

# ANPO REVISITED

**ANPO REVISITED:** In light of the recent youth protests against that security bills with the US, obvious, sometimes problematic, but maybe inevitable comparisons are made to the Anpo movements of the 1960's and 1970's. This event aims to provide an opportunity to 1) revisit the Anpo movements in light of more recent research; 2) to address the ways in which the images of Anpo, events and actors have been represented and deployed since, and 3) to examine some of the differences between these two youth activist movements in Japan.

We have brought together an exciting group of young scholars who are doing cutting edge work on different aspects of Anpo for an informal afternoon of presentations and discussion.

November 14th, 2015, 13:00-16:00, Room 301,  
Bldg. 10, Yotsuya Campus, Sophia University

Presenters: Abstracts and Bios

**Naoko Koda**, Kinki (Kindai) University

The clashing concepts of “security”: The public consensus and the protests of the 1960s.

**Chelsea Szendi Schieder**, Meiji University

Victimization and Voice: Emotional Mobilization in 1960 Anpo

**Hiroe Saruya**, Sophia University

Fractures and Bonds within the 1960 Anpo Protest Movement

**Takemasa Ando**, Musashi University

The absence of the new left: the (un)changing cultures of activism in Japan

Moderator: **David H. Slater**, Sophia University

**Koda Naoko**, *The clashing concepts of “security”: The public consensus and the protests of the 1960s.*

This presentation will focus on two events involving the student movement of the 1960s: the Sunagawa struggle of the late 1950s and Beheiren's activism which is often conceptually disassociated with the student movement of the sixties. I believe these two cases will provide the audience with the images of the student left that strikingly contrast to its widely held images. At the same time, I will focus on the relationship between the protest movements and the public consensus by looking at the debates over “security.”

**Koda Naoko**, Lecturer at Kinki (Kindai) University. She specialized in the history of the United States and the US-Japan relations. Her recent work has focused on the Japanese Student Movement in the context of America's Cold War, which was submitted as her Ph.D. dissertation at New York University in 2015. Her earlier work focused on the protest movements in the United States. Her Master's thesis on the National Guardian and the anti-Vietnam War Movement was culminated in publication of a chapter, “Guarding News for the Movement: The Guardian and the Vietnam War, 1954-70,” in *Media and Revolt: Strategies and Performances from the 1960s to the Present* in 2014.

**Chelsea Szendi Schieder**, *Victimization and Voice: Emotional Mobilization in 1960 Anpo*

I will focus on the meaning created by the 1960 death of Kanba Michiko, a female student involved in mass demonstrations against the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty (Anpo). The context in which popular



sympathy emerged for Kanba as a “maiden sacrifice” for postwar democracy encompassed a broader discourse of anger as a legitimate form of political expression for certain segments of the population at the time, in particular young, middle-class women. I also explore, however, how Kanba’s own radical politics were undermined by various attempts to speak on her behalf and fit her into shared frames of popular empathy. I use this case to consider how a discourse of vulnerability and victimization, while mobilizing popular sympathy to a political cause, also threatened to reinforce existing values and emotional standards at the time of the 1960 Anpo demonstrations.

**Chelsea Szendi Schieder**, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science and Economics, Meiji University. Her current research is on the political meaning of female student participation in post-war student activism in Japan. She obtained her Ph.D. in Modern Japanese History from Columbia University in 2014; her dissertation title was “Ruin of the Nation by Co-Eds: The Female Student in the Japanese New Left, 1957-1972.” Her nonacademic work has been published in *Monthly Review* and *Dissent*.

**Saruya Hiroe**, *Fractures and Bonds within the 1960 Anpo Protest Movement*

My presentation focuses on the movements connected with the Anpo protests that were organized by students and intellectuals. In this presentation, I address the following series of questions: 1) what kinds of organizations were developed, 2) how were the movements organized for the Anpo protests, 3) what kinds of internal conflicts were created, and 4) how did or didn’t each group collaborate with other groups beyond their organizational boundaries? My presentation will particularly focus on the organizational aspect of the movements but will touch on ideological dimensions as well. Through this presentation, I hope to offer a clue to understanding how ongoing movements share or differ from movements of the past.

**Saruya Hiroe**: Assistant professor in the Department of Sociology, Sophia University. She received her Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Michigan in 2012. Her primary research and teaching areas encompass methods and theories in historical sociology, social movements, political sociology, and postwar Japanese history. Her publications address topics that include transnational peace movements, the development of theories on democracy in historical sociology, theories of nationalism, and Okinawa. Currently, she is working on her book, tentatively titled *Protests and Democracy in Japan*, which focuses on the Anpo protests of 1960.

**Ando Takemasa**, *The absence of the new left: the (un)changing cultures of activism in Japan*

The focus of this talk is on ANPO protests in 1970 (new left movements), starting with how the more radical groups were stigmatized by the police in the media in the early 1970s. This demonstrates how the distinction between “regular” and “extreme” is not defined exclusively by activists, but actually how it is constructed in contests between activists and the police. Second, I will address the absence of new left issue in the discourses of 2015 Anpo protests. The new left focused on criticizing “everydayness” (*nichijosei*) in the late 1960s, but the issue is behind the scene in Anpo protesters of 2015. I will argue about implications of shifting issues from the view of changing structures and discourses in Japanese civil society.

**Ando Takemasa**, Associate professor in the Department of Sociology, Musashi University. He finished his Ph.D. in the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at the Australian National University, and is now working on the history of social movements in Japan. He conducted a research on the New Left, which was published in *Japan’s New Left Movements: Legacies for Civil Society* (Routledge, 2013). He is currently shifting to exploring the features and impacts of Japanese antinuclear protests after the Chernobyl accident in 1986. Both are aimed to provide a framework to understand Japanese activism from the historical perspective.

Lecture in English / No prior registration necessary / Free and Open to All