————, *Geijutsu Rikkokuron* (On Arts-based National Development). Tokyo: Shûeisha, 2001.

—————, *Engi To Enshutsu* (Performance and Direction). Tokyo: Kôdansha, 2004.

————— et. al., "Fôramu No Jidai." (The Age of the Forum) *Join* 2 (March 1993), 6-16.

————— et. al., "Atarashii Bunka Shisaku Towa Nanika." (On the New Cultural Policy) *Engekijin* 9 (2002), 8-32.

Hirosue, Tamotsu, "The Secret Ritual of The Place of Evil." *Concerned Theatre Japan* 2, no. 1/2 (1971), 14-21.

—————, *Akubasho No Hassô, Hirosue Tamotsu Chosaku Shû* (The Image of the Bad Place, Collection of Hirosue Tamotsu's Works) no. 6. Tokyo: Kage Shobô, 1997.

Hotta, Masahiko et. al., "Sôzôteki Rentai O Motomete: '83 Ajia Minshû Engeki Kaigi Ga Mezasu Mono." (Seeking Creative Solidarity: the Aim of Asian Theatre Forum 83) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 432 (August 1983), 24-34.

Igawa, Tôgo, "Sôkatsu Kuro Tendo '80: Nihome Eno Jyosô O." (Reviewing 1980 of the Black Tent Theatre: For the Second Step) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 18 (February 1981), 28-30.

————— et. al., "Kuro Tendo Tono Deai: Setagaya Jôen Jikkô Iinkai No Hossoku Ni Atatte." (An Encounter with the Black Tent: Setting up an Organizing Committee of the Production in Setagaya) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 20 (May 1981), 28-36.

Imamura, Osamu, "Ajia Ga Chûmoku Sareru Wake." (The Reasons Why Asia Attracts So Much Attention) *Shiatâ Âtsu* 14 (February 2001), 7-9.

—————, "Motomeyo, Saraba..." (Ask, and it will be...) *PT* 5 (August 1998), 48-51.

Inaba, Shinichirô, *'Kôkyôsei' Ron* (On 'Publicness'). Tokyo: NTT Shuppan, 2008.

- Inaba, Yoshiko, “‘Tôkyô Esunikku Kûkan’ No Uchigawa; Kokusaikasuru Ôkubo No Machi, Hito, Seikatsu.” (Inside Tokyo’s Ethnic Space: Internationalization of Town, People and Lives in Ôkubo) *Kokusai Kôryû* 72 (July 1996), 54-58.
- Inoue, Hisashi et. al., “Engeki ni Kôkyô Shien wa Hitsuyô Nainoka?” (Is Public Support Necessary for Theatre?) *Join* 35 (December 2001), 12-29.
- Ishii, Yoneo et. al., “Jihatsutekina Ningen Dôshi No Kôryû No Tameniwa; ASEAN Bunka Sentâ wa Nani O Nasubekika.” (For the Spontaneous Exchange between Human Beings: the Mission of the ASEAN Cultural Centre) *Kokusai Kôryû* 60 (December 1992), 38-60.
- Ishizaki, Katsuhisa, “Kurotento Ga Moerumono: *Tsubasa O Moyasu Tenshitachi No Butô.*” (What Burns the Black Tent: *The Dance of Angels who Burns Their Wings*) *Eiga Hyôron* (March 1971), 118-119.
- Itô, Yasuo and Kobayashi Mari, “Engeki To Seido: 21 Seiki No Gekijô To Gekijôhô, Gekijô Jôrei.” (Theatre and Organization: Theatres in the 21st Century, Theatre Act and Theatre Regulations) *Engekijin* 5 (July 2000), 52-65.
- et. al., “‘Kôkyô Hôru’ Kara ‘Kôkyô Gekijô’ E.” (From Public Halls to Public Theatres) *Engekijin* 3 (Spring 1999), 4-25.
- et. al., *Shintei Âtsu Manejimento Gairon* (Arts Management, New Edition). Tokyo: Suiyôsha, 2001.
- Japan Afro-Asian Authors Congress (ed.), *Ajia O Aruku: Tônan Ajia Hen* (Walking through Asia: Southeast Asia). Tokyo: Bunyûsha, 1978.
- Japan Association of People’s Theatre Workshop, “A.T.F. O Tôshite Minshû Bunka No Sôzô O!” (Creating People’s Culture through A.T.F.) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 29 (February 1983), 24-27.
- Japan Centre, Pacific Basin Arts Communication, *Performing Arts Exchange Yearbook*. Tokyo: Japan Centre, Pacific Basin Arts Communication, 1994, 99 and 2004.
- The Japan Foundation, *Nihon No Kokusai Kôryû Katsudô Dantai No Genjô: Kokusai Kôryû Dantai Chôsa 2000nen* (Current Situation of International Exchange Associations in Japan: Report of the Survey of International Exchange Associations, 2000). Tokyo: The Japan Foundation, 2001.
- , *Kokusai Kôryû Dantai Chôsa Gaiyô 2005* (An Overview of the Survey of International Exchange Associations, 2005). Tokyo: The Japan Foundation, 2006.
- , *Kokusai Koryu Kikin 30nen No Ayumi* (30 Years of the Japan Foundation). Tokyo: The Japan Foundation, 2006.
- Japan Foundation for Regional Art-activities, *Hôru Ni Okeru Shimin Sankagata Jigyô Nikansuru Chôsa Kenkyû* (Survey of the Citizens-Participation-Type Activities at Public Halls). Tokyo: Japan Foundation for Regional Art-Activities, 1999.
- The Japan Foudnation Performing Arts Division (ed.), *Nihon-Indonesia Butaigeijutu Kôryû, Kenshû Jigyô Hôkokusyo: Niji No Densetsu* (Report of Japan-Indonesia Exchange and Study Project, *The Legend of Reinbow*). Tokyo: The Japan Foundation, 1997.
- Jit, Krishen, *Krishen Jit: An Uncommon Position, Selected Writings*, ed. Kathy Roland. Singapore: Contemporary Asian Art Centre, 2003.
- Kan, Takayuki, “Engeki Niokeru Kindai No Shi Towa?” (The Death of Modernity in Theatre) *Shingeki* 208 (August 1970), 26-37.

- , *Kaitai Suru Engeki* (Deconstructing Theatre). Tokyo: Adin Shobô, 1974.
- , *Zoku Kaitai Suru Engeki* (A Sequel to Deconstructing Theatre). Tokyo: Renga Shobô Shinsha, 1981.
- , *Sengo Engeki* (Postwar Theatre). Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1981.
- , “Kopî Wa Orijinaru O Koerareruka: Tsuka Kôhei No Akui To Senryaku.” (Can a Copy Surpass the Original?: Tsuka Kôhei’s Malice and Strategy) *Teatoro* 482 (April 1983), 118-128.
- , “Nonfikushon Noberusu: Yamamoto Kiyokazu.” (Nonfiction Novels: Yamamoto Kiyokazu) *Teatoro* 597 (November 1992), 108-119.
- , “Engeki No Orutanathibu II.” (An Alternative to Theatre II) *MUNKS* 2 (November 1992), 15-24.
- , “Engeki To Gekijô No Kôkyôsei Towa Nanika 1.” (Publicness of Theatre 1) *MUNKS* 15 (May 2001), 42-60.
- , “Radikarizumu No Syûen To Saisei.” (The End and the Rebirth of Radicalism) In *Shin Sayoku Undô 40 Nen No Hikari To Kage* (Light and Shadow in the 40 Years of the New Left Movement) ed. Watanabe Ichie et. al. Tokyo: Shinsensha, 1999.
- , *Tatakau Engekijin* (Struggling Theatre Artists). Tokyo: Jiritsu Shobô, 2007.
- Kanai, Mieko, “Maboroshi No Tochi No Roman.” (Romanticism on the Mysterious Lands) *Umi* 2, no. 10 (October 1970), 216-219.
- Kang, Sang-jung, “Nihon No Ajia, Ajia No Ajia.” (Japan’s Asia, Asia’s Asia) In *Rekishi No Kyôyû Ajia To Nihon* (Sharing History between Japan and Asia), ed. International Christian University Social Science Research Institute and Institute for the Study of Social Justice, Sophia University. Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1997.
- Kanze, Hideo, “Noh Business.” *Concerned Theatre Japan* 1. no. 4 (Winter 1970 – Spring 1971), 5-17.
- et. al., “‘Ampo’ Igo Inen: Konnichi No Shisô To Gijutsu.” (One Year after ‘Ampo’: Contemporary Thoughts and Arts) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 168 (July 1961), 154-172.
- Kara, Jûrô, “Seikyû Na Hyôshiki Mazushii Nikutai: Terayamashi No ‘Gekiteki Sôzôryoku’ Eno Hihan.” (Hasty Signs and Poor Bodies: Criticizing Mr. Terayama’s ‘Dramatic Imagination’) *Nihon Dokusho Shimbun* (February 1968), 10.
- , “Shiteki Heihô: Chôryôbakko No Maki: Shinjuku Nishiguchi Chûô Kôen No ‘Jôkyô Gekijô’ Kôen O Megutte.” (My Personal Art or War for Elusive Appearance: On Situation Theatre’s Performance at Shinjuku West Gate Central Park) *Bijutsu Techô* (March 1969), 144-151.
- , *Tokkenteki Nikutairon* (Theory of Privileged Entities). Tokyo: Gendai Shichôsha, 1970; reprint: Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 1997.
- , “Jôkyô To Kongen.” (The Situation and the Root) *Shingeki* 215 (March 1971), 24-34.
- , “Kojiki Shugyô.” (Training to be a Begger) *Shingeki* 215 (March 1971), 49.

- , “Subekaraku Norowareta Tami.” (We are All Cursed People) *Nihon Dokusho Shimbun* (November 1971), 8.
- , “Bengaru No Tora.” (The Bengal Tiger) In *Kara Jûrô Sakuhinshû* (Collected Works of Kara Jûrô) vol. 3. Tokyo: Tôjusha, 1979.
- , “Môdôken.” (The Guide Dog) In *Kara Jûrô Sakuhinshû* (Collected Works of Kara Jûrô) vol. 3. Tokyo: Tôjusha, 1979.
- , *Kara Jûrô Keppûroku* (Memoir of Stormy Days). Tokyo: Bungei Shunjû, 1983.
- , “The Virgin’s Mask,” trans. John K. Gillespie and Paul H. Krieger. In *Alternative Japanese Drama*, ed. Robert T. Rolf and John K. Gillespie. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992.
- Kashiwagi, Yô and Matsui Kentarô, “Kisaragi Koharusan No Koto.” (On Kisaragi Koharu) In *SPT educational 2*, ed. Gakugei (Curation Department), Setagaya Public Theatre. Tokyo: Setagaya Public Theatre, 2008.
- Katzenstein, Peter J., *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005.
- Kawamoto, Saburô, “Butai Toyû Tenmaku No Aru Garêji.” (A Garage with a Canopy Called Theatre) *Gendai Shi Techô* 26, no. 4 (April 1983), 68-71.
- Kawasaki, Kenko, “‘Pandora No Kane’: Tennôsei Ni Kuikonda ‘Amerika’.” (*The Bells of Pandora: ‘America’ Eroding into the Emperor System*) *Higeki Kigeki* 595 (May 2000), 13-15.
- Kawashima, Hideki, “Koremadeni Nai Kôkyô Shisetsu O Mezashite.” (Aiming for a Totally New Public Institution) In *SPT educational 2*, ed. Gakugei (Curation Department), Setagaya Public Theatre. Tokyo: Setagaya Public Theatre, 2008.
- , “Hajime Ni ‘Engeki Wâkushoppu’ Ariki.” (Theatre Workshops First) In *SPT educational 3*, ed. Gakugei (Curation Department), Setagaya Public Theatre. Tokyo: Setagaya Public Theatre, 2009.
- , “Sâ Hajimemashô.” (Let’s Begin) In *SPT educational 3*, ed. Gakugei (Curation Department), Setagaya Public Theatre. Tokyo: Setagaya Public Theatre, 2009.
- Kawatake, Toshio, “Butai Geijutsu No 50 Nen.” (50 Years of Performing Arts) In *Geijutsu Sai 50 Nen: Sengo Nihon No Geijutsu Bunkashi* (50 Years of Cultural Festival: Arts and Cultural History of Post-war Japan), ed. Bunkachô. Tokyo: Gyôsei, 1995.
- Kido, Kazuo, “Kôkôsei No Ajia Ninshiki.” (High School Students’ Perceptions on Asia) In *Ajia To Watashitachi* (Asia and Us), ed. Murai Yoshinori et. al. Tokyo: Sanichi Shobo, 1988.
- Kikuchi, Bonpei et. al., “‘Uma, Abesada’ Tabi Nikki.” (Record of the Tour of *Uma, Abesada*) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 6 (February 1979), 14-36.
- Kimura, Shingo, “Fijikaru Siatâ O Megutte: Wakaranai Ajia.” (On Physical Theater: Incomprehensible Asia) *Butai Geijutsu* 3 (April 2003), 187-190.
- Kiritani, Natsuko, “Shuppan Niyoru Komyunikêshon Keikaku No.2.” (Communication Plan No. 2 through Publications) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 18 (February 1981), 42.

