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Embodied Memories, Emotional Geographies: Nakamoto Takako's Diary of the Anpo Struggle

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Introduction

On 17 June 1960, writer Nakamoto Takako (1903–1991) bowed her head in front of an impromptu shrine near the South Gate of the Diet Building in central Tokyo. She was paying her respects to Kanba Michiko (1937–1960), the young woman who had died on 15 June in the demonstration against the renewal of the US-Japan Security Treaty.

When I prayed to the image of Kanba Michiko, my chest was constricted by a kind of pressure, and I found it hard to breathe... I was endlessly mortified at such a talented... person being murdered, and felt hatred for violence from the bottom of my heart.¹

Like most observers of the time, Nakamoto felt sadness and rage at the death of a young woman with great potential. These emotions were mixed with feelings of disillusion, as she watched the Kishi government force the approval of the US-Japan Security Treaty through the Diet.² For Nakamoto, however, there was a further set of meanings and associations as she remembered her own encounters with the repressive power of the state, memories which were recalled in a visceral way, vividly experienced through the body. These embodied memories, in turn, were tied to places which were particularly meaningful for Nakamoto's personal history and for the

¹ Nakamoto, *Watashi no Anpo tōsō nikki*, 257–258. Translations are my own unless indicated otherwise.

² On the movement against the renewal of the US-Japan Security Treaty, see Sasaki-Uemura, *Organizing the Spontaneous*; Avenell, 'From the "People" to the "Citizen"', 711–742.

broader history of twentieth-century Japan. Because Kanba's death took place in the grounds of the Diet building, the centre of the parliamentary system in Japan, feelings of grief for Kanba and disillusion with postwar democracy were inextricably linked, for Nakamoto and others.

The end of the Second World War in 1945, the promulgation of the new Constitution of Japan (1946, effective 1947) and the end of the period of Allied Occupation in 1952 prompted a brief period of optimism about politics in Japan. By 1960, however, feelings of ambivalence about the possibilities of liberal democracy had returned. There was disillusion with the Kishi government's tactics in ramming through the renewal of the US-Japan Security Treaty. Protestors took to the streets in unprecedented numbers, in effect choosing the streets as the site of democratic activity. Trade unionists, student activists, citizens' groups and individuals of various political persuasions joined demonstrations, submitted petitions and attended meetings about the issue.

Feelings of sadness and disillusion came to have a tragic focal point when Kanba died in the demonstration of 15 June 1960.³ This was one of the largest of the demonstrations against the renewal of the treaty, and was characterised by multiple forms of conflict. Right-wing gangs attacked students, theatre troupes and university professors. When students affiliated with the Zengakuren student federation forced their way into the grounds of the Diet building, the police attacked them with batons and water cannons.⁴ Kanba was one of the relatively few female students at the front line, and her body was found among the injured on the evening of 15 June. That she

³ There was, however, a similar feeling of mourning in some circles at the end of the Allied Occupation when Japan was placed in a subordinate position through the US-Japan Security Treaty. See Hasegawa, 'Experiencing the 1952 Bloody May Day Incident', 97–111.

⁴ The Zengakuren (All Japan Federation of Student Self-Government Associations) was founded in 1948.

was a young woman made it easier for her to be transformed into a martyr figure, what some have called a sacrificial victim.⁵ On news of Kanba's death the demonstrators observed a minute's silence. The demonstrations continued in ensuing days, becoming mixed with memorials to Kanba, and spilling into other parts of Tokyo. On 19 June, the treaty bill was passed automatically, one month after it had been forced through the Lower House. Prime Minister Kishi resigned soon after.

In order to explore the emotions attached to the events of 1960, I would like to start with Nakamoto Takako's book *Watashi no Anpo tōsō nikki* (My Diary of the Anpo Struggle).⁶ Her book, published in 1963 by the leftwing publisher Shin Nihon Shuppansha,⁷ is a day-to-day diary of events from January to July 1960, a combination of journalism, reportage, personal reflection and background information.⁸ The diary displays a powerful interplay between the personal and the political; the local, the regional and the global; the quotidian and the historical in the life of an activist with family, community and Party responsibilities. She is writing about a situation, in Lauren Berlant's terms, where something important 'is unfolding

⁵ See Kobayashi, 'Rekishika sareru 1968nen', 269–273; Kobayashi, 'Where have all the flowers gone'; Ezashi, *Kanba Michiko: sei shōjo densetsu*; Hirakawa, 'Maiden Martyr for "New Japan"', 92–109.

