

SPACE IN-BETWEEN: MASUMURA YASUZO, JAPANESE NEW WAVE, AND
MASS CULTURE CINEMA

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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During the early stage of Japan's High Economic Growth Period (1955-1970), a group of directors and films, labeled the Japanese New Wave, emerged to strong critical acclaim and scholarly pursuit. Over time, Japanese New Wave Cinema has come to occupy a central position within the narrative history of Japanese film studies. This position has helped introduce many significant films while inadvertently ostracizing or ignoring the much broader landscape of film at this time. This thesis seeks to complexify the New Wave's central position through the career of Daiei Studios' director, Masumura Yasuzo. Masumura signifies a "space in-between" the cultural elite represented by the New Wave and the box office focus of mass culture cinema. Utilizing available English language and rare Japanese sources, this thesis will re-examine Masumura's position on the periphery of film studies while highlighting the larger film environment of this dynamic period.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A young couple rides a motorcycle speeding down the highway with willful abandon. An estranged daughter returns to her father's home with optimism and determination to become part of his life. Three candy factories do battle with flyers, commercials and models to sell enormous amounts of caramel. A false student is trapped to a chair and accused of being a police spy. A popular novelist lives out his fantasy of a leather clad yakuza death. A wife chooses between her duty to the village and the desire for her husband. This is just a snippet of major plot points which occur throughout the films directed by Masumura Yasuzo, the focus of this thesis. In order to engage the vibrant and varied work of Masumura's career it is necessary to discuss the particulars as to how and why this director warrants critical evaluation.

Japanese cinema studies in the in the United States is plagued by significant gaps and oversights. This is a theme which runs through many prominent publications to even the most recent monographs aiming to present new or more complex interpretations of cinema from Japan. In general, developments in the field have provided greater understanding of canonized figures and concepts, but rarely attempt to expand the scope of the field covering new films or people. Much of this has been attributed to the problems of space, time and technology. For a long time the ability to acquire film titles was dependent on issues such as: availability, formatting, international distribution rights, demands for a title, or even subtitling to provide a reason for films to be exported.

Even for those with the necessary language skills to access primary resources without subtitles, the means to view many titles have been restricted to those residing in

Japan or fortunate enough to travel there. In addition to the physical and spatial issues, a problem of time has existed for the proper development of the field. For instance, some scholars have suggested that the development of Japanese film history arose from the ‘pivotal juncture’ of *Rashomon*¹ screening at the Venice film festival in 1951.² In addition, the publication of Joseph Anderson and Donald Richie’s *The Japanese Film: Art & Industry*, has continually been lauded³ for introducing the English speaking world to Japanese cinema.

Beyond this there are greater systematic issues on an institutional level which have prevented Japanese Cinema studies from developing into a broader more comprehensive field. A problem identified most clearly by Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto. At various times Yoshimoto has spoken about the lack of film studies in Japan and failure to develop the field in a similar fashion as the United States in the 1960s. He does suggest rather optimistically that “film studies can introduce in the Japanese university a

¹ Throughout this thesis various Japanese film titles will appear as their original titles written in roman characters. For instance Masumura’s *Giants and Toys* will be listed as *Kyojin to gangu*. The rationale for this is that with the growing number of online sources, such as imdb, use the original title of a film in their headings. The only exception to this pattern will be those used in direct quotations.

²As Dr. Nygren suggests with *Rashomon*, “Japanese Film History, in a sense, “begins” here: not because the West “discovered” Japan, or because Japan first achieved international acclaim, but because previously isolated lines of development from Asia and the West first intersected at this point.” Scott Nygren, *Time Frames: Japanese Cinema and the Unfolding of History* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007). pg. 99

³ In the February 1960 issue of *Eiga Hyoron* an article marked the publishing of Anderson and Richie’s book. The article references a publishing party held on January 11th of that year and refers to the book as, “the first large scale book ever written on the history of Japanese film art for foreigners.” Hisamitsu Noguchi, “Donald Richie Shi No Kai to Kare No Koto,” *Eiga Hyoron* 1960. pg. 74-76. More recently in 2009, Abe Mark Nornes and Aaron Gerow included the title in their guide to Japanese film studies placing the film in their “Best of the Best” section of general history books. “It is impressive that this exhaustively researched tome has yet to be displaced by a newer book... One reason is it’s close attention to the industrial underpinnings of the art, an angle few authors took back then (or even today). Abe Mark Nornes and Aaron Gerow, *Research Guide to Japanese Film Studies* (Ann Arbor, MI: Center of Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2009). pg. 130

radicalized form of interdisciplinary practice, which problematizes the unstated assumptions of existing disciplines and the notion of disciplinary expertise.”⁴ However, as recent as this year few Japanese universities have any classes on film let alone a department or unified field of study.⁵ These thoughts are expanded in the opening chapter of his monograph on Kurosawa Akira which emphasizes that the lack of film studies in Japan is mirrored by the fragmented state of Japanese film studies in the United States.

Throughout the first chapter Yoshimoto does an excellent job of breaking down the development of Japanese cinema studies from the 1950’s delineating various approaches to engaging cinema. From humanism and essentialism in the postwar era to a stronger theoretical approach and even cross cultural analysis dealing with identity politics, all of which present a different time frame and context for the study of Japanese cinema. Ultimately, in Yoshimoto’s view these stages have not yielded a productive environment for Japanese film studies. “Judging from the miniscule number of Japanese-speaking film scholars, we can conclude that film studies have been less than a perfect environment in which research on primary materials in Japanese film history is conducted.”⁶ This statement indicates the fundamental challenges Japanese cinema studies have in the United States or any English language institution. For the

⁴Mistuhiro Yoshimoto, "The University, Disciplines, National Identity: Why Is There No Film Studies in Japan?," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 99.4 (2000). pgs. 697-713.

⁵ During the 2010-2011 academic year, this author attended Meiji University which has no film studies, ran an undergraduate survey course. Speaking with colleagues at Waseda University and even Meiji Gakuin University film studies remains in its infancy.

⁶ Mistuhiro Yoshimoto, *Kurosawa: Film Studies and Japanese Cinema* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000).pg. 38

development of the field Yoshimoto is arguing that academics must have proper training in film studies, Asian or Japanese studies, and Japanese language.

The third issue plaguing the field in addition to material acquisition and proper training is scope. This issue more than any other has prevented Japanese film studies from becoming a well rounded, complex and unified field of scholarship. Specific support for this claim can be found through a simple overview of industry statistics. For instance, this thesis focuses on films released throughout Japan's high economic growth era ranging from the mid 1950's to the end of the 1960's. During this fifteen year period 6,906 films were released.⁷ The six major studios: Shochiku, Toho, Shin-Toho (until 1961), Daiei, Toei, and Nikkatsu accounted for 5,333 releases. That averages to 355 studio major productions per year with a high of 496 in 1960 and a low of 254 in 1969. Of these films ten were selected each year by journalists and critics to form film journal, *Kinema Junpo's Best Ten List*. The 150 titles selected during this period indicate that the majority of film studies to date have been culled from this list.

The directors who appear most frequently throughout this period include: Kurosawa Akira and Imai Tadashi with eleven each, Ichikawa Kon with ten, Kobayashi Masahiro with eight, Kinoshita Keisuke with seven, and Ozu who passed away in 1963 with four films. Then there are directors more closely associated with Japanese New Wave Cinema. Oshima Nagisa and Imamura Shohei each have seven, Hani Susumu has four, and Yoshida Yoshishige, Masahiro Shinoda, and Teshigahara Hiroshi each have three.

⁷ See February 1st issues of *Kinema Junpo* from 1955-1970 for year by year industry analysis. Also see Appendix A for a complete breakdown of these figures.

Out of the 150 films listed in *Kinema Junpo's Best Ten List* during this period, twelve directors' films account for more than half the list. While this does not negate the skill exhibited by such a small pool of directors, it does indicate one reason why Japanese film studies continue to have such a narrow focus. With so many films ignored, overlooked, missing or unobtainable it is easy to see the significant gap between those critically lauded films and those connected with mass culture cinema.

Adopting the term from Marilyn Ivy, mass culture cinema refers to films that are "administered, commodified culture pre-targeted and produced for larger numbers of consumers."⁸ Ivy goes on to explain that mass culture develops along with industrial capitalism and is therefore closely connected with large scale production, distribution and commodity consumption. In this sense mass culture cinema refers to something akin to terms like popular cinema or mainstream cinema. However unlike either of those terms which suggest success through profit, mass culture cinema refers to the whole spectrum of films released by the six largest studios for the purpose of consumer consumption. While that does include the highest grossing film, it also takes into account films made for profit which did not necessarily have large box office receipts or critical acclaim.

The purpose for using such a broad term is based around widening the scope of acceptable film studies. As Yoshimoto and others have noted, not every film made is worthy of academic study, but by systematically excluding these titles in academic discourse it creates an environment where the broader spectrum of films released

⁸ Marilyn Ivy, "Formations of Mass Culture," in *Postwar Japan as History*, ed. Andrew Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). pg. 240

continue to be ignored in favor of publications which provide skillful interpretations of films and people which in the end only serve to re-affirm a canon.

The goal of this thesis is to explore the ‘space in-between’ the cultural elite, represented most prominently by Japanese New Wave films, and mass culture cinema during the high growth era by re-examining the work and career of Masumura Yasuzo. This thesis contends that Masumura represents one of many marginalized artistic voices who bridge the gap between these two poles, highlighting a more in depth film environment than previously explored.

Over the past thirty years Masumura has remained a ‘subject for further research’.⁹ While Masumura is not unknown to scholars, his films and more importantly his writings on film have remained relatively obscure in relation to filmmakers more commonly associated with Japanese New Wave. The New Wave occupies a central space in film scholarship for both the United States and Japan during the explosive period of 1955-1970. At the same time Masumura was engaged in his own brand of unique and stimulating work not only as a director, but as a student and critic of film. Until recently, Oshima Nagisa and Yoshida Yoshishige¹⁰ have received the most praise and attention while figures like Masumura are relegated to a single line or paragraph notation.

Masumura’s push to the periphery has a two-fold effect. One, it highlights the limited

⁹Jonathan Rosenbaum and Adrian Martin, *Movie Mutations : The Changing Face of World Cinephilia* (London: BFI Pub., 2003).Pg. 61Rosenbaum, who was provided significant access to Masumura’s films in the early 2000’s is quick to admit his limitation of accessing Japanese language source materials. Also, while Rosenbaum was able to see over half of Masumura’s films while in Japan the vast majority who wish to study his films internationally are limited to those companies willing to produce them.⁹

¹⁰ Yoshida in his early years used the name Yoshishige, but more recently he has taken on a separate reading of his name Kiju. As this thesis focuses on his work during the initial stage of his career this thesis will use Yoshishige, reading most commonly associated with those pictures.

scope of film studies between films deemed critically worthy and those thought only for mass culture.¹¹ Due to this critical attention Japanese New Wave Cinema has come to occupy a central space of study and recognition within the context of postwar and high growth era cinema. Two, it minimizes Masumura's work in relation to Japanese New Wave Cinema, overlooking a significant voice for that period.

Repeatedly in discussion of Japanese New Wave, postwar cinema or Masumura himself, scholars and critics seem at odds trying to define the director. Some of the claims made over time suggest that Masumura was not connected with the New Wave, then he was parallel to the New Wave, or perhaps the precursor, or even more recently he is the director who started the New Wave. Noted film scholar Hasumi Shigehiko in a conversation with Rosenbaum highlights the reason why after so many years Masumura still remains an obscure figure both in Japan and internationally.

It indicates precisely the poverty of film criticism in Japan. Until the 80's there was no serious study of contemporary Japanese film-makers. It was our generation – Sadao Yamane, Koichi Yamasa and me – who began to write about them. The Japanese audience has by now completely forgotten the name of Yasuzo Masumura after the collapse of Daiei, in spite of our efforts. He was already dead when Yamane wrote his book. For us it's difficult to talk about him because it's difficult to choose a single film. For Kurosawa, regardless of whether you like the film or not, you can always cite *The Seven Samurai* (1954). It's easy. But with Masumura, there's no representative film.¹²

Masumura's dynamic ability to work within the studio system creating a variety of genre films while asking critical questions is what separates him from any other filmmaker at the time. In essence this is what places Masumura's work in between the poles of critical art and mass culture cinema.

¹¹ Similar to the difference between *Junsui* or pure artistic works and *Taishu* or mass culture entertainment.

¹² Rosenbaum and Martin, *Movie Mutations : The Changing Face of World Cinephilia*. pg. 78

This thesis will attempt to re-frame earlier references to Masumura by arguing that he represents the ‘space in-between’ Japanese New Wave and mass culture cinema. As a director who stayed with his studio, Daiei, through his career until its collapse, took orders from his company heads and worked within an industry system that had been established for decades it has been easy for scholars to write Masumura off as mass culture fodder. However, even his limited presence in film texts on Japanese cinema suggests that there are other sides to this director. These sides include his time studying abroad at a film center in Italy, his work under Mizoguchi Kenji and Ichikawa Kon, ongoing critical writings on a variety of film issues, and a filmography filled with exemplary films made not only as entertainment, but also probing questions to the audience about their society. As a ‘space in-between’ Masumura’s films provide a gateway to the larger spectrum of Japanese film yet to be addressed and which move beyond the most recognized films and figures of a given generation.

While Masumura has remained an obscure figure in cinema studies, that alone does not warrant a topic for serious analysis. As Yoshimoto points out, there must be an underlying reason to make a topic relevant for dedicated research. The reason for this is found in another dominant element of this thesis, the construction of Japanese New Wave Cinema by journalists and scholars. Since the publication of David Desser’s *Eros Plus Massacre: An Introduction to Japanese New Wave Cinema* there has been a surge in awareness and international distribution of the people most closely identified with that term in Desser’s book. They include: Oshima Nagisa, Yoshida Yoshishige, Imamura Shohei, Shinoda Masahiro and to a lesser extent Suzuki Seijun and Teshigahara Hiroshi. Over time each of these directors’ films have been embraced at festivals and films

distributors which have put out many high quality releases and box-set retrospectives available all over the world.

In addition to their films several of these directors, most prominently Oshima and Yoshida, were the focus of media spectacle and at the same time contributing significantly to the film criticism of the day. As will be discussed later a significant amount of attention was placed on the split Oshima and Yoshida made with their film studio, Shochiku, venturing of into successful independent careers. This included the establishment the Art Theater Guild (ATG) with theaters in Shinjuku specializing in independent productions and international film screenings which lasted throughout the 1970's.

Masumura on the other hand never produced the attention grabbing headlines of Oshima or Yoshida. While Masumura remained with his company he was not content to simply produce films, but take an active role in his films development and the greater body of film criticism. To date very few of Masumura's critical writing on film have been discussed outside of Japan. Even in Japan many of his writings are confined to a single book¹³ on his works or within the pages of old film journals.

Therefore this thesis will engage the life and works of Masumura Yasuzo as a means of providing an alternate voice to the current narrative construction of late 1950's early 1960's Japanese film during the development of Japanese New Wave Cinema. Through Masumura's work a wider view of popular mass market cinema can be engaged, while at the same time drawing out the critical discussions present in his film. This

¹³ See Yasuzo Masumura and Hiroaki Fujii, *Eiga Kantoku Masumura Yasuzo No Sekai : <Eizo No Maesutoro> Eiga to No Kakuto No Kiroku, 1947-1986* (Tokyo: Waizu Shuppan, 1999).

exercise is not set to determine whether Masumura is part of the New Wave or not, but to provide a more complex and varied understanding of the film landscape from the late 1950's throughout the 1960's before the breakup of the major studio system.

This thesis is organized into three main chapters. Chapter II will be split into three sections encompassing several broad themes and provide a base from which specific films can be analyzed. The first section will address the major historical and social events of the late 1950's-early 1960's. Some of which include the US-Japan Security Treaty renewal, student protests, political assassinations and start of the high economic growth period. The second section will analyze a majority of available scholarship in English on the New Wave as well as Masumura's place in it. Following that an examination primary Japanese sources will help re-examine existing scholarship on the New Wave and Masumura. Finally, after addressing these major elements a more straightforward biographical analysis of Masumura's life and career will aid in re-examining his status in film scholarship. This assessment will range from his early life and education both in Japan and abroad to his initial days as an assistant director, film critic, screenwriter and ultimately full director for Daiei Studios. In addition a brief engagement of some of Masumura's prominent works will help preface a longer critical engagement of his films.

Chapter III will address Masumura's most well known and established picture, *Kyojin to gangu*. The film addresses consumer culture in the early days of the high economic growth period. The film serves as an allegory to the film industry at the time and even Masumura's own career, with main character Nishi forced to decide between the company and independence. Looking at this film through George Lukács theory of reification will help illuminate Masumura's argument regarding consumer culture, but

also highlight his larger world view on the direction Japan is headed. As Masumura's best known film it provides a starting point for critically analyzing the film in comparison with the few articles which discuss it.

Specific film examination will continue in Chapter IV by looking at one of the more overlooked films of Masumura's career, *Nise daigakusei*. Released in October, 1960 the film appears at a crucial time in the development of Japan's postwar history following the tumultuous renewal of the U.S. Japan Security Treaty, huge student protests and the inception of Japanese New Wave cinema by film critics and the studio. The film addresses the conflicts within the Zengakuren, all student union, as they discover an imposter among their club and imprison him. Similar to *Kyojin to gangu*, this film represents an allegory of present day events positioning its main character between the elite members of the university and the masses of society where he comes from. The film is a prime example of works which have been ignored and overlooked, but represent a balance of critical message and entertaining narrative.

Chapter V will provide a brief conclusion for the paper which will include suggestions for the future of the field. Finally, Appendix A will provide various film data for from 1955 to the end of 1960's. This includes each *Kinema Junpo Best Ten List*, a year by year breakdown of the top grossing box office releases, data for total films released, total box office grosses, and number of theaters. Appendix B will provide a complete filmography for Masumura including his films as an assistant director with release date, original title in Japanese, original title in roman characters and English translation for ease of searching.

For Yoshimoto an analysis of Kurosawa was based on the belief, “that one of the most effective ways to contest the axioms of a particular field of study or discipline is to take up a subject that is not necessarily new but already accepted as a canonical material.”¹⁴ In the best possible sense the goal of this thesis is to re-examine Masumura’s accepted position as a periphery figure of cinema scholarship. Not an argument for Masumura as a New Wave member or even to blindly agree with his film criticism and fall into what Yoshimoto refers to as the ‘authorial trap’. Instead this work will attempt a frank examination of available scholarship on Masumura as well as a close analysis of two of his major films that testing the nature of his peripheral status.

¹⁴Yoshimoto, *Kurosawa: Film Studies and Japanese Cinema*. pg. 3

CHAPTER II

IN THE WAKE OF THE WAVE

High Economic Growth Period

Before discussing the development of Japanese New Wave and the work of Masumura Yasuzo it will be beneficial to address the major events of this period. This will provide a background for the discussions and criticism which appear throughout their work. For the purpose of this thesis an exhaustive analysis of the postwar period will not be possible. However, a brief analysis of key political and social events from the end of the occupation to the waning years of the high economic growth period will provide the necessary framework to discuss the New Wave and Masumura.

The initial phase of the postwar period in Japan is denoted by the United States led occupation from August, 1945 until April, 1952. This period marks Japan's initial restoration following World War II which focused on building up infrastructure and re-establishing Japan's sovereignty. The first step came with the U.S. engineered constitution of Japan signed on May 3, 1947. This constitution, modeled on the US constitution, placed more responsibilities and rights into the hands of the public. The constitution also included the often mentioned Article IX¹⁵ which forever renounced war as a mean for conflict resolution. The inclusion of Article IX essentially set in motion the need for Japan to become part of what John Dower refers to as, The San Francisco

¹⁵ The complete article nine states, "1) Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes. 2) In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized." See Niichiro Matsunami and Japan, *The Japanese Constitution and Politics* (Washington, D.C.: University Publications of America, 1979).

System.¹⁶ By 1951 Japan had made significant strides towards restoration. That fall a majority of the U.S.'s occupation goals had been completed except returning sovereignty to Japan.

On September 8, 1951 in the War Memorial Opera House in San Francisco the United States and forty eight nations signed the Treaty of Peace with Japan. The treaty was engineered by future Secretary of State under Eisenhower, John Foster Dulles and signed by Prime Minister, Yoshida Shigeru for Japan. This treaty marked the political end of the United States led occupation of Japan. It was ratified and came into effect the following spring on April 28, 1952. The treaty is significant for returning sovereignty to Japan after only six years since the end of World War II. It also established the political and economic bind Japan and the United States maintain to this day. In addition to Japan's return of sovereignty, the day also marked the establishment of the first U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. Within six hours of signing the peace treaty in a separate room delegates from the United States and Japan, again led by John Foster Dulles and Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru, signed the Security Treaty between the United States and Japan. This came into effect along with the Peace Treaty on April 28, 1952.

The immediate need for the security treaty stems directly from the provisions in Article IX to give up the means for warfare or the use war as a means of conflict resolution. While the article does provide for a self defense force, in 1951 Japan did not have the means to produce it. As such the United States stepped into that role. The upshot being that while Japan's independence was returned the country was still entangled in a

¹⁶ John W. Dower, "Peace and Democracy in Two Systems: External Policy and Internal Conflict," in *Postwar Japan as History*, ed. Andrew Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). pg. 4

very close relationship with their former occupiers. As John Dower describes these treaties provided peace for Japan but at the same time, “simultaneously aligned itself with the cold-war policy of the United States.”¹⁷ While this put Japan in the precarious position between the United States and other Asian nations it did allow Japan to focus attention on new national goals outside of defense or military spending. Through these treaties Japan was able to focus on re-directing the national focus from war to economic development. On the other hand these documents also set Japan down a road which would lead to the largest political and social protests that ever with the eventual renewal of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty.