- , “Ajia Karano Kaze, Fûsoku 30 Mêtoru.” (A Wind from Asia, Wind Speed is 30 Kilometer) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 20 (May 1981), 42-46.
- , “Bunka No Kôbô Ni Hibikiau Koe: Ajia Feminisuto Âto.” (Voices Echoing in the Workshop of Culture: Asian Feminist Art) *Sekai Kara* 36 (Autumn 1989), 93-96.
- , “Kurotentoteki Kokusai Kôryû.” (International Exchange in the Black Tent Style), *the Official Blog of Asian Tosca Project of the Black Tent Theatre, PETA and Theatre Practice*.
<http://blog.goo.ne.jp/tosca2007/c/03d1659205cd7ee56151ba23759feae>
 (accessed 26 December 2010).
- et. al., “Ima ‘Undô’ No Têten Kara.” (From the Bottom of the Movement) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 7 (May 1979), 23-29.
- Kisaragi, Koharu, *Toshi Minzoku No Shibaigoya* (Theatres for Urban People). Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1987.
- et. al., “Ajia, Josei, Engeki,” (Asia, Women and Theatre) *MUNKS* 9 (December 1995), 30-50.
- et. al., “Geijutsu To Komyunithi O Setsugô Suru.” (Connecting Arts and Community) *PT* 4 (April 1998), 46-59.
- Kishida, Rio, “Shiritai...,” (Want to Know...) *PT* 5 (August 1998), 44-45.
- , “Lear.” In *Asian Shakespeare Intercultural Archive*, translation and audio transcript by Daphne Boey, Lee Chee Keng, Lewa Pardomuan, Takiguchi Ken, Yong Li Lan and Matt Yoxall. <http://a-s-i-a-web.org/> (accessed 28 January 2011).
- Kitada, Akihiro, *Warau Nihon No ‘Nationalism’* (The ‘Laughing’ Nationalism of Japan). Tokyo: Nihon Hôsô Shuppan Kyôkai, 2005.
- Kobayashi, Hideo, *Sengo Ajia To Nihon Kigyô* (Japanese Companies in Postwar Asia). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2001.
- Kobayashi, Mari, “Kôkyô Hôru Niokeru Engeki To Kyôiku.” (Theatre and Education at Public Halls) *Engekijin* 21 (November 2005), 73-79.
- Kobayashi, Tomi, “‘Koe Naki Koe’ No Kôshin.” (The March of the Silent Voice) In *Hansen Heiwa No Shisô To Kôdô* (Thoughts and Practices of Anti-war Peace Movement), ed. Yoshikawa Yûichi. Tokyo: Shakai Hyôronsha, 1995.
- Koga, Takuya, “4 Nenkan No ‘Kaidan Ochi’: Waga Tsuka Kôhei Ron.” (Falling from Steps for Four Years: On Tsuka Kôhei) *Shisô No Kagaku* 356 (June Special Issue 1982), 53-59.
- Koizumi, Hidemasa, “Sanrizuka Kara Firipin No Yûjintachi E: Renkei Eno Têgen Ni Kotaete.” (From Sanrizuka to Filipino Friends: Response to the Call for Solidarity) *Sekai Kara* 6 (Autumn 1980), 101-105.
- Koizumi, Masao, “Ajia Wa Sonzai Shinai: Gainen Ryokô To Jikkan Ryokô.” (‘Asia’ does not Exist: an Imagined Trip and a Real Trip) *Ningen To Shite* 9 (March 1972), 167-180.
- Kokusai Bunka Kôryû Ni Kansuru Kondankai, *Atarashii Jidai No Kokusai Bunka Kôryû* (*International Cultural Exchange in the New Era*) (June, 1994).
- Komatsu, Junetsu, “Geinô No Kôryû, Kansei No Kôryû.” (Exchange of Performing Arts, Exchange of Sensitivities) *Kokusai Kôryû* 27 (March 1981), 58-59.

- Komiyama, Chizuko, et. al., "Edhukêshon Puroguramu No Genba Kara." (From the Practice of Educational Programs) *Engekijin* 3 (Spring 1999), 70-81.
- Kosaka, Shûhei, *Shisô To Shitenô Zenkyôtô Sedai* (Zenkyôtô Generation as a Philosophy). Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 2006.
- Koschmann, J. Victor, "Soft Rule and Expressive Protest." In *Authority and the Individual in Japan: Citizen Protest in Historical Perspective*, ed. J. Victor Koschmann. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1978.
- , *Revolution and Subjectivity in Postwar Japan*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996.
- Kua, Kia Soong (ed.), *K. Das & the Tunku Tapes*. Petaling Jaya: Strategic Info Research Development, 2002.
- Kubo, Satoru et. al., "Minshû Sôzô Undô No Kadai: 'Kamengeki To Madangeki' O Megutte." (Challenges of People's Creative Movement: On *Mask Performance and Madang Performance*) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 410 (October 1981), 40-54.
- et. al., "Shutai No Kiki To Sono Tenkan: Engeki Wâkushoppu Undô No Shisô." (Crisis of Subjectivity and Its Resolution: Philosophy of Theatre Workshop Movement) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 432 (August 1983), 60-67.
- et.al., "Sôgo Shutaiteki Sôzô Ni Mukatte," (Towards the Creation of Mutual Subjectivities) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 441 (June 1984), 16-31.
- Kukathas, Jo and Kam Raslan, "The Island In Between." Tokyo: Setagaya Public Theatre, 2001.
- Kuo, Pao Kun, "Challenges to Asian Public Intellectuals: New Millenium, Old Challenges, Same Tasks." In *Culture, Development, and Emancipation: the Search for a New Paradigm (Asia Leadership Fellow Program 1997 Program Report)*, ed. The Internatioanl House of Japan and the Japan Foundaiton Asia Centre. Tokyo: International House of Japan, 1999.
- , "Violence and Memory." In *Kuo Pao Kun: And Love the Wind and Rain* ed. Kwok Kian Woon and Teo Han Wue. Singapore: Cruxible, 2002.
- and Nishidô Kôjin, "Kyôkaisenjô No Engeki." (Theatre on the Margins) *PT* 5, 38-42.
- Kuroda, Kei, "Singapôru De Toraerareta 16 Nin." (Sixteen Detainees in Singapore) *Sekai Kara* 29 (spring 1987), 58-61.
- Kusachi, Kenichi, "'Kôkyô No Rieki' O Kimerunowa Shimin: NPO Hô Ga Dekite." (It is Citizens who Decide What is Public Interest: the Approval of NPO Law) *Gekkan Oruta* (February 1999), 4-8.
- Kushida, Kazuyoshi, "Jiyû Gekijô No 15nen," (15 Years of Freedom Theatre), *Higeki Kigeki* 355 (May 1980), 54-56.
- Kuzui, Kinshirô, *Kieta Gekijô: Âto Shiatâ Shinjuku Bunka* (The Theatre Vanished: Art Theatre Shinjuku Bunka). Tokyo: Sôryûsha, 1986.
- Kwan, Weng Kin, "Ong's Lear Takes Tokyo by Storm." *The Straits Times: Life!* 12 September 1997.
- Kyôsan Shugisha Dômei, "Zensekai O Kakutoku Surutameni: Proretariâto No Shôbi No Kadai." (To Obtain the Whole World: Urgent Issues of Proletariats) In *Shin*

- Sayoku Zenshi* (Complete History of the New Left Movement) ed. Shin Sayoku Riron Zenshi Henshû Inkaï. Tokyo: Ryûdô Shuppan, 1979.
- Lacan, Jacques, *Ecrits: A Selection*, trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1977.
- Lee, Chee Keng, "Negotiating 'Culture,' Re-presenting 'New Asia': a Case Study of Japan Foundation Asia Center's Production of *Lear*" (Master's Thesis, National University of Singapore, 2001).
- Lipsnack, Jessica and Jeffrey Stamps, *The Networking Book: People Connecting with People*. New York and London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986.
- and Jeffrey Stamps, *The Age of Network: Organizing Principles for the 21st Century*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1994.
- Lo, Jacqueline, "Theatre in Singapore: An Interview with Kuo Pao Kun." *Australasian Drama Studies* 23 (October 1993).
- , *Staging Nation: English Language Theatre in Malaysia and Singapore*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004.
- Lummis, Douglas, "Kokkyô O Koete: Gaikokujin Beheiren." (Beyond the Borders: Foreigners' *Beheiren*) In *Beheiren: Kyodai Na Hansen No Uzu O!* (Beheiren: Making a Gigantic Wave of anti-war Movement), ed. Oda Makoto. Tokyo: San-ichi Shobô, 1969.
- , "Korekara No Undô No Konkyo O Saguru." (Seeking the Basis of the Movement in the Future) *Gekkan Oruta* (January 2000), 10-11.
- Lyotard, Jean-Francois, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1984.
- Maeda, Toshihiko, "Tenbô wa Minshû Bunka Undô Ni Aru." (Our Future is in the People's Culture Movement) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 468 (November/December 1986), 48-51.
- Makuta, Mieko, "Singapôru, Marêsia No Taihosha." (Detainees in Singapore and Malaysia) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 487 (Autumn 1988), 58-64.
- Mandal, Sumit, "Staging Asia." *Off The Edge* (May 2005), 56-59.
- Mannheim, Carl, "The Problem of Generations." In *Studying Aging and Social Change: Conceptual and Methodological Issues*, ed. Melissa A. Hardy. Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi, Sage Publications, 1997.
- Maruyama, Masao, '*Bunmeiron No Gairyaku*' *O Yomu*. (Pursuing *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization*) vol. 1. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1986.
- Matsubara, Yôzô, "Gendai Tûrizumu No Byôri." (Pathology of Contemporary Tourism) *Asahi Jânaru* 12, no. 42 (October 1970), 37-41.
- Matsui, Kentarô, "Zôsenjo Kenbunroku: Sumitomo Jûki Uruga Zôsenjo O Tazunete." (Record of the visit of Sumitomo Heavy Industry Uruga Shipyard) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 25 (April 1982), 24-29.
- , "Shûdan No Mujun To Dandhizumu." (Contradictions in groups and Dandyism) *Teatoro* 552 (February 1989), 128-131.

