

論文の英文要旨

<論文題目>

米軍立川基地拡張反対運動の再検討

—「流血の砂川」から多面体の歴史像へ—

“Who Could Sing ‘Aka-Tonbo’? : History of Sunagawa Struggles”

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This doctoral dissertation “Who Could Sing ‘Aka-Tonbo’? : History of Sunagawa Struggles” focuses on the subject and practices which are marginalized in the history of ‘Sunagawa Toso’. ‘Sunagawa Toso’ is well known for clashes with police. The most popular one is the so-called ‘Bloody Sunagawa’ which happened on October 12 and 13, 1956. Over 4000 riot police attacked 6000 protesters to carry out surveys needed to expand the U.S. military base in Tachikawa. Tachikawa Air Base functioned as the largest military supply depot in the northern part of the Asian Pacific during the Korean War in 1950s. Fumio Kamei, one of the best documentarists in Japan, made a film of the clash “Record of Blood: Sunagawa”. That clash is often remembered with a memory of ‘Aka-Tonbo’ which was sung by the protestors at the very last moment against police’s attack. The following day, the government called off for a time. Thus, ‘Aka-Tonbo’ became symbolic of a people’s victory in Sunagawa.

However, this paper considers who could sing that song in clashes on muddy farm lands. Were there any chances or ‘qualifications’ for local farmers, intellectuals, local supporters such as local junior high school’s teachers and students and photographers to sing the ‘last’ song? Those bright memories of a victory were only shared with both Zengakuren, a student group, and the labor union Sohyo members who came to support this ‘Toso’, often considered as one

of the most important (and least known) social movements in modern Japanese history. Beside 'young men' sung for police officers, women and locals did their 'duties'. They are the subjects that this dissertation studies.

My research resulted in this dissertation started in 2010 which was 55th anniversary of 'Sunagawa Toso' and interviewed person concerned as many as possible. For instance, Kyoko Fukushima, a daughter of Masao Miyaoka, Eiji Aoki, a grandson of Ichigoro Aoki, Kozaburo Baba, a son of Kozo Baba, Kiichi Toyozumi, a leader of Sunagawa Seinendan, Ryokuya Nagatani, an exclusive leader of Union and external support committee, Atushi Nakai, a managing staff of The Social Democratic Party of Japan, Akira Arai, a member of defense counsel and the late Kiichi Hoshi, an editor of "Pictorial Records of Sunagawa Toso" published in 1996. From their narratives, We can point out that there are considerable gaps between what they experienced in Sunagawa and what the history of 'Sunagawa Toso' has told. Locals particularly insisted that after 'Bloody Sunagawa' in 1956, the more lengthy and relentless struggles started. As historian Adam Tompkins who has supported "Sunagawa Heiwa Hiroba" since 2015 regarded Showa Kinen Koen as a historical and cultural erasure of militarization and anti- base protest, the narrative and history of 'Sunagawa Toso' itself could be the same. We really have to pay attention to whose history it tells.

With a view to reconstruct the history of 'Sunagawa Struggles', this dissertation is composed of five chapters except an introduction chapter and the last one. Each chapter is divided according to the subject and issue.

In the first chapter, I analyze local farmers that organized "Sunagawa Cho Hantai Domei" and their logics and prehistories behind their strong oppositions based on court testimony and a collection of compositions by locals especially 'women'. Their issues were justification and legitimacy. Aoki Ichigoro, a leader of the local organization, was chosen as expert witness before the Diet and asserted that " Our hope as farmers was to pass the land and its history down from our ancestors for 300 years to our descendants whom we might not appreciate".

In the second chapter, I follow historian and educator Shinichi Takahashi's experiences and struggles in Sunagawa based on his reportages and essays. He was the most devoted intellectuals that supported the opposition movement along with Ikutaro Shimizu. He encountered the issues of intervention through his activities as intellectuals and at the same time realized possibilities that

'Sunagawa Struggles' retained. Takahashi was deeply impressed by locals including Aoki Ichigoro resisted being displaced.

In the third chapter, I discover the movement by local teachers. There was a only junior high school in Sunagawa called "Sunagawa Junior High School " which was 200 meters (about 650 feet) off the runway of the Base. Ten teachers formed a 'circle' to cope with the problems observed in class rooms, for example, conflicts between students whose parents were for or against plans that the government suggested. Not knowing the way of resolving it, teachers appealed to a union organization of teachers, named "Japan Teacher's Union". However, in its national convention in January 1956, the representative of Sunagawa confronted another serious issue: inclusion. They were stuck between a rock and a hard place related to the interpretations of Marxism, which were always the main concern for intellectuals in post war Japan especially in the 1950s.

In the fourth chapter, I describe the experiences of local students that went to "Sunagawa Junior High School " based on collections of compositions by them called "Bunshu-Sunagawa" edited and published by the circle teachers from summer of 1955 to winter of 1956. Students were basically bystanders against their own will. Therefore, they had an issue of participation. Some of them joined a scrum unexpectedly in clash with police, others including a daughter of police prayed for settlement.

In the fifth chapter, I make a close analysis of photographs taken in Sunagawa. Although the most popular one is "Sunagawa" by Yoshikatu Saeki which captured the decisive moment of 'Bloody Sunagawa', there were no 'women' and locals shown in that "drama". By contrast with Saeki's "Sunagawa", both Kakuo Shinkai and Kiyoshi Mukai who interacted with members of the Baba families focused on the faces of locals during sit-down, which was the main method of protest for them. Photographers struggled for intrinsic representation in 'Sunagawa Struggles'.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize how significant it is to consider 'Sunagawa Toso' as an articulation of struggles. I believe that my own issue as a historian is to suture the facts and voices that are forgotten or erased by 'History'.