⁶ Nakamoto Takako was born in Yamaguchi, graduated from a Girls' Higher School and became a teacher. She moved to Tokyo and became connected with the proletarian literary movement, contributing to various leftwing journals, including *Nyonin Geijutsu* (Women's Arts). She was involved in the underground communist movement in Japan and was arrested, imprisoned and incarcerated in a mental institution. She rejoined the Communist Party and resumed her writing career after 1945, contributing reportage and fiction to *Shin Nihon Bungaku* (New Japanese Literature) and other postwar leftist journals. Nakamoto produced two autobiographies: *Ai wa rōgoku o koete: denki Nakamoto Takako*, and *Waga sei wa kunō ni yakarete: waga wakaki hi no ikigai*. On her early fiction, see Bergstrom, 'Revolutionary Flesh', 311–343; for biographical details, see Schierbeck and Edelstein, *Japanese Women Novelists in the Twentieth Century*, 51–54.

⁷ Nakamoto, *Watashi no Anpo tōsō nikki*. The journal *Shin Nihon Bungaku* (New Japanese Literature) was established in December 1945 and was published until November 2004. The journal was characterised by a combination of literary writings and reportage and reflection on contemporary political issues. See: Kamata, *Shin Nihon Bungaku no 60nen*.

⁸ In the afterword, Nakamoto acknowledges the guidance of the members of the Central Committee of the Japan Communist Party in the publication of the book. Nakamoto, *Watashi no Anpo tōsō nikki*, 309. The years between 1960 and 1964 were years of conflict between the Shin Nihon Bungaku Kai (New Japanese Literature Association) and the Communist Party, resulting in the journal dissociating itself from the Party. It is tempting to speculate that these conflicts have something to do with the relatively long lead time between the events of 1960 and the publication of Nakamoto's diary in 1963.

amidst the usual activity of life'; a time when 'the atmosphere suggests a shift of historic proportions in the terms and processes of the conditions of continuity of life'.⁹

Nakamoto's narration of her daily activities reveals a particular emotional geography of Tokyo. She traverses sites which gain meaning from their association with events from her personal history. These sites have further shared meanings among the participants in the anti-Anpo struggle; and, in the case of the Diet building and other public buildings in central Tokyo, contested meanings in society at large.

Gendered Spaces

Nakamoto's participation in demonstrations involves negotiating competing demands – the needs of her family always in her mind. This is clear from the diary entry on 4 January 1960 near the start of the book, where she describes how busy she has been over the year-end/new year holiday season. Although she describes herself as a housewife (*shufu*) (at least for the duration of the holiday season), it is clear that she has multiple identities, roles and duties.

As a housewife, every year from the ten days at the end of the year to the first three days of the new year, I am totally taken up with housework. From today I have finally been returned to myself. I am busy all through the year, just like a farming household in the growing season. With housework, writing, educating the children, and going out to meetings, there are not enough hours in the day.¹⁰

Her political activities take her to various places from the suburbs to central Tokyo. The railway and the subway are the vehicle of Nakamoto's daily transitions between her political life and her domestic life. In the entry for 15 June, she leaves the demonstration to return home to her children and traces her walk from the Diet Building to the subway station, passing by the familiar landmarks of power in central

⁹ Berlant, 'Thinking about feeling historical', 5.

¹⁰ Nakamoto, *Watashi no Anpo tōsō nikki*, 4.

Tokyo. At Shinjuku she boards the Chūō line to the western suburbs of Tokyo. These suburbs host some of the US military facilities which are the subject of the agreements under the US-Japan Security Treaty, and this is where Nakamoto is engaged in campaigns against the encroachment of the bases.¹¹

In the account of her activities on 20 May (the day after the Anpo renewal was rammed through the Lower House) we can see the interweaving of domestic and political activities, and the range of activities she is involved in. The home is also the site of political activities in the form of writing fiction, journalism, political tracts and petitions. Her responsibilities at home, in turn, affect her ability to attend public meetings or demonstrations.

