

PEACE IN VIETNAM! BEHEIREN:
TRANSNATIONAL ACTIVISM AND GI MOVEMENT
IN POSTWAR JAPAN 1965-1974

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DEDICATION

To my late father, Yasuo Shiratori

Born and raised in Nihonbashi, the heart of Tokyo, I have unforgettable scenes that are deeply branded in my heart. In every alley of Ueno station, one of the main train stations in Tokyo, there were always groups of former war prisoners held in Siberia, still wearing their tattered uniforms and playing accordion, chanting, and panhandling. Many of them had lost their limbs and eyes and made a horrifying, yet curious, spectacle. As a little child, I could not help but ask my father “Who are they?” That was the beginning of a long dialogue about war between the two of us. That image has remained deep in my heart up to this day with the sorrowful sound of accordions.

My father had just started work at an electrical laboratory at the University of Tokyo when he found he had been drafted into the imperial military and would be sent to China to work on electrical communications. He was 21 years old. His most trusted professor held a secret meeting in the basement of the university with the newest crop of drafted young men and told them, “Japan is engaging in an impossible war that we will never win. This is like a fight between children and adults. Do your best to hide whenever you can and come back home alive. Try to avoid hurting anyone.” My father listened to this advice the entire time he was away, despite being beaten for disobeying orders often. When he returned home immediately after the war, he was greeted with utter ruin. In such a short time, his family had not only lost their house where his ancestors lived for over 300 years but also lost three of his older brothers although one of them, who was detained in Siberia, returned home six years later. All of a sudden, my father found himself as the oldest son instead of the fourth. He was not able to even consider going back to work at the university, as he needed to support his parents and younger siblings, so they could attend college. Despite not having any particular interest in becoming a businessman, he did have talent in drawing blue print, and seeing the burnt ruin surrounding him, he started an architectural design firm along with a printing company. Everybody needed to rebuild their homes and buildings in the immediate postwar, and Tokyo needed to rise from the ashes of war.

“There is no such thing as a ‘good’ war,” is what my father used to say. If my father did not engage in genuinely straightforward conversations with his little daughter with many

questions, I might have not started my Ph.D journey later in my life, and this dissertation might never have been written. Since my father sparked my very thoughts on the nature of war and peace, it is only fair that I dedicate this dissertation to my late father, Yasuo Shiratori, a proud Edokko (child of Edo), and the most anti-establishment person I have ever met.

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ABSTRACT

Beheiren (**B**etonamu ni **h**eiwa wo shimin **r**engō [Citizen's Committee for Peace in Vietnam]) was launched by a handful of postwar intellectuals in Tokyo when the United States started bombing North Vietnam in February 1965. The widespread presence of US bases throughout Japan allowed American soldiers to be transported and carry out missions from Japan and (then) American occupied-Okinawa to fight Vietnamese people. Japan was a launching pad for America's war in Southeast Asia.

Hundreds of loosely formed Beheiren groups emerged on campuses, in towns and cities across Japan. The emergence of American deserters in the late 1960s transformed Beheiren into a transnational underground operation that sheltered American deserters and moved them out to Sweden and France in cooperation with the former Soviet Union and Resistance groups in Europe. By 1970, while getting the deserters out of Japan became harder because of the increased involvement of US intelligence agents, GI uprisings occurred in every major US base worldwide. American activists started coming to Japan and occupied Okinawa to connect with Beheiren to get GIs out of the military system. Protesting America's war during the Cold War under the contradiction and dilemma involving Japan's Peace Constitution and the US-Japan Security Treaty, the central issue of the Beheiren movement was fundamentally transnational. All the people, including deserters, antiwar GIs, young Japanese and American activists, ordinary citizens of Japan who sheltered American deserters in their homes, were thrown into transnational activism through their globalized experiences.