- _____, “Oboegaki: Engeki Wākushoppu.” (Notes on Theatre Workshop) *Yamaneko Gekijō Tsūshin* 2 (May 1989), 19-28.
- _____, “‘Dare’ no Gekijyōka?” (Theatre for Whom?) *MUNKS* 2 (November 1992), 25-30.
- _____, “Engeki To Kyōiku: Kisaragi Koharu No Katsudō O megutte.” (Theatre and Education: On Kisaragi Koharu’s Activities) *MUNKS* 5 (December 1993), 49-59.
- _____, “‘Aida No Shima’ Ni Okeru Tekusuto No Seisei.” (Generation of Texts in *The Island In Between*) *Shiatā Ātsu* 14 (February 2001), 72-77.
- _____, “Wākushopputeki Narumono’ No Rekishi O Tadotte.” (Tracing the History of Workshops) in *SPT educational 2*, ed. Gakugei (Curation Department), Setagaya Public Theatre. Tokyo: Setagaya Public Theatre, 2008.
- _____, “Kooperationen zwischen asiatischen Theatern.” (Theatre Collaborations in Asia) In *Theater in Japan*, ed. Eiichiro Hirata and Hans-Thies Lehmann. Berlin: Theater der Zeit, 2009.
- _____ and Saeki Ryūkō, “Engeki Daigaku Kōsō O Meguru: ‘Engekitekina Chi’ To ‘Hihyōtekina Shutai’ O Kōchikusuru.” (Planning Theatre University: Development of ‘Theatrical Intelligence’ and ‘Critical Subjects’) *MUNKS* 11 (February 1997), 62-80.
- _____ and Saitō Keiko, “Setagaya No Machizukuri Kara Umareta Setagaya Paburikku Shiatā.” (Setagaya Public Theatre, born from the Community Development Activities in Setagaya) In *SPT educational 2*, ed. Gakugei (Curation Department), Setagaya Public Theatre. Tokyo: Setagaya Public Theatre, 2008.
- _____ et. al., “Kyōshitsu No 1 Nen O Furikaeru.” (Reviewing a Year of Red Classroom) *Hyōgikai Tsūshin* 19 (April 1981), 2-12.
- _____ et. al., “Heisei No Engeki O Kataru.” (Discussing Theatres in Heisei Era) *Teatoro* 563 (January 1990), 54-70.
- Matsui, Yayori, *Women in the New Asia*. London and New York: Zed Books, 1999.
- Matsushita, Ryūichi, *Noroshi O Miyo* (Find the Beacon). Tokyo: Shakai Shisōsha, 1993.
- Mikami, Osamu, "Dokuritsu Sayokuron 4" (A Study of Independent Leftists 4) in *Yoshimoto Takaaki To Kataru Sengo 55 Nen*, vol. 5 (Talking with Yoshimoto Takaaki on 55 years of Postwar, vol. 5), ed. Yoshimoto Takaaki Kenkyūkai. Tokyo: Sankōsya, 2001.
- Minegishi, Yuki, “Ajia no Geinō o Maneite: Hikaku Kara Kosei no Jidai.” (Inviting Asian Performing Arts: From Comparative Perspectives to the Praise of Diversity) *Kokusai Kōryū* 44 (October 1987), 57-59.
- Misawa, Shinichi, “Engeki Patoron No Chihō Jichitai.” (Municipal Governments as a Patron of Theatre) *Teatoro* 524 (October 1986), 68-74.
- Mitrasu, Areeya, "Ugly JASEAN," *AMPO* 11, no. 2-3, (1979), 66-89.
- Miyagishi, Yasuharu, “Taiheiyō Sensōka No Gekisaku To Konnichi.” (Playwrights during the Pacific War and Now) *Teatoro* 366 (August 1973), 44-55.
- _____, *Tenkō To Doramatsurugi: 1930 nendai No Gekisakka Tachi* (Conversion and Dramaturgy: Playwrights of the 1930s). Tokyo: Kage Shobō, 2003.

- Miyakawa, Yutaka, "'Nikoku Mondai' No Honshitsu O saguru." (Looking into the Essence of the Issues on the New National Theatre) *Teatoro* 602 (April 1993), 42-46.
- Miyashita, Nobuo, "Yasashii Kankyaku, Shirôto No Jidai." (Gentle 'Amateur' Audience) *Teatoro* 533 (July 1967), 78-83.
- Miyazaki, Shôgo, *Ima 'Kôkyôsei' O Utsu* (Rethinking 'Publicness'). Tokyo: Shinsensha, 1975.
- Miyazawa, Akio, *Tokyo Daigaku '80 Nendai Chika Bunkaron' Kôgi* (Lectures on the Underground Culture of the 1980s). Tokyo: Byakuya Shobô, 2006.
- Miyume, Tanji, "The Enduring Myth of an Okinawan Struggle: The History and Trajectory of a Diverse Community of Protest" (Ph.D. diss., Murdoch University, 2003).
- Morisaki, Kazue, *Haha No Kuni Tono Gensô Kon* (An Imagined Marriage to Mother's Country). Tokyo: Gendai Shichôsha, 1970.
- Moriyama, Naoto, "'Kôkyô Gekijô' To 'Hiyô': '90 Nendai' O Koete." (Public Theatre and Criticism: Going beyond the 1990s) *PT* 12 (July 2001), 8-13.
- Multinational Cultural Mission, "Action Agenda." Retrieved from the website of Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet. <http://www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/980511cultural.html> (accessed 21 January 2011).
- Muneshige, Hiroyuki, "'Ajia Engeki' Ni Takaru: Ajia Âto Fesuthibaru No Koto." (Hitting on Asian Theatre: On Asian Art Festival) *Teatoro* 700 (November 2000), 102-103.
- Murai, Ken, "Ajia, Sokoni Ikiru Warewarejishin O Toumono." (Questions Addressed to Asia and Those Who Live in It) *Ajia Sentâ Nyûsu* 7 (Winter 1997), 9-14.
- Murai, Yoshinori, "Tomoni Ikiru Mirai O Katatta: Kokusai Gasshuku no Hôkoku." (Discussion for the Future of Living Together: Report of International Camp) *Sekai Kara* 18 (Winter 1984), 8-13.
- _____ and Yoshioka Shinobu, "Tsurumi Yoshiyuki Wa Naze Ajia Ni Mukattanoka?" (Why did Tsurumi Yoshiyuki head for Asia?) *Gekkan Oruta* (August/September 2004), 32-37.
- Muro, Kenji, "Tai Sêji Sokkyôgeki No Naka De Manabu." (Learning from Thai Political Improvisational Theatre) *Shisô No Kagaku* 300 (June 1978), 42-50.
- Muroi, Hisashi, "'Kara Jûrô' To Yû Shiten Kara Miru Sengo Nihon Engeki." (Postwar Japanese Theatre from the viewpoint of 'Kara Jûrô') In *Sengo Nihon Stadîzu* (Postwar Japanese Studies) vol. 2, ed. Ueno Chizuko et. al. Tokyo: Kinokuniya Shoten, 2009.
- Mutô, Ichiyô, "Bunka Kakumei No Genba." (At the Forefront of Cultural Revolution) In *Gekiteki Narumono Tono Wakare* (Separation from Drama) ed. Satô Makoto et. al. Tokyo: Gekidan Jiyû Gekijô, 1969.
- _____, "Henshû Zenki." (Preface) *Sekai Kara* 2 (Autumn 1979), 1-2.
- _____, "Ideology of Aid and People's Solidarity." *AMPO* 15, no. 3-4 (1983), 14-24.
- _____, "Enjo No Shisô To Minshû Rentai." (The Ideology of Development Assistance and Solidarity of People) *Sekai Kara* 18 (Winter 1984), 15-29.

- , “‘Ekkyôsuru Kôdô’ Kara Pîpuru E: Purosesu Toshite No PP 21.” (From the Actions beyond Borders to the Formation of ‘People’: PP21 as a Process) *Sekai Kara* 36 (Autumn 1989), 28-37.
- , “For an Alliance of Hope.” *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, 22, no.3 (July-September 1990), 44-51.
- , “Tsurumi Yoshiyuki No Kiseki: ‘Yawarakai Ajia’ Eno Henyô.” (Tracing Tsurumi Yoshiyuki’s Life: a Shift towards ‘Soft Asia’) *Gekkan Oruta* (March 1999), 16-18.
- Mwansa, Dickson, et. al., "Editorial." *Third World Popular Theatre Newsletter* 1, no. 1, (January 1982), 3-5.
- Nagahira, Kazuo, “Sengo Shingeki No Kiten: Sensô Sekinin No Ketsuraku.” (The Starting Point of Postwar Shingeki: Neglect of War Responsibilities) *Teatoro* 390 (August 1975), 96-105.
- Nagai, Taeko et. al., “Bunka Geijutsu Shinkô Kihonhō De Nani Ga Kawarunoka?” (The Effect of the Basic Act for the Promotion of Culture and the Arts) *Join* 37 (June 2002), 30-47.
- Nagavajara, Chetana, “Brecht’s Reception in Thailand: The case of ‘Die Ausnahme und die Regel’.” *Monatshefte* 75, no. 1 (Spring 1983), 46-54.
- Nakagawa, Ikuo, “Jichitai Bunka Gyôsei To Kôkyô Gekijô: Sono Genzai To Mirai.” (Cultural Policies of Municipal Governments and Public Theatre: Present and Future) *Engekijin* 3 (Spring 1999), 44-51.
- Nakamaki, Hirochika et. al., *Kachi O Tsuruku Toshi E: Bunka Senryaku To Sôzô Toshi* (Towards the Value-creating City: Cultural Strategy and Creative City). Tokyo: NTT Shuppan, 2008.
- Nakamura, Takao and Ichinose Kazuo, “Engeki Jihyô.” (Monthly Theatre Review) *Higeki Kigeki* 605 (March 2001), 68-82.
- Nakamura, Yûichirô “Chi No Senryaku To Shiteno Engeki,” (Theatre as an Intellectual Strategy) *Gendai Shisô* 9, no. 11 (October 1981), 52-66.
- Nakano, Toshio, “Boranthia Dôingata Shimin Shakairon No Kansei.” (The Trap of the Model of Civil Society Based on Volunteers) *Gendai Shisô* 27, no. 5 (May 1999), 72-93.
- Nakayama, Atsuo, *Boranthia Shakai No Tanjô: Giman O Kanjiru Karakuri* (The Birth of the Volunteer Society: a Delusive Trick). Tsu: Mie Daigaku Shuppankai, 2007.
- Nakazato, Ikuko, “Engeki To Soshiki: Nihon Gekidan Kyôgikai Eno Michi 2.” (Theatre and Institute: Establishment of The Association of Japanese Theatre Companies 2) *Join* 3 (July 1993), 4-5.
- National Land Agency (ed.), *Shimin No Katsudô Ga Tsukuru Miryokuaru Chiiki: Jûmin Sanka Niyoru Chiiki Kasseika Nikansuru Chôsa Hôkoku* (Creation of Attractive Regional Communities by Residents’ Activities: Report of the Survey on the Revitalization of Communities through Residents’ Participation). Tokyo: Ôkurashô Insatsukyoku, 1997.
- Nester, William R., *Japan and the Third World: Patterns, Power, Prospects*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1992.
- Nicholson, Helen, *Applied Drama: The Gift of Theatre*. Houndmills and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