Once the children had left for school, I wrote a petition to be submitted to the Diet ... [text of petition follows]. When I had finished writing the petition, I got things ready for when the children came home from school and I left the house. As it was now too late to go to observe the court proceedings in the Sunagawa case, I went straight to the meeting of the Japan Preparatory Committee for the A. A. [Afro-Asia] Women's Conference. When I got off the subway at the Kokkai Gijidō [Diet Building] Station, I bumped into Karasawa Toshiko from the Communist Party Women's Committee and we went to the meeting together. It was still raining.¹²

For another meeting, her late arrival means that she has to walk around searching for one of the groups she is affiliated with. This also, however, gives her an

¹¹ The US bases and their effects on local communities were one focus of Nakamoto's political activities, and the bases feature in her journalism, reportage and fiction. Nakamoto, 'Shin fūzokugai Fussa reporutāju', 74–9; Nakamoto, 'Kichi "Tachikawa" no yokogao', 34–39; Nakamoto, 'Kichi no onna', 102–27; Nakamoto, *Kassōro*. The Sunagawa struggle was supported by the Japan Socialist Party, the Sōhyō trade union federation and members of the Zengakuren student federation. The Zengakuren students clashed with police in Sunagawa, in a possible precursor of their actions in 1960, which were criticised by the JCP. There was an extended court case around the plans to extend the Tachikawa air base into neighbouring Sunagawa-chō which overlapped with the Anpo struggle. On 17 June, Nakamoto meets some of her comrades from the Sunagawa Struggle at the Diet Building, and makes explicit connections between the 'Bloody May Day' of 1952, the violent actions at Sunagawa, and the events of 15 June at the Diet building: Nakamoto, *Watashi no Anpo tōsō nikki*, 281. On the Sunagawa struggle, see Hasegawa Kenji, 'The Lost Half-Decade Revived and Reconfigured', 117–134.

¹² Nakamoto, *Watashi no Anpo tōsō nikki*, 176. The Afro-Asian Women's Conference was held in Cairo in 1961, and can be connected with the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation and a range of activities dating from the Bandung Conference of 1955 and the subsequent creation of the non-aligned movement.

opportunity to provide a textual ‘guided tour’ of some of the assembled groups: political parties, unions, writers’ groups, anti-base activists. Her walk through the park and her encounters with members of various political groups trigger memories of other recent political struggles, such as the struggles against the US bases in local communities. She is thus able to make links between personal relationships, local political campaigns, the issue of the US-Japan Security Treaty and the question of Japan’s imbrication in US foreign policy in East Asia.¹³ These connections take on a spatial form as she navigates between the groups assembled in the park.

The demonstration is a space marked by relationships of class and gender. Those groups identified as ‘mothers’ groups’ or ‘women’s groups’ have distinctive ways of participating in the demonstrations, in contrast to the more confrontational tactics of the student groups. Nakamoto describes the way that the members of women’s groups reacted to the riot police, quietly meeting their gaze, in contrast with the more militant tactics of the Zengakuren students. ‘The women’s groups’, she reports, ‘started singing children’s songs and songs of happiness, and faced off the police for 30 or 40 minutes.’¹⁴

In other accounts of the Anpo struggle, we hear of participants in the demonstration who attempted to invoke class privilege, such as the university professors.¹⁵ Elsewhere, gender and class are intertwined in a poetic reflection on the demonstration by a member of the Ōi poetry circle. He sees a young woman and is

¹³ Nakamoto, *Watashi no Anpo tōsō nikki*, 155–160.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 241.

¹⁵ Sasaki-Uemura reports on how some academics attempted to use their authority as university professors in speaking to police. Sasaki, *Organising the Spontaneous*. Karube reports, by contrast that political scientist Maruyama Masao (1914–1996) resisted being characterised as an intellectual rather than a citizen: ‘Kitagawa Takayoshi recalls that as the rally [of 20 May] made its way to the Diet, the sound truck at the head of the procession began broadcasting a speech that began something like “We intellectuals...” at which point Maruyama rushed up from behind, jumped on the truck, and insisted that they start over, using the phrase “We citizens” instead.’ Karube, *Maruyama Masao*, 144. I am indebted to an anonymous reader for this reference.

unable to see her simply as a fellow citizen. He rhapsodises about her beauty, and fantasises about telling her he loves her.¹⁶ Political solidarity is overshadowed by gendered difference and sexual desire.