Another significant element following the treaty ratifications came with the establishment of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) which remained the dominant political force in Japan for over fifty years. In the time following Yoshida Shigeru’s signature at San Francisco the conservative political groups in Japan became gridlocked. The two sides included The Democratic Party led by Hatoya Ichiro and on the other The Liberal Party Led by Yoshida Shigeru. As both parties drew from the conservative base it ensured neither side had a majority and control of the government was fractured, oscillating between the two parties. This oscillation led both groups in November of 1955 to merge into the Liberal Democratic Party which according to Dower, “like its predecessors, was neither liberal nor democratic and thus woefully misnamed.”¹⁸ Humor aside, the significance of this merger ensured political control for one party. With the conservative slant of the LDP firmly in place, the state could now focus on exercising

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid. pg. 15

power over winning elections. “By the early 1960’s the Liberal Democratic Party had consolidated its core social coalition of self-employed (small business proprietors and farmers.) The party there after adapted its basic policies to sustain this coalition.”¹⁹ This coalition was extremely necessary for the LDP to remain in good favor with the masses and local union groups as need for a security treaty revision emerged and the economy began to achieve pre-war levels of growth.

The rise of the LDP in 1955 coincides with the revitalization of economy which became a symbol for Japan throughout the remainder of the 1950’s and the whole of the 1960’s. With the LDP’s successful merging, the initial economic growth of the mid fifties gave support to their consolidation and ensured their continued control of the government. At the same time any group opposing the LDP quickly became the focus of intense ridicule, critique and protest. Carol Gluck summaries these developments saying,

“For the progressive opposition it represented the effort to define the possibility of politics in a democratic form, but outside institutional structures like the Diet, which was associated with the state. Thus the progressives articulated a discourse of democracy as contestatory or participatory social behavior, epitomized by the 1960 Security Treaty protest and other popular movements.”²⁰

The protests against U.S. Japan Security Treaty revision signaled the public display of many individuals discontent with the government and the national policies of Japan. It is considered one of the most major social movements in the postwar period and hit a fever pitch in the summer of 1960. From the lead up to revision, the protests which

¹⁹Sheldon Garon and Mike Mochizuki, "Negotiating Social Contracts," in *Postwar Japan as History*, ed. Andrew Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). pg. 164

²⁰ Carol Gluck, "The Past in the Present," in *Postwar Japan as History*, ed. Andrew Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). pg. 85

occurred during its ratification, and the critiques which followed each phase in the process highlight the importance of this event. It shifted the focus of nearly every major area of mass culture. From the political and economic to the social and artistic each area felt the impact of the revision.

As described earlier Japan entered into a security treaty with the United States in 1951. That treaty was comprised of five articles wherein Japan grants the United States the right ““to dispose land, air and sea forces in and about Japan.”²¹ While the treaty provided a basic outline many politicians in Japan and even in the United States began to sense an inequality via vague language and specific gaps as to the details of the type of security which would be provided. “Preposterously unequal” was the phrase used by Foreign Minister Fujiyama Aiichi in 1958. When treaty revision came on the agenda in 1960, U.S. officials also agreed that the 1951 Security Treaty with Japan was the most inequitable bilateral agreement the United States had entered into after the war.”²² With this discontent many members of the LDP felt significant purpose in revising the initial treaty.

Several of the major issues with the initial treaty included; no obligation for the United States to provide protection to Japan, no time limit set on revision of the treaty, nothing prevented nuclear weapons from being placed on the land of U.S. military bases in Japan, and there was no obligation for the U.S. to follow the U.N Charter in acting under or following the treaty.²³

²¹George R. Packard, *Protest in Tokyo; the Security Treaty Crisis of 1960* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966). pg. 356

²² Dower, "Peace and Democracy in Two Systems: External Policy and Internal Conflict." pg. 10

²³ Packard, *Protest in Tokyo; the Security Treaty Crisis of 1960*. pg. 47

Soon after the resignation of Ishibashi Tanzan new Prime Minister, Kishi Nobusuke outlined the goal of treaty revision in his first public address to the nation in February, 1957. “From the point of view of national sentiment, the Japanese people desire that the present security treaty and administrative agreement between Japan and the United States should be abolished.”²⁴ For Kishi this political aim became the legacy of his time as Prime Minister.

On June 23, 1960 the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States of America and Japan was signed into law by the LDP controlled government of Japan. Signed in Washington the previous January and pushed to ratification in May, Japan had successfully revised the security treaty of 1951. This new treaty rectified many of the issues intellectuals, government officials, and the public had with the initial treaty. The new treaty contained ten articles and provided greater clarity to each term. Several key elements included a routine meeting between nations to discuss the implementation of the treaty, security of Japan and peace throughout Asia. Another key feature was a ten year time limit on the treaty demanding a continually revision and agreement between both parties as to the value of the relationship.

In a variety of ways this treaty was an improvement on the one signed by Yoshida Shigeru some nine years earlier. However, throughout the revision process popular discontent for treaty revision, the LDP, Prime Minister Kishi and Japan’s relationship with the United States grew. From political protests, popular literature, to what became known as the Japanese New Wave the security treaty revision marks a specific moment when a sizeable portion of the population became discontent with their leadership and

²⁴ *New York Times*, March 1, 1957.

began to openly express their frustration. The groups which fell into this category might be considered progressives, but looking at the wide range of treaty revision protesters it is difficult to define this group with any sufficient general term. The prominent contingents which led protests and were active voices throughout the treaty revision process included the Socialist and Communist political parties (JSP and JCP), the Sôhyô (General Council of Trade Unions of Japan), and the Zengakuren, Zen Nihon Gakusei Jichi-kai sorengo or The All Japan Self Governing Student Federation. These larger groups were also joined by smaller culture circles such as the Mountain Range, The Poets of Oi Factory, the Grass Seeds, and the Voiceless Voices.²⁵

The apex of political protest regarding the Security Treaty revision occurred on two days, May 19 and June 15, 1960. Throughout the treaty revision protests occurred daily, but on these specific dates just before the lower and upper houses of Japan's parliament signed the revised treaty into law the protests reached a fever pitch. On the evening of May 19th the LDP unilaterally approved a fifty day extension for the Diet session to stay open and just after midnight the security treaty revision had been renewed by the lower house. In all it took about twelve minutes. Outside nearly 15,000 people had gathered, mostly Sôhyô members, chanting, "Down with the Treaty (ANPO hantai)" and "Overthrow Kishi (Kishi taose)."²⁶ There were around 5,000 police on hand at the Diet building and eventually they were called into the compound to secure order. Within a few

²⁵ See Wesley Makoto Sasaki-Uemura, *Organizing the Spontaneous : Citizen Protest in Postwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, c2001., 2001). Sasaki goes into great detail about the formation and history of each of these groups. In addition a good analysis of events during the protests encompasses the introduction and first chapter.

²⁶ Packard, *Protest in Tokyo; the Security Treaty Crisis of 1960*. pg. 239

hours the crowd at the Diet had dwindled to a third of its size and following the bills passing the remaining people slowly dispersed. This did not stop the protests which continued right through to the final ratification of the bill reaching a peak on June, 15th.

In the early afternoon of the fifteenth, labor unions, student protesters, small culture circles, and various others gathered and once again made their way to the Diet building. The student groups marched to the south gate where they began chanting “Down with ANPO” and “Down with Kishi” as student leaders shouted from megaphones atop trucks. Throughout the afternoon the protesters continued shouting and linking arms to perform a zig-zag snake dance in front of the Diet. This lasted until students on the south gate grew restless and began cutting the Diet’s wire gates and pulling at the entrance to get inside to the courtyard.

Around the same time a group of conservative rightists and smaller cultural circles on the opposite side of the Diet building turned their protest on one another. It was during this time that a member of the rightist group drove a truck into the fight injuring many and starting a cascade of violence. The wire cutting students had worked quickly and by six in the evening they pulled the south gate open and started removing the police trucks barricading the entrance. Within the hour several trucks had been flipped over and burned.

With the gate smashed and trucks burning students poured into the diet courtyard and police were forced to strike back. In the confusion of fire hoses and clubs twenty year old Michiko Kamba, a student from Tokyo University, had been killed. News of the student’s death spread through the crowd like and soon protestors became more emboldened and tipping over more trucks.

Fighting shifted to the main gate and carried on until four in the morning. Police continued to use fire hoses and were finally ordered to use tear gas to forcibly remove everyone out of the area. All told the protests had rallied nearly 70,000 people to demonstrate outside the Diet building and nearly 5,000 police forces were brought in to provide a blockade. The destruction of the evening produced 18 burned out police trucks, left hundreds hurt, several hundred more arrested, and one student dead.²⁷

The immediate result of these actions did not curtail the revision of the treaty. By June 23rd all necessary signatures had been collected and the treaty was ratified. However, once significant result was the immediate resignation of Prime Minister Kishi on the same morning of the treaty's ratification.

“On the occasion of the coming into effect of this historically significant new security treaty, I keenly realize the need for a change of government to change completely the thinking of the people and aggressively to carry out new policies in line with both the domestic and the international situation. I have therefore decided to resign as Prime Minister.”²⁸

While the protests did not achieve their immediate goals, these events do reveal some unique aspects to the makeup of the populace at the time. Each group that participated in the protests seems to come from a different background, age and even political stance.

The major success of the protests movements during the 1960 ANPO struggle was in the individual used their own voice to express ideas about the political power which extended to the film world with artists like Oshima Nagisa, Yoshida Yoshishige and even Masumura Yasuzo. This is supported by Victor Koschmann who writes, “ANPO

²⁷Packard provides a detailed accounted of the events on the day including a greater description of the political turmoil happening inside the diet at the time. See Ibid. pgs. 291-299

²⁸ *Asahi Shimbun, June 23, 1960.*

demonstrations also marked the beginnings of political action by ordinary citizens who sometimes acted outside existing organizational contexts.”²⁹ Groups such as the Mountain Range, the Poets of Oi factory, and the Voiceless voices show even with large groups like the Zengakuren or the trade union individuals could make their voices heard. “The general consensus seems to have been: never again. And this consensus has stuck: never since 1960 have the major partisan actors gone so far in confrontation, and never have the Japanese people become involved in such numbers in openly confrontational extra parliamentary conflict.”³⁰

In an effort to deflect the negative attention of the former cabinet’s political machinations, newly sworn in Prime Minister, Ikeda Hayato, emphasized a plan to boost the economy and individual salaries through the Income Doubling Plan introduced in 1959 and strongly promoted throughout 1960. The plan championed redistribution of economic benefits within the context of a celebrating economic growth.³¹

This plan only became possible from economic developments which began to shift five years prior in 1955. That year marked the first time the gross national product (GNP) of Japan has surpassed prewar levels. The following year the government’s Economic White Paper (keizai hakusho) claimed that the postwar year had come to an end due to this growth. From 1955-1960 the economy continued to grow at a steady rate

²⁹ J. Victor Koschmann, *Revolution and Subjectivity in Postwar Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). Pg. 407

³⁰ James W. White, "Dynamics of Political Opposition," in *Postwar Japan as History* (Berkeley: University of California, 1993). pg. 430

³¹ Laura E. Hein, "Growth Versus Success: Japan's Economic Policy in Historical Perspective," in *Postwar Japan as History*, ed. Andrew Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). pg. 114

of 8.8 % annually.³² This was made possible through strong investments in technology development, industrial plant construction, and equipment production. The success during this period made it possible for the Income Doubling Plan to be introduced.

Ikeda began to developing the plan in early 1959. He drew on comments by Japanese economists such as Nakayama Ichiro's wage doubling theory and bureaucratic loners such as, Shimomura Osamu, who had generally not received a lot of credibility by more mainstream politicians.³³ A report from the Advisory Commission on Economics presented to the Kishi cabinet in December 1959 marked the introduction of the plan. The following year, December 1960, the Ikeda cabinet formally approved the Income Doubling Plan. Over the course of the next decade from 1960-1970 the GNP would continue to rise at an annual rate of nearly 10% growing stronger each year. For instance from 1965-1970 the GNP grew 11.6% annually with the highest increase in 1967 at 13.1%.³⁴ This success is considerable given the relatively short period of time since the end of World War II and recent social unrest during the security treaty revision.

The Income Doubling Plan and its directives produced results that surpassed expectations. Targets for a ten-year period were often met in seven years or less.³⁵ The success of this growth is due in large part to developments of industry and production, but also the active involvement of consumers.

³² Yutaka Kosai, *The Era of High-Speed Growth : Notes on the Postwar Japanese Economy* ([Tokyo]: University of Tokyo Press, 1986). pg. 112

³³ Ibid. pg. 130

³⁴ Ibid. pg. 158

³⁵ Gary D. Allinson, "The Structure and Transformation of Conservative Rule," in *Postwar Japan as History*, ed. Andrew Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). pg. 136

Concurrent to the rise in GNP followed a previously unseen level of mass consumerism as people were encouraged to spend their income. As Dower puts it, “the “age of the electrified household” is said to have materialized in 1955, when housewives dreamed of owning the “three divine appliances” –electric washing machines, refrigerators and television.”³⁶ This dream became a reality for many people with nearly twenty percent of households between 1958-1959 purchasing television sets.³⁷ From that point and throughout the 1960’s new households at a steady rate of nearly 10% purchased modern home appliances such as: electric refrigerators, washing machines, cameras, and vacuum cleaners each year. Each of these products provided convenience, but also helped fulfill an ideal promoted by media images of modern life. This spending helped create a mass market that at last made high-speed growth possible.³⁸

This is an interesting development as only a decade before people were told to ration for the state and be content going without. Hein describes that “in larger cultural terms, Ikeda and his allies transformed the image of consumer spending into a positive, officially sanctioned one.”³⁹ Sanctioning of purchases also led to the development of many consumer goods such as, manga and magazines, which went beyond products

³⁶ Dower, "Peace and Democracy in Two Systems: External Policy and Internal Conflict." pg. 17 The use of the ‘three magical treasures’ took on an interesting transformation throughout the High Economic Growth Period. Carol Gluck breaks it down that, “Consumer optimism “the brightness of the pursuit of desire” “This pursuit represented both the income-doubling high-growth line of the government and the rising consumer culture of the “Showa Genroku” when consumers of the late 1960’s moved from the convenient “three treasures: to the middle class “three C’s” and began to dream of the luxurious “three Vs” (The three treasures (1957): washing machine, vacuum cleaner, refrigerator; the three C’s (1966): cooler, car, color television; the three V’s (1973): villa, vacansu, and visit (vacation house, overseas travel, and guests for dinner) pg. 73

³⁷ Kosai, *The Era of High-Speed Growth : Notes on the Postwar Japanese Economy.* pg. 122

³⁸ Hein, "Growth Versus Success: Japan's Economic Policy in Historical Perspective." pg. 114

³⁹ *Ibid.* pg. 114

connected with providing an easier home life or for the specific purpose of maintaining the home.

In her discussion of consumer culture Marilyn Ivy writes, “The immense popularity of *manga*- their continuing appeal in the midst of high growth and an ever-burgeoning electronic media industry- prompted a series of debates over the nature of mass versus popular culture and over the possibilities of popular resistance contained within mass forms.”⁴⁰ The success of these industries also indicated changes in class and consumer practices in society.

With the flourish of mass market forms of entertainment like manga and anime the divisions between rich and poor or high class and mass culture (*junsui* and *taishu*) began to dissipate. These groupings were differentiated in terms of gender and generation, but much less so in terms of class or regional affiliation: company president, company janitor, and farmer alike came to read the same magazines, watch the same television shows, and own the same basic array of electric appliances.⁴¹ The madness of this consumer craze was a theme of Ozu Yasujiro’s film, *Ohayo*, and at the heart of Masumura’s own, *Kyojin to gangu* which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter III.

It is a challenge to encapsulate the variety of events and developments which occurred in Japan during the extremely busy years following the end of the war and throughout the High Economic Growth Period. From the occupation to peace and security treaties, civil protests, economic growth and mass level consumerism this period produced a remarkable environment for creative minds to engage. For a variety of artists,

⁴⁰ Ivy, "Formations of Mass Culture." pg. 248

⁴¹ Ibid. pg. 241

such as the ones covered in the next section, the rising GNP, personal wealth and pursuit of the modern age, were juxtaposed with confusion about the direction Japan should head. This included, Japan's foreign policy and international relations (particularly with the US), concerns over the speed at which Japan's industries were developing, and a general discontent felt by youth and exhibited by their protesting of ANPO provided a remarkable pool for artists to create inventive stories which addressed these concerns. The next section will engage the emboldened the creative community of filmmakers during this period who expressed their thoughts on the problems facing the nation through the cinema.

Japanese New Wave

“With the continual release of ‘masturbatory’ films by the New Wave group, I only think of the overall waste of cinema.”⁴²

-Yamamoto Takami, company worker

Having provided a broad sketch of the postwar period's major political and economic events this section will focus on Japanese New Wave cinema. Noting the quotation, it is apparent that while the New Wave had an impact on Japanese cinema during the late 1950's and in particular the year 1960, it was a style of film which did not sit well with all audiences. This is a small illustration of the larger argument of this text that while critically engaging Japanese New Wave cinema did not speak to the masses and in fact represent only a minority of the film landscape during this period.

Rather than provide a chronological historiography or critically analyze major films of the New Wave, this section will outline various interpretations, criticism and

⁴² *Kinema Junpo*, no. 277 (1960). pg. 48

scholarship during the New Wave's critical hey-day. Doing so will outline the scholarship on New Wave as well as highlight how it has been interpreted over time. More than chronicle the New Wave this section also seeks to highlight how Masumura and more broadly how mass culture cinema is situated in relation to the level of discussion provided the New Wave.

English scholarship will provide a sense of the trajectory of cinema studies on films released during the High Economic Growth Period, followed by an engagement of Japanese primary source articles written during the development of New Wave as well as secondary sources will help provide a fuller picture of interpretations and the importance placed on Japanese New Wave.

Japanese New Wave first came to prominence for western countries through international film festivals in Europe tracing back through media and studio publicity to Oshima Nagisa's first films from 1960 and then on to the debut of Yoshida Yoshishige and Shinoda Masahiro the following summer. All three promoted as the face of the "Shochiku Nouvelle Vague" by their studio, Shochiku, even before it became a portmanteau term encompassing any director or film which seemed to break in narrative or technical construction from anything deemed "classical" or past. The relative disunity with the development of the New Wave can be attributed in part to its retrospective construction. As we will see in the western, English language, sources Japanese New Wave had already passed its prime when the first articles and monographs began to appear in the 1980s. Also, while journalism in Japan was quick to capture the fever of New Wave, many were at a loss for how to accurately describe the movement, encapsulate its themes or even decide on its members. The fascination with this varied

history, showing how the dominance of this group has essentially ostracized the larger film culture of the period by this admittedly low attended trend.⁴³

Undoubtedly, the most significant monograph on this subject is David Desser's, *Eros Plus Massacre: An Introduction to the Japanese New Wave Cinema*. Published in 1988, it is still the most identifiable English language text on the New Wave. For Desser this book acts as a way of not only introducing Japanese New Wave cinema, but filling a 'certain gap' in the critical literature of film studies.⁴⁴ Desser frames his monograph via seven major themes, with each chapter named after a film to highlight a particular area of interest. The themes include narrative structure and ideology, youth culture, representations of women, and sexuality.

More broadly Desser frames the New Wave within the context of the major events, described earlier, with the postwar period to show how Japanese filmmakers used cinema as a tool and as a weapon in cultural struggles. Furthermore, Desser defines Japanese New Wave Cinema, "as films produced and/or released in the wake of Oshima's *A Town of Love and Hope*, films which take an overtly political stance in a general way or toward a specific issue, utilizing a deliberately disjunctive form compared to previous filmic norms in Japan."⁴⁵ So while Desser is concerned with the political or historical events of the period the framing of New Wave cinema rests more on Oshima's debut than any other factor.

⁴³ See *Kinema Junpo* February 1st, 1961 issue for breakdown of figures on Japanese New Wave film attendance.

⁴⁴ David Desser, *Eros Plus Massacre : An Introduction to the Japanese New Wave Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988). pg. 2

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* pg. 4

For many Oshima comes to form the center of the New Wave directors so it is no coincidence that his debut film is used as the marker for the start of the New Wave. Similarly, Yoshida's *Eros purasu gyakusatau*, the title of the book, serves as the New Wave's end point before the rise of pink or roman porno films⁴⁶ which became a significant part of film culture in the 1970's. For the sake of clarity this places the New Wave almost entirely within the decade of the 1960's with the majority of press focusing on films released in the first half of the decade.

While Desser does provide some measure of clarity as to the New Wave's significance⁴⁷, it is clear the purpose of this monograph is to highlight the dominance of the New Wave by indicating that its films represent an active opposition to normative political and social trends by stylistically breaking from any norms present in Japanese films.

The trouble with this approach is that while highlighting the significance of the New Wave and making a strong claim as to their unique space in Japanese Cinema it has the unintended effect of marginalizing the remaining majority of domestic films released throughout the 1960's. This is seen with the manner in which Desser describes Masumura in relation to the theme of his text.

In the introduction Desser mentions of Masumura as one of the figures surrounding the New Wave movement.

⁴⁶ Soft-core pornographic films which dominated the film landscape of the 1970s. In particular Nikkatsu which changed its title and became an exclusive distributor of this type of film.