- Niinuma, Yûko, “‘Ikiteiku Chikara’ O Hagukumu, Sorega Morioka No Bunka Omo Hagukumu.” (Growing Culture of Morioka City by Nurturing the Ability to Live) In *SPT educational* 3, ed. Gakugei (Curation Department), Setagaya Public Theatre. Tokyo: Setagaya Public Theatre, 2009.
- Nishidô, Kôjin, *Engeki Shisô No Bôken* (The Adventure of Theatrical Thoughts). Tokyo: Ronsôsha, 1987.
- , “Butai To Kyakuseki No ‘Aida’.” (In Between the Stage and the Audience) *Shingeki* 407 (February 1987), 92-97.
- , “Engi Ishiki No Mekanizumu.” (The Mechanism of Theatrical Consciousness) *Teatoro* 541 (March 1988), 64-70.
- , “Mondai Engeki No Tameni.” (For Problematic Theatres) *MUNKS* 1 (June 1992), 30-41.
- , “‘Nikoku’ O Meguru Shomondai.” (Issues Related to the New National Theatre) *MUNKS* 4 (August 1993), 62-64.
- , *Shô Gekijô Wa Shimetsu Shitaka* (Have Small Theatres become extinct?). Tokyo: Renga Shobô Shinsha, 1996.
- , “Geijutsu Kantoku Towa Dareka?: Posuto Satô Makoto O Sagasu.” (Who is the Artistic Director?: Sourcing a Post-Satô Makoto Candidate) *Teatoro* 700 (November 2000), 40-41.
- , *Doramathisuto No Shôzô* (The Portrait of Dramatists). Tokyo: Renga Shobô Shinsha, 2002.
- , “Angura No Genryû O Saguru: Kara Jûrô.” (Searching for the Origins of Angura) *Shiatâ Âtsu* 19 (Summer 2004), 6-25.
- , “Enshutsuka No Shigoto.” (The Works of Directors) In *Enshutuka No Shigoto: 60nendai, Angura, Engeki Kakumei* (The Works of Directors: The 1960s, Angura and the Revolution of Theatre) ed. Nihon Enshutsusha Kyôkai and Nishidô Kôjin. Tokyo: Renga Shobô Shinsha, 2006.
- et. al., “Nani Ga Engeki De Katareruka.” (What can Theatre Narrate?) *MUNKS* 1 (June 1992), 1-14.
- Noda, Hideki, “‘Ibunka Kôryû Toiu Kôfuku.’” (A Joy of Intercultural Exchange) *Serifu No Jidai* 32 (Summer 2004), 68-75.
- and Ôtori Hidenaga, *Noda Hideki, Akaoni No Chôsen* (Noda Hideki and the Challenge of *Red Demon*). Tokyo: Seidosha, 2006.
- Nomura, Takashi, “‘Igatsu No Gekihyô.’” (Reviews of Stages in January) *Teatoro* 270 (March 1966), 70-76.
- , “‘Ajia No Geinô Hanazakari.’” (Flourishing Asian Performing Arts) *Teatoro* 513 (November 1985), 54-58.
- Oda, Makoto, “‘Ajia Ga Ajia Dearu Tameniwa: Ajiajin Bunkasai Ni Mukete.’” (How Asia canbecome Asia: Asian Cultural Festival) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 337 (September 1975), 46-54.
- , *‘Seiji’ No Genri, ‘Undô’ No Genri* (The Principles of ‘Politics’ and ‘Movement’). Tokyo: Kodansha, 1978.

- , “Heiwa No Rinri To Ronri.” (Ethics and Logic of Peace) In *‘Nanshi’ No Shisô* (The Philosophy of the ‘Distress Death’). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1991.
- , “‘Hansen To Henkaku’ Jobun.” (Preface to *Anti-war and Revolution*) In *Hansen Heiwa No Shisô To Kôdô* (Thoughts and Practices of Anti-war Peace Movement), ed. Yoshikawa Yûichi. Tokyo: Shakai Hyôronsha, 1995.
- , *Beheiren: Kaikoroku Denai Kaiko* (Beheiren: An Unmemoir-like Memoir). Tokyo: Daisan Shokan, 1995.
- et. al., *Nihon Wa Korede Inoka Shimin Rengô* (Citizens’ League Questioning Japan’s Future). Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1982.
- Ôe, Kenzaburô et. al., “Nihon Ajia, Afurika Sakka Kaigi Eno Sanka No Yobikake.” (Call for Participation in Japan Afro-Asian Authors Congress) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 321 (May 1974), 86-87.
- Ogawa, Tôru, *Hanada Kiyoteru No Shôgai* (Hanada Kiyoteru: A Biography). Tokyo: Shisô No Kagaku Sha, 1978.
- Oguma, Eiji, *Tanitsu Minzoku Shinwa No Kigen* (The Origin of the Myth of Mono-racial Society). Tokyo: Shinyôsha, 1995.
- , *‘Minshu’ To ‘Aikoku’: Sengo Nihon No Nashonarizumu To Kôkyôsei* (‘Democracy’ and ‘Patriotism: Discourses on Nationalism and Publicness in the Postwar Japan). Tokyo: Shinyôsha, 2002.
- , *1968: Wakamonotachi No Hanran To Sono Haikei* (1968: The Revolt of the Youth and Its Background) vol.1. Tokyo: Shinyôsha, 2009.
- , *1968: Hanran No Shûen To Sono Isan* (1968: The End of Revolt and Its Legacy) vol. 2. Tokyo: Shinyôsha, 2009.
- Ôhashi, Kiichi, “Bîtoruzu No Nazo: Satô Makotokun No Gekisekai.” (The Mystery of Beatles: Satô Makoto’s Plays) *Teatoro* 327 (August 1970), 8-18.
- Ôhashi, Seiko, “Tesaguri De Tadoru Ôrutanathibu.” (Seeking for the Alternatives) *Sekai Kara* 33 (Autumn 1988) 30-35.
- Ômuro, Kazuya and Fujitani Kôji, “Bunka Seisaku Mezasu Hôkôwa: Naikaku Kanbô Sanyo Ni Shûnin, Hirata Orizashi.” (The Direction of Cultural Policy: Interview with the Consultant to the Cabinet Secretary, Mr. Hirata Oriza) *Asahi Shimbun* (2 November 2009).
- Ong, Keng Sen et. al., “Kangakuteki Eijian Angura: PAW ’92 Yokohama Sinpojiumu Daijyesuto.” (A Noisy Asian Angura: Report of PAW 92 Yokohama Symposium) *Les Specs* 473 (June 1992), 36-39.
- Ôno, Shinichi, “Shiranai Koto Kara No Shuppatsu.” (Starting from the Recognition of Blindness) *Shisô No Kagaku* 402 (August 1985), 36-41.
- The Organizing Committee of ATF 83, “201 Ninme No Anata Ni: Ajia Minshû Engeki Kaigi Eno Shôtaijô.” (To the 201st participant: An Invitation to Asian Theatre Forum) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 432 (August 1983), 36-41.
- The Organizing Committee of People’s Culture Movement Forum, “‘Minshû Bunka Undô Fôramu’ Shuisho.” (Prospectus of People’s Culture Movement Forum) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 468 (November/December 1986), 40-45.

- , “Minshū Bunka Undō Fōramu’ Puroguramu.” (Program of the People’s Culture Movement Forum) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 468 (November/ December 1986), 46-47.
- Osanai, Kaoru, *Shibai Nyūmon* (An Introduction to Theatre). Tokyo: Puraton Sha, 1924; reprint, Iwanami Shoten, 1939.
- Ôtake, Hideo, *Shin Sayoku No Isan* (The Legacy of the New Left). Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 2007.
- Ôtori, Hidenaga et. al., “Gendai Sekai Engeki Eno Apurôchi.” (An Approach to Contemporary Theatre in the World) *MUNKS* 12 (February 1999), 1-39.
- Ôuchi, Hirokazu et. al., “80 Nendai Towa Nandattanoka.” (The Meaning of the 1980s) *Gendai Shisô* 29, no. 14 (November 2001), 62-102.
- Ôzasa, Yoshio, *Nihon Gendai Engekishi* (History of Modern Japanese Theatre), vol. 1. Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 1985.
- , *Nihon Gendai Engekishi* (History of Modern Japanese Theatre), vol. 2. Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 1986.
- , *Nihon Gendai Engekishi* (History of Modern Japanese Theatre), vol. 3. Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 1990.
- , *Nihon Gendai Engekishi* (History of Modern Japanese Theatre), vol. 8. Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 2001.
- , “Kurenai Tendo To Kakegoe.” (Yells in the Red Tent) *Kokoro* 30, no. 10 (October 1977), 94-99.
- , “Satô Makoto, Yabureta ‘Yume’ To ‘Yume’ No Yukue.” (Satô Makoto: a Broken Dream and the Future) *Kokubungaku Kaishaku To Kyôzai No Kenkyû* 24 (March 1979) 109-111.
- , “Sengo Gikyoku No 50nen’ O Yomu.” (Reading “50 Years of Postwar Plays”) *Shiatâ Âtsu* 2 (April 1995), 119-125.
- Pacific-Asia Resource Center, “New Phase for the Pacific-Asia Resource Center: Its Aims and Activities.” *AMPO* 16, no. 3 (1984), 56-57.
- Pambid, Manuel, “A.T.F. Wa Nani O Mezasuka?” (The Aim of A.T.F.) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 29 (February 1983), 14-19.
- Park, Jo-yol, “Souru Engeki Dayori,” (A Report of Theatre in Seoul) *Shingeki* 397 (April 1986), 71.
- Park, Sun-num (ed.), *Ri Chin’u Zen Shokanshû* (Complete Collection of Li Jin-wu’s Letters). Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ôraisha, 1979.
- Peterson, William, *Theater and the Politics of Culture in Contemporary Singapore*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2001.
- Prendergast, Monica and Juliana Saxton, *Applied Theatre: International Case Studies and Challenges for Practice*. Bristol and Chicago: Intellect, 2009.
- Prentki, Tim and Sheila Preston, “Applied Theatre: An Introduction.” In *The Applied Theatre Reader*, ed. Prentki and Preston. London and New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Ragland-Sullivan, Ellie, *Jacques Lacan and the Philosophy of Psychoanalysis*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986.