These vignettes show that the demonstration is a space where gendered and classed relationships are produced, performed and reproduced, and where relationships between individual and state are produced, performed and reproduced. Any one demonstration is linked to the history of demonstrations in that place, and to demonstrations in other places. For individual participants, these historical timeframes are overlaid with personal memories and individual chronologies.

Foreshortened Memories

In Nakamoto's diary, contemporary political events are overlaid with more local and personal milestones: the girls' festival on 3 March, the anniversary of the San Francisco Peace Treaty on 28 April, May Day, the anniversary of the post-war Constitution coming into effect on 3 May, the boys' festival on 5 May, her sons' birthdays, her own participation in demonstrations and meetings in May and June, and her negotiation of the competing demands of family responsibilities and political activism.

Nakamoto's responses to the Anpo crisis need to be understood in terms of her experiences in the underground Communist movement in the 1920s and the police

¹⁶ Inaba Yohikazu, 'The Record', cited and translated in Sasaki-Uemura, *Organizing the Spontaneous*, 103–106. 'Since I lost the game of paper-rock-scissors,/ I had to go to the mobilization that night./ I had no rain gear./ My body should have been toughened by work,/ but the May rain made me shiver./ But that's okay./ Look at that girl's hips./ They're so big./ They're soaked to the skin./ They shed the water./ And so/ That girl demonstrating and shouting "down with the treaty" had surprising sex appeal./ "Hey girl! You do that and you won't be able to have kids!"/ I bantered as I strolled along/ That girl's round hips crossed my mind./...I had no feeling in my body for a while./ "I might get killed"./ With this awareness/ I suddenly thought of the round breasts of that girl to whom I couldn't say "I love you" yet./...'

purges of the 1930s. At the demonstration on 15 June her body ‘remembers’ her earlier experiences; various aches and pains take her back to the time of her arrest and torture. She leaves the demonstration in the early evening, due to her tiredness and the need to get home to her children.

... The demonstrators couldn’t go to the American Embassy, so they went the other way towards the railway line, drifted off and broke up. ‘F’, who had come along with me, said ‘why don’t we have a cup of tea around here?’, but I just didn’t have the energy for that, and decided to go straight home. There were rain clouds and a chill in the air, and I was suffering from the aches and pains which date back to my prison days, and another chronic medical condition, and my physical condition was getting worse. I also had the children on my mind. So I got the subway home from Toranomon. (The number of participants in today’s demonstration reached 150,000.)¹⁷

On her return home that evening Nakamoto hears of Kanba’s death. The next day, 16 June, she hears of the postponement of President Eisenhower’s visit to Japan, and is moved to tears. She still seems optimistic that the treaty might be stopped, reflecting on the success of the recent general strike and the dedication of those campaigning against US bases in the Sunagawa region in the western suburbs of Tokyo.

The spirit of Kanba-san. Rest in Peace! Profound thanks to the sacrificial victims at the point of life and death. To the great working class, your general strike had wonderful results. Today I have been able to see clearly how your self-sacrifice and initiative have helped move history forward, in the Sunagawa struggle [against US bases] and today. No gratitude can be enough for your hidden sacrifices...¹⁸

On 17 June, two days after Kanba’s death, she is finally able to attend the demonstrations in Nagata-chō, for family responsibilities had prevented her from attending sooner. She reads the morning newspapers before leaving the house. On that day, seven morning newspapers had issued a unified statement condemning the

¹⁷ Nakamoto, *Watashi no Anpo tōsō nikki*, 241; see also the comments on the physical after-effects of her imprisonment on p. 7.

¹⁸ Nakamoto, *Watashi no Anpo tōsō nikki*, 251.

violence on 15 June.¹⁹ She changes trains at Shinjuku, buys a student newspaper from some Tokyo University students, and reads about the casualties in the demonstration. She alights at the Kokkai Gijidō Station. Demonstrators are gathered outside the South Gate of the Diet Building, where a memorial has been created with incense, flowers and a photograph of Kanba. Nakamoto goes there to offer some incense and pray. As we have seen above, she records an intensely physical reaction.²⁰ Her physical symptoms of distress are caused by the memories of her own experiences of police violence.