⁴⁷ Desser mentions that in his estimate only 10 percent of films released a year could be associated with the New Wave. Even according to him that number was generous. Desser, *Eros Plus Massacre : An Introduction to the Japanese New Wave Cinema*. pg. 9

“Masumura Yasuzo, who’s *Kuchizuke* (*Kisses*, 1957) was an important precursor to the New Wave, might be said to stand alongside of the movement in the 60’s. While his films are often thematically appropriate, their style is formally closer to the works of Kobayashi and Ichikawa than to Oshima or Yoshida.”⁴⁸

From this description it is clear that Desser does not merit Masumura’s work in the same realm as Oshima or Yoshida. While this is not an outright disparagement, it creates a divide. A divide which can again be taken positively, but in relation to the thesis of the text suggests the superior position of the New Wave and its central figures.

This is continued with another description of Masumura’s debut film *Kuchizuke*. “The film is clearly a forerunner not only of the youth films of the New Wave directors in Japan, but looks forward to the first features of the French New Wave, as well.”⁴⁹

Following this description Desser provides a final summary of Masumura as a filmmaker before and during the New Wave. “As well as providing one of the immediate cinematic models for the New Wave, Masumura would remain on a parallel with them; his films of the ‘60s tackled the subject of women, as did many of the New Wave filmmakers.”⁵⁰ On one level Desser seems to praise Masumura as a starting point or reference for New Wave filmmakers. However, Desser also makes repeated and specific mention of the division between the New Wave and Masumura.

This is not to suggest that Masumura should be considered a major member of the New Wave or that Desser’s assessment is incorrect. Merely that this highlights the obscure position of Masumura and the majority of mass culture cinema by this type of

⁴⁸ Ibid. pg. 11

⁴⁹ Ibid. pg. 43

⁵⁰ Ibid. pg. 43

boundary defining scholarship. While Desser's work focused on filling a very specific area of film studies other scholarship attempting a broader approach form the blueprint of who Desser includes in the New Wave.

Nearly twelve years earlier Joan Mellen conducted a study of various 'voices' in contemporary Japanese cinema. Published in 1975 *Voices from the Japanese Cinema* provided a variety of in-depth interviews with many of the most well known or critically lauded directors of the time. Mellen's goal for the book was simply to meet great directors and converse with them. In particular discussing, "how their films were received in Japan, the values and premises behind the Japanese director's conception of his art and how these differ from a Western approach."⁵¹ Mellen's book is essentially a roll call of the major figures which future scholars, including Desser, would use to frame the narrative history of Japanese cinema from the end of World War II to the start of the 1970's.

In addition to Kurosawa, Kobayashi, and Imai Tadashi, Mellen interviewed many of the 1960's 'extraordinary generation of filmmakers'⁵² who made the important films of the decade. Without using the term New Wave, Mellen interviewed most of the figures Desser highlights as the core of the group. These include: Oshima Nagisa, Masahiro Shinoda, Teshigahara Hiroshi and Hani Susumu. Unlike Desser though, Mellen make no mention of Masumura. For the most part Mellen's work acts as a framing device for the key New Wave figures Desser includes in his work. This is supported by the frequent citation of Mellen's book in *Eros Plus Massacre*.

⁵¹ Joan Mellen, *Voices from the Japanese Cinema* (New York: Liveright, 1975). pg. 2

⁵² *Ibid.* pg. 1

Mellen's book was designed as a way of providing the English speaking world with some of the first interviews of important, contemporary directors from Japan. Following her, Keiko McDonald provides one of the first major analytical studies of Japanese cinema in her book, *Cinema East: A Critical Study of Major Japanese Films*. Unlike the early publications McDonald's work is the first text to analyze specific films on a critical level. Assessing the concepts present in the films as well as engaging their contextual environment McDonald utilizes a variety of sources in her analysis to bring together a richer, more vibrant study. Audie Bock's review supports this highlighting it as, a synthesis of Japanese source material and western critical analysis.⁵³

Taking the approach of a literary critic, McDonald, considers each film as a finished product as opposed to a part of a larger work in process. This limits some cohesion in her analysis, but provides a variety of films to be studied. Even with this methodology and the variety of films addressed McDonald does attempt to provide a clear-cut narrative for Japanese film history in her introduction, focusing primarily on the immediate postwar to the end of the 1960's.⁵⁴ Each period is highlighted by major director's names. The immediate postwar of World War II is emphasized by the 'Big Three' of Kurosawa, Mizoguchi and Ozu followed by other names such as Imai Tadashi and Kinoshita Keishuke. With the arrival of the 1960's McDonald invokes the New Wave through the names Oshima, Yoshida, and Shinoda. Given the limited scope of the

⁵³ Audie E. Bock, "Review: Cinema East: A Critical Study of Major Japanese Films," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 43, no. 3 (1984). pg. 546

⁵⁴For the full description see Keiko I. McDonald, *Cinema East : A Critical Study of Major Japanese Films* (Rutherford [N.J.]: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1983). pg. 11-17

project and relatively short historical description of the introduction it is no surprise that Masumura is left off the list.

Bock praises the work as an important piece for introductory Japanese cinema studies. This praise also hints at the lack of depth in the field up to this point. Since the publication of Anderson and Richie's book⁵⁵ in 1960 to McDonald's in 1983 Japanese cinema studies is still viewed, even within the community, as an introductory study. With that knowledge it is understandable that the most critically well received films and directors were the first to be analyzed. In the years after other scholars and edited volumes attempt to expand the field with varying results.

One such work edited by Arthur Nolletti, Jr and David Desser, *Reframing Japanese Cinema: Authorship, Genre, and History*, attempted to complexify the field of Japanese film studies. It is highlighted in the introduction that as film studies has developed; Japanese film history has remained rather sparse. The goal of the text was to offer up, "critical and historical assessments that build upon, refine, or bring greater specificity to a variety of particular areas and issues."⁵⁶ The book is separated by three sections Authorship, Genre, and History to provide a varying approach to achieve the books overall goals.

The text provides insight to a variety of films had not previously been discussed in any great detail. In particular, discussions of Yakuza films, comedy films, cinema in the silent and pre-World War one era. Unfortunately, this does not lead to a greater

⁵⁵ See Joseph L. Anderson and Donald Richie, *The Japanese Film: Art and Industry* (New York: Grove Press, 1960).

⁵⁶ Arthur Nolletti and David Desser, eds., *Reframing Japanese Cinema: Authorship, Genre, History* (Bloomington, ID: Indiana University Press, 1992). pg. xii

analysis of films or filmmakers in the postwar and high growth era. Max Tessier's chapter on Oshima Nagisa stands as the only representation of the period. Aaron Gerow in his review of the work highlights the slight misstep of this chapter and the entire section on authorship. Gerow points out that while featuring important directors like Kurosawa, Ozu, Mizoguchi and Oshima the authorship section is in fact the weakest of the book. The major reason being that, with the exception of Nolletti's opening chapter on Gosho Heinosuke, none of the essays, "expand significantly the field either in subject or methodology."⁵⁷ Tessier's chapter in the end does not reframe Japanese cinema during the postwar era, but re-affirms early scholarship around the tent pole figure of Oshima Nagisa and by extension Japanese New Wave.

In the past decade several other publications have attempted a much broader historical overview of Japanese cinema encompassing a variety of new information while building on developments that had occurred over the past decade. The first being Isolde Standish's *A New History of Japanese Cinema: A Century of Narrative Film* published in 2005.

Standish states that her study, "focuses on the historical development of Japanese cinema as a nexus, a point where a multiplicity of, at times, competing and merging forces from the traditional arts, sociopolitical trends and Western technology came to be adopted, adapted and altered to produce a cinematic tradition."⁵⁸ This approach mirrors Scott Nygren's goal for *Time Frames: Japanese Cinema and the Unfolding of History*

⁵⁷ Aaron Gerow, "Review: Reframing Japanese Cinema: Authorship, Genre, History," *The Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese* 28, no. 1 (1994). pg. 119

⁵⁸ Isolde Standish, *A New History of Japanese Cinema: A Century of Narrative Film* (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group Inc, 2005). pg. 14

published in 2007. Nygren's book attempts to highlight, "representations of time in Japanese film and culture, the inflections of history that these narratives generate, and the dislocations across cultural difference produced by situating Japan in a world context."⁵⁹

Each of these texts aim for a more complex study revolving around the symbiotic relationship between varying critical modes of reception in relation to the shifts of time.

Neither book focuses on a chronological nor auteur based study. Similar to Desser's approach in *Eros Plus Massacre* these texts utilize abstract concepts or themes to highlight a particular group of films or thematic traits that will be analyzed. For Standish this includes topics like: modernity, the state, gender, humanism and transgression. Nygren similarly frames arguments around: international modernism, reconsidering humanism, and postmodern networks.

In her chapter, "Cinema and Transgression", Standish is quick to highlight the *taiyozoku* or sun-tribe films which were produced in the mid to late fifties. The name derives from the works of popular novelist and long time governor of Tokyo Ishihara Shintaro. The most well known sun-tribe film being *Kurruta kajitsu* directed by Nakahira Ko released in 1956. The sun-tribe novels and films generally focus on disaffected youth who wish to escape the confines of societal pressures to become company employees and in an act of rebellion take to the beach and their boat, clad in Hawaiian shirts, willfully breaking down the system.

Standish's discussion of this period does show an added level of nuance by including it in their discussion before. Unfortunately this does not lend itself to a deeper discussion of either the New Wave, those associated with it, or other cinematic

⁵⁹ Nygren, *Time Frames: Japanese Cinema and the Unfolding of History*. pg. xvii

developments of the 1960's. Standish instead highlights the rise of three radical filmmakers of the 1960's; Oshima Nagisa, Yoshida Yoshishige and Imamura Shohei. This thread is carried on further with her analysis of the 1960's subtitled, "Oshima Nagisa and the Cinema of Cruelty"⁶⁰ which details the 1960's through the films and critical writings of the director. Standish does provide one of the more comprehensive analyses of Oshima using both English sources and Japanese materials from journals like *Kinema Junpo* as well as Oshima's own writing on cinema.

Focusing primarily on Oshima with minimal reference to others like Masahiro Shinoda, Imamura Shohei and Teshigahara Hiroshi this section does not expand or provide much in the way of a new approach from this era. Needless to say Masumura or any other figure outside those mentioned remain absent from the discussion. This is unfortunate given Standish's obvious dedication to providing a more complex and comprehensive evaluation of the topics included in her study.

Nygren's text provides a unique interpretation of how time and the influx of information can be used to analyze Japanese films. However, after providing a brief summary of the major postwar events, such as the ANPO protests, Nygren focuses all cinematic developments of the 1960's on Oshima, Imamura and Yoshida.⁶¹ In his analysis Nygren agrees with Desser's assessment that the New Wave begins with the release of Oshima's debut film. However, he does argue that the seeds for its emergence lie not in the *taiyozoku*, Masumura or even French New Wave, but in Kurosawa's *Ikiru* from 1952.

⁶⁰ Standish, *A New History of Japanese Cinema: A Century of Narrative Film*. pg. 237

⁶¹ See Nygren, *Time Frames: Japanese Cinema and the Unfolding of History*. pg. 170-71 & 184-87

This significantly breaks from Dessser's analysis of the New Wave developing parallel to French New Wave with its own degree of 'integrity and specificity.'⁶² It also shows a unique level of interpretation and refinement of early perceptions of the period. Nevertheless this interpretation and reconfiguration of the period are limited to the known figures of Japanese cinema, never extending beyond the boundaries of previously charted territory.

In this overview of the major English publications certain names such as Oshima Nagisa, Yoshida Yoshishige, Imamura Shohei, Masahiro Shinoda and to a lesser extent Hiroshi Teshigahara, have appeared repeatedly. The earliest publications by Mellen and McDonald staked out the initial grouping of directors and films for each period from the immediate postwar period and throughout the 1960s. With the publication of Dessser's work the New Wave specific films and filmmakers are grouped together for the purpose of unity and streamlining the narrative of 1960's cinema. Since that time these directors and films have formed the core of film scholarship for the period, affirmed and re-affirmed with each successive publication.

One factor which may account for this is the limited number of texts from Japanese scholars or critics translated into English. To date *Currents of Japanese Cinema* written by Sato Tadao remains nearly the only book of its kind. Published in 1983 the book was translated primarily from the 1971 publication, *nihon eiga shiso shi*.⁶³ Audie Bock praised Sato for discussing a broader spectrum of directors and films than were available at the time. As Bock describes rather than simply re-hash conversations on

⁶² Dessser, *Eros Plus Massacre : An Introduction to the Japanese New Wave Cinema*. pg. 4

⁶³ See Tadao Sato, *Nihon Eiga Shisoshi* (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobo, 1970).

Kurosawa, Ozu, Mizoguchi or Naruse, Sato is looks high and low for any film that might spark conversation or provide food for thought. “What makes his writing unique is that he can invariably come up with a reason for the popularity of the trashy films as well as a good analysis of the artistic ones.”⁶⁴ Bock emphasizes this range from legitimate genres such as the ‘mother film’ to the gangster and soft core porn films which ‘dragged the market down’ throughout the 1970s.

Sato’s book is organized into a variety of sections including one on the New Wave entitled, ‘Developments of the 1960’s’ which similar to Mellen’s interview provide a framework for Desser’s construction of the New Wave. In particular, Sato’s arrangement of Masumura in the ‘background’ of emerging cinematic trends closely matches Desser’s own idea that Masumura ran ‘parallel’ to the New Wave. While Sato never uses the term New Wave in his analysis the narrative construction of Masumura’s place in cinematic developments once again places more emphasis or importance on the developments of Oshima or Yoshida’s films than any other film or artists at that time. In addition Sato does not mention Masumura’s films from the 1960’s, only his very early films from the late 1950’s from his debut with *Kuchizuke* in 1957 until his fifth film *Kyojin to gangu* in 1958. While there may not be a conscious effort to minimize Masumura, his placement in various scholarly texts has continually pushed him to the periphery.

Another significant publication which boosted the awareness of New Wave cinema and provided easy access for scholars is the 1991 translated collection of Oshima

⁶⁴ Audie E. Bock, "Review: Currents in Japanese Cinema: Essays by Tadao Sato," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 9, no. 2 (1983). pg. 360

Nagisa's essays, *Cinema, Censorship, and the State*. This publication comes out just prior to the edited collection, *Reframing Japanese Cinema* and is the first extensive volume to feature a director's critical writings in English. For those interested in postwar or high growth era cinema, the translation of Oshima's essays provides a treasure trove of accessible materials. With this book any scholar writing about Oshima or films of the 1960's could quickly cite this book as a source of further reading. The book also solidified Oshima's place at the heart of the New Wave. As Maureen Turim aptly describes in her review, "As the most widely seen director to have emerged in Japanese film-making since the 1950s, Oshima is for most Western viewers the emblem of the Japanese New Wave."⁶⁵ This emblem while initially promoting a batch of filmmakers has overtime turned into a static, canonized group repeatedly cited and analyzed over and over.

Having addressed a majority of available of English scholarship it is now possible to shift attention to the debates and have arisen in Japan throughout the High Growth Period. Looking at key articles around from the inception of Japanese New Wave will provided access to the initial discussions regarding what this term encompassed. Combining this analysis with several secondary sources it will become clear how Japanese New Wave has been situated in Japanese scholarship. Finally, turning toward more recent scholarship will show the direction a few scholars have begun to suggest a need for more expansive scholarship of figures like Masumura and mass culture cinema.

As much as some have argued for the unique nature of Japanese New Wave it is

⁶⁵ Maureen Turim, "Cinema, Censorship, and the State: The Writings of Nagisa Oshima," *Film Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (1994). pg. 37

clear that the name at least derived from the term, French Nouvelle Vague. A quick overview of articles in prominent journals such as *Kinema Junpo* and *Eiga Hyron* clearly indicate the fascination with 'French New Wave' and Godard's *Breathless* in 1959 and the idea of Japan potentially having its own New Wave throughout 1960. With the coincidental debut of Oshima and Yoshida journalists had a people and films that could be attached to the term. Throughout 1960-1962 a flurry of articles regarding the New Wave appeared in film journals and magazines before tapering off in the later portion of the decade. Looking at a variety of articles from this period will clarify some of the confusion that existed about the term New Wave, such as who it applied to and what it meant for the cinema world.

In early 1960 a variety of screenwriters and film industry members began to clamor aboard hype of the New Wave. Magazines began including articles which attempted to introduce, educate and define the term. Unlike the scholarship discussed earlier, the articles written at the outset of 1960 express an uncertainty that slowly dissipates over the course of the year. For instance an article by Horikawa Hiromichi, director of *Kuroi gashu* adapted from the Matsumoto Seicho novel, emphasizes the relationship between screenwriter and director for the New Wave. The article titled, "The foundation for the birth of Japan's New Wave" is written as a forecast for the coming year. While this article is published four months after the release of Oshima's debut, *Ai to kibo no machi*, Horikawa's refrains from labeling any Japanese film with the term New Wave. His conversation limited to general didactic phrases. "For the emergence of a Japanese 'New Wave' I believe that a cooperative relationship with the screenwriter (and

director) is absolutely imperative.”⁶⁶ Horikawa suggests this will be the critical aspect which will propel the New Wave into existence for Japan. He argues that this relationship will provide an important break from the standard model of studio heads picking a script they find interesting (i.e. profitable), assigning a director, promoted and released on time within budget. At the same time Horikawa never attempts to provide a personal definition of just what the New Wave is.

In addition to forecasts about the important themes or foundations of the New Wave several members of the film industry began to point out the absurdity of the title even before it had taken root. In an interview conducted by Okada Susumu for *Kinema Junpo*, screenwriter Mizuki Yoko claims, “I am the New Wave.”⁶⁷ While the title is meant somewhat in jest Mizuki is citing the superficial nature of a name like New Wave. When watching the recent films of the day Mizuki cannot help but laugh saying, “Everyone, is this not the same thing I did (ten years ago) and at the time was criticized for?”⁶⁸ Mizuki also makes it clear that even if he wanted to write a film imbued with the qualities of rebelliousness, youth angst and critical political observation film companies would not be receptive. “If I were to try that the company would not take it. On the other hand for a young person it would be accepted. They are young therefore they are new, right? And if we were to write a ‘New Wave’ film (in the past) it would be rare for a director to comprehend it.”⁶⁹ In this interview Mizuki is candid about the pleasure he

⁶⁶ Hiromichi Horikawa, "Nihon No <Atarashi Nami> Ga Umareru Kiso," *Kinema Junpo*, no. 253 (1960). pg. 85

⁶⁷ Susumu Okada, "Watashi Wa Nuveru Vague," *Kinema Junpo*, no. 263 (1960). pg. 69

⁶⁸ Ibid. pg. 70

⁶⁹ Ibid. pg. 71

derives from more recent films which break from the standard process of script selection, director assignment, production and release. However, his interview reveals the journalistic hype and narrow parameters of a New Wave, when juxtaposed with his own career.

These articles present a snippet of how New Wave became a cultural meme in film journals each attempting to latch the term onto any new filmmaker whose production broke from the classic production pattern. However, the term lacked any clear meaning regarding specific people or content. Both Horikawa and Mizuki indicate that the New Wave had emerged, but there was no sense as to what that meant. Both seem more focused on the material production of the films as a sign to their “New Waviness”. These articles speak to the confusion of the day, but also show an attempt to forecast what the movement would or should be. Most of all it serves as point of departure for the New Wave debate which would continue throughout the year.

By July of 1960, journalists and Shochiku finally found a specific film and director to label Japanese New Wave with the release of Oshima Nagisa’s second feature, *Seishun zankoku monogatari*. Released on June 3, 1960 the film received very positive reviews and became situated as the landmark film of the New Wave for the year. From Dessler to Standish, Oshima’s second theatrical feature is highlights all the major themes of the movement. Along with *Nihon no yoru to kiri* released in October of 1960, *Seishun zankoku monogatari* is held up as the strongest example of youth angst, political protesting, rebellion against the system, and hopelessness exhibited by any of the New Wave films.

Lauded on multiple levels the film provided the first citable film for critics to call, New Wave. Kokura Shinbi writes, “Even with an older style, felt by the over-reach of the characters deaths and logical progression of the film, in form and content it is suitable to say that for the first time it the New Wave of Japanese cinema has arrived.”⁷⁰ The review goes on in greater detail, citing the effective depiction of the sadness by youth of various generations. In particular, a scene Kiyoshi sits eating an apple while girlfriend Makoto’s older sister, Yuki, speaks with a former classmate about their failure to insight change is repeatedly mentioned for its effectiveness. This scene is a short version of what becomes the narrative framing device for Oshima’s *Nihon no yoru to kiri* which creates a dialogue between modern day student protesters and communist supporters for a generation earlier.

Iijima Koichi praised the *Seishun zankoku monogatari* for its ‘wonderful level of sadistic imagery.’⁷¹ Not praising the actions as wonderful, merely indicating that the reality displayed by the characters throughout the film, however depraved, were wonderful to experience. Iijima admires how in breaking from tradition the film also shows that going forward films must continue the same rebellious drive and realism despite the difficulty that might be presented by the studio or other forces.⁷² This film provides the first tangible film for critics to label as an example of the New Wave. Appearing in theaters just under two weeks before the largest and most violent of the ANPO protests, it is conceivable that the fervor of that month aided in the declarations

⁷⁰ Shinbi Kokura, "Nihon Eiga Hihyo: Seishun Zankoku Monogatari," *Kinema Junpo*, no. 262 (1960). pg. 127

⁷¹ Koichi Iijima, "Oshima Nagisa to Seishun Zankoku Monogatari," *Eiga Hyoron* 17, no. 7 (1960). pg. 61

⁷² *Ibid.* pg. 63

made by the reviewers. In any event these reviews form the touchstone for each article to follow on the New Wave in Japan or which directly reference Oshima Nagisa.