- Rimer, Thomas, *Toward a Modern Japanese Theatre: Kishida Kunio*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974.
- Saeki, Ryûkô, “Dôjidai Engeki Sôkan Ni Atatte.” (Statement on the Inaugural Issue of *Contemporary Theatre Quarterly*) *Kikan Dôjidai Engeki* 1 (Winter 1970), 6-8.
- , “Ushi No Mane O Shita Kaeru.” (A Flog Mimicing an Ox) *Kikan Dôjidai Engeki* 3 (1970), 6-9.
- , “‘Nani Ga Engeki De Katareruka’ Shijô Sanka.” (Comments on ‘What can Theatre Narrate?’ Debate) *MUNKS* 1 (June 1992), 14-22.
- et. al., “Engeki: Kôkyô No Engeki Wa Kanô Ka.” (Is the Public Theatre Possible?) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 27 (August 1982), 2-10.
- Said, Edward W., *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993.
- Saitô, Junichi, *Kôkyôsei* (Publicness). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000.
- Saitô, Hideaki, “Heisei 6 Nendo Bunkachô Shisaku To Engeki.” (The Policy of Agency for Cultural Affairs in 1994 and Theatre) *Join* 7 (June 1994), 2-18.
- Sakai, Naoki, “Asia: Co-figurative Identification.” In *Asia in Transition: Representation and Identity*, ed. Furuichi Yasuko. Tokyo: The Japan Foundation, 2003.
- , *Zôho ‘Sekaishi’ No Kaitai: Honyaku, Shutai, Rekishi* (Deconstructing ‘World History’: Translation, Subjectivity and History, Extended Edition). Tokyo: Ibunsha, 2004.
- Sakate, Yôji, “Futatsu No ‘Kai’ nitsute.” (On the Two Groups) *Teatoro* 604 (June 1993), 114-115.
- , “‘Ajia Zuiichi no Takotsubo’ Karano Dasshutsu: Tônan Ajia Engeki Kenshû Seminâ No Goannai.” (Escape from the Deadlocks: an Invitation to Southeast Asian Theatre Seminar) *Teatoro* 665 (February 1998), 118-120.
- , “Joseikin Tono 10nen To Kongo No Tenbô.” (10 Years with Public Funding and Future Prospects) *Serifu No Jidai* 18 (Winter 2001), 18-19.
- , “Nanyô Kujira Butai.” (Whalers in the South Seas) *Serifu No Jidai* 18 (Winter 2001), 84-174.
- and Betsuyaku Minoru, “Dai 4 Kai Nihon Gekisakka Taikai, Kumamoto Taikai, O Kaisaishimasu.” (Announcement on the Fourth General Meeting of Japan Playwrights Association) *Serifu No Jidai* 34 (Winter 2005), 148-155.
- Sakisaka, Itsurô, *Nihon Kyôsantô Ron* (A Study of Japan Communist Party). Tokyo: Shakai Shugi Kyôkai, 1973.
- Samson, Laura L. et. al., *A Continuing Narrative on Philippine Theatre: The Story of PETA*. Quezon City: Philippine Educational Theater Association, 2008.
- Sasaki, Nobuo, “‘Aratana Kôkyô’ To Jichitai Keiei.” (The ‘New Publicness’ and the Management of Municipal Governments) *Chiiki Seisaku Kenkyû* 31 (June 2005), 6-15.
- Sassa, Atsuyuki, *Tôdai Rakujô: Yasuda Kôdô Kôbô 72 Jikan* (The Fall of the University of Tokyo: The 72-hour Battle at Yasuda Memorial Hall). Tokyo: Bungei Shunjû, 1996.

- Satô, Ikuya, *Gendai Engeki No Fîrudowâku* (A Fieldwork on Contemporary Theatre). Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1999.
- Satô, Makoto, “Muzan Ni Genjitsu O Waishôka: Kiwamonogeki Toshiteno ‘Wakatte Tamaruka!’.” (Trivializing the Reality: Tricky *You don’t Understand!*) *Nihon Dokusho Shimbun* (June 1968), 8.
- , “Jizokusuru Engeki Nitsuite.” (On Sustainable Theatre) *Teatoro* 317 (October 1969), 8-18.
- , “Genshi No Matsuri No Tameni: Kawaramono Wa Undô okoso Mezasu.” (For Imagined Festivals: Riverbed Beggars are Heading to the Movement) *Nihon Dokusho Shimbun* (December 1969), 8.
- , “Kusoshi Nikki.” (Production Diary of *Kusoshi Monogatari*) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 6 (February 1979), 1-13.
- , “Jizokusuru Engeki Saikô.” (Reflections on Sustainable Theatre) *Teatoro* 436 (June 1979), 70-77.
- , “Engeki No Aru Basho.” (The Location of Theatre) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 10 (October 1979), 17-21.
- , “Yoru To Yoru No Yoru.” (The Night of the Night and the Night) *Shingeki* 338 (June 1981), 142-187.
- , “Koritsusuru Undô, Tsûtêsuru Undô.” (The Isolated Movement and the Continuing Movement) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 24 (March 1982), 21-31.
- , “A Call for a ‘Southeast Asian Theatre Seminar’.” In the flyer of Southeast Asian Theatre Seminar. Tokyo: Japan Directors Association, 1997.
- , “Engeki No Kakushinhan 1.” (Convinced Criminal of Theatre 1) *Teatoro* 654 (April 1997), 102-105.
- , “Engeki No Kakushinhan 4.” (Convinced Criminal of Theatre 4) *Teatoro* 657 (July 1997), 70-73.
- , “Engeki No Kakushinhan 5.” (Convinced Criminal of Theatre 5) *Teatoro* 658 (August 1997), 86-69.
- , “Engeki No Kakushinhan 10.” (Convinced Criminal of Theatre 10) *Teatoro* 665 (February 1998), 90-93.
- , “Engeki No Kakushinhan 11.” (Convinced Criminal of Theatre 11) *Teatoro* 666 (March 1998), 90-93.
- , “Engeki No Kakushinhan 12.” (Convinced Criminal of Theatre 12) *Teatoro* 667 (April 1998), 74-77.
- , “Setagaya Paburikku Shiatâ No Dhirekushon.” (The Direction of Setagaya Public Theatre) *PT* 12 (July 2001), 4-7.
- , “My Beatles,” trans. David Goodman. In David Goodman, *The Return of the Gods: Japanese Drama and Culture in the 1960s*. Ithaca: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2003.
- , “A Footprint of Collaboration.” In *Track of Wind: The Dance Eastern Wind—Along with the Asian Artists*, ed. Nezu Kanako. Tokyo: Dance 01, 2004.

- and Akutagawa Hiroshi, “Kyoten De Aratana Shibaizukuri O.” (The Necessity of the Base for Creation) *Teatoro* 372 (February 1974), 46-58.
- and Kanze Hideo, “Naze ‘Shochi’ Ka.” (Why *The Decision?*) *Shingeki* 334 (February 1981), 124-132.
- and Ôtori Hidenaga, “Kuro Tendo No ‘Ajia’: 20nen No Kiseki.” (The Black Tent Theatre and Asia: Looking Back the 20 Years of Exchange) *Butai Geijutsu* 3 (April 2003), 10-29.
- and Shimizu Hiroyuki, “Paburikku Shiatâ No Kanôsei.” (The Possibility of Public Theatre) In *Watashitachi No Gekijô* (Theatres Belong to Us) ed. Shimizu Hiroyuki. Tokyo: Geidankyô Shuppanbu, 1993.
- and Toshimitsu Tetsuo, “Kajôna Konran No Nakade.” (In the Chaotic Situation) *Teatoro* 577 (March 1991), 137-145.
- et. al., “‘Makubâdo’ To Shibai No Yûkôsei.” (*MacBird!* and the Potency of Theatre) *Teatoro* 290 (September 1967), 12-21.
- et. al., “Ajia Kara no Kaze.” (A Wind from Asia) *Kokusai Kôryû* 27 (March 1981), 2-11.
- et. al., “Setagaya Paburikku Shiatâ No Shuppatsu; Kôkyô Gekijô wa Douyû Yakuwari Ga Arunoka.” (The Start of Setagaya Public Theatre: Roles of the Public Theatre) *PT* 1 (April 1997), 34-45.
- et. al., “Geijutsu Kantoku No Shigoto.” (The Role of Artistic Director) *Teatoro* 679 (March 1999), 11-31.
- et. al., “The Dance of Angels Who Burn Their Own Wings,” trans. David Goodman. In David Goodman, *The Return of the Gods: Japanese Drama and Culture in the 1960s*. Ithaca: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2003.
- Satô, Shigeomi, “Terayama Shûji To Jinriki Hikô No Tabi.” (Human-powered Flying Travel with Terayama Shûji) *Eiga Hyôron* (March 1973), 20-33.
- , “Fantomu No Bakudan Ato O Sakasa Butai Ni Shite: Kara Jûrô Arabu Kôenki.” (Making a Site of Bombing a Stage: A Report of Kara Jûrô’s Arab Tour) *Eiga Hyôron* (December 1974), 59-66.
- , *Matsuri Yo Yomigaere!* (Revival of Festivities). Tokyo: Waizu Shuppan, 1997.
- et. al., “Korega Andâ Guraundo Shinemada.” (This is Underground Cinema) *Eiga Hyôron* (August 1966), 34-45.
- et. al., “Angura 70 No Shûkaku,” (Achievements of Angura in 1970) *Eiga Hyôron* (January 1971), 58-75.
- Saitô, Junichi, *Kôkyôsei* (Publicness). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000.
- Saitô, Shôji, “Kyozeitsu Hannô No Zokuron Dewanaika: Fujita Hiroshi ‘Angura Engeki No Shûhen’ E.” (It is a Conventionalism Refusing New Elements: On Fujita Hiroshi’s ‘The Environment of Angura Theatre’) *Teatoro* 326 (July 1970), 14-18.
- Satomi, Minoru, “Nihon No Sêkatsu To Bunka O Ajia No Kagami Ni Utsusu: Minshû Engeki Kaigi Kara No Hôkoku.” (Reflecting Japanese Lives and Culture in the Mirror of Asia: A Report of People’s Theatre Forum) *Asahi Jânaru* 25, no. 45 (October 1983), 71-75.

- Sawada, Keiji, "The Japanese Version of *The Floating World*: a Cross-cultural Event between Japan and Australia." *Australian Drama Studies* 28 (April 1996), 4-19.
- Seki, Kiyoshi and Akiba Hirokazu, "Engeki Jihyô." (Monthly Theatre Review) *Higeki Kigeki* 656 (June 2005), 68-86.
- Sekiguchi, Ei, "Engeki Niokeru Minshûzô." (The Image of the Masses in Theatre) *Nihon Dokusho Shimbun* (May 1970), 8.
- Selden, Mark, "Introduction to People's Plan 21." *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 22, no.3 (July-September 1990), 43.
- Senda, Akihiko, "Situation Theatre: Red Tent South." *Concerned Theatre Japan* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1970), 18-26.
- , "Shôgekijô No Zôhansha Tachi." (The Rebels in Small Theatres) *Bijutsu Techô* (May 1970), 12-45.
- , "Kara Jûrô: Tsuiraku Ganbôsha No Yume." (Kara Jûrô: The Dream of a Wisher of Falling-down) *Eiga Hyôron* (January 1973), 95-99.
- , "Shôgekijô Kûkan Ga Umidasu Mono." (What Small Theatre Space Creates) *Teatoro* 413 (July 1977), 81-87.
- , "Kaidai." (Commentary) In *Kara Jûrô Sakuhinshû* (Collected Works of Kara Jûrô) vol. 2. Tokyo: Tôjusha, 1979.
- , "Kaidai." (Commentary) In *Kara Jûrô Sakuhinshû* (Collected Works of Kara Jûrô) vol. 3. Tokyo: Tôjusha, 1979.
- , *Nihon No Gendai Engeki* (Japanese Contemporary Theatre). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995.
- et. al., "Fushin No Naka No Shûkaku." (Achievements in the Slump) *Shingeki* 261 (January 1975), 36-52.
- Sengo Nihon Kokusai Bunka Kôryû Kenkyûkai, *Sengo Nihon No Kokusai Bunka Kôryû* (International Cultural Exchange of Postwar Japan). Tokyo: Keisô Shobô, 2005.
- Sennett, Richard, *The Fall of Public Man*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977; reprint, London: Penguin, 2002.
- Setagaya Public Theatre, *Press Release of "Ajia Gendai Engeki Koraborêshon Purojekuto, Ajia No Engeki No Nakae"* (Asia Contemporary Theatre Collaboration Project, Going into Asian Theatre). Tokyo: Setagaya Public Theatre, 2003.
- Seto, Hiroshi, "Ajia Shokoku Tono Kokusai Engeki Kôryû O Kangaeru." (On International Theatre Exchange with Asian Countries) *Jamci* 34 (April 1998), 34.
- Shima, Shigeo, *Bund Shi Shi (Memoir of Bund)*. Tokyo: Hihyôsha, 1999.
- Shima, Taizô, *Yasuda Kôdô 1968-1969* (Yoshida Memorial Auditorium 1968-1969). Tokyo: Chûô Kôron Shinsha, 2005.
- Shichiji, Eisuke, "Rinennaki Rinen O Koete." (Beyond the Principles without Philosophy) *Teatoro* 597 (November 1992), 26-30.
- , "90 Nendai Engeki No Zenei To 'Zenei Geki'." (Theatre in the 1990s and the Avant-garde) *Teatoro* 672 (September 1998), 36-38.