Exactly thirty years ago on 14 July, I was taken from my sickbed and arrested along with leaders of the then illegal Communist Party... After ten days, on a Saturday, the interrogation began. I was called to the interrogation room upstairs in the Yanaka Police Station in Ueno... First, they took it in turns in beating me, pulling my hair. They twisted my arm behind my back and the three of them kicked me. They tried to string me up upside down, but there wasn't a hook or anything to do that. So, they brought a bamboo stick and abused me in a way insulting to a woman. On top of that, one straddled me and encircled my neck with both hands... [further detailed description of her torture and imprisonment]...

Her current feelings of shock and sadness at Kanba Michiko's fate are overlaid with memories of her past experiences. Time is foreshortened as June 1960 becomes inextricably linked with July 1930. Contemporary events are overlaid with memories of her own experiences as an underground Communist activist in the 1920s and 1930s. Reading the diary might be likened to looking at a palimpsest, where removing paint from the surface of a painting reveals traces of an earlier picture.²¹

For Nakamoto, the contemporary police are seen as little different from the police of Imperial Japan. Differences between the liberal democratic regime of

¹⁹ Ibid., 255. On the newspapers' statement, see Sasaki-Uemura, *Organising the Spontaneous*, 50–52.

²⁰ Nakamoto, *Watashi no Anpo tōsō nikki*, 257.

²¹ See Eng and Kazanjian's evocation of objects which 'express multiple losses at once... with not only a multifaceted but also a certain palimpsest-like quality'. Eng and Kazanjian, 'Introduction: Mourning Remains', 5.

contemporary Japan and the repressive regime of wartime Japan are forgotten as she makes connections between her own experiences and the death of Kanba Michiko.

While the exact circumstances of Kanba's death are at this stage still unclear, she has no hesitation in attributing the young woman's death to the actions of the police.

Now, when I thought back to the white terror of thirty years ago, the blood seemed to drain from my veins, and I felt resentment in my very flesh and bones, and flared with anger.

Thirty years later, the Japanese police are suppressing the people and conducting torture in exactly the same way. I can not but think that Kanba Michiko's death was due to asphyxiation with an arm wrapped round her throat...²²

Nakamoto's arrest, imprisonment and torture 30 years before had not, of course, taken place in this particular place.²³ When faced with the memorial to Kanba at the South Gate of the Diet Building, however – at the central site of the Japanese parliamentary system – Nakamoto cannot help but be reminded of her experiences at the hands of the police, the representatives of the imperial state. There is a constant interplay between her memories of political repression in Imperial Japan and her current political campaigns.²⁴ In her mind, the revelation of Kanba's death is linked to her own experiences of police brutality.

There are also complex layers of emotion attached to the meanings of political activism. The early twentieth century Communist and socialist movements had been crushed by state repression and many Communists had recanted and professed their faith in the nation. After the end of the Second World War the leftwing movements had revived, and even some who had publicly recanted returned to the reconstituted

²² Nakamoto, *Watashi no Anpo tōsō nikki*, 257–258.

²³ Yanaka, where she was arrested, is around seven kilometers north of the Diet building, in the 'downtown', or working class area of Tokyo.

²⁴ I use the phrase Imperial Japan to describe the period from 1890 to 1945, under the political system shaped by the Constitution of the Empire of Japan (known colloquially as the Meiji Constitution) and the associated legal codes.

Communist Party. The mass demonstrations of 1960 would have been unimaginable to Nakamoto and her comrades in the 1930s.

The events of 1960, however, once again led to disillusion with the political system. Thus, when Nakamoto Takako stood in front of the shrine to Kanba Michiko, her own feelings coalesced with broader societal concerns about the fate of democracy in twentieth century Japan. Because of the site of Kanba's death – the grounds of the Diet Building – these feelings of grief for Kanba and disillusion with parliamentary politics were inextricably linked. In the days after 15 June 1960, protest was linked with memorialisation, inscribing new meanings onto the streets of Tokyo.

Significant Spaces

Nagata-chō, where the Diet Building is located, is a distinctive urban landscape with its concentration of public buildings, its wide avenues and its geometric regularity, unlike the narrow, often twisted streets of 'downtown' Tokyo. This is the kind of monumental public architecture where 'iconic buildings, monumental art, and massive squares and boulevards' serve to 'foster a sense of awe, gratitude, fear or modesty among the people'.²⁵ The wide streets around the Diet Building have the effect of throwing the Diet Building into relief against the Tokyo skyline, perhaps prompting a similar sense of awe. These streets are also, however, ideal for demonstrations.