By August of 1960 both Oshima Nagisa and Yoshida Yoshishige debut films had been released. As a way of staking claim to the title of New Wave, Shochiku began to market their films with these directors, and nearly any new director, as the next in line for the New Wave. In fact the same month that Oshima's second film was receiving reviews, the tag lines for Yoshida's debut film, *Rokudenashi*, declared as much. "From *Seishun zankoku monogatari* the next "New Wave" release! Dry Drama!"⁷³ Written and directed by Yoshida *Rokudenashi* depicts the protests of young Zengakuren members along with similar aged 'good for nothing' college students.

From a marketing perspective the conversations about Japan's New Wave became validated by the combined release of Oshima and Yoshida's first pictures. The fervor of Shochiku's marketing push for the New Wave would reach a peak with the double bill of Oshima's *Nihon to yoru to kiri* and Yoshida's second film *Chi wa kawaiteiru* released in October. However, even before the release of these pictures film journals were quick to capitalize on the buzz surrounding these directors.

In August, around the time Oshima's third film *Taiyo no hakaba* was being released media outlets began to push for Oshima and Yoshida to become the face of the New Wave. In an expose on them it proclaimed that, "Two twenty something's directors, with just two films, gave a singular shock to Japanese film. From this position it appears

⁷³, *Eiga Hyoron* 17, no. 7 (1960). Back Cover. Originally, 「青春残酷物語に続いて放つ“新しい波”！ドライ・ドラマ！」

something new has arrived.”⁷⁴ Throughout the essay each writer used these directors and their films to provide meaning for Japanese New Wave in terms of production, style and technique.

Okada Susumu saw the production of New Wave films in terms similar to *Kuroi gashu* director, Horikawa Hiromichi that the New Wave was a change from the old system of film production. Yoshida Yoshishige seems to confirm this explaining,

“making a film is one form of action or form of behavior, is it not? Our style of filmmaking is entirely different from those before us. To think of the form of film up until now, is to focus on the influence the story had on the picture. We want to completely do away with that. We have no interest in that type of film.”⁷⁵

This break emphasized by Okada and Yoshida also leads to a perceived change of style and tone.

Izawa Jun, focusing on more thematic elements, indicates that the films of Oshima and Yoshida, presented a ‘humanism of the self’⁷⁶ as opposed to the more universal humanism exhibited by earlier films. Doita Michizo echoes this sentiment describing that “there is meaning to it being a young artist’s work; however there is also a similarity to Truffaut and Godard’s own “personal film” which provides this type of connection.”⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Sadayoshi Fukuda, "Oshima Nagisa, Yoshida Yoshishige Gendai Ga Unda Futari No Kantoku: Shuzoku He No Hangyaku," *Kinema Junpo*, no. 264 (1960). pg. 48

⁷⁵ Nagisa Oshima and Yoshishige Yoshida, "Oshima Nagisa, Yoshida Yoshishige Gendai Ga Unda Hutari No Kantoku: Taidan Jidai No Wiga Wo Warera No Te De," *Kinema Junpo*, no. 264 (1960). pg. 55

⁷⁶ Jun Izawa, "Oshima Nagisa, Yoshida Yoshishige Gendai Ga Unda Hutari No Kantoku: Atarashi Nami," *Kinema Junpo*, no. 264 (1960). pg. 50

⁷⁷ Toru Ogawa, ed., *Gendai Nihon Eigaron Taikei 3: Nihon No Nuberu Bagu* (Tokyo: Tokisha, 1970). pg. 246 Originally written by Toida Michizo and published in *Eiga geijutsu*, September, 1960

When pressed to define their style as being part of a New Wave Yoshida and Oshima are quick to separate themselves from the media and their own company's label of them. As Yoshida describes, "I do not dwell on that so much. Oshima and I both think of the New Wave less and more of the reality present in the cinema of Poland...the New Wave looks at the inner workings of humanity...I wanted to take an alternative approach."⁷⁸ However, in another article where Yoshida describes the realism of Polish film he does provide a more succinct definition of New Wave film. "In reference to the New Wave's description of human relations, it seems to be a magnified distortion of their subject and state of being."⁷⁹ Yoshida's disassociation of New Wave cinema via his inspiration of Polish cinema's realism is indicative of his desire not to be coded in simple terms.

Oshima in the same interview attempts to describe his own perception of their films at that time. "In relation to these films rallying against the conservative mood of the day, for our part in the fight I see filmmaking as just one form of action we can take within society."⁸⁰ He goes on to say, "I used to think that we were fighting, but it was not until the films were shot and first seen that I felt that for sure. The reason we made this films was to start a fight."⁸¹ These interviews show Oshima and Yoshida's commitment

⁷⁸ Oshima and Yoshida, "Oshima Nagisa, Yoshida Yoshishige Gendai Ga Unda Hutari No Kantoku: Taidan Jidai No Wiga Wo Warera No Te De." pg. 54

⁷⁹ Yoshishige Yoshida, "Gendai Ni Nani Wo Shucho Suru Ka," *Eiga Hyoron* 17, no. 8 (1960). pg. 31

⁸⁰ Izawa, "Oshima Nagisa, Yoshida Yoshishige Gendai Ga Unda Hutari No Kantoku: Atarashi Nami." pg. 50

⁸¹ Oshima and Yoshida, "Oshima Nagisa, Yoshida Yoshishige Gendai Ga Unda Hutari No Kantoku: Taidan Jidai No Wiga Wo Warera No Te De." pg. 54

to their craft as well as the press and Shochiku's push to package them into an easily definable and marketable product.

Okada Susumu focusing on the visual, technical style of Oshima and Yoshida's early films expresses the passion he felt watching them. These directors, "do not create an image, but instead destroy the image. This element is what binds them to the Zengakuren, and has resonance with the fundamental creation of the New Wave."⁸² Okada, like Izawa and others easily buy into the marketing of Shochiku. At the same time the New Wave became a self fulfilling prophecy with the amount of articles written by critics first on French New Wave in 1959 and about the appearance of a New Wave in Japan at the outset of 1960. It is no wonder a company would then promote their own new talent, featuring strong creative voices, as the symbol for this burgeoning term. Regardless of their personal aspersion to the label itself, the Japanese New Wave title provided an effective niche for Oshima and Yoshida to ensure the success of their early pictures and career. At the very least it guaranteed critical exposure for each of their films.

By the end of 1960 the fervor over Japan's New Wave had not dissipated, but the discussion did. Rather than search for a definition, more articles were written trying to explain what had happened over the past year and critically address Japan's New Wave after all the quick and disjointed assertions which had appeared throughout the year.

In particular lead editor for Mainichi Graph magazine, Okamoto Hiroshi, expressed extreme displeasure with Oshima and the 'New Wave' problem. "Just that, to have Oshima straighten up, is what I want. By that I mean for him to cut down his

⁸² Susumu Okada, "Oshima Nagisa, Yoshida Yoshishige Gendai Ga Unda Hutari No Kantoku: Genjitsu Sanka No Shisei," *Kinema Junpo*, no. 264 (1960). pg. 52

momentum as that style of filmmaking is just awful. He needs to think more about making films from within the mechanism of the system.”⁸³ The fears of Okamoto are almost humorous in regards to the effect Oshima’s films had considering the low attendance and average box office earning his films made in relation to that year’s major box office successes.⁸⁴ Another factor to consider is that by the end of 1960 Oshima had left Shochiku to start an independent career. Also, Shochiku had replaced its studio head, and by early 1961 no studio was forecasting a continuation of the New Wave.⁸⁵ Another reason for the humor of Okamoto’s concern has to do with the changes taking place within the circle of journalists who very recently had been cast under the spell of the New Wave.

Iwasaki Akira saw it as a mix between the advertising department of Shochiku Studio and in part to the efforts of journalists. However, he still commented on the "immense success"⁸⁶ of the catch phrase which surprised even by experienced copy writers by its effectiveness. The power of this phrase is part and parcel to several journalists back tracking on their initial infatuation with the New Wave and more specifically heaping praise on Oshima and Yoshida to such an immense degree.

⁸³ Hiroshi Okamoto, "1960 Nen Eiga Kai Topikkusu," *Kinema Junpo*, no. 274 (1960). pg. 58

⁸⁴ For a full breakdown of popular cinema in 1960 see Appendix I of this thesis and also refer to Hikari Komura, *Kinema Junpo Best Ten 80 Kai Zen Shi* (キネマ旬報ベスト・テン80回全史) (Tokyo: Kinema Junpo sha, 2010). pg. 120-121

⁸⁵ In fact, most of the studio heads during this period began to forecast a tough road for the film industry. With the shrinking of profits in throughout 1960, many studio heads were coming up with plans to reduce costs. Some of those measures included the removal of all triple billings and the reduction of theaters. See Kakushashacho, "Nihon Eiga No Atarashi Toshi Wo Koso Suru," *Kinema Junpo*, no. 275 (1961). pg. 48-50

⁸⁶ Akira Iwasaki, "Nihoneiga Ni Atrashi Nami(Nuberu Vague) Ha Aru Ka: Shochiku Kikaku to Atarashi Nami," *Kinema Junpo*, no. 270 (1960). pg. 48

Perhaps most vocal in re-assessing their position on the New Wave is Okada Susumu. Okada is upfront about buying into the image of a New Wave for Japan from the beginning. Many critics were initially overwhelmed the combination of real world political events being acted out with visual flair by Oshima and Yoshida's films. "Wanting to see the real face of the creators was a desire that each of us supported. Then, I recall quite openly identifying with what might be called their slogan of doing away with a framed story and participating in reality."⁸⁷ This acceptance and eager support of the New Wave is depicted clearly in the articles from August and even earlier in the year, when the release of Oshima and Yoshida's were fresh in the minds of critics. However, with only a few months time Okada, begins to re-calibrate his assumptions.

"The "New Wave" is not equal; moreover the "New Wave" is a contradiction."⁸⁸ He clarifies this by saying that Japanese New Wave is in essence a description of the similarities represented by the finished product of multiple directors and creative talents. Even the emergence of the name New Wave came as a result of a confused desire to place an enticing label on multiple directors and their work. "The reason the label of Japanese New Wave emerged so rampantly, is that until now there was no word which embodied something specific to Japan."⁸⁹

The love loss over the New Wave by critics continued with reviews of Oshima and Yoshida's subsequent films released in 1960. "Oshima's *Nihon no your to kiri* and Yoshida's *Chi wa kawaiteiru*, even after failing at the box office and receiving poor

⁸⁷ Susumu Okada, "Nihoneiga Ni Atrashi Nami(Nuberu Vague) Ha Aru Ka: Ryuko No Kaitai," *Kinema Junpo*, no. 270 (1960). pg. 53

⁸⁸ Ibid. pg. 53

⁸⁹ Ibid. pg. 55

reviews, and moreover thinking of them as individuals rather than a group by forgetting the misleading title of “New Wave”, I thought these films seemed a lot like their first efforts.”⁹⁰ In essence this was a criticism of Oshima and Yoshida essentially repeating the same themes from earlier films, in particular the disaffected youth’s need to die by the climax of the film. The deaths coming as a result of character’s inability to effect change within the system.

By this time some critics began to feel that the New Wave was moving away from films which spoke to the events of the day and were more focused on self-indulgent interests. Around the same time as Okada’s article, guest writer Kitao Michihiko for *Eiga Hyoron* offers a similar impression in relation to Yoshida’s filmmaking. “Especially in *Rokudenashi*, which is less an imitation of (French style) filmmaking used as a way to express the poverty of Japanese film, but more an attempt for the film director to yammer on about the measure of their intellect.”⁹¹ This statement echoes the sentiment from quote which opens this section. It also shows a disconnection between Oshima and Yoshida’s work, the machinations of the media, and the interests of the mass audience.

In the time following 1960 several other prominent directors, including Imamura Shohei, Masahiro Shinoda and others would be enveloped into the fold of Japanese New Wave Cinema. However as it can be seen from these articles in 1960, only Oshima and Yoshida had been branded with the label.

⁹⁰ Ibid. pg. 55

⁹¹ Michihiko Kitao, "Nuveru Vague Shikiron," *Eiga Hyoron* 17, no. 11 (1960). pg. 116

Iwasaki Akira sums up the fervor of the year describing how a new director was given attention not for their value, strength, or skill, but for their ‘newness’.⁹² While the interest for using the term Japanese New Wave began to wane it did not disappear. This is evident from the variety of secondary scholarship written in Japan and subsequently the rest of the world. Of scholars in Japan, Sato Tadao has repeatedly included Japanese New Wave as a section in his books on Japanese film history. His narrative construction of Japanese New Wave has also been shown as a key factor in the English scholarship which has followed. Another well known critic to provide and exhaustive film history is critic, Tanaka Junichiro.

Of the many books detailing Japanese film history, one of the most extensive is the five volume set *Nihon Eiga Hattatsu shi* written by Tanaka. All five volumes were published over the course of 1957-1976. In the fourth volume, originally published in 1968, Tanaka details the events of the New Wave. Written as history the statements made by the author all appear as factual. In the author’s estimation the early adoption of Japan’s own New Wave is the sole work of Shochiku’s advertising department and specifically in the marketing of Oshima’s second film *Seishun zankoku monogatari*. The success of which owed a lot to the connection of themes in the films with the thoughts expressed by protestors of ANPO.⁹³

In addition Tanaka comments on the short and relatively unsuccessful release of the double bill between Oshima’s film *Nihon no yoru to kiri* and Yoshida’s *Rokudenashi* which were placed as a double bill together, only for Oshima’s film to be pulled from

⁹² Akira Iwasaki, "Shinjin Kantoku No Jyoken," *Kinema Junpo*, no. 306 (1962). pg. 39

⁹³ Junichiro Tanaka, *Nihon Eiga Hattatsu-Shi 4. Shijo Saiko No Eiga Jidai* (Tokyo: Chuo koron-sha, 1980). pg. 325

theaters four days later. This event, of course, signaled Oshima's break from the studio."⁹⁴ While Tanaka does mention Masahiro Shinoda's most famous work *Kawaita Hana* with only a few pages devoted to the topic there is not much analysis presented. In this very early history of Japanese Cinema, New Wave is located specifically with the Oshima and Yoshida in 1960.

While Tanaka does not provide a personal analysis of New Wave he does include a quote by Kinoshita Keisuke, who worked with Yoshida when he served as his assistant director. "When I watch their films (Oshima and Yoshida) I absolutely cannot get through them...that type of production is amateurish. I believe that film is meant for enjoyment and beauty is an important part of that."⁹⁵ While Kinoshita does not speak for Tanaka, it is not a stretch to imagine that the author feels similar considering it is the only quotation in that section. Regardless, from the outset of secondary materials on Japanese cinema history Oshima, Yoshida and to a lesser extent Shinoda are becoming the face of the 1960's.

Shioda Nagakazu in his book, *Nihon eiga gojyu nen shi:1941-1991*, also includes a chapter about the New Wave. In the chapter titled, "Japanese New Wave Cinema" the same names which have dominated the landscape appear again. This brief chapter does not provide much new information, but rather rehashes what has already been described about the New Wave with Oshima's rise, the success of *Seishun zankoku monogatari* and the subsequent trouble of *Nihon no yoru to kiri*⁹⁶.

⁹⁴ Ibid. pg. 325

⁹⁵ Ibid. pg. 325

⁹⁶ See Nagakazu Shioda, *Nihon Eiga Gojunenshi* (Tokyo: Fujiwara Shoten, 1992). pg. 162-167

This image is reinforced repeatedly by the writings of noted author and critic Sado Tatao. Mentioned earlier for his volume, *Currents in Japanese Cinema*, Sato is one of the most well known and widely published writers on Japanese film. Within that impressive publishing history he has written several books and articles which document the development of film in Japan. For instance in 1987, Sato was included in a large set simply titled *Nihon Eiga Shi*. In his chapter Sato covers film from the mid 1950's and throughout the 1960's before delving into specific developments for each of the six major studios at that time. Sato essentially breaks the late 1950's and 1960's into two groups. The 1950's are entitled the "Energy Principle"(enerugi shugi) and "New Film"(atarashi eiga). For the 1960's it is the "Shochiku" New Wave. Sato focuses much attention on Masumura in the first period for his debut film *Kuchizuke* and subsequent releases, *Aozora musume* and *Danryu*. However, when discussing the New Wave, Oshima is highlighted for rising through the studio ranks and being selected to direct his own picture by the age of twenty seven. Without providing much critical analysis Sato, like Tanaka, provides a brief summary of events from Oshima's debut film release to the quick removal of *Nihon no yoru to kiri*. When comparing this work with the others just mentioned it is clear that even in Japan a very concise and repeated narrative history appears over and over discussing the same people and basic information. In fact, this chapter by Sato appears near verbatim in his own four-volume set *Nihon Eiga Shi* published nearly twenty years later.⁹⁷

If the description of this chain of events feels repetitive, it is done so with purpose. Each of these authors, books, chapters and articles reinforce the main argument of this

⁹⁷ Tadao Sato, *Nihon Eiga Shi 3 Zoho Ban 1960-2005* (Iwanami Shoten, 2006). pg. 10-17

thesis that through media and critical support Japanese New Wave has come to occupy the central position in the minds of critics and conversely any aspiring scholar of Japanese film. Beyond academia any person interested in the film or cinema history of Japan during this period has been directed to only a fracture of produced and available films.⁹⁸

In recent years, however, several authors have attempted to change the perspective of the New Wave. Surprisingly enough, Sato Tadao in his book, *Nihon Eiga no Kyosho* attempts to re-frame his position on Masumura and in a sense re-shape the importance catered to the New Wave. Specifically, Sato refers to Masumura as the ‘start’ or the ‘spark’ of the New Wave in Japan. “As a representative of the period I must testify that the vision for the so called Japanese New Wave was Masumura Yasuzo.”⁹⁹ In addition Sato provides a vague description of how those associated with the New Wave were trying to capture the feeling and mode of Masumura’s films.

This is a clear reference to several comments made by Yoshida and Oshima. Yoshida in an interview with Okada Susumu cites Masumura as his inspiration. “The specific reason we became filmmakers came several years ago with the debut of Masumura and also to get rid of the now old style of films.”¹⁰⁰ Perhaps more famously is a quote from an article written by Oshima titled, “Is It a Breakthrough? (The Modernists

⁹⁸ One need only reference the Criterion Collection’s online catalog to see the limited focus of Japanese film for each period. This is undoubtedly due to the limitations described throughout this thesis for a company to seek films beyond the recognized canon. "The Criterion Collection," <http://www.criterion.com/>.

⁹⁹ ———, *Nihon Eiga Kyosho Tachi Iii* (Tokyo: Gakuyo Shobo, 1997). pg. 37

¹⁰⁰ Oshima and Yoshida, "Oshima Nagisa, Yoshida Yoshishige Gendai Ga Unda Hutari No Kantoku: Taidan Jidai No Wiga Wo Warera No Te De." pg. 55

of Japanese Film). Early in the article Oshima focuses on Masumura's contribution to film. "Then, in July of 57' Masumura Yasuzo uses a freely revolving camera to capture young lovers riding around on a motorcycle. People could no longer ignore that the tide of a new age had powerfully taken its place in Japanese cinema."¹⁰¹ The previous year earlier Tanaka Junichiro discussed Masumura in a similar manner. Tanaka praises both of Masumura's films released up to that point. He describes that, "Masumura Yasuzo is a great addition to Japanese film. In just two films Masumura's fresh editing style, wonderful tempo, realism learned from his time abroad in Italy, a European style of humor which provides an exoticism that for the first time brings the feeling of an international style."¹⁰² Tanaka goes on to describe that Masumura's films are a fantastic discovery that cannot be ignored and that looked forward to his next films. These statements seem to undermine much of what is considered 'new' about the New Wave of 1960. It even suggests that Masumura was a large part of what brought a new age to Japanese film. While not the focus of this thesis some writers and scholars have effectively pursued this argument, helping re-shape the development of New Wave in Japan.

The most prominent of these scholars is, Michael Raine who has focused on critically engaging the period of 1955-1960 as a way of re-framing the importance placed

¹⁰¹ Toru Ogawa, ed., *Gendai Nihon Eigaron Taikei 2: Kojin to Chikara No Kaihuku* (Tokyo: Tokisha, 1970). pg. 410 Originally published in *Eiga Hihyo* July, 1958. For a published English translation see Nagisa Oshima, *Cinema, Censorship, and the State: The Writings of Nagisa Oshima* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993). pg. 26-35 Also, Tadao Sato, *Currents in Japanese Cinema : Essays* (Tokyo; New York: Kodansha International ; Kodansha International/USA : distributed by Kodansha International/USA through Harper & Row, 1982). pg. 213

¹⁰² pg. 35

on the emergence of the New Wave.¹⁰³ Raine contends that the development of the New Wave was not a miraculous event spurred on by the convergence of political events and debut of Oshima and Yoshida. Instead he documents specific changes within the industry from 1955 onward which provided the incremental change needed for filmmakers like Oshima and Yoshida to be produced by a major studio. Raine's work provides a much needed re-evaluation of this period. However, where Raine re-focuses the importance of the New Wave via developments in the 1950's he relatively ignores the period when the New Wave was in vogue. In the next section and remaining chapters this thesis will explore both sides of what Sato and Raine hint at.