- Shimizu, Hiroyuki, "Engeki No Shimei To Yakuwari: Ima Kôkyô Gekijô O Kangaeru." (Purposes and Roles of Theatre: On Public Theatres) *Shingeki* 439 (October 1989), 98-101.
- , "Gekijô Sekkei To Butai Geijutsu." (The Design of Theatres and Its Effect on Performing Arts) *Teatoro* 600 (February 1993), 78-82.
- , "Kôkyôken, Kôritsu Bunka Shisetsu, Chiiki No Butaigeijutsu Kankyô." (Public Sphere, Public Cultural Institute and the Environment of Regional Performing Arts) In *Chiiki Ni Ikiru Gekijô* (Theatres Based in the Regions), ed. Ei Kisei and Motosugi Shôzô. Tokyo: Geidankyo Shuppanbu, 2000.
- , "Kôkyô Hôru No Unei To Gekijôhô O Kangaeru." (On the Management of Public Halls and Theatre Act) *Engekijin* 19 (2005), 41-53.
- Shimizu, Isao and Kanesada Tadashi, "Bunka Geijutsu Sôzô Puran, Shin Seiki Âtsu Puran, Ni Tsuite." (On the New Century Arts Plan) *Join* 38 (September 2002), 14-29.
- Shimomura, Masao, *Shingeki* (New Theatre). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1956.
- Shiokawa, Yoshinobu, "'Shin Sayoku' No Sôsei, Soshite Ima." (The Born of the 'New Left' and its Current Situation) In *Shin Sayoku Undô 40 Nen No Hikari To Kage* (Light and Shadow in the 40 Years of the New Left Movement) ed. Watanabe Ichie et. al. Tokyo: Shinsensha, 1999.
- Soga, Hidehiko, *Osanaï Kaoru To Nijyusseiki Engeki* (Osanaï Kaoru and Theatre in the 20th Century). Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 1999.
- Somura, Yukiko, "Rentai O Tsukuridasu Sôzô Undô: 'G Tama Jiman' No Kêken Kara." (Creative Activities for Solidarity: an Experience of 'Group Tama Pride') *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 448 (January 1985), 37-42.
- Sooksopa, Tepsiri and Hariu Ichirô, "Tai No Bungaku To Minshû No Tamenô Geijutsu." (Thai Literature and Arts for People) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 399 (November 1980), 101-107.
- Steering Committee of Pacific Asia Resource Centre, "Ajia Taiheiyô Shiryô Sentâ Dai 3 Kai Sôkai Eno Unei Iinkai No Mondai Têki." (Issued Raised by the Steering Committee for PARC's Third General Meeting) *Sekai Kara* 28 (Winter 1987), 86-90.
- Sudo, Sueo, *Evolution of ASEAN-Japan Relations*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005.
- Suga, Hidemi, "'Jinmin Sensen' To Hyôshô=Jôen No Genkai." ('People's Front' and the Limit of Representation) *Shiatâ Âtsu* 2 (April 1995), 126-134.
- , "60nendai Engeki No Aporia: Angura Kara Tsuka Kôhei E." (An Aporia of the 1960s Theatre: From Angura to Tsuka Kôhei) *Engekijin* 8 (October 2001), 97-107.
- , *Kakumeitekina, Amarini Kakumeitekina: '1968nen No Kakumei' Shiron* (Revolutionary, Too Revolutionary: On the '1968 Revolution'). Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2003.
- , "1968 / 1970: Soko De Hajimatta Koto." (1968 / 1970: What Started There) In *1968*, ed. Suga Hidemi. Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2005.
- , *1968nen* (The Year 1968). Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 2006.

- Sulaiman, Huzir, "Occupation." In *Eight Plays*, ed. Joan Lau and Huzir Sulaiman. Kuala Lumpur, Silverfish Books, 2002.
- Suzuki, Hideo, *Shin Sayoku To Rosujene* (The New Left and the Lost Generation). Tokyo: Shûeisha, 2009.
- Suzuki, Kôjirô, "21 Seiki No Kôkyô Gekijô." (Public Theatres in the 21st Century) *Engekijin* 5 (July 2000), 66-74.
- et. al., "Kôkyô Gekijô O Meguru." (On Public Theatre) *MUNKS* 15 (May 2001), 1-41.
- Suzuki, Tadashi, "Sakuhin Niyoru Rentai O: 'Wesukâ 68' To Miyamoto Kenshi No Seijiteki Ito." (Solidarity must be Achieved on the Stage: 'Wesker 68' and Mr. Miyamoto Ken's Political Intentions) *Nihon Dokusho Shimbun* (October 1968), 8.
- , "Roiyaru Shêkusupia To Shingeki No Ichi." (The Royal Shakespeare Company and the Position of Shingeki) *Shingeki* 203 (March 1970), 24-27.
- , *Naikaku No Wa* (The Sum of the Internal Angles). Tokyo: Jiritsu Shobô, 1973.
- , "Konkyochi Ni Tsuite: Waseda Shôgekijô No Kiseki To Tenbô." (On the Base: History of Waseda Little Theatre and the Outlook for Future) *Shingeki* 277 (May 1976), 40-49.
- , *Katari No Chihei* (The Horizon of Fraud). Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 1980.
- , *Engeki Towa Nanika* (An Introduction to Theatre). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1988.
- and Nakamura Yûjirô, *Gekiteki Gengo Zôhoban* (The Dramatic Language, Augmented Edition). Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1999.
- et. al., "Chiiki To Bunka Sôzô No Mirai." (The Future of Cultural Creation in the Region) *Engekijin* 10 (2002), 14-40.
- et. al., "Bunka Sôzô No Mirai." (The Future of Cultural Creation) *Engekijin* 19 (2005), 8-32.
- Swortzell, Lowell, "Trying to Like TIE: An American Critic Hopes TIE can be Saved." In *Learning through Theatre: New Perspectives on Theatre in Education*, ed. Tony Jackson. London and New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Tadokoro, Izumi, "'Shin Nihon Bungaku' Shi No Tameno Oboegaki 3." (Note on the History of *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 3) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 649 (May/June 2004), 180-187.
- , "'Shin Nihon Bungaku' Shi No Tameno Oboegaki 4." (Note on the History of *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 4) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 651 (September/October 2004), 187-195.
- Takahagi, Hiroshi, "Koronbia Daigaku Âtsu Adominisutorêshon Puroguramu Ryûgaku Hôkokusho." (Report of my Study at the Arts Administration Program, Columbia University) *Teatoro* 615 (April 1994), 48-51.
- , "'Akaoni' Projekuto Hôkoku: Ajia Butai Geijutsuka Kôryû Kenshû Jigyô by Kokusai Kôryû Kikin 1997-98." (Report of the *Red Demon* Project: Exchange, Study and Training Program for Asian Theatrical Artists by the Japan Foundation, 1997-1998) *PT* 5 (August 1998), 52-55.

- , “Kôkyô Gekijô No Kankyaku Towa?” (Audience of Public Theatre) *Higeki Kigeki* 681 (July 2007), 44-47.
- , *Boku To Engeki To Yume No Yûminsha* (The Dreaming Bohemian, Theatre and I). Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbun Shuppansha, 2009.
- et. al., “Wâkushoppu No Genzai.” (The Current Situation of Workshops) *Join* 42 (September 2003), 16-31.
- Takahashi, Shôhachi, “Firipin, Minshû No Sei To Minshuka Eno Rendô.” (The Lives of Philippine People and Realization of Democracy) *Suigyû Tsûshin* 91 (February 1987). http://www1.u-netsurf.ne.jp/~mie_y/suigyû/tushin/1987_02.html (accessed 5 January 2011).
- Takahashi, Tomomi, “‘Moshikashitara Engekutte Kawarukamo?’ Toyû Kimochi O Taisetsuni.” (Appreciating the Impression of ‘Theatre can Change’) In *SPT educational 3*, ed. Gakugei (Curation Department), Setagaya Public Theatre. Tokyo: Setagaya Public Theatre, 2009.
- Takahashi, Yûji, “‘Ikiru Tameno Uta’ To Kyôsei No Chihei E.” (Realizing Convivability through ‘Songs for Life’) *Gendai No Me* 20, no. 1 (January 1979), 122-127.
- , *Suigyû Gakudan No Dekiru Made* (Setting up Water Buffalo Band). Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 1981.
- et. al., “Suigyû Tsûshin 100 Gô Ni Yosete.” (Celebrating the 100th Issue of *Water Buffalo Magazine*) *Suigyû Tsûshin* 9, no. 11 (November 1987), 2-12.
- Takeuchi, Jûichirô and Murai Ken, “Engeki No Seijuku, Kankyaku No Seijuku.” (Maturing of Theatre, Maturing of Audience) *Teatoro* 596 (October 1992), 2-11.
- Takeuchi, Toshiharu, “Shingeki No Kaitai To Engeki No Sôzô.” (Destruction of Shingeki and Creation of Theatre) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 214 (May 1965), 106-116.
- , “Yoyogi Shôgekijô Nitsuitenno Setsumeiteki Katsu Dansôteki Naru Hôkoku.” (A Descriptive and Cross-cutting Report on Yoyogi Little Theatre) *Teatoro* 282 (February 1967), 32-40.
- et. al., “Korekara No Engeki Katsudô.” (Theatre Activities in the Future) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 378 (February 1979), 78-92.
- Takeuchi, Yoshimi, *Nihon To Ajia* (Japan and Asia). Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1993.
- , “Nihon No Ajia Shugi.” (Japan’s Asianism) In Matsumoto Kenichi, *Takeuchi Yoshimi ‘Nihon No Ajia Shugi’ Seidoku* (Reading Takeuchi Yoshimi’s “Japan’s Asianism”). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000.
- Tanaka, Hiroshi, *Zainichi Gaikokujin Shinban* (Zainichi Foreigners: New Edition). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995.
- Tanioka, Takehiko, “‘Tenkeiki’ No Gekisakka: Hanada Kiyoteru To Abe Kôbô.” (Playwrights in the ‘Transformation Period’: Hanada Kiyoteru and Abe Kôbô) *PT* 8 (August 1999), 22-25.
- Taylor, Charles, “The Politics of Recognition.” In *Multiculturalism*, ed. Amy Gutmann. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- Terayama, Shûji, “Gekiteki Sôzôryoku No Fukken: Warera ‘Tenjô Sajiki’ Undô Ga ‘Hanashikakeru’ Kôï Towa.” (Revival of Dramatic Imagination: Tenjô Sajiki’s ‘Talking to the Others’ Activities) *Nihon Dokusho Shimbun* (January 1968), 8.