On approaching the building, one passes through three important spaces: the wide streets surrounding it, the plaza inside the gates, and the building itself. In 1960, these different spaces came to symbolise different understandings of democracy. There was a struggle for meaning over whether democracy meant the actions of the

²⁵ Amin, 'Collective Culture and Urban Public Space', 16.

elected representatives inside the building, or the demands made by the demonstrators and petitioners in the street.

The debating chamber of the Diet building was the place where the renewal of the Treaty was discussed. On 19 May, when Kishi took the Bill for the renewal of the Security Treaty to the Lower House, Socialist members attempted a sit-in inside the Diet chamber, and the government called in the police to forcibly eject the members from the chamber.²⁶ The Bill was then passed by the remaining members of the House, while 20,000 or so demonstrators protested outside.²⁷

The plaza inside the gates of the Diet building was the place where anti-Anpo activists presented petitions to members of the Diet. On 27 November 1959 when anti-Anpo groups gathered in the plaza to present their petitions students had forcibly passed through the gates of the Diet compound.²⁸ Similar action was undertaken in the demonstration of 15 June 1960. Students forced their way into the grounds of the Diet building; and fights broke out between various combinations of riot police, rightwing gangs, citizens and students.

It might be tempting to assume a distinction between the Diet building as the site of deliberation and debate and the streets as the site of the physical manifestation of dissent in the form of the demonstration. In the events of May and June 1960, however, this implied opposition between mind and body, debate and demonstration became blurred. In the Diet building, the plaza and the streets, political struggles were expressed through the body. Parliamentarians staged sit-ins. Police ejected socialist members from the chamber. Students broke down the gates and rushed into the plaza.

²⁶ The approval of the Bill in the Lower House on 19 May meant that it would automatically come into effect on 19 June.

²⁷ Karube, *Maruyama Masao*, 6.

²⁸ Hasegawa, 'In Search of a New Radical Left', 88.

Fights broke out in the surrounding streets. Riot police deployed water cannons and tear gas. Protestors like Nakamoto enacted their protest through their physical presence in the streets surrounding the Diet Building.

The Diet Building is also surrounded by places of historical and political significance. Nakamoto's diary recounts her passage through some of these spaces at various times: assembling for a demonstration at Hibiya Park; walking past the US Embassy or the headquarters of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; entering or leaving central Tokyo by subway.²⁹ All of these spaces skirt the Imperial Palace, the centre of authority in Imperial Japan, and the residence of the 'symbol Emperor' in the post-war period. In Nakamoto's diary, personal history is linked to twentieth century political history as she walks through these streets with her fellow protestors.

During 1960, the US Embassy was the site of anti-Anpo demonstrations throughout the year. Demonstrations also took place in front of the Prime Minister's residence. Hibiya Park had been the site of demonstrations since the early twentieth century. Nationalist demonstrations were held there in 1905, and May Day demonstrations from the 1920s.³⁰ The public area in front of the Imperial Palace had been the site of the 'Food May Day' protests in 1946, resulting in the banning of the use of this space for demonstrations. In May 1952, however, demonstrators marched to the Imperial Palace and clashed with police, this day becoming known as the 'Bloody May Day'.³¹

²⁹ Nakamoto, *Watashi no Anpo tōsō nikki*.

³⁰ Gordon, *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan*, 26–62; Mackie, *Creating Socialist Women in Japan*, 102–4, 129, 160.

³¹ The 'Bloody May Day' had occurred just eight years before the Anpo struggle, a few days after the official end of the Allied Occupation. The Japan Communist Party (JCP) rejected violent tactics after this incident, and this was one of the issues in the split of the Zengakuren student federation into pro-JCP and anti-JCP factions.

Kasumigaseki has the Ministries and Bureaux of Police, Agriculture and Fisheries, Treasury and Finance, and Foreign Affairs – the bureaucratic centre for the administration of the Security Treaty and the preparation for its renewal. At different times in history, and at different times in the Anpo Struggle, such sites as the Imperial Palace, the Diet Building, the offices of particular government ministries or bureaux, or the official or private residences of Prime Ministers or Cabinet members or particular foreign embassies had been the focus of petitions and demonstrations. The choice of any one of these sites for political action implied a particular understanding of the sources of political power: the Emperor, the Prime Minister, the Cabinet, the police, the bureaucracy, or foreign governments.