The next section will detail the career of Masumura Yasuzo. While Masumura has been repeatedly referenced, with the exception of two books in Japanese and the few paragraphs in English scholarship he remains on the periphery of popular and academic consciousness. In addition this section will feature an evaluation of the many published writings Masumura had on film throughout his career as a way of re-shaping the seeming uniqueness of Oshima and Yoshida's critical writings. This will be followed with a short engagement of Masumura's films which ran concurrent to the New Wave.

The Kid from Kofu

Masumura Yasuzo was born August 25, 1924 in the city of Kofu part of Yamanashi prefecture. Masumura was the second born of five children and the first boy of the family with one older sister, two younger sisters and one younger brother. As a child Masumura and a friend would often frequent the neighborhood movie theater. It

¹⁰³ See Michael Raine, "Youth, Body, and Subjectivity in the Japanese Cinema, 1955-1960" (University of Iowa, 2002).

was there Masumura is said to have fallen in love the films of Ito Daisuke, particularly the film *Satsuma-bikyaku*. After attending middle school and high school in local Kofu, Masumura was accepted to the Law Department of the University of Tokyo in 1943. Masumura was able to avoid military duty as a student, instead frequenting the movie theater watching any films that were available. In particular Masumura enjoyed the films of France, but also recounts seeing *Sanshiro sugata*, directed by Kurosawa, nearly four times. Graduating in 1947, Masumura joined Daiei Studios for the purpose of part time work, becoming an assistant director. At the same time, Masumura re-enrolled at the University of Tokyo to pursue a degree in the Philosophy department. During this time much has been made of his association with Mishima Yukio, but at the University no real friendship developed. It would not be until the making of *Karakkaze yaro* nearly eight years later that the two would have any meaningful contact. After successfully balancing his time between Daiei and working towards a second degree, Masumura graduated again in 1951.

The following year Masumura wrote an essay titled, *History of Japanese Cinema*, which was translated into Italian¹⁰⁴ and published in magazine, *Bianco e Nero*. Submitted for purposes of studying abroad, this essay aided Masumura's acceptance to the Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia in Rome on a scholarship through the government of Italy. Masumura attended the school from 1952-1954 working alongside Michelangelo Antonioni and Claudia Cardinale. It is also said that Masumura worked under the instruction of Fellini. Regardless this period of time is seen by critics as the defining

¹⁰⁴ The original essay was written in English, but according to a notation in Masumura and Fujii, *Eiga Kantoku Masumura Yasuzo No Sekai : <Eizo No Maesutoro> Eiga to No Kakuto No Kiroku, 1947-1986*. only the translated Italian copy remains. The whereabouts of the original are unknown.

period of his earlier career. Masumura describes this period in detail with fellow director and crew member Shindo Kaneto. Masumura relates that the two year program focused less on filmmaking and more on discussion to his surprise. “The professor would pick a theme for the day and then the student and teachers would analyze and debate the subject.”¹⁰⁵ The subject would be so lively that many discussions could go on for two or three hours at a time, depending on the subject. Classes were all in Italian, as no other languages were allowed. There were continual discussion of classic films like *Dr. Mabuse*, *Metropolis*, and *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*. The film history courses along would last up to eight hours at a time, twice a week. Masumura felt this was a great benefit for his overall film exposure and understanding of the wider variety of films in the world. Using the example of *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* Masumura and his fellow classmates would work out issues of a films meaning which inevitably led to more readings and interpretations. Masumura learned the language of film which he said allowed him to find words for the “montage sequence in *Nora inu* and enjoy the one shot, one cut style of Mizoguchi’s films.”¹⁰⁶ In this way Masumura truly became a student of film and took part in advanced level analysis during a time when very few looked at film in this way.¹⁰⁷ This interview highlights the intensity of Masumura’s experience and the development he received for his professional career. Initially, Masumura was less

¹⁰⁵ Kaneto Shindo, *Nihon Shinario-Shi* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989). pg. 178

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. pg. 179

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. pg. 178

focused on his specific career development and more interested into probing the issues of civilization in the place he felt had given birth to modern thinking.¹⁰⁸

In the years following this experience Masumura wrote an article titled, *Italia de haken shita 'kojin'* which details the exuberant vitality Masumura found in Italy. Criticizing Japan for existing in a state of darkness and lacking any significant philosophical breakthroughs in its history, Masumura celebrates Italy for the strong sense of individuality that emerged even in the face of a Mussolini ruled fascist state.¹⁰⁹ In addition, Masumura felt that through his experience studying in Rome he was finally able to contemplate the relationship between such varying topics as: marriage, family, career, society, and the nation. Not looking at the relationship between them as a compromise, but a resistance or fight between them. While Masumura's view of the individuality possessed by Italians' might have been overstated, it is clear that this time played an important part in Masumura's growth as he returned to Daiei and stepped into the director's chair.

Upon returning from Rome, Masumura became active as an assistant director. Working under the guidance of two prominent Daiei directors, Mizoguchi Kenji and Ichikawa Kon, Masumura's early career is shaped by some of the most successful directors in Japanese film history. During this time Masumura was able to develop as a director gaining insight, but also helping influence the production. It provided for the initial meeting between Masumura and his muse in over twenty feature films, Wakao Ayako on the set of *Akasen chitai*.

¹⁰⁸ Masumura and Fujii, *Eiga Kantoku Masumura Yasuzo No Sekai : <Eizo No Maesutoro> Eiga to No Kakuto No Kiroku, 1947-1986*. pg. 57

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. pg. 58-61

On several occasions Masumura has spoken about his experience as an assistant director. Masumura first worked with Mizoguchi during the final period of his career on *Yokichi* and *Akasen chitai*. The latter film, Mizoguchi's final, centered on the final days of legal prostitution decency codes outlawed it. The film was one of the first to provide Wakao Ayako with a major supporting role. Several times Masumura has shed light on his time working with Mizoguchi as well as provide personal insight into the director's method.

Discussing his film *Kyojin to gangu* in relation to the intense style of his characters Masumura reveals the single greatest thing he learned from Mizoguchi was the art the caricature. "Generally, Mizoguchi is referenced in terms of his realism, however, in terms of character development it is really an exaggerated caricature of a person. It is incredible and I am just an imposter"¹¹⁰ In a quest to understand humanity Masumura had unknowingly connected with a director he would come to admire for his unique depiction inner human relations.

Calling Mizoguchi the antithesis of 'new wave' praised him for creating, 'the vocabulary of Japan'¹¹¹ in his films. Derived from the dialogue of his scripts, Masumura feels that Mizoguchi's contributions in this area, rival Kurosawa and cinematographer, Miyagawa Kazuo's technical prowess in *Rashomon*.

¹¹⁰ Yasuzo Masumura, "Eiga Ni Natta Masukomi: "Kyojin to Gangu" Wo Meguru Kantoku Shinjin Kyoka: Zadankai [Mass Communication in Film: New Directors Round Table on *Giants and Toys*," *Kinema Junpo*, no. 208 (1958). pg. 93 However, overtime Masumura does seem to contradict this statement, through several articles which discuss Mizoguchi's 'realism'. While never specific Masumura's interpretation of Mizoguchi's realism seems to center around an authenticity of character and humanity evoked by character movements and line delivery. Masumura remembers that, Mizoguchi would run around the set hounding his cast to create and authentic mood. See Masumura and Fujii, *Eiga Kantoku Masumura Yasuzo No Sekai : <Eizo No Maesutoro> Eiga to No Kakuto No Kiroku, 1947-1986*. pg. 62-71

¹¹¹ Masumura and Fujii, *Eiga Kantoku Masumura Yasuzo No Sekai : <Eizo No Maesutoro> Eiga to No Kakuto No Kiroku, 1947-1986*. pg. 62

Following his time with Mizoguchi, Masumura worked with Ichikawa Kon as he made his transition to Daiei studios. This is where Masumura would develop a pedigree for the dry, detached irony which became a staple for his pictures. Coincidentally, Masumura was assigned as assistant director to Ichikawa's first film for Daiei, *Shokei no heya*. The film has been considered both a strong representative and critique of the taiyozoku films from Nikkatsu. Masumura served under Ichikawa for two other films as well, *Nihon bashi* and *Man nin densha*.

Shortly, before his death, Masumura wrote an article titled, *Ichikawa no hoho*. In the article Masumura refrains from detailing his personal interactions with the director, but does provide specificity to the way Ichikawa went about filmmaking. One of the first things that struck Masumura regarding the director was his intense shyness on set, which would manifest into quick frustration with the crew. In the case of *Shokei no heya* it led to large fights with the cinematographer and sound editor. The latter was fired and had to be replaced. As Masumura highlights Ichikawa would ultimately fire or displace anyone who disagreed with him, until he had a crew that meshed with his style and would follow his commands implicitly.¹¹²

Contrasting from Mizoguchi, Masumura felt that Ichikawa was a gifted image maker. Rather than chase actors around the set, hounding them about their lines Ichikawa paid little attention to his actors. In Masumura's estimation the less the actors spoke, moved or disrupted the scenes mood the better for Ichikawa. In this way Masumura likens Ichikawa to Kurosawa as visual cinematic masters. While Mizoguchi carefully crafted the dialogue of his cast, Ichikawa and Kurosawa displayed their brilliance through

¹¹² See Ibid. pg. 51-55

the visual images. Again, Masumura felt that where Kurosawa presented straight forward passionate representations of life, Ichikawa conveyed a detached and slightly ironic stance through images which possessed an abundance of symbolism. It is not difficult to connect the impression Ichikawa made on Masumura with the dry irony and detached satire exuding from pictures such as *Kuchzuke*, *Aozora musume*, *Nise daigakusei* and of course *Kyojin to gangu*.

As indicated by the previous section Masumura was not content to merely be a student of film or a member of the industry, he played an active part in film criticism throughout his career from the mid 1950's until shortly before his death in 1986.¹¹³ It is important to note that this factor has been cited repeatedly by scholars to highlight the unique nature of New Wave members, particularly Oshima and Yoshida.

A quick look at many of the monographs discussed early indicate a validation of the importance of New Wave not only through their work on screen, but also their work as writers on cinema. For McDonald Standish and others the availability and existence of Oshima and Yoshida's writings on cinema provide a significant validity to engaging the work of these directors.¹¹⁴ It is also used as a caveat to delineate the from early filmmakers, who were not as active in discussing film. Masumura seems to contradict this unique factor, with extensive discussions on a variety of topics.

With his above mentioned papers on Japanese film history, Ichikawa Kon and Mizoguchi Kenji, Masumura provided ample amounts of discussion through the pages of

¹¹³ Masumura passed away on November 23, 1986 from complications due to a cerebral hemorrhage.

¹¹⁴ See, McDonald, *Cinema East : A Critical Study of Major Japanese Films*. pg. 125, Raine, "Youth, Body, and Subjectivity in the Japanese Cinema, 1955-1960". pg. 207, Standish, *A New History of Japanese Cinema: A Century of Narrative Film*. pg. 220 and Nygren, *Time Frames: Japanese Cinema and the Unfolding of History*. g. 184

Kinema Junpo, *Eiga Hyoron*, *Eiga Hihyo* and others throughout his career. From his time in Rome, Masumura developed a love film history, enjoyed debating with his classmates, and explored deeper more complex interpretations of film.

With this training Masumura wrote many articles. Some focus on specific directors like several on Kurosawa Akira¹¹⁵ or even Fellini's film, *I Vitelloni* (*Seishun gunzo* in Japan) addressing its representation of free individuals unbound by sentiment or morality.¹¹⁶ He also wrote on broader concepts including: his personal aesthetics in film, the relationship of drama and technical skill in film, the art of film adaptation, analysis of film critics, conversations on film comedy and many other topics.

For the purposes of this thesis two articles seem to highlight Masumura's vision for Japan's film industry and more specifically his analysis of Japanese New Wave. In an article for *Eiga Hyoron* Masumura declared an assault on Japanese film, by powerfully stating the direction he wanted his films to take. "I do not want to portray "human like" humans. I want to portray deracinated people who show desire without a sense for shame or propriety."¹¹⁷ Masumura felt that since the end of the Meiji period people of Japan had lost their individuality and it was time now to reclaim it. "My aim is to make films which present a vital approach to emotion, truth and mood along with an exaggerated version of humanity's determination and passion."¹¹⁸ Masumura attempted to display these with his own early pictures. This includes, *Kuchizuke* with its representation of rebellious young

¹¹⁵ Masumura and Fujii, *Eiga Kantoku Masumura Yasuzo No Sekai : <Eizo No Maesutoro> Eiga to No Kakuto No Kiroku, 1947-1986*. pg. 18-23

¹¹⁶ Yasuzo Masumura, "Seishun Gunzo to Fellini," *Eiga Hyoron* 16, no. 4 (1959). pg. 75

¹¹⁷ ———, "Aru Benmei," *Eiga Hyoron* 15, no. 3 (1958).

¹¹⁸ Ibid. pg. 18

love on a motorcycle, *Aozora musume* with a main character not willing to be pushed over by her family's propriety, and the political and social consciousness present in *Kyojin to gangu* and *Nise daigakusei*. While it may not have been possible to change the entire course of Japanese cinema via his own example, the director continued to provide deft analysis on many key issues of the day, including New Wave cinema.

As mentioned in the previous section much of the critical attention in 1960 focused on the burgeoning careers of Oshima and Yoshida. Even with their derision of the term, they were still given primary attention by journalists. The majority of articles discussing who rather than what the Japanese New Wave entailed. Masumura is one of the few people to write on this topic without invoking the name of a director or a specific film title to highlight his point. Rather, the director focuses his attention on the systematic creation of this movement and what, if anything, binds it together.

At the outset of his article in *Kinema Junpo*, Masumura outlines four essential elements necessary for any New Wave film. "The major characteristics of any film espousing to be Japanese New Wave are as follows: (1) Anti-morality (2) Sex and Crime (3) Cruelty and (4) Energy. These four characteristics had heretofore not had a suitable name until the New Wave."¹¹⁹ Rather than define a specific film or director as the symbol of the New Wave, Masumura uses these four concepts to analyze the New Wave as a whole. In particular he praises the 'wonderful, bombastic energy' of the young main character rebelling against society, highlighted by a dark narrative tone in many of the films. Masumura argues that while these characters are dark, complex, and possess and

¹¹⁹ _____, "Nihoneiga Ni Atrashi Nami(Nuberu Vague) Ha Aru Ka: Sedai No Genkai," *Kinema Junpo*, no. 270 (1960). pg. 51

anti-morality that from their position they are being true to themselves, which is never a bad thing to be.

This is just a small sample of the many critical writing Masumura has contributed to the pool of criticism and discussion of film throughout his career. While his life was cut short, preventing further more lengthy analysis to be published, the articles which fill the pages of many contemporary film journals highlight the commitment Masumura has to his craft on a variety of levels.

Masumura remained a company director with Daiei Studios from his time as an assistant director, until the Studio's collapse in 1971. This factor, which he was later criticized for by Oshima, seemingly stunted Masumura's awareness in academic circles. In many ways this parallels the career of Suzuki Seijun who has been re-discovered over the past decade as a fantastic artistic voice, working under the constraints of the studio system, at Nikkatsu, throughout the majority of his career. In a similar manner Masumura was able to remain at his studio, accept the terms of his company heads and still produce interesting and thought provoking work.

Discussed earlier Masumura's first films received significant praise for the energy and vitality that came across on screen. One critic even noted that Masumura's first films, *Kuchizuke*, *Aozora musume*, and *Danryu* signified 'the birth of 'post war' in Japanese film.¹²⁰ Oshima praised the dynamic camerawork of the motorcycle scene in *Kuchizuke* and referred to Masumura as an innovator of the period.¹²¹ Of particular note is Masumura's first collaboration with, Wakao Ayako in *Aozora muzume*. In its initial

¹²⁰ Fumio Eto, "Shin Kantoku Kenkyu <3> Masumura Yasuzo: Masumura Yasuzo Ron," *Kinema Junpo*, no. 302 (1962). pg. 67

¹²¹ Oshima, *Cinema, Censorship, and the State: The Writings of Nagisa Oshima*. pg. 29

review Sotomura Kanji noting the Cinderella pattern of the narrative praised the film's quick wit and the vitality of Wakao Ayako's performance.¹²² As Masumura's career he was able to branch out, trying a variety of film genres either by choice or command.

This includes the 1961 courtroom drama *Tsuma wa kokuhaku suru*, featuring a performance by Wakao Ayako which contributed to her win for best actress by *Kinema Junpo*. Some, including Wakao, consider it her finest role. The narrative hangs on the motivation of a husband's death. A broader interpretation of this film is the decision for the female protagonist to choose between responsibility and personal desire, passion, happiness. It is this second half, more than the courtroom drama, that critic Iijima Koichi felt was imbued with an erotic and vivid style enhanced by Wakao Ayako's characterization.¹²³ In the end this film fits in with the majority of Masumura's films which do not end on a note of completion or success, but sadness and reflection.

In 1965, Masumura adapted Yoshida Genjiro's most famous novel, *Seisaku no tsuma*. The film was scripted by noted director and frequent collaborator of Mizoguchi Kenji, Shindo Kaneto. Set around the events of the Russo-Japanese war, reviewer Kokura Shinbi was struck by the modern feeling the film evoked.¹²⁴ Focusing on the pathos of wife, Okane, played by Wakao Ayako she balances being a dutiful wife in the face of her village's scorn and ridicule as a gold-digger and whore. While Masumura denied any intention of making an anti-war film, the key scene featuring Okane stabbing out the eyes of her husband to prevent him from returning to war. Okane represents another strong

¹²² Kanji Sotomura, "Nihon Eiga Hihyo: Aozora Musume," *Kinema Junpo*, no. 193 (1957). pg. 69-70

¹²³ Koichi Iijima, "Sakuhin Hyo: Tsuma Wa Kokuhaku Suru," *Eiga Hyoron* 18, no. 12 (1961). pg. 87

¹²⁴ Shinbi Kokura, "Nihon Eiga Hihyo: Seisaku No Tsuma," *Kinema Junpo*, no. 396 (1965). pg. 69

performance by Wakao, featuring a woman who must choose between duty and desire. The film featuring exquisite sequence of Wakao's character wasting away in jail for injuring her husband. Masumura uses many closes ups of disconnected chains, smoke and full shots of a despondent Okane which heighten the physical and mental loneliness of the character.

This section attempted to provide a deeper look into the various facets of Masumura's career as well as provide a small summary of some of his more interesting feature films. One of the major criticisms levied against Masumura was his commitment to Daiei by remaining a director for the studio. This was unacceptable for Oshima, Yoshida and others who ultimately broke with their companies to form their own production companies, most notably the Art Theatre Guild (ATG). In Oshima's mind Masumura was a director with only one eye open by criticizing the very machinations which helped to produce his films. In the final chapters of this thesis two of Masumura's most thought provoking films *Kyojin to gangu* and *Nise daigakusei* will address these concerns, help to combat Masumura's position on the periphery of film studies, and provide an entry point for the broader spectrum of film culture outside Japanese New Wave.

CHAPTER III

NISHI'S CHOICE: AN ANALYSIS OF KYOJIN TO GANGU

Masumura's fifth directorial effort *Kyojin to gangu* was released June 22, 1958. Adapted and expanded from a Kaiko Takeshi novella of the same name it was designed to cash in on the recent success of the author's Akutagawa Prize win early that year. In reality the novel and film ended up focusing on very different topics. Where the novel discussed the inner workings of company life, the film included a much stronger criticism of mass media and consumer culture.

Daiei also attempted to capitalize on Masumura's time in Italy by submitting the film to the Venice Film Festival as a selection. As such the film was given a relatively large budget of reportedly, 30,030,000 yen.¹²⁵ This budget allowed for the film to be shot in vibrant color with heavy amounts of neon and soundstage work.

Kyojin to gangu also happened to play during the peak year of theater attendance in history. With over 7,000 theaters nationwide 1,123,554,000 people attended the theaters in 1958. That averages out to nearly 12.3 times a year for each person who went to the movies.¹²⁶ Presently, *Kyojin to gangu* is the most accessible and well known title of Masumura. With home video releases in the United States along with an entire chapter written by Michael Raine, film it is the most disseminated Masumura film available.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Masumura, "Eiga Ni Natta Masukomi: "Kyojin to Gangu" Wo Meguru Kantoku Shinjin Kyoka: Zadankai [Mass Communication in Film: New Directors Round Table on *Giants and Toys*." pg. 92 Masumura describes that this was relatively unusual.

¹²⁶ Michio Ninagawa, "Gyokai (Seisakukai Haikyukai Kogyokai)," *Kinema Junpo*, no. 225 (1959). pg. 90-96 Also, see Appendix A in this thesis for a complete breakdown of these figures

¹²⁷ For DVD release see, www.fantoma.com. Also, see Michael Raine, "Modernization without Modernity: Masumura Yasuzo's *Giants and Toys* (1958)," in *Japanese Cinema : Texts and Contexts*, ed. Alastair Phillips and Julian Stringer (London; New York: Routledge, 2007).

The film focuses on three candy companies, World, Apollo, and Giant, as they compete to best market their new caramel products. Throughout, Nishi (Kawaguchi Hiroshi), a new hire in the publicity department must compete against his old college friend Yokoyama working for Apollo and love interest Kurahashi working for Giant. Nishi must also deal with the various members of his own office in an effort to impress section chief Goda (Takamatsu Hideo) and move up the corporate ladder. In effort to secure the best ad campaign Nishi and Goda hire Kyoko (Nozoe Hitomi), a young cab driver with a unique look, to be the face of their marketing campaign. In the end Nishi is forced by Goda to choose between his personal freedom and loyalty to the company. Blending the struggle of corporate life, consumer culture and star creation in the media *Kyojin to gangu* presents an exaggerated perception of the direction Japan was heading in the early days of the high growth era.