- Toita, Yasuji et. al., "Engeki Yomoyama Banashi." (Chatting about Theatre) *Higeki Kigeki* 329 (March 1978), 46-49.
- Tomlinson, John, *Cultural Imperialism: a Critical Introduction*. London and New York: Continuum, 1991.
- Tonooka, Naomi, "Ajia No Josei Engekijin Wa Ima: Dai 3 Kai Ajia Josei Engeki Kaigi Hôkoku." (The Current Situation of Female Theatre Practitioners in Asia: Report of the Third Conference for Asian Women and Theatre) *Teatoro* 707 (May 2001), 42-45.
- Toshimitsu, Tetsuo, "Tôkyû Bunkamura Siatâ Kokûn Geijutsu Kantoku Kushida Kazuyoshi Ni Kiku." (Interview with Kushida Kazuyoshi, Artistic Director of Tokyu Bunkamura Theatre Cocoon) *Teatoro* 559 (September 1989), 102-109.
- Tsuboike, Eiko, "Latest Trends by Genre: Shôgekijô (Small Theater) Movement." In *Theater in Japan: An Overview of Performing Arts and Artists*, ed. Institute for the Arts. Tokyo: The Japan Foundation, 2008.
- Tsubouchi, Yûzô, *1972: 'Hajimari No Owari' To 'Owari No Hajimari' (1972: The Beginning of the End and the End of Beginning)*. Tokyo: Bungei Shunjû, 2006.
- Tsuka, Kôhei, "Ore No Toko Ga, Hontô Ni Chi No Kayotta Gekidan Dattandayone." (My Company was Really a Humane Group) *Shingeki* 354 (October 1982), 115-123..
- and Watanabe Munetatsu, "Sabutekisuto: 'Musume Ni Kataru Sokoku' O Kataru." (Subtext: Discussing *Talking about Homeland to My Daughter*) *Sekai* 555 (June 1991), 299-308.
- Tsumura, Takashi, *Warera No Uchinaru Sabetsu (Our Inner Discriminations)*. Tokyo: San-ichi Shobô, 1970.
- , *Zenkyôtô: Jizoku To Tenkei (Zenkyôtô: Continuity and Transformation)*. Tokyo: Gogatsusha, 1980.
- Tsumura, Takashi, "Chiiki Sôzô Deno Wâkushoppu Jirei." (Workshop Activities Conducted by Japan Foundation for Regional Art-activities) *PT* 4 (April 1998), 40-41.
- , "Yume No Âto Sentâ O Mezashite." (Towards the Dream Art Centre) in *Dai 2 Kai Sekai Gekijô Kaigi Happyô Ronbunshû (the 2nd International Theatre Conference Proceedings)*. Nagoya: Sekai Gekijô Kaigi Jikkô Inkaï, 2004.
- Tsuno, Kaitarô, "Biwa and Beatles." *Concerned Theatre Japan*, Special Introductory Issue (October 1969), 6-32.
- , "The Trinity of Modern Theatre." *Concerned Theatre Japan* 1, no. 2 (Summer 1970), 81-100.
- , "Kitsuen Gekijô Wa Doko Ni Arunoka." (Where is the Smoking Theatre?) *Kikan Dôjidai Engeki* 1 (Winter 1970), 48-70.
- , "Satô Makoto Ron: Nezumitachi Wa Shinde." (On Satô Makoto: Rats are Dead) *Kikan Dôjidai Engeki* 2 (1970), 142-149.
- , "Idô Gekijô Notameno Kôkoku." (An Advertisement of the Mobile Theatre) *Kikan Dôjidai Engeki* 3 (1970), 204-209.
- , "Undô To Shiteno Ajia Engeki: Watashitachi No Gakkô Kôsô." (Asian Theatre as a Movement: Our School Project) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 362 (October 1977), 70-75.

- , “Undô No Akarukute Kurai Basho.” (The Bright yet Dark Place of the Movement) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 5 (September 1978), 11-16.
- , “Hajimeni.” (Preface) In *Ajia Minshû Bunka No Yûbe* (An Evening of Asian People’s Culture) Program Booklet. Tokyo: Organizers of An Evening of Asian People’s Culture, 1978.
- , “The Stones of Satire: The Asian Political Theaters.” *AMPO* 11, no. 2-3 (1979), 1-9.
- , “Ajia No Gekijyô Ni Tsuite: Bën Serubantesu O Chûshin Ni.” (On Asian Theatre: Focusing on Behn Cervantes) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 384 (August 1979), 36-43.
- , “Dozô to Yôkai.” (Storehouse and Ghost) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 13 (April 1980), 50-56.
- , “Tento No Uchisoto.” (Tent Theatre, In and Out) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 394 (June 1980), 117-120.
- , “Augusuburugu No Hito No Gekijyô: ‘Engeki Girai No Engeki’ Ni Tsuite.” (Theatre for the People of Augsburg: On Theatre for ‘Haters of Theatre’) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 17 (November 1980), 5-13.
- , *Chiisana Media No Hitsuyô* (The Necessity of Small Media). Tokyo: Shôbunsha, 1981.
- , “Kokka Dezainâ Toshiteno Chishikijin: Umesao Tadao Ron 2.” (Intellectuals as Designers of the State: On Umesao Tadao 2) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 420 (August 1982), 60-70.
- , “PETA Ga Kuru.” (PETA is Coming) *Suigyû Tsûshin* 88 (November 1986). http://www1.u-netsurf.ne.jp/~mie_y/suigyû/tushin/1986_11.html (accessed 23 December 2010).
- , *Okashina Jidai* (The Strange Period: A Memoir). Tokyo: Hon No Zasshi Sha, 2008.
- and Ezaki Yasuko, “Omowanu Nihon Ga Mietekuru.” (Finding Hidden Japan) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 487 (Autumn 1988), 40-43.
- and Saeki Ryûkô, “Gekijô: Kôkyô No Engeki Wa Kanôka.” (Theatre: The Possibility of Theatre of Publicness) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 27 (August 1982), 2-10.
- et. al., “Ajia Engeki Kaigi To Wareware No Kadai.” (Asian Theatre Forum and Our Challenges) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 29 (February 1983), 32-46.
- et. al., “Suigyû Tsûshin’ Wa Donoyôni Tsukurareruka.” (How the *Water Buffalo Magazine* is produced) *Suigyû Tsûshin* 7, no. 11 (November 1985), 2-11.
- et. al., “Wâpuro Hitsudan, Henshû Kaigi.” (Editorial Meeting via Word Processors) *Suigyû Tsûshin* 88 (November 1986). http://www1.u-netsurf.ne.jp/~mie_y/suigyû/tushin/1986_11.html (accessed 5 January 2011).
- Tsurumi, Kazuko, *Student Movements in 1960 and 1969: Continuity and Change*. Tokyo: Sophia University Institute of International Relations, n.d.
- Tsurumi, Shunsuke, *Atarashii Kaikoku* (The New Opening of the Country), *Nihon No Hyakunen* (100 Years of Japan), no. 10. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 2008.

- Tsurumi, Yoshiyuki, "Beheiren," *Ampo* 1 (November 1969), 5-7.
- , "1970 Nen To Beheiren: Tôitsu Ni Tsuiteno Shiteki Oboegaki." (Beheiren and 1970: A Personal Note on Integration) In *Beheiren: Kyodai Na Hansen No Uzu O!* (Beheiren: Making a Gigantic Wave of anti-war Movement), ed. Oda Makoto. Tokyo: San-ichi Shobô, 1969.
- , *Ajiajin To Nihonjin* (Asians and Japanese). Tokyo: Shôbunsha, 1980.
- , *Tônan Ajia O Shiru: Watashi No Hôhô* (Learning about Southeast Asia: My Method). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995.
- , *Beheiren: Tsurumi Yoshiyuki Chosakushû 2* (Beheiren: Collection of Tsurumi Yoshiyuki's Works vol. 2), ed. Yoshikawa Yûichi. Tokyo: Misuzu Shobô, 2002.
- , *Ajia Tono Deai: Tsurumi Yoshiyuki Chosakushû 3* (The Encounter with Asia: Collection of Tsurumi Yoshiyuki's Works vol. 3), ed. Yoshikawa Yûichi. Tokyo: Misuzu Shobô, 2002.
- et. al., "Sotogawa Kara Nihon O Miru." (Watching Japan from Outside) *Ningen To Shite* 10 (June 1972), 78-100.
- Uchida, Yôichi, "The 1980s in the Context of Japanese Theater History." In *Half A Century of Japanese Theater III: 1980s part 1*, ed. Japan Playwright Association. Tokyo: Kinokuniya Company Ltd., 2001.
- Uchino, Tadashi, "Kawamura Takeshi No Nyûyôku." (Kawamura Takeshi in New York) *Teatoro* 670 (July 1998), 80-83.
- , "Noda Hideki To Samu Shepâdo: Gurôbarithi, Kokumin Kokka, Engeki." (Noda Hideki and Sam Shepard: Globality, Nation-state and Theatre) *Yuriika* (June 2001), 134-142.
- et. al., "'Kokyô No Gekijô' Ni Mukatte." (Towards the 'Public Theatre') *MUNKS* 8 (June 1995), 1-19.
- Uchiyama, Jun, "Nihon To Chûgoku No Engeki Taiwa: 'Nicchû Engeki Fôramu' To Chûgoku No 'Hamuretto'." (Theatre Exchange between Japan and China: Japan-China Theatre Forum and Chinese *Hamlet*) *Higeki Kigeki* 535 (May 1995), 6-7.
- Ueda, Makoto, "Taishû No Aru Oto; Ajiakan No Tenkanten." (A Smelly Sound: Changing image of Asia) *Shisô No Kagaku* 530 (November 1995), 4-14.
- Ueno, Chizuko and Chong Yonhe, "Gaikokujin Mondai Towa Nanika: Aidenthithi Kaitai No Gerira Senryaku." (On Issues related to Foreigners: a Guerilla Strategy for the Deconstruction of Identity) *Gendai Shisô* 21, no. 9 (August 1993), 56-83.
- et. al., "Gaido Mappu 60, 70 nendai." (Guide Map of the 1960s-70s) In *Sengo Nihon Stadîzu* (Postwar Japanese Studies) vol. 2, ed. Ueno Chizuko et. al. Tokyo: Kinokuniya Shoten, 2009.
- Ukai, Tetsu et. al., "Idô Suru Ajia: Jikkenteki Gendaisei Towa Nanika." (The Moving Asia: On Experimental Contemporariness), *Butai Geijutu* 3 (April 2003), 67-104.
- Umeyama, Itsuki, "Namae No Nai Hekiga: Engeki Sentâ 68/71 No 'Tsubasa O Moyasu Tenshitachi No Butô' Bunseki." (An Anonymous Wall Painting: Engeki Centre 68/71's *The Dance of Angels Who Burn Their Own Wings*) *Engekigaku Ronjû* 46 (2008), 123-145.