In the Anpo demonstrations, the Diet Building was the focus because the citizens wanted to address their concerns to the elected government. They first of all carried out demonstrations as a statement of their unwillingness to see the treaty renewed. Once it had been forced through the lower house in May they carried out demonstrations in order to protest against the means by which the renewal was achieved. After 15 June their demonstrations were mixed with memorials for Kanba.

On 18 June, there was a memorial service for Kanba at the Yasuda Hall at Tokyo University. The students marched across inner Tokyo to the Diet Building where they met up with other political groupings. Nakamoto reports on meeting up with comrades from other groups. Her group, which includes writers Sata Ineko (1904–1998), Tsuboi Sakae (1899–1967) and Shibaki Yoshiko (1914–1991), marches to the Police Headquarters in Kasumigaseki. Members of the Shingeki theatre group lead the crowd in chanting against the brutality of the police. Their chants ‘echo against the walls of the Police Headquarters’. The energy of the demonstrators

contrasts with the stoic stillness of the police, standing like ‘statues’. The demonstrators are challenged by a right-wing group and link arms, advancing in a formation known as a ‘French demonstration’, attempting to monopolise the space of the street.³²

The book closes with an entry for 14 July, the date when the Liberal Democratic Party chooses Ikeda Hayato (1899–1965) as successor to Kishi Nobusuke. On that day, Nakamoto attends another anti-Anpo meeting at Hibiya Park. She reflects on the anti-Anpo struggle, valorising the movement which had brought together students and workers, and vowing to continue the struggle. For Nakamoto, the anti-Anpo struggle is linked to her personal history as a witness and participant in some of the major political developments of the twentieth century, in both Imperial Japan and postwar Japan. The spaces she traverses in demonstrations have associations with events from these two major political systems. The Diet Building itself, the focus of the anti-Anpo campaigns of 1960, has a similar association with the changing fate of democracy in twentieth century Japan.

Contested Meanings

In order to understand the deep, and in some ways contested, meanings attached to this place, we need to be reminded of the history of the Diet Building itself. From the 1890s to the 1930s, the Japanese parliament was held in a series of temporary buildings.³³ The Diet building was completed in 1936, and its construction was documented in the new graphic magazines which sprang up in the 1920s. By the time

³² Nakamoto, *Watashi no Anpo tōsō nikki*, 263. Here and elsewhere Nakamoto’s diary provides evidence of the ways in which the ritual dimension of demonstrations ‘reactivate affective bonds, in part because of the co-ordinated action’. Goodwin and Jasper, ‘Emotions and Social Movements’, 623.

³³ Reynolds, ‘Japan’s Imperial Diet Building: Debate over Construction of a National Identity’ 38–47; Reynolds, ‘Japan’s Imperial Diet Building in the Debate over Construction of a National Identity’, 254–275.

the building was completed, however, the relatively democratic period of party government known as Taishō democracy had more or less come to an end.³⁴ The Diet Building was thus an ambivalent symbol of democracy. During wartime, the parliamentary process was subject to the disproportionate influence of the Army and Navy.

With the promulgation of a new Constitution and the creation of a democratically elected bicameral legislature immediately after the Second World War, the Diet building could now be mobilised as a symbol of liberal democracy. This symbolic use can be seen, for example, in a postage stamp commemorating the new Constitution which came into effect in May 1947. A recently-enfranchised woman is shown in front of the Diet building, holding a baby, the symbol of hope and renewal. Or, in early post-war election posters, the Diet Building is juxtaposed with the dove of peace, encapsulating the twin themes of the post-war period: peace and democracy.³⁵ In the 1950s, the Diet Building symbolised the nation in popular culture, as when the monster Godzilla tramples the building.³⁶ After June 1960, however, more striking images were added to the visual archive of the Diet building: the aerial photograph of the Diet Building and surrounding streets massed with demonstrators, the photograph of the body of Kanba Michiko in the crowd on the evening of 15 June 1960, and another, sombre aerial photograph of massed demonstrators in the rain, sheltered under identical black umbrellas.