The film was a critical success and garnered Masumura's first appearance on *Kinema Junpo's Best Ten List* for 1958. The initial review of the film suggests that it represents, "Most accurate representation of Masumura's essential nature, with the theme (of the film) being a perfect fit for him."¹²⁸ The film is compared favorably to Ichikawa's, *Man nin densha*, where Masumura served as assistant director, in terms of its engagement of the craziness in modern life. One of the major criticisms which divided critics and other artists was the caricature of mass media and the characters themselves.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ Jun Izawa, "Nihon Eiga Hihyo: *Kyojin to Gangu*," *Kinema Junpo*, no. 211 (1958). pg. 70

¹²⁹ See Masumura, "Eiga Ni Natta Masukomi: "*Kyojin to Gangu*" Wo Meguru Kantoku Shinjin Kyoka: Zadankai [Mass Communication in Film: New Directors Round Table on *Giants and Toys*." and "*Kyojin to Gangu* Wo Megutte -Masu Komi Wo Ikinuku Ningen Tachi-," *Eiga Hyoron* 15, no. 7 (1958).

Highlighted by a fast tempo and quick dialogue speed, a division emerged between those craving more of a 'real' engagement of social issues and those on board with Masumura's attempt. While Masumura had a conscious desire of using exaggerated characters to express his argument, he did not feel that the tempo or speed of the film was in anyway a conscious or deliberate effort.¹³⁰ In a sense it worked as a natural extension of the exaggerated environment the characters took part in. For Masumura this exaggerated style and focus on mass culture was an effort to reveal the, "sadness of Japanese people."¹³¹

The analysis of this film will be aided by the social theory of reification, introduced by Marx and refined by his pupil, Georg Lukács to address the relation between material object and living characters. Before analyzing the film it will be helpful to provide a few notes regarding reification to clarify its use throughout the chapter.

In his book *History and Class Consciousness*, Lukács interprets Marx's concept of reification not as a relation specific to economy but as a form that reticulates through the totality of capitalist society. Speaking of the individual to commodity relation Lukács describes, "His fate is typical of society as a whole in that this self-objectification, this transformation of a human function into a commodity reveals in all its starkness the dehumanized and dehumanizing function of the commodity relation."¹³² Looking at this through the actions of everyday life the quantifiable extract of labor, money, becomes the

¹³⁰ Masumura, "Eiga Ni Natta Masukomi: "Kyojin to Gangu" Wo Meguru Kantoku Shinjin Kyoka: Zadankai [Mass Communication in Film: New Directors Round Table on *Giants and Toys*." pg. 93

¹³¹ Masumura and Fujii, *Eiga Kantoku Masumura Yasuzo No Sekai : <Eizo No Maesutoro> Eiga to No Kakuto No Kiroku, 1947-1986*. pg. 407

¹³² György Lukács, *History and Class Consciousness; Studies in Marxist Dialectics* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1971). pg. 92

tool by which individuals further reify themselves in the commodities they create and purchase.¹³³ In a sense their social class is discernible only via the quantifiable difference of the objects that represent them.

Turning towards the film it is possible to see how reification applies to and appears throughout *Kyojin to gangu*. As mentioned in the introduction the film divides itself between three groups: corporate bosses, celebrities, and consumers.

The first instance of a group's reification appears at the beginning of the film as the vice president lectures about the dire need to expand company profits. After the establishing shot of the film of salary men heading to work the camera cuts inside an office with two men looking down on the "sea of people" flowing by. The scene introduces the vice president in charge of marketing and section chief Goda. In line with their stiff conversation regarding profits their bodies appear more like machines than man.

Goda and the vice president have sterilized their physical presentation. Their clothing is well tailored and clean. Their hair has been expertly cut, waxed, and groomed. Even their posture, tall and stiff, presents their bodies as being more mechanical than human. For these men slouching, having untidy hair or dirty clothes is not an option. They are representatives of the company and must keep their appearance sterile and removed from the body. This control and near rejection of the body fits with what Henri Bergson has described as a "mechanical inelasticity," whereby humor grows exponentially the more machine like or robotic their movements become.

¹³³ Penelope Francks, book Penelope Francks, *The Japanese Consumer : An Alternative Economic History of Modern Japan* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009). highlights the power of the consumer to affect big business investments and decisions via their daily purchases. Not all top bottom approach.

Capitalizing on this point when Goda attempts to strike a lighter, a montage sequence is overlaid on a close up of the lighter showing the various stages of caramel production. Starting with the creation of the candy, the camera follows a multitude of machines as they cut, funnel, package, ship, and deliver their product. The sequence ends with eager children grabbing up the candy. This montage effectively overlays the machine upon Goda and the vice president. Masumura does not stop with Goda and the vice president, but continues all the way to the other board members of World Candy Company.

The scene comes as Goda pitches his ad campaign to the board members and is set in the highest office of the building around a long oval shaped desk which fills the room. Before Goda begins his presentation, the camera pans across the board members as they individually name off a marketing idea, feigning interest before dismissing it. Each of them seems lethargic, disconnected from the world.

As Goda makes a strong push for his ad campaign based around space each person is handed a toy or prop related to the campaign. The juxtaposition between the plastic toys and cigarette smoking board members is quite comical. The contrast between the children's toys and the seriousness of the boardroom members seemingly inverts the purpose of a toy from being imbued with youth or frivolity to mere symbols of capitalist gain. Bergson again describes that inversion being a key component to any part of comedy.¹³⁴

In addition their alienating view of the toys further removes these men from their humanity. Within the group of boardroom members, section chief Goda and the vice

¹³⁴ Henri Bergson, *Laughter : An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic* (New York: Macmillan, 1911). pg. 84

president Masumura effectively aligns any member of corporate leadership as a mechanized tool for capitalism. They are lifeless automatons part of a collective solely yearning for profit.

Throughout the film a variety of ad campaigns and techniques are put forth by the three companies including magazine and poster ads to special promotions and even street vendors outside college protest rallies. In relation to this, Michael Raine makes a strong connection to the Japanese film industry suggesting, "These three companies struggling to sell caramels in the face of declining demand are like the six film studios, using color, widescreen, and double or triple bills to compete as cinema's long post war expansion came to an end."¹³⁵ Within the film the variety of these marketing techniques World Candy Company utilizes the celebrity of new model, Kyoko, chosen for her unique look of a long tongue and rotting teeth.

Through Kyoko the film parodies celebrity following her meteoritic rise to fame and the equally quick destruction of her humanity. The film succinctly describes this through the first shots of the film during the title credit sequence. In a medium shot of Kyoko from the back she turns toward the camera and sighs, extending her arms. The shot is in color with Kyoko foregrounding a blue plane of sky. With arms extended the shot cuts to a still black and white photo of Kyoko in tune to the drum beat that plays throughout. This image is repeatedly duplicated until the screen is matted by these smaller images. The opening credits roll by in tune with the rhythmic beat and song (sung by Kyoko). As the title sequence commences the images are blown off the screen.

¹³⁵ Raine, "Modernization without Modernity: Masumura Yasuzo's *Giants and Toys* (1958)." pg. 160

This shot chronicles Kyoko's progression through the film. At first she is a vital and living being, but in an instant with the click of a camera shutter Kyoko is transformed into a material image designed for sale and consumption. The initial image is large, detailed and unique, but with each duplication the image becomes smaller and harder to focus on. The culmination of which is the final removal and erasure of the image. The film presents celebrity as fast and powerful, but fleeting for the model or more precisely the person at the center of it.

The first shot of Kyoko within the narrative of the film comes as Goda and Nishi walk to a nearby café as they discuss possible ad campaigns. Sitting at a table Goda abruptly inquires if Nishi likes girls and as Nishi responds the camera cuts to Kyoko standing behind a case of sweets on display. Kyoko is gazing at the sweets, but in this medium shot it is Goda, Nishi and the audience who gaze at Kyoko through the shelf. At this point the first two images of Kyoko have placed an artifice between Kyoko as a person and as a representation of herself for a viewers gaze. Placing her behind the case she appears almost as a doll on a shelf to be plucked up by anyone who notices.

Eventually she is bought and contracted by World Candy Company becoming their exclusive model. Initially, the photo layouts are a huge success and produce stronger revenue for World than the other companies, but as the ad exposure increases Kyoko's time as the company doll comes to an end.

This is exemplified by a scene in which Kyoko and Nishi leave a sound studio where Kyoko had been dubbing lines for a commercial. Cutting outside the building the camera in a full shot shows Kyoko hounded by fans. In the next shot the camera is placed behind Nishi revealing a sad looking former model for World Candy Company. The

camera tracks to the right slightly in tune with Nishi's eye line as the former model walks across screen. At the same time Kyoko enters the shot and stops to the left of the frame.

This shot clarifies for Nishi and the audience the life and death of celebrity; ultimately forecasting Kyoko's demise. This shot highlights what the director sees as "a star being born in a night and then killed off just as quickly."¹³⁶ Through a blitz of advertising in magazines to public appearances and meet and greets, Kyoko's image and appearance has reified her into a lifeless representation of herself, seemingly becoming a doll designed to promote World Candy products.

Kyoko's transformation is linked with the death of four tadpoles she raised before her fame. With each step in her career a tadpole dies; the last one expiring just before her solo jungle themed jazz performance. Each of these scenes speak to the opening credit sequence transforming Kyoko from living being to commoditized object until her use value expires and is brushed away in favor of the next 'model.' With each of these groups, both corporate bosses and celebrities, it is Nishi who plays the observer.

As a new hire fresh from college, Nishi, is in the unique position of existing within the realm of the consumer and company man. With the exception of a few shots in montage featuring children grabbing up candy or crowds at a baseball stadium the consumer is never provided a voice beyond their purchase of sweets and other foods.

Only Nishi articulates the concerns of this group as he is privy to both worlds. This is emphasized by his struggle between going to a college bar vs. a company (shakaijin) bar and ultimately between his final choice of personal freedom or company

¹³⁶ Masumura and Fujii, *Eiga Kantoku Masumura Yasuzo No Sekai : <Eizo No Maesutoro> Eiga to No Kakuto No Kiroku, 1947-1986.* pg. 407

servitude. Similar to Kyoko the opening and closing shots of the film act as a mirror to Nishi's transformation from living being to the reified representation of his candy company and their product.

The first shot comes after the end of the title sequence. In a close up of a man's torso the camera slowly zooms out to reveal a crowd of people walking in unison. At the center is Nishi. As he walks the camera continues to zoom out revealing more and more workers described as a "sea or flood of people" by the trailers and characters in the film. Finally, a loud siren is heard and the workers begin to pass the camera dispersing in different directions as the camera pans up to tall building. This shot does not reveal much by itself, but in conjunction with the final shot Nishi's transformation becomes apparent.

After a long and fiery discussion between promoted division head Goda and Nishi regarding the economic goals of Japan and the individual responsibility of a worker Nishi is forced to chose between a life of freedom and one devoted to the company. While he initially rejects Goda's vision, Nishi ultimately submits by putting on the garb of the World Candy Company's space ad campaign and parading through the streets.

In a large plastic bubble helmet, shiny space suit and rattling plastic ray gun Nishi walks through the streets of Tokyo waving the World Candy company flag. Mirroring the opening shot of the film the shots starts above the street in a low angle looking down on the masses of people. Nishi again in the middle is shown wearing his outfit. As he continues to walk away the camera crane moves fluidly down toward street level and ultimately comes to a stop on a close up of the rainy black streets with neon lights reflecting in the puddles as the closing credits appear.

Looking at both clips side by side the transformation of Nishi's character is apparent. While the film opens in a bright space with Nishi as a vital being moving towards the camera the film ends in a dark and somber space with Nishi moving away as a reification of his company and the candy they sell. Even the remark by Kurahashi for Nishi to smile brightly in his space suit, seems less encouraging and more like a command. For Nishi there is no sunny future his humanity like the corporate bosses and celebrities around him has been stripped away leaving only commodity and profit gain.

This final scene also encapsulates the significant difference between Masumura and the Japanese New Wave. Where Oshima and Yoshida's politics dictate a tearing down of the system or the self, Masumura's character relents and joins the company. The film also serves as an allegory for Masumura's career juxtaposed between the studio and his own creative desires. Throughout his career Masumura moved between the creation of artistic and personally inspiring work while meeting the demands of a company that provided security, but filtered creativity through pre-set modes of production.

For Nishi's the choice is similar. In a sense he is a man in-between the realm of the company work and the consumer. At the same time he caught between working for the coming and achieving his own independence. The parallels between *Kyojin to gangu* and Masumura's career abound.

Nishi's choice at the end of the picture confused many in a round table discussion with the director.¹³⁷ Some were at a complete loss as to why Nishi would ever join the company, while the other half seemed to understand completely. The underlying

¹³⁷ See Masumura, "Eiga Ni Natta Masukomi: "Kyojin to Gangu" Wo Meguru Kantoku Shinjin Kyoka: Zadankai [Mass Communication in Film: New Directors Round Table on *Giants and Toys*."

consensus for each side seemed to reflect their position on the level of influence mass communication had in society. While Masumura remained quite on his actual intention for this scene, one interpretation not explored is the warning it sends to the audience via its ambiguity.

The film's release in 1958 coincides with the first years of Japan's rise as an economic power. Over the course of a decade significant industrial advances would place Japan second in economic strength next to the United States. In many ways Nishi's choice to become the 'sandwich man' for World screams out to the audience that blame cannot be placed on the machinations of corporate life alone. In this world Nishi has no other option and he alone cannot effect the change necessary to provide a different alternative. The subtle criticism which emerges is a need for each group, company workers and consumers, to reflect on the systems in place and contemplate what direction they are all headed. By, balancing criticism between the corporate heads, consumers, and the media the film remains ambiguous as to its politics, suggesting that each viewer decide for themselves what lessons can be learned from Nishi's choice. In that way *Kyojin to gangu* strikes a balance between entertaining mass culture cinema and a critically engaging work of art.

CHAPTER IV

WHO TO TRUST? AN ANALYSIS OF NISE DAIGAKUSEI

The previous chapter engaged issues of mass consumer culture, the rise of the high growth era and the forward thinking vitality which exemplified Masumura's early career as a director. Rather than presenting a re-hash of the same topics, this chapter will look one of Masumura's least known and most commonly overlooked films *Nise daigakusei*. With the exception of several passing references the film has remained obscure and nearly unobtainable.¹³⁸ Currently the film is unavailable on any video format either in the United States or Japan.¹³⁹ With the abundance of Masumura films currently available¹⁴⁰ it would seem reasonable an attempt would be made to add this unique title.

The film was released in the fall of 1960 and was Masumura's fifteenth directorial feature film. The film was adapted from popular novelist Oe Kenzaburo's *Gisho no toki* which appeared as a short story in literary magazine *Sekai* alongside the Kaiko Takeshi novella *Kyojin to gangu* also adapted by Masumura. The original story is very sparse in its narrative structure starting after the captivity of a student, believed to be an imposter or possible police spy in a university history club. The story is recounted in first person from the only female member of the club as the false student is imprisoned, escapes and

¹³⁸ This chapter was only made possible by a copy of the film available through the University of Oregon Library.

¹³⁹ Fortunately, during the author's time at Meiji University the National Film Center in Tokyo ran a series on films adapted from fiction, which included a screening of *Nise daigakusei* and *Kyojin to gangu*.

¹⁴⁰ Currently six of Masumura's films are available with English subtitles through the company, Fantoma. In the United Kingdom, through Yume Pictures the same six features are available along with Masumura's debut film, *Kuchizuke*. However, in Japan nearly half of Masumura's feature films have been released on DVD or VHS formats. Kadokawa pictures own the rights to the Daiei film catalogue, but as of this thesis have not released a copy of *Nise daigakusei*. For each company's catalogue see: US, <http://www.fantoma.com/fantoma.html> UK, <http://www.yumepictures.co.uk/> and Japan, <http://www.kadokawa-pictures.co.jp/>

has a final confrontation with the students where all but the narrator create an imagined scenario where the imprisonment never took place.

The film is told through the perspective of the false student, Hikoichi played by Jerry Fujio, as he attempts to appease his family and himself after once again failing his entrance exam for college. Donning a school uniform, Hikoichi is quickly swept up by the a faction of the Zengakuren composed of history club members.

After an initial greeting period, suspicions arise as to Hikoichi's authenticity as a student for the University. When several club members realize he is not a registered student, they accuse him of being a police spy and imprison him for several days on end. During his imprisonment he is degraded by the club members, forced to urinate in a bucket while tied to a chair, and given very little in the way of food or nourishment. After several unsuccessful attempts at escape, Hikoichi is able to break out of his chair and flee ultimately being picked up by police officers.

In the penultimate scene of the film Hikoichi and his mother return to the club not to exact retribution, but to apologize for the trouble they caused. At the same time the History club shows compassion and ignorance to any imprisonment as if it never happened. With the exception of Wakao Ayako's character, Mutsuko¹⁴¹, the club and Hikoichi all act as if the imprisonment was a fabrication. The scene ends with Hikoichi calling for his close friends to follow him in a chant for the school. The final scene reveals Hikoichi has in fact gone mad and living in a mental institution. With a bright expression he leads a chant up and down the hallway to, "Overthrow Conservatism, Overthrow Conservatism" as several doctors look on in amazement saying, "It's that new

¹⁴¹ A re-imagined version of the narrator from Oe Kenzaburo's original short story.

type of madness.”¹⁴² The film acts as an allegory for the political rhetoric of the day with representative voices for the cultural elite, signified by the history club members, and the public at large, represented by the false student, Hikoichi. Released during the peak period of political activism in 1960 and focusing on one of the major groups which took part in the protests of the Diet, it is a wonder that the film has remained so obscure.

A potential factor for this may lie in the coincidental release of both Masumura and Oshima’s films during the same weekend. Masumura’s film was released on October 8th, 1960 a Friday. The next day October 9th Oshima’s *Nihon no yoru to kiri* was released on a double bill with Yoshida Yoshishige’s second feature *Chi ga kawaiteru*. Promoted as an all star line of Japanese New Wave cinema by Shochiku it was the first opportunity for their films to be placed side by side.¹⁴³ In comparison Masumura’s film was double billed with the much more standard dramatic fair of *Kao* directed by Shima Koji and starring Kyo Machiko. However, the simultaneous release of both pictures, alone, does not justify *Nise daigakusei*’s oversight

One factor is that Masumura’s film as an adaptation of a short story does not provide as strong a symbolic connection to recent social movements as those by the New Wave. Oshima’s film on directly spoke to the events that took place in June by presenting them through fictionalized debate at a wedding between 1950’s communist supporters and modern day Zengakuren students who had participated in the protests. The initial reaction to Oshima’s film was mixed, in some cases deflating critic’s belief of Oshima as the head of the New Wave. However, over time English scholarship used it as one of the

¹⁴² Yasuzo Masumura, "Nise Daigakusei," (Japan: Daiei Studios, 1960).

¹⁴³ See *Asahi Shimbun* October 5th & 8th, 1960 for advertisements promoting films release

prime representations of Japanese New Wave through its unique staging and quick interpretation of recent events.

Nihon no yoru to kiri is perhaps most famous for being the last picture Oshima filmed at Shochiku, following its removal from theaters after only four days on October 13th, 1960. The official word from Shochiku was that, “while difficult to determine, attendance was poor”¹⁴⁴ and therefore needed to be removed from theaters. Oshima vehemently discounts this after finding out that the box office revenues were only slightly lower than his other releases.¹⁴⁵

The quick removal of the film and vague description provided by Shochiku quickly led many to speculate other motivations. The most prominent being the assassination of Communist Party leader, Asanuma Inejiro by seventeen year old right wing radical, Yamaguchi Otoya. On the evening of October 12th, Asanuma gave a speech at the Hibiya Public Hall in Tokyo. Midway through his address Yamaguchi ran up on stage plunging a short sword into Asanuma’s belly. The assassination naturally became the focus of the news media. At the same time heads of Shochiku met in their offices, ultimately determining that they would remove Oshima’s film from production.

Hearing the news first from reporters at Mainichi Shinbun, Oshima immediately connected the film’s removal with the assassination.¹⁴⁶ This connection was also mentioned repeatedly in news articles covering the event.¹⁴⁷ Beyond the connection to

¹⁴⁴ "Nihon No Yoru to Kiri No Jyoei Chushi," *Kinema Junpo*, no. 271 (1960). pg. 44

¹⁴⁵ Oshima, *Cinema, Censorship, and the State: The Writings of Nagisa Oshima*. pg. 54

¹⁴⁶ Nagisa Oshima, *Oshima Nagisa 1960* (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Senta, 2001). pg. 276-277

¹⁴⁷ See articles "Nihon No Yoru to Kiri No Jyoei Chushi." pg. 44 and "Nihon No Yoru to Kiri Sai Jyoei Undo," *Kinema Junpo*, no. 272 (1960). pg. 150 for this repeated reference

Asanuma's assassination, the media also reported the immediate desire by certain groups to have the film returned to theaters. For some the film's removal was the catalyst to get people interested in Oshima and his films. By December of 1960 several college and other groups had begun to petition for the film to be re-released.¹⁴⁸ Some believed the film would be shown along with Oshima's next feature from Shochiku, in the time before he left the company. However, the company did not and the rumors and interest in Oshima's film was allowed to build.

Through this chain of events Oshima's film went from being another in his line of films to a media event which captured the frenetic energy of the day. The immediate result of which was Oshima feeling soured by Shochiku and angrily chastising them at a friend's wedding and film journals before ultimately severing his relationship with the company. However, overtime the films removal from theaters and Oshima's break from studio productions provided great fodder for media outlets, critics and scholars to highlight the importance of Oshima's work and his impact on filmmaking at the time. While this thesis is not disregarding the importance of the film, the amount of press Oshima's film received ensured that future scholars and writers would look first to this film and the frenzy it caused.