- , “Truth-Telling and Demystification of Angura.” In *‘Reconsidering the Underground Theatre of the 1960s: An International Conference’ Pamphlet*, ed. Okamuro Minako et. al. Tokyo: Waseda University Theatre Museum Global CEO Program, 2008.
- Unami, Akira, “Bunka Sangyô No Kôzô.” (The Structure of the Cultural Industry) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 408 (August 1981), 101-105.
- Uriu, Ryôsuke, *Shô Gekijô Undô Zenshi: Kiroku Hakken No Kai* (The Complete History of the Small Theatre Movement: A Record of *Hakken No Kai*). Tokyo: Zôkeisha, 1983.
- Ushiroshôji, Masahiro, “The Birth of the Asian Art Museum: The Asian Collection and Two Decades of Asian Art Shows.” In *Ajia No bijutsu: Fukuoka Ajia Bijutsukan No Korekushon To Sono Katsudô* (Asian Art: The Collections and Activities of Fukuoka Asian Art Museum). Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1999.
- Van Erven, Eugène, *The Playful Revolution: Theatre and Liberation in Asia*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992.
- Wada, Jun, “Higashi Ajia Ni Okeru Nihon No Kokusai Bunka Kôryû To Bunka Gaikô.” (Japanese Cultural Exchange and Cultural Diplomacy in East Asia) In *Nihon no Higashi Ajia Koso (Designing Japanese Diplomacy in East Asia)*, ed. Soeya Yoshihide and Tadokoro Masayuki. Tokyo: Keiô Gijuku Daigaku Shuppankai, 2004.
- Wada, Muneki, “‘Sedai’ No Shakaigakuteki Kôsetsu.” (A Sociological Study of the ‘Generation’) In *Tabunka Tasedai Kôsa Sekai Niokeru Shimin Ishiki No Keisei* (Development of Civil Consciousness in the Multicultural and Multi-generational Society), ed. Watanabe Hideki and Arisue Ken. Tokyo: Keiô Gijuku Daigaku Shuppankai, 2008.
- Wakamiya, Yoshibumi, *Wakai To Nashonarizumu: Sengo Hoshu No Ajia Kan* (Reconciliation and Nationalism: Postwar Japanese Conservative’s Perceptions on Asia). Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 2006.
- Watanabe, Tamotsu et. al., “1993 Nen Kamihanki, Gekikai No Jiken To Butai No Seika.” (News and Achievements in the First Half of 1993) *Teatoro* 607 (September 1993), 22-29.
- Watanabe, Tsutomu, “Nihon Rôdô Undô O Ajia kara Mikaesu.” (Relocating the Japanese Labor Movement from Asian Viewpoint) *Sekai Kara* 3 (Winter 1980), 11-20.
- Weintraub, Jeff, “The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction.” In *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy*, ed. Jeff Weintraub and Krishan Kumar. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- , “Public/Private: The Limitations of a Grand Dichotomy.” *The Responsive Community* 7, issue 2 (Spring 1997), 13-24.
- Wun’gao, Surichai, “Atarashii ‘Kô’ No Supêsu O Sôshutsusuru Hitobito No Insiachibu.” (An Initiative to Create a New Public Space) *Oruta* 4 (Spring 1993), 118-120.
- Yabuki, Makoto, “Shûdan No Bakkubôn To Shite.” (As a Backbone of the Group) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 12 (February 1980), 33-34.
- Yamaguchi, Masao et. al., “Terayama Shûji No Uchû.” (The Universe of Terayama Shûji) *Gendaishi Techô* 26, no. 12 (November Special Issue, 1983), 24-41.

- Yamaguchi, Takeshi, *Kurenai Tendo Seishunroku* (Memoir of My Days in the Situation Theatre's Red Tent). Tokyo: Rippû Shobô, 1993.
- Yamamoto, Kenichi, "Kowareta Taimu Mashin." (The Broken Time Machine) *Teatoro* 445 (March 1980), 80-84.
- , "Engeki Jûjiro," (A Crossroad of Theatre) *Shingeki* 391 (November 1985), 80-85.
- Yamamoto, Kiyokazu, "The World as Public Toilet." *Concerned Theatre Japan* 1, no. 2 (Summer 1970), 214-219.
- , "'Dura Tura' Ni Tsuite No Oboegaki." (A Memorandum on *Dula-Tula*) *Hyôgikai Tsûshin* 29 (February 1983), 28-31.
- Yamamoto, Sumiko, *Eibei Engeki Inyû Kô* (A Study of the Import of English/American Theatre). Tokyo: Bunkasyobo Hakubunsha, 1992.
- Yamato, Shigeru, "Butai Geijutsu Eno Josei O Kangaeru." (On Financial Support to the Performing Arts) *Engekijin* 5 (July 2000), 83-90.
- Yamawaki, Naoshi, *Kôkyô Tetsugaku Towa Nanika* (On Public Philosophy). Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô: 2004.
- Yamazaki, Masakazu et. al., "Engeki No Kôkyôsei Towa Nanika." (On the Publicness of Theatre) *Join* 8 (October 1994), 2-21.
- Yang, Min-gi, "Ikaino No Madangeki Undô." (Madang Theatre Movement in Ikaino Area) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 448 (January 1985), 43-49.
- Yatsumaki, Mie, "Dokokara 'Kafuka'." ('Possible' and 'Impossible') *Suigyû Tsûshin* 101 (December 1987).
http://www1.u-netsurf.ne.jp/~mie_y/suigyutushin/1987_12.html (accessed 23 December 2010).
- Yoshida, Toshimi, "Tabunka Shugi." (Multiculturalism) *Gendai Shisô* 28, no. 3 (February Special Issue 2000), 90-93.
- Yoshikawa, Yûichi, "Shimin, Jyûmin Undô To Hoshuka." (Conservatism in Citizens Movements and Residents Movements) *Shisô No Kagaku* 312 (April Special Issue 1979), 48-57.
- , *Shimin Undô No Shukudai* (The Continuing Issues of the Citizens Movement). Tokyo: Shisô No Kagakusha, 1991.
- Yoshimoto, Mitsuhiro, "Toshi Infura Toshiteno Gekijô." (Theatre as an Urban Infrastructure) *Shingeki* 439 (October 1989), 104-107.
- Yoshioka, Shinobu, "Nihon No Naka No 'Ajia': Ajia Shokoku Kara Kuru Hitobito." ('Asia' within Japan: Migrants from Asian Countries) *Shisô No Kagaku* 443 (August 1988), 4-24.
- et. al., "Ajia No Hitotachi Tono Atarashî Kankei." (A New Relationship with Asian People) *Shin Nihon Bungaku* 487 (Autumn 1988), 62-70.

Timeline

	Theatre	Social / Political Movement	Cultural Diplomacy
Late 19 th Century	1886: <i>Engeki Kairyō Undō</i> (Reformation of Theatre Movement) started. (Ch.2, Sec. 1, 1)		
Early 20 th Century	1912: Osanai Kaoru visited Russia and established aesthetics of Shingeki theatre. (Ch.2, Sec. 1, 2) The 1920s: Leftist faction of Shingeki emerged. (Ch.2, Sec. 1, 2)	1922: Japan Communist Party (JCP) was formed. (Ch.2, Sec. 1, 2)	
Early Postwar Period	1959: An anti-shingeki theatre company, <i>Seigei</i> (Youth Art Theatre) was formed. (Ch.2, Sec. 2, 2)	1950: JCP's internal conflict began. (Ch.2, Sec. 1, 2) 1958: The New Left movement started. (Ch.2, Sec. 2, 1)	
1960		1960: <i>Nichibei Ampo Jōyaku</i> (Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States) was revised. The largest number of demonstrators surrounded the National Diet Building.	
1964		1961-1965: Temporary downturn of the New Left movement	

1965	<p>1966: Theatre critic Satō Shigeomi started to use the term 'Angura' (underground). The Angura theatre movement started. (Ch.2, Sec. 3)</p> <p>1967: Satō Makoto's <i>Atashi No Bitoruzu (My Beatles)</i>, themed on Zainichi Koreans was staged. (Ch.2, Sec. 3, 4)</p> <p>1968: An Angura theatre company, The Black Tent Theatre (BTT) was formed. The <i>Communication Plan Number 1</i> was published as a manifesto of the new group. (Ch.2, Sec. 3, 4)</p>	<p>1965: A civic movement organization, <i>Behiren</i> (Citizen's League for Peace in Vietnam) was formed. Separation of civic movement and student movement. (Ch.2, Sec. 3, 2)</p> <p>1966: <i>Behiren</i> leader Oda Makoto published <i>Heiwa No Rinri to Ronri (Ethics and Logic of Peace)</i> and introduced a viewpoint to see Japanese as aggressors against Asian countries. (Ch.2, Sec. 3, 2)</p>	
1969			
1970	<p>1973: Angura theatre artist Kara Jūrō's Situation Theatre toured to Bangladesh (Ch.2, Sec. 3, 4)</p> <p>1974: Tsuka Kōhei won Kishida Kunio Drama Award. The rise of the 'second generation' theatre artists who succeeded Angura theatre movement. (Ch. 3, sec. 1)</p>	<p>1970: Student movement was accused by the Overseas Chinese Youth Struggling Committee. The "paradigm shift" of Student movement occurred and activists turned their eyes to Asia. (Ch.2, Sec. 3, 3)</p> <p>Early 1970s: A new civic movement called residents' movement emerged to fight with pollution issues. (Ch. 3, Sec. 3)</p> <p>1973: Pacific Asia Resource Centre (PARC) was established. (Ch. 3, Sec. 3)</p>	<p>1972: The Japan Foundation was established. (Ch. 4, Sec. 3)</p>
1974			

1975	<p>1976: The BTT suspended its 'mobile theatre' tent performances. The end of Angura theatre movement. (Ch.2, Sec. 3)</p> <p>1977: The BTT staged <i>Ugly JASEAN</i> with anti-pollution movement activists. (Ch. 3, Sec. 2, 1)</p> <p>1978: The BTT member met Philippine Educational Theatre Association (PETA) in India. (Ch. 3, Sec. 2, 3)</p> <p>1979: The BTT published the Draft Mission Statement. "Asian Theatre" was a keyword. (Ch. 3, Sec. 2, 2)</p>	<p>Mid-1970s: The New Left movement declined. (Ch. 3, Sec. 1)</p> <p>Mid-1970s: Export of pollution to Southeast Asia came into the scope of residents' movement. (Ch. 3, Sec. 3)</p>	
1979			
1980	<p>1981: The Asian Theatre Forum (ATF) was set up by BTT and PETA. (Ch. 3, Sec. 2, 2)</p>		
1984	<p>1983: ATF83 was held in Japan by the BTT. (Ch. 3, Sec. 3)</p>		
1985		<p>1986: The People's Theatre Movement Forum was organized by New Japanese Literature Association. (Ch. 3, Sec. 3)</p> <p>1989: People's Plan 21 was organized by PARC. (Ch. 3, Sec. 3)</p>	
1989			

1990	<p>1990: Japan Arts Council was established. The beginning of large-scale public funding on arts. (Ch. 4, Sec. 2)</p> <p>1990: First 'public theatres', Shōnandai Cultural Centre and Art Tower Mito opened. (Ch. 4, Sec. 2)</p> <p>1990: Satō Makoto started Asian Contemporary Arts Workshop (ACAW) project with the funding from the Japan Foundation. (Ch. 5, Sec. 2)</p> <p>1992: Contemporary Theatre Network was formed by the initiative of Hirata Oriza. (Ch. 4, Sec. 2)</p>	Early 1990s: Introduction of Kyōsei concept in Japanese civic movement and government. (Ch. 4, Sec. 1)	1990: The Japan Foundation set up ASEAN Cultural Centre, the first institute for introducing foreign culture to Japan. (Ch. 4, Sec. 3)
1994			
1995	<p>1997: The Setagaya Public Theatre (SePT) opened. Director of the BTT, Satō Makoto became the first artistic director of the SePT. (Ch. 4, Sec. 2)</p> <p>1998: Southeast Asian Theatre Seminar was organized by the Japan Directors Association and the SePT. (Ch. 4, Sec. 3)</p>		<p>1995: The Japan Foundation started Asia Centre Program and Exchange, Study and Training Program for Asian Theatrical Artists. The beginning of international collaborations with Southeast Asian countries. (Ch. 4, Sec. 3)</p> <p>1997: International collaboration productions <i>Lear and Red Demon</i> were staged. (Ch. 4, Sec. 3)</p>
1999			
2000			<p>2001: Japan-Malaysia collaboration <i>The Island In Between</i> was staged.</p> <p>2002: Exchange, Study and Training Program for Asian Theatrical Artists was stopped.</p>