This study attempted to paint a holistic picture of Beheiren. The theoretical concepts used in this study includes the political process model, nonviolent direct action, especially in the form of civil disobedience, a generational model of continuity and change, and rooted cosmopolitans. Through archives, qualitative content analysis, participant observation, and interviews with the remaining key activists of Beheiren, this study found that, for the past half century, former Beheiren activists have been quietly continuing grassroots transnational activism to this day. They maintain 'loose' civic networks and skepticism toward "power." These elements stem from keen observation and the experiences of the key actors growing up in the age of Imperial Japan. They remained firm in their belief that the future would support the rights of the individual to refuse to kill and be killed in the name of any state.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFB	Air Force Base
ANPO	Japan-US Security Treaty
ASU	American Servicemen's Union
AWOL	Absence Without Leave
BCD	bad conduct discharge
BEHEIREN	B etonamu ni h eiwa wo shimin r engō [Citizen's Association for Peace in Vietnam]
CALCAV	Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam
CID (USACIDC)	the US Army Criminal Investigation Command
CO	Conscientious Objector
CORE	Congress of Racial Equality
FTA	Free the Army
GHQ	General Headquarters
JATEC	Japan Technical Committee for Assistance to US Antiwar Deserters
JCP	Japan Communist Party
JSP	Japan Socialist Party
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
MCAS	Marine Corps Air Station
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MP	(US) Military Police
NLG	National Lawyers Guild
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

(new) Mobe	New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (from July 1969)
(old) Mobe	National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam
PCS	Pacific Counseling Services
POW	Prisoner of war
R & R	Rest and Recuperation
SCLC	Southern Christian Leadership Conference
SNCC	Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
USSF	United States Servicemen's Fund
WWII	World War II

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In 1989, watching delightful people, dancing on the Wall of Berlin on TV, tears welled up in my eyes. An unbelievable thing happened. When I lived in West Berlin (1985-1987), I never imagined that the Wall would fall in that way. It was crime worth death a while ago... Why did they have to be killed? The situation could only be described “unbelievable.” Then I was thinking of another “unbelievable” thing that happened a decade ago. In 1975, when Saigon was falling, Americans were escaping by helicopter from the rooftop of the American Embassy. That was something not many people in the world thought would happen that fast, probably except the Vietnamese people who were fighting for liberation. The scene of people dancing in the Wall in Berlin and the scene of Americans escaping from the rooftop of American Embassy in Saigon both displayed the turning point of the history, very clearly (Oda Makoto, 1995, pp. 11-15).

From 1964 to 1972, the wealthiest and most powerful nation in the history of the world made a maximum military effort, with everything short of atomic bombs, to defeat a nationalist revolutionary movement in a tiny, peasant country—and failed. In the course of that war, there developed in the United States the greatest antiwar movement the nation had ever experienced, a movement that played a critical part in bringing the war to an end (Howard Zinn, 2003, p. 469).

This dissertation is about one of the most contentious narratives in American history—the anti-Vietnam War movement—as it played out in Japan. As a country that hosted hundreds of United States military bases and facilities across the nation, postwar Japan was inexplicably tied to the Vietnam War when the United States (US) rushed into the war. Japan was a launching pad for America’s war in Southeast Asia. In April 1965, Beheiren (**B**etonamu ni **h**eiwa wo! Shimin **r**engō [Citizen’s Committee for Peace in Vietnam]) was born. The scale, breadth and depth of the Beheiren movement that lasted from 1965 to 1974 was unprecedented and transnational.

Meanwhile, April 30, 2015, the 40-year anniversary of the end of the Vietnam War, came quietly in the US. This is in stark contrast with America’s love of World War II (WWII). While

the anniversary of the Normandy landings, or the Attack on Pearl Harbor are annual events with elaborate ceremonies and a wide variety of media coverage, the Vietnam War is largely marginalized in American society. Apparently, the Vietnam War remains one of the most uncomfortable narratives in America to this day. No one wants to listen, everybody wants to forget, and the denial continues (MacPherson, 1984, p. 377). In fact, when I replied, “anti-Vietnam War movement,” when people asked me what my dissertation topic was, I have often been met with utter silence, or perplexed and uneasy, if not cold, reactions from American people, even in academia. This almost allergic reaction to the “Vietnam War” in the United States confirmed for me that the Vietnam War is indeed still an uncomfortable topic that people do not particularly want to hear about. Will a day ever come for the Vietnam War to gain the same level of attention that WWII receives? Or, at least, to become a less uncomfortable topic?