On the other end of the spectrum sits Masumura's *Nise daigakusei*. Released the same weekend, also looking at the Zengakuren, yet not made a pariah by his studio, not removed from theaters. In the end the film faded from theaters and people's memories. While the obscure nature of the film alone does not warrant critical attention, addressing

¹⁴⁸ "Nihon No Yoru to Kiri Sai Jyoei Undo." pg. 150

specific themes in the film it is apparent that *Nise daigakusei* a veiled, but equally potent engagement of the social issues.

Nise daigakusei was reviewed in a similar fashion to Masumura's other films with articles in *Kinema Junpo* and *Eiga Hyoron*. Kokura Shinbi felt that the film was, "at last a return to Masumura's origins which provided a healthy air to the pace of the film which was wonderful."¹⁴⁹ In addition Kokura praises the intensity Jerry Fujio's character in the final scene of the film at the mental institution as well as Wakao Ayako's effectiveness in conveying the her character feels by the end of the film.

Most interesting is Kokura's observation that, "from a different perspective than Oshima at Shochiku, this film shows a lingering shadow of Masumura's own individual battle."¹⁵⁰ The battle referenced by Kokura is in relation to the struggle of the main character to essentially pick a side for or against any group. In many ways the perspective of the film faces the same struggle as the audience is meant to connect with the false student and sympathize with his struggle. Masumura attempts to undercut the notion of such a battle in his own interpretation of the film. "Essentially with this film what I wanted to say, in a word, that regardless of how crazy student protests became that is who the youth are. Those are the youth of Japan."¹⁵¹ This was Masumura's attempt at tempering criticism that his film was satirizing the student movement through sarcastic jabs. In Masumura's view this was an honest reflection of the student movement at the time and describing the vitality of the youth taking part in it.

¹⁴⁹ Shinbi Kokura, "Nihon Eiga Hihyo: Nise Daigakusei," *Kinema Junpo*, no. 270 (1960). pg. 82

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. pg. 82

¹⁵¹ Masumura and Fujii, *Eiga Kantoku Masumura Yasuzo No Sekai : <Eizo No Maesutoro> Eiga to No Kakuto No Kiroku, 1947-1986*. pg. 410

At the same time Masumura concludes that this film was “a continuation of a theme which I have asserted repeatedly, that the only ones with the potential to make Japan’s tomorrow are evil.” This was certainly an issue addressed throughout *Kyojin to gangu* and two a lesser degree present in *Kuchizuke* or *Aozora musume*. The difference between critics and Masumura’s interpretation of *Nise daigakusei* seem to be a matter of degrees. Looking at several scenes will provide greater insight to these issues and the broader connections the film makes with the New Wave and mass culture cinema.

The opening shot of the film immediately indicates a break from the narrative of the original story with the image of large entrance exam result boards for the incoming class of 1961. The camera shoots up toward the billboard in a low angle shots which includes the head and shoulders of multiple students as they lean and careen their heads looking for their number. At the outset of the picture these billboards are situated in a place of power, they loom over the screen. This power is accentuated as the shot tracks rapidly down the result boards from right to lefts, showing the immensity of the people and the tangential desire for so many to enter just one school.

After moving down the billboard for several seconds, the camera cuts in front of the students matching the camera’s position from the previous shot from a low angle tracking right to left. The camera placed behind a chain-linked fence shows students vividly looking for their placement results. Midway through the shot the camera focuses on the protagonist, played by Jerry Fujio. The camera indicates that he is a person of interest, by following the character as he moves first from right to left on the screen and then walks back continuing to look at the board. Quickly he stops and drops his head, looking side to side slightly before slinking into the background.

This sequence of two tracking shots is short, less than a minute, but provides a wealth of information. From the angle and movement of the camera it is obvious that the results on this board provide either great elation or failure for individuals. The main has tried and failed to make it, placing him into a pitiable position. Finally, Jerry Fujio's slight body movements indicate the shame and loneliness he feels as a result of his failure. Several times in the sequence students cry out to friends that they passed and are met with congratulation and cheer, while those who fail are told to buck up, not worry, and try again. For the protagonist not only has he failed, but no one is there to comfort him. The slight movement of his head from right to left signals his desire to remain discrete and not openly express his feelings of failure or loneliness as he leaves. The camera's position suggests that the audience sympathize with this person.

At the same time the film does not play in such black and white terms of who to support or root for. As soon as the camera's position creates a dynamic for sympathizing with Hikoichi, his choices in the narrative to lie about the exam, purchase a fake uniform and parade at a jazz club as university student, suggest something else.¹⁵²

For the entire second act of the film Hikoichi sits contained in the office of the history club. Throughout this period the camera stays positioned in relatively the same space alternating between shots in front of and behind the false student. At the outset of his imprisonment the camera is positioned behind the chair with Hikoichi's head taking up center of the frame. From a low angle the surrounding club members seem to loom over their captive. The power dynamic of the shot seems simple on the surface with the

¹⁵² In the narrative of the film the students attend the fictional 'Toto' University an obvious illusion to Tokyo University, the country's most prestigious university commonly referred to as 'Todai'.

history club exercising power over the individual, Hikoichi. Broadly speaking this is also a clear indication that the camera is in the corner of the individual, the simple person attempting to fit into the cultural elite, the intelligentsia of Japan represented by the history club. The school's exclusion and violence toward the individual by the club also seem criticize this elite group's status. At the same time the audience is aware of the individual, Hikoichi's own deceit and desire to be part of this group. Through simple camera movements and composition, Masumura conveys significant amounts of information regarding the power and strength the group has over the individual.

In the penultimate scene of the film the ambiguity of where the audience's allegiance should lie is made clearer. After feeling from imprisonment and being captured by the police, Hikoichi and his mother return to the history club to make a plea. Rather than receive an apology from the history club it is Hikoichi and his mother who prostrate themselves, begging forgiveness and chanting their love of the school and the club. Soratani, the club leader, is happy to accept their apology. Only Mutsuko fights through this illusion screaming that they did in fact imprison Hikoichi.

Hikoichi continues the charade assuring Mutsuko that he was not imprisoned and in fact she is incorrect. He goes on to praise the students of the university for their, 'purity and pursuit and love of the truth.'¹⁵³ Sato Tadao has argued, however, that the Zengakuren presented in the film hide their emotion, presenting an unflappable appearance as they go along with a fabrication.

¹⁵³ Yasuzo Masumura et al., *Nise Daigakusei* (S.I.: s.n.). also see Yoshio Shirasaka, "Nise Daigakusei," (Tokyo: 1960).

The camera throughout the scene alternates between low angle shots of Hikoichi as he lectures the hall, professing his love for the students and mid level two and three shots of his discussion with the students. Unlike the early shots which seem to suggest a power relation or hint to the viewer who has control, the varying shots of this scene confuse who is telling the truth, who believes the fabrication and whether those two are mutually exclusive. The final shot of the film, tracking Hikoichi in medium shots as he moves back and forth down a hallway, revealed to be part of a mental institution with doctors looking on. Until the end Hikoichi retains an optimistic, but slightly unstable smile as he shouts, “Down with conservatism, Down with Conservatism.”¹⁵⁴

In a way Kokura’s initial assessment of Masumura’s internal struggle be played out on screen seems to be valid. However, looking at each scene it becomes clear that there is less a battle taking place for the filmmaker and more for the viewer. Throughout the film: camera position, character composition, and narrative structure all seem to belie the connection the audience should make with the film. On one hand the history club is a representation of the cultural elite who will go on to be lawyers, politicians and people in power. On the other side there is Hikoichi who despite his best efforts is an outsider, part of the masses. In essence this film is an allegory for Masumura’s position in the film world stuck between the poles of the New Wave movement and mass culture cinema.

These four scenes suggest ambiguity, when in reality blame is laid on both parties. The characterization of the Zengakuren and Hokichi reveal a critical view of both the cultural elite and the masses all caught in the machinations of modern life. The film suggests cultural elite figures, like university students, to be snobbish, self serving and

¹⁵⁴Masumura et al., *Nise Daigakusei*.

manipulative. At the same time the masses, represented by Jerry Fujio, are just as interested in being part of that group and will lie, endure pain, and dismiss the wrong doings of those ‘above’ them as their own fault. In this manner the film criticizes the zealous desire for success underlying the core of each of these groups.

Masumura neither sides with the intellectuals or the common man, but shows the absurdity of both parties, the system and manner in which this system developed. Screenwriter, Shirasaka Yoshio, seconds this interpretation in an interview. “Are we for or against the Zengakuren, I cannot say clearly. It is uncertain. For me that is the focal point of the film.”¹⁵⁵ Oshima’s films tend support the ambition of his youthful characters while criticizing the rigid structures which surround them. Masumura’s criticism remains subtle, adding a complexity not present in Japanese New Wave. Rather than whole heartedly condemning rigid systems of power, the audience must ask themselves who is right and who is wrong. These questions which probe into the social concerns of the day are couched in a standard three act narrative structure, with a defined beginning, middle and end. Similar to *Kyojin to gangu* this film is able to weave between serious critique and mass culture entertainment.

¹⁵⁵ Masumura and Fujii, *Eiga Kantoku Masumura Yasuzo No Sekai : <Eizo No Maesutoro> Eiga to No Kakuto No Kiroku, 1947-1986*. pg. 324

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The goal of this thesis was to provide an additional view to the standard narrative of Japanese film history which has developed over the course of the past fifty years through the career and films of Masumura Yasuzo. Tracing the various developments in the field of Japanese film studies revealed that for all the advancements made, a rigid canon was established and re-affirmed over the past fifty years. This has limited the growth of the field and prevented a broader more complex view of Japan's film history.

Focusing on the dynamic period of the high economic growth period, the paper back grounded key political and social developments like the steady rise of the annual GNP from 1955-1970 and the violent ANPO protests in the summer of 1960. Part and parcel to these events a large social and cultural upheaval took place with the rise of mass consumer culture, media proliferation and artistic expression in literature and film.

The purpose for this exposition was to provide a way of engaging the changes within the film industry at the time, juxtaposed with the narrative established in film scholarship. A major contention within the paper has been the level of critical importance placed on Japanese New Wave cinema during the high growth period, when in reality those films account for less than ten percent of major studio releases of any year during that time.

The effect of this minority's critical dominance has been seen not only in the abundance of scholarship, but also the international distribution of Japanese New Wave cinema at festivals and video release. In effect the minority of New Wave is essentially the only representation this period of film has internationally.

Using Masumura as the lynch pin between the cultural elite of Japanese New Wave and mass culture cinema provides a gateway to exploring the larger landscape of film in Japan. Masumura in his career straddled the line between critical artistry and company man following orders. In his personal life Masumura pursued the study of cinema from a hobby as a child and study to serious study in Rome and finally as a director for Daiei Studios. As a director Masumura continued to pursue complex critical and social issues in his film often paced through conventional narrative formats and concrete resolutions.

This balance led Oshima and others to criticize Masumura for having only one eye open, by satirizing the very mechanisms his films are a part of. Staying with Daiei throughout his career, meant Masumura could never have complete creative control over his films. Perhaps the most notorious instance of Masumura bending to the studio's whim is with Mishima Yukio and the 1960 feature *Karakkaze yaro*. Using his fame as an author Mishima demanded to star in a film that would allow him to be a gangster, wear a leather jacket and die at the climax of the film. Daiei, conceding to his request, ordered Masumura to make just such a film. Rather than throw up his arms in disgust or leave the studio, Masumura complied with their wishes. In the end it afforded Masumura the opportunity to make more thought provoking pictures such as *Nise daigakusei* later that year or *Seisaku no tsuma* in 1965.

In the end Masumura is an example of one of the many creative voices who until extremely recently, with the scholarship of Michael Raine, have been ignored in English language academics. The success Masumura had of creating interesting and compelling critical fiction within the studio system at a time when the New Wave

commanded the attention of critical journals, show that there is much more waiting to be discovered. The question then becomes, where do we go from here?

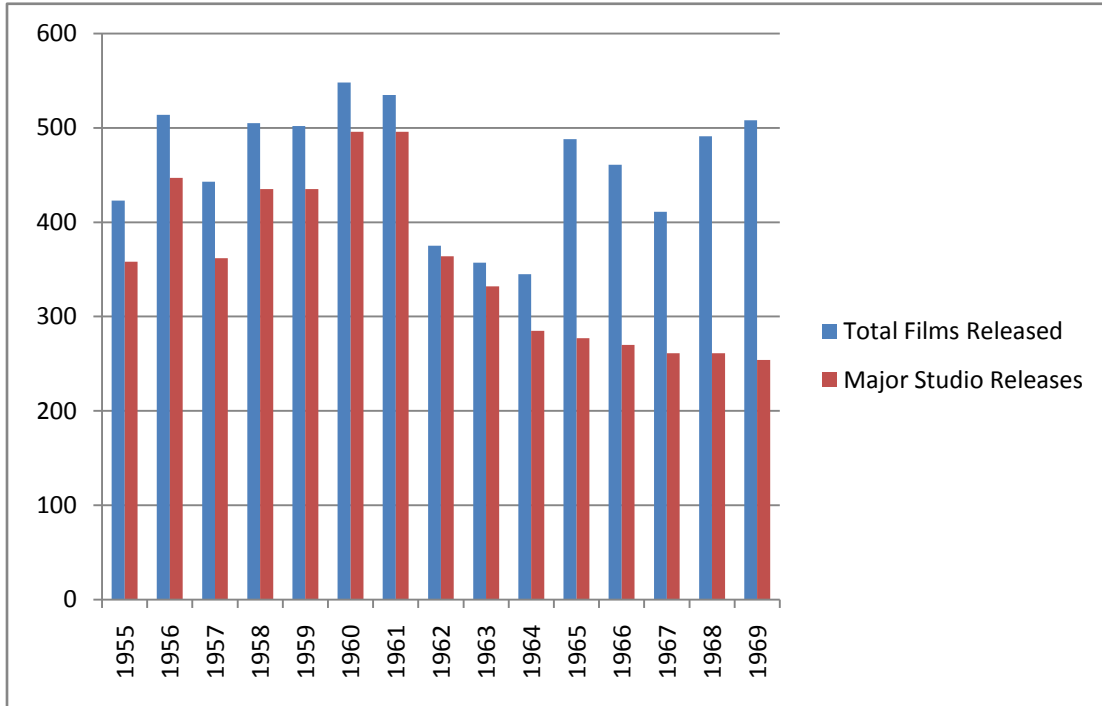
The answer lies in mass culture cinema. For nearly fifty years since Anderson and Richie's book was first published, Japanese cinema studies in the United States has been limited itself to those films that could be accessed and those deemed most culturally relevant. If the field is to develop beyond these parameters, it is with the serious evaluation of mass culture cinema. The most obvious examples being the highest box office grossing feature films.¹⁵⁶ While not true of Kurosawa and Ozu who made films that were critically lauded and box office successes, the generation which followed became much more fractured. This complexity should not be shied away from, nor should any film that was financially successful immediately become a topic for academic study. However, within these hundreds of films many are waiting to be re-discovered, like *Nise daigakusei*, which will help broaden the field and give prospective film students or interested parties a better understanding of one the richest film industries in the world.

¹⁵⁶ See Appendix A for a complete listing of the top ten highest grossing films from 1955-1969.

APPENDIX A

FILM INDUSTRY STATISTICS (1955-1969)¹⁵⁷

Total Films Released 1955-1969



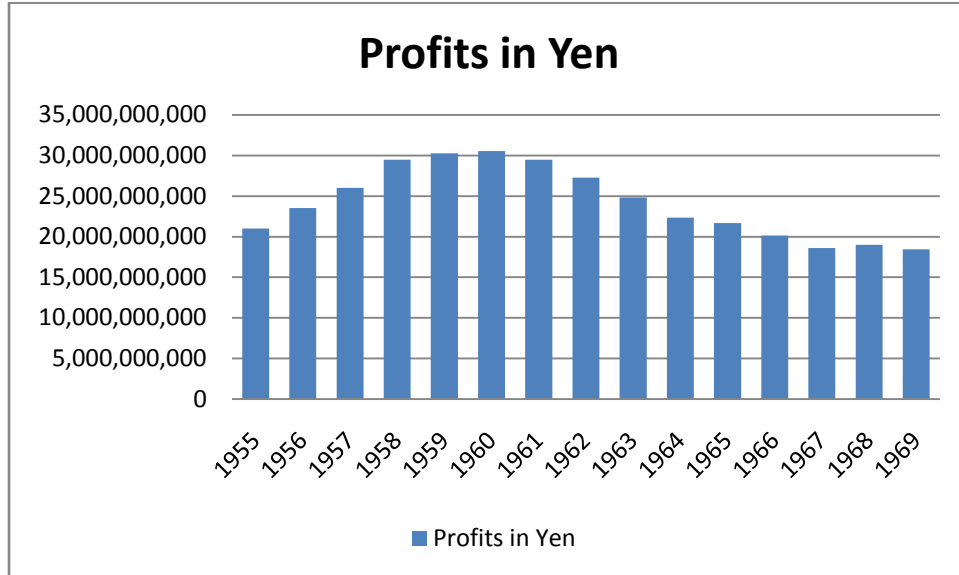
Total Films Raw Data 1955-1969

	Total Films Released	Major Studio Releases
1955	423	358
1956	514	447
1957	443	362
1958	505	435
1959	502	435

¹⁵⁷ For source information see Komura, *Kinema Junpo Best Ten 80 Kai Zen Shi* (キネマ旬報ベスト・テン80回全史). Also, see February 1st issues of *Kinema Junpo* from 1956-1970.

1960	548	496
1961	535	496
1962	375	364
1963	357	332
1964	345	285
1965	488	277
1966	461	270
1967	411	261
1968	491	261
1969	508	254
Total:	6906	5333
Average:	460.4	355.5
High:	548	496
Low:	345	254

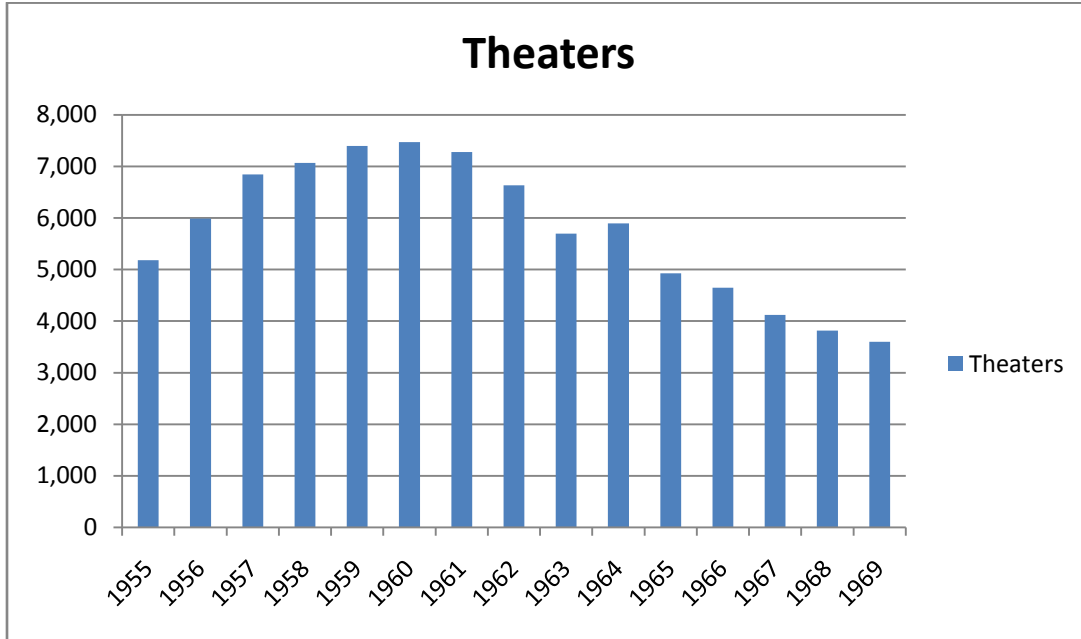
Total Box Office Grosses 1955-1969



Total Box Office Grosses Raw Data 1955-1969

Year	Profits in Yen	Year	Profits in Yen
1955	20,992,751,000	1963	24,825,323,000
1956	23,520,000,000	1964	22,354,869,000
1957	25,997,688,000	1965	21,694,041,000
1958	29,466,514,000	1966	20,136,131,000
1959	30,266,175,000	1967	18,592,000,000
1960	30,549,296,000	1968	19,009,833,000
1961	29,488,228,000	1969	18,445,909,000
1962	27,285,095,000		

Theater Statistics 1955-1969



Theater Statistics Raw Data 1955-1969

Year	Theaters	Year	Theaters
1955	5,182	1963	5,696
1956	5,988	1964	5,896
1957	6,844	1965	4,927
1958	7,072	1966	4,649
1959	7,401	1967	4,119
1960	7,473	1968	3,814
1961	7,282	1969	3,602
1962	6,635		