Painter Katsuragawa Hiroshi commented on the events of 1960 in an extraordinary painting ‘And still they march’, depicting a wounded and bandaged

³⁴ Representations of the Diet Building before 1945 are discussed in Mackie, ‘Picturing Political Space in 1920s and 1930s Japan’, 38–54.

³⁵ See, for, example, the early postwar election posters held in the Gordon Prange Collection at the University of Maryland.

³⁶ Reynolds, ‘Japan’s Imperial Diet Building: Debate over Construction of a National Identity’, 38.

figure, hobbling along with crutches. The figure is reminiscent of the wounded returned soldiers who could be seen begging outside stations in the early postwar decades. The bandages which cover the figure's head and torso, however, take the shape of a pyramid, a shape which echoes the distinctive ziggurat of the Diet building. Katsuragawa's painting, in fusing the figure of a wounded individual citizen with the building which symbolised parliamentary democracy, provides visual expression of the coalescence of personal feelings and societal unease which were stimulated by the events of 1960.³⁷ I have found a similar resonance in Nakamoto Takako's diary, where the story of one individual citizen has resonance with broader societal concerns.

Conclusions

Nakamoto Takako's diary provides insight into the experiences of one citizen who was heavily involved in the anti-Anpo campaign of 1960. Nakamoto's narration of her participation in meetings and demonstrations reveals an emotional geography of urban Tokyo which combines personal memory with shared historical meanings.³⁸ The Diet building, its plaza and the surrounding streets are charged with the emotions of optimism, disillusion, despair, mourning, melancholia, abjection and ambivalence. The streets are variously experienced as a space of democratic participation, ritual, optimism, disillusion, confrontation, violence, mourning, commemoration, memory,

³⁷See Katsuragawa's discussion of this painting in Linda Hoaglund's documentary on the art associated with the Anpo struggle. Linda Hoaglund, *Anpo: Art X War*. In other cultural representations of the Diet building in the later 1960s and 1970s, it is often depicted as an abject space. It is shown being smashed, submerged, or drowning in polluted liquids. These fantasy representations of abjection reinforce the disillusion with the political system post-Anpo, later overlaid with concerns about political corruption and industrial pollution. Akasegawa Genpei's cartoons show the Diet Building being smashed. Akasegawa's poster for Kara Jūrō's play *Maiden City* shows Tokyo submerged in a blood-red liquid, the roof of the Diet building peeping out. A cartoon from *Asahi Jānaru* represents pollution and corruption through the body of a woman vomiting and expelling fluids from every orifice – the city of Tokyo is floating in a noxious fluid, the roof of the Diet building just visible above the fluid.

³⁸ Like Goodwin and Jasper, I argue that emotions have a 'public, shared component and an interior, personal component'. Goodwin and Jasper, 'Emotions and Social Movements', 624.

and trauma. The death of Kanba Michiko symbolised the death of democracy, and mourning for Kanba as an individual is inextricably linked with mourning for democracy.

The streets are linked to other spaces and other times in culture through intertextual links. In Nakamoto's diary, the links to other spaces and times are mediated through her own memory and experiences. These are embodied memories, triggered through her presence and participation in demonstrations, and through her body's memories of trauma. Personal history and political history are intertwined and layered. As Nakamoto walks through Hibiya Park, her encounters with individuals evoke their shared political struggles. The Diet Building is a site where personal, embodied memories are linked to reflections on Japan's political history. There are temporal links with Nakamoto's experiences of the repressive state apparatus of Imperial Japan, and there are spatial links with the surrounding area where the major government offices are located. The subway and the railway mediate between the spaces of home, community, work and political activism.

Nakamoto's diary is thus a complex text which mediates between private memory and public history, and provides insight into the embodied nature of political activism. Her feelings of sadness are congruent with Freud's formulation of the feelings associated with 'a lost person' or 'some abstraction which has taken the place of one, such as one's country, liberty, an ideal, and so on'.³⁹ Mourning for Kanba Michiko is overlaid with disillusion about democracy in postwar Japan. Nakamoto's own experiences of police brutality are overlaid with her feelings on the death of Kanba. In a further layer of meaning, disillusion with postwar democracy is overlaid

³⁹ Freud, 'Mourning and Melancholia', 243, cited in Eng and Kazanjian, 'Introduction: Mourning Remains', 5.

with memories of earlier periods of despair, when the prewar leftwing movement had been crushed by the repressive state of Imperial Japan.

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