Fifty years after the Tet Offensive, signs that such day may eventually come have finally emerged. In January 2018, *The Post*, directed by Steven Spielberg, was widely released. The film showed the development of the decision-making struggle for the publication of the Pentagon Papers. In September 2017, PBS aired the 18-hour documentary series by Ken Burns and Lynn Novick, *The Vietnam War*, over ten days. It showed the nature of the most divisive war in 20th century with almost 80 witnesses from all sides. Reactions were mixed. While some press recognized the documentary as masterpiece that could open eyes to traumatic history of the Vietnam War that has been disastrously ignored, there were voices of disappointment for being one-sided, especially from Hanoi and South Vietnamese people, as well as from American and Vietnamese veterans (Abderholden, 2017; Daddis, 2017; Phan, 2017; Poniewozik, 2017; Sanchez, 2017; Stein, 2017; Wiest & Ural, 2017). Yet, most reviews point out that timing is ripe and that it is time to talk about this particular war. Ken Burns also revealed in an interview that,

when his previous PBS series on Vietnam was aired in 1983, it provoked a loud backlash, so national psyche was not ready on the conflict, and he needed to wait for another 30 years (Stein, 9/17/2017).

Most critiques came from the Vietnamese people and from both sides of veterans. Hanoi particularly appeared to be deeply unhappy about this documentary film and the Vietnamese government and media remained silent as the sensitive material made them uncomfortable (Stein, 2017; Vien, 2017). For the former South Vietnam people, it was disappointing to see how Saigon government was painted as corrupt, while Ho Chi Minh was glorified like a saint (Albrecht, 2017; Daddis, 2017; Sanchez, 2017). Lack of the Vietnamese struggle in an anti-colonial context was also pointed out (Albrecht, 2017; Stein, 9/17/2017). Phan (2017) felt it was another film on Vietnam by white American film makers. Concerns of “one-sided” tone was also expressed by the American veterans who were greeted with harsh words by antiwar protesters upon returning home (Abderholden, 2017; Albrecht, 2017; Sanchez, 2017).

These mixed reactions indicate how the war fundamentally divided the nations that still exist today. One thing that most critiques agree is the selection of music used in the film. In fact, it should be hard to describe the Vietnam War era without music. Overall, the film reassured for me that, when dealing with a complicated, multifaceted, and contentious topic related to the Vietnam War, it is inevitable to encounter criticism from all sides. Although the Vietnam War is becoming history, it still haunts the nations and people involved. In the US, those who hold the trauma are the Vietnam veterans who went through unimaginable experiences in Vietnam, who were greeted as “baby killer” back home. There wasn’t much sympathy for those young returning GIs, who were caught in the draft system, and had no choice but to be sent to Vietnam.

Anti-Vietnam War Movement

Why is it so hard for the human race to stop killing each other? “History, as we know, is a record of the wars of the world,” said Gandhi (1951a, p. 15). Peace movements became very intense at the end of both world wars (Harrison, 1993, p. 103). Among them, the anti-Vietnam War movement was the largest, most sustained, and most powerful peace campaign in human history (Cortright, 2008, p. 18; p. 157). The anti-Vietnam War protests was a global phenomenon. Canada witnessed young Americans, draft dodgers and deserters, crossing its border. One of the significant aspects of the anti-Vietnam War movement was the emergence of the GI revolt within the US military system that included fragging and mutiny that later developed into an organized GI movement in which active-duty GIs were active players who opposed the war. GI movement also went global wherever the US military bases were, including in Japan.

While the late Arkansas Senator William Fulbright described the US role in Vietnam as “the arrogance of power,” popular myth associates the anti-Vietnam War movement with radical politics, counterculture, and student protest, if not also with violence—these stereotypes still haunt American people (Chatfield, 2004, p. 483). In reality, the scope of the anti-Vietnam War movement went beyond the myth and the US border. In reminding Americans that citizens can and must challenge authority when needed, Zaroulis & Sullivan (1984) articulate how the popular myth about the anti-Vietnam War movement does not reflect its reality, by pointing out that the antiwar movement was begun by adult ordinary citizens, it was initially not a movement of the young.

The antiwar movement was a homegrown movement of the Left which eventually encompassed the