Best Ten Lists and Top Ten Box Office Grossing Films 1955-1969

	KINEMA JUNPO BEST TEN LIST	TOP TEN BOX OFFICE	EARNINGS IN YEN
	1955	1955-56	
1	<i>Ukigumo</i>	<i>Akouroushi</i>	313,050,000
2	<i>Meoto zenzai</i>	<i>Shuzenji monogatari</i>	183,680,000
3	<i>Nogiku no gotoki kimi nariki</i>	<i>Jyanken musume</i>	176,000,000
4	<i>Ikimono no kiroku</i>	<i>Shin heikei monogatari</i>	173,030,000
5	<i>Koko ni izumiari</i>	<i>Boumeiki</i>	172,280,000
6	<i>Keisatsu nikki</i>	<i>Miyamoto Musashi ichijyoji no keitto</i>	168,000,000
7	<i>Jyochukko</i>	<i>Yokihi</i>	157,810,000
8	<i>Chiyari huji</i>	<i>Miyamoto Musashi keitto ganryujima</i>	155,500,000
9	<i>Ukigusa nikki</i>	<i>Rikidozan dotou no otoko</i>	150,000,000
10	<i>Bijyo to kairyu</i>	<i>Meoto zenzai</i>	148,000,000
	1956	1956-57	
1	<i>Mahiru no ankoku</i>	<i>Ninkyo shizumi minato</i>	353,190,000
2	<i>Yoru no kawa</i>	<i>Kumonosujyou</i>	198,000,000
3	<i>Karakorumu</i>	<i>Kyohu no kuchuu satsujin</i>	192,910,000
4	<i>Neko to shozo to hutari no onna</i>	<i>Soga kyodai fuji no yashuu</i>	190,090,000
5	<i>Biruma no tategoto</i>	<i>Nazo no yureisen</i>	186,780,000
6	<i>Soshun</i>	<i>Zenigata heijitori monohikae madara hebi</i>	186,760,000
7	<i>Taihusodoki</i>	<i>Taiyo no kisetu</i>	185,640,000
8	<i>Nagareru</i>	<i>Tsukigata hanbeita</i>	185,430,000
9	<i>Taiyo to bara</i>	<i>Kome</i>	175,110,000
10	<i>Anata Kaimasu</i>	<i>Utau yajikita ougondouchuu</i>	174,560,000
	1957	1957-58	
1	<i>Kome</i>	<i>Meiji tenno to nichiro daisenso</i>	542,910,000
2	<i>Jyunai monogatari</i>	<i>Yorokobi mo kanashimi mo ikutoshitsuki</i>	391,090,000
3	<i>Yorokobi mo kanashimi mo ikutoshitsuki</i>	<i>Mitokoumon</i>	353,340,000
4	<i>Bakumatsu taiyoden</i>	<i>Arashi wo yobu otoko</i>	348,800,000
5	<i>Kumonosujyou</i>	<i>Ninkyo tokaido</i>	341,780,000
6	<i>Kichigai buraku</i>	<i>Daichuushingura</i>	268,750,000

7	<i>Dotanba</i>	<i>Sabita naifu</i>	248,510,000
8	<i>Bakuon to daichi</i>	<i>Yoru no kiba</i>	237,210,000
9	<i>Ibokyoudai</i>	<i>Banka</i>	232,430,000
10	<i>Donzoko</i>	<i>Ootari sanshoku musume</i>	227,400,000
	1958	1958-59	
1	<i>Narayama bushikou</i>	<i>Chuushingura (Daiei)</i>	410,330,000
2	<i>Kakushi toride no san akunin</i>	<i>Hi no ataru kami michi</i>	400,710,000
3	<i>Higanbana</i>	<i>Kurenai no tsubasa</i>	364,950,000
4	<i>Enjyo</i>	<i>Chuushingura (Toei)</i>	361,220,000
5	<i>Hadaka no Taiyo</i>	<i>Kakushi toride no san akunin</i>	342,640,000
6	<i>Yoru no tsuzumi</i>	<i>Ashita wa ashita no kaze ga huku</i>	321,500,000
7	<i>Muhoumatsu no isshou</i>	<i>Husoku 40 kome</i>	318,090,000
8	<i>Harikomi</i>	<i>Nichiren to mouko daishuurai</i>	305,120,000
9	<i>Hadaka no Taishou</i>	<i>Ningen no jyoken (1 • 2)</i>	304,040,000
10	<i>Kyojin to gangu</i>	<i>Higanbana</i>	294,220,000
	1959	1959-60	
1	<i>Kiku to isamu</i>	<i>Ninkyō nakasendo</i>	350,910,000
2	<i>Nobi</i>	<i>Nihon tanjyo</i>	344,320,000
3	<i>Nianchan</i>	<i>Ketto sukoden dotou no taiketsu</i>	310,190,000
4	<i>kasha no uta</i>	<i>Sekai wo kakeru koi</i>	277,890,000
5	<i>Ningen no jyoken (1 • 2)</i>	<i>Otoko ga inochi wo kakeru toki</i>	269,370,000
6	<i>Ningen no kabe</i>	<i>tekkaba no kaze</i>	243,350,000
7	<i>Naniwa no koi no monogatari</i>	<i>Ningen no jyoken (3 • 4)</i>	234,790,000
8	<i>Daigo hukuryumarū</i>	<i>Tenka no huku shogun</i>	225,810,000
9	<i>Kagi</i>	<i>Otoko nara yume wo miro</i>	206,470,000
10	<i>Ningen no jyoken (3 • 4)</i>	<i>Ten to chi wo kakeru otoko</i>	196,520,000
	1960	1960-61	
1	<i>Ototo</i>	<i>Tenka wo toru</i>	323,920,000
2	<i>Kuroi gashu aru sarariman no shogen</i>	<i>Hato wo koeru watari shima</i>	300,120,000
3	<i>Warui yatsu hodo yoku nemuru</i>	<i>Togyu ni kakeru otoko</i>	291,330,000
4	<i>Fuefukigawa</i>	<i>Kenka taro</i>	276,690,000
5	<i>Akibiyori</i>	<i>Musume tsuma haha</i>	275,610,000

6	<i>Hadaka no shima</i>	<i>Ajisai no uta</i>	270,370,000
7	<i>Buta to gunkan</i>	<i>Mito komon</i>	266,940,000
8	<i>Buki naki tataikai</i>	<i>Namonaku mazushiku utsukushiku</i>	251,540,000
9	<i>Hikyo himaraya</i>	<i>Taiheiyo no arashi</i>	251,000,000
10	<i>Nihon no yoru to kiri</i>	<i>Shingo nijyu ban shobu</i>	177,890,000
	1961	1961-62	
1	<i>Furyo shonen</i>	<i>Tsubaki sanjyuro</i>	450,100,000
2	<i>Yojimbo</i>	<i>Akouroushi</i>	435,000,000
3	<i>Eien no hito</i>	<i>Aitsu to watashi</i>	400,080,000
4	<i>Ningen no jyoken kanketsu hen</i>	<i>Yojimbo</i>	351,000,000
5	<i>Namonaku mazushiku utsukushiku</i>	<i>Miyamoto Musashi</i>	305,000,000
6	<i>Hangyakuji</i>	<i>Yureito no okite</i>	302,000,000
7	<i>Are ga minato no bida</i>	<i>Ginza no koi no monogatari</i>	300,000,000
8	<i>Hadakakko</i>	<i>Dodotaru jinsei</i>	289,770,000
9	<i>Shiiku</i>	<i>Arabu no arashi</i>	288,000,000
10	<i>Kuroi jyunin no onna</i>	<i>Sekai daisenso</i>	284,990,000
	1962	1962-63	
1	<i>Watashi wa ni sai</i>	<i>Tengoku to jigoku</i>	460,200,000
2	<i>Kyu-pora no aru machi</i>	<i>Hana to ryu</i>	360,400,000
3	<i>Seppuku</i>	<i>Seizoroi tokaido</i>	352,120,000
4	<i>Hakai</i>	<i>Kingu kongu tai gojira</i>	350,100,000
5	<i>Tsubaki sanjyuro</i>	<i>Miyamoto Musashi hannyazaka no ketto</i>	302,410,000
6	<i>Ningen</i>	<i>Hishakaku</i>	288,000,000
7	<i>Otoshi ana</i>	<i>Doburoku no tatsu</i>	284,800,000
8	<i>Sanma no aji</i>	<i>Chushingura (Toho)</i>	280,100,000
9	<i>Nippon no obachan</i>	<i>Uragirimono wa jigokudaze</i>	279,120,000
10	<i>Akitsu onsen</i>	<i>Aoi sanmyaku</i>	270,800,000
	1963	1963-64	
1	<i>Nippon konchuki</i>	<i>Nippon konchuki</i>	330,000,000
2	<i>Tengoku to jigoku</i>	<i>Hikaru umi</i>	300,000,000
3	<i>Gobancho yugiriro</i>	<i>Akai hankachi</i>	280,000,000
4	<i>Taiheiyo hitori bocchi</i>	<i>Bushido zankoku monogatari</i>	275,000,000
5	<i>Bushido zankoku monogatari</i>	<i>Daitozoku</i>	230,000,000

6	<i>Shitoyakana kedamono</i>	<i>Miyamoto Musashi ichijyoji no keitto</i>	225,000,000
7	<i>Kanojyo to kare</i>	<i>Gojyu mannin no isan</i>	225,000,000
8	<i>Haha</i>	Gobancho yugiriro	218,000,000
9	<i>Shiro to kuro</i>	<i>Kigeki ekimae chagama</i>	210,000,000
10	<i>Hiko shojoyo</i>	<i>Shingo nijyu ban shobu kanketsuhen</i>	207,000,000
	1964	1964-65	
1	<i>Suna no onna</i>	Tokyo orinpikku	1,205,000,000
2	Kaidan	<i>Ai to shi wo mitsumete</i>	475,000,000
3	Kouka	<i>Same</i>	282,000,000
4	<i>Akai satsui</i>	Echigo tsutsuishi oyashirazu	254,000,000
5	<i>Kigakaikyo</i>	<i>Nihon kyokakuden</i>	252,000,000
6	Echigo tsutsuishi oyashirazu	<i>Wakakusa monogatari</i>	250,000,000
7	<i>Kizudarake no sanga</i>	Kouka	227,480,000
8	<i>Amai ase</i>	Kaidan	225,000,000
9	<i>Ada uchi</i>	<i>Tokugawa Ieyasu</i>	215,000,000
10	<i>Ware hitotsubu no mugi naredo</i>	<i>Kuroi kaikyo</i>	213,000,000
	1965	1965-66	
1	Akahige	Akahige	361,590,000
2	Tokyo orinpikku	<i>Abashiribangaichi hokkaihen</i>	294,900,000
3	<i>Nihon retto</i>	<i>Kanto hatashijyo</i>	251,850,000
4	<i>Nippon dorobo monogatari</i>	<i>Abashiribangaichi bokyohen</i>	247,800,000
5	<i>Shonin no isu</i>	<i>Nihon kyokakuden kantoen</i>	241,110,000
6	<i>Hiyameshi to osan to chan</i>	<i>Zoku abashiribangaichi</i>	223,760,000
7	<i>Osorezan no onna</i>	<i>Daiboken</i>	218,510,000
8	<i>Buwana toshi no uta</i>	<i>Kure-ji- no musekinin shimizuminato</i>	187,760,000
9	<i>Akuto</i>	<i>Kaijyu daisenso</i>	187,550,000
10	<i>Mizu de kakareta monogatari</i>	<i>Yotsu no koi no monogatari</i>	180,000,000
	1966	1966-67	
1	<i>Shiroi kyoto</i>	<i>Abashiribangaichi daisetsugen no taiketsu</i>	240,460,000
2	<i>"Erogoto shitachi" yori jinruigakunyumon</i>	<i>Zessho</i>	240,000,000
3	<i>Ki no kawa</i>	<i>Abashiribangaichi nangoku no</i>	239,860,000

		<i>taiketsu</i>	
4	<i>Mizumi no koto</i>	<i>Rettsu go-! wakadaisho</i>	239,800,000
5	<i>Tanin no kao</i>	<i>Arupusu no wakadaisho</i>	233,230,000
6	<i>Andesu no hanayome</i>	<i>Kure-ji-dayo tenka muteki</i>	208,260,000
7	<i>Honno</i>	<i>Ai to shi no kiroku</i>	203,000,000
8	<i>Kokoro no sanmiyaku</i>	<i>Kure-ji-dayo kiso tengai</i>	199,460,000
9	<i>Hakuchu no toorima</i>	<i>Abashiribangaichi koyanotaiketsu</i>	193,680,000
10	<i>Onna no naka ni iru tannin</i>	<i>Kure-ji- daisakusen</i>	192,300,000
	1967	1967-68	
1	<i>Jyoiuchi hairyo tsuma shimatsu</i>	<i>Kurobe no taiyo</i>	796,160,000
2	<i>Ningen jyohatsu</i>	<i>Nihon no ichiban nagai hi</i>	441,950,000
3	<i>Nihon no ichiban nagai hi</i>	<i>Kure-ji- ogonsakusen</i>	324,270,000
4	<i>Midaregumo</i>	<i>Kure-ji- kaitojibako</i>	240,660,000
5	<i>Hanaokaseishu no tsuma</i>	<i>Go-! Go-! wakadaisho</i>	220,470,000
6	<i>Chieko sho</i>	<i>Nihon no ichi no otoko no naka no otoko</i>	218,210,000
7	<i>Ai no kawaki</i>	<i>Aadoki no sakura</i>	203,220,000
8	<i>Akane gumo</i>	<i>Zatoichi chi kemuri kaido</i>	192,320,000
9	<i>Natsukashi huraibo</i>	<i>Ningengyorai aakaiten tokubetsu kougekitai</i>	179,840,000
10	<i>Shinobu geicho</i>	<i>Abashiribangaichi aku he no chosen</i>	166,510,000
	1968	1968-69	
1	<i>Kamigami no hukaki yokubo</i>	<i>Furin kazan</i>	720,000,000
2	<i>Nikudan</i>	<i>Yamamoto gojyuroku</i>	399,870,000
3	<i>Koshikei</i>	<i>Bakutoretsuden</i>	218,890,000
4	<i>Kurobe no taiyo</i>	<i>Kure- ji- mekishiko taisakusen</i>	216,280,000
5	<i>Kubi</i>	<i>Kuso tengoku</i>	202,180,000
6	<i>Hatsukoi jigokuhen</i>	<i>Fuesshuman wakadaisho</i>	194,080,000
7	<i>Nihon no seishun</i>	<i>Kyokakuretsuden</i>	188,760,000
8	<i>Moretsukita chizu</i>	<i>Zatoichi kenka daiko</i>	169,600,00
9	<i>Jinsei gekijyo hishakaku to kirajyo</i>	<i>Tokugawa onnakeibatsushi</i>	159,830,000
10	<i>Fukeba tobuyo na otoko da ga</i>	<i>Jinsei gekijyo hishakaku to kirajyo</i>	158,480,000
	1969	1969-70	
1	<i>Shinjuu ten no amijima</i>	<i>Eiko he no 5000 kilo</i>	650,000,000

2	<i>Watashi ga suteta onna</i>	<i>Nihonkai daikasen</i>	360,000,000
3	<i>Shonen</i>	<i>Chokoso no akebono</i>	360,000,000
4	<i>Kagero</i>	<i>Hito kiri</i>	350,000,000
5	<i>Hashi no nai kawa</i>	<i>Senya ichiya monogatari</i>	290,000,000
6	<i>Otoko wa tsurai yo</i>	<i>Goyokin</i>	250,000,000
7	<i>Betonamu</i>	<i>Shin abashiribangaichi runinmisaki no ketto</i>	180,000,000
8	<i>Shinuku dorobo nikki</i>	<i>Nihon kyokakutden hana to ryu</i>	180,000,000
9	<i>Zoku otoko wa tsurai yo</i>	<i>Nihon ansatsu hiroku</i>	160,000,000
10	<i>Furin kazan</i>	<i>Konto 55 go jinrui no daijyakuten</i>	160,000,000

APPENDIX B

MASUMURA YASUZO FILMOGRAPHY

Release Date	Original Title	Original Title in Roman Script (Translated Title)
1955.05.03	楊貴妃	<i>Yokihi (Princess Yang Kwei-fei)</i>
1956.03.18	赤線地帯	<i>Akasen chitai (Street of Shame)</i>
1956.06.28	処刑の部屋	<i>Shokei no heya (Punishment Room)</i>
1956.10.01	日本橋	<i>Nihon bashi</i>
1957.03.27	満員電車	<i>Mannin densha (Packed Train)</i>
1957.07.23	くちづけ	<i>Kuchizuke (Kisses)</i>
1957.10.08	青空娘	<i>Aozora musume (The Bright Girl)</i>
1957.12.01	暖流	<i>Danryu (Warm Current)</i>
1958.03.18	氷壁	<i>Hyoheki (Precipice)</i>
1958.06.22	巨人と玩具	<i>Kyojin to gangu (Giants and Toys)</i>
1958.09.07	不敵な男	<i>Futeki na otoko (A Daring Man)</i>
1958.12.14	親不幸通り	<i>Oya fuko dori (Undutiful Street)</i>
1959.02.10	最高殊勲夫人	<i>Saiko shukun fujin (The Most Valuable Wife)</i>
1959.05.13	氾濫	<i>Hanran (Flood)</i>
1959.08.12	美貌に罪あり	<i>Bibo ni tsumi ari (Beauty is Guilty)</i>
1959.12.01	闇を横切れ	<i>Yami wo yokogire (Across Darkness)</i>
1960.01.14	女経 第一話 耳を噛みたがる女	<i>Jokyo, dai ichiwa: mimi wo kamitagaru onna (A Woman's Testament: Part One)</i>
1960.03.23	からっ風野郎	<i>Karrakaze yaro (Afraid to Die)</i>

- 1960.08.24 足にさわった女 *Ashi ni sawatta onna* (*The Woman Who Touched the Legs*)
- 1960.10.08 偽大学生 *Nise daigakusei* (*False Student*)
- 1961.01.27 恋にいのちを *Koi ni inochi wo* (*Desperate to Love*)
- 1961.03.21 好色一代男 *Koshoku ichidai otoko* (*A Lustful Man*)
- 1961.10.29 妻は告白する *Tsuma wa kokuhaku suru* (*A Wife Confesses*)
- 1961.12.17 うるさい妹たち *Urusai musume-tachi* (*The Troublesome Sisters*)
- 1962.03.14 爛 *Tadare* (*Indulgence*)
- 1962.07.01 黒の試走車 *Kuro no tesuto ka* (*Black Test Car*)
- 1962.11.18 女の一生 *Onna no issho* (*Life of a Woman*)
- 1963.01.13 黒の報告書 *Kuro no hokokusho* (*The Black Report*)
- 1963.03.31 嘘 *Uso* (*Lies*)
- 1963.07.27 ぐれん隊純情派 *Gurentai junjoha* (*Hooligans, Pure Thoughts*)
- 1964.01.19 現代インチキ物語 騙し屋 *Gendai inchiki monogatari: damashiya* (*Modern Fraudulent Story: Cheat*)
- 1964.02.15 「女の小箱」より 夫が見た '*Onna no kobako*' yori: otto ga mita (*'Woman's Box': The Husband Saw*)
- 1964.07.25 卍 *Manji*
- 1964.10.31 黒の超特急 *Kuro no chotokkyu* (*Black Express*)
- 1965.03.13 兵隊やくざ *Heitai yakuza* (*Gangster Soldier*)
- 1965.06.25 清作の妻 *Seisaku no tsuma* (*Seisaku's Wife*)
- 1966.01.15 刺青 *Irezumi* (*Tattoo*)
- 1966.06.04 陸軍中野学校 *Rikugun Nakano gakko* (*Nakano Spy School*)
- 1966.10.01 赤い天使 *Akai tenshi* (*Red Angel*)

- 1967.04.15 妻二人 *Tsuma futari (Two Wives)*
- 1967.07.29 痴人の愛 *Chijin no ai (Naomi)*
- 1967.10.20 華岡青洲の妻 *Hanaoka Seishu no tsuma (Hanaoka Seishu's Wife)*
- 1968.02.24 大悪党 *Dai akuto (The Most Corrupted)*
- 1968.06.01 セックス・チェック 第二の性 *Sekkusu chekku: dai ni no sei (Sex Check)*
- 1968.10.30 積木の箱 *Tsumiki no hako (Box of Blocks)*
- 1968.11.30 濡れた二人 *Nureta futari (Drenched Pair)*
- 1969.01.25 盲獣 *Moju (Blind Beast)*
- 1969.04.19 千羽鶴 *Senbazuru (Thousand Cranes)*
- 1969.10.18 女体 *Jotai (Vixen)*
- 1970.05.01 でんきくらげ *Denkikurage (Play it Cool)*
- 1970.07.11 やくざ絶唱 *Yakuza zessho (Song of the Yakuza)*
- 1970.10.03 しびれくらげ *Shibirekurage (The Skin Game)*
- 1971.09.04 遊び *Asobi (Play)*
- 1972.04.22 新兵隊やくざ 火線 *Shin heitai yakuza: kasen (New Gangster Soldier: Frontline)*
- 1972.11.11 音楽 *Ongaku (Music)*
- 1973.08.11 御用牙 かみそり半蔵地獄責め *Goyo kiba: kamisori Hanzo jigoku zeme (Hanzo the Razor 2: The Snare)*
- 1974.04.24 悪名 縄張荒らし *Akumyo: shima arashi (Akumyo: Notorious Dragon)*
- 1975.09.06 動脈列島 *Domyaku retto (Arteries of the Archipelago)*
- 1976.06.12 大地の子守唄 *Daichi no komoriuta (Lullaby of the Earth)*

1978.04.29 曾根崎心中 *Sonezaki shunjyu (Double Suicide of Sonezaki)*

1980.12.13 エデンの園 *Eden no sono (Giardino dell'Eden)*

1982.10.09 この子の七つのお祝に *Kono ko no nanatsu no oiwai ni (On This Child's Seventh Birthday)*

1984.11.26 黒い福音 *Kuroi fukuin (Black Gospel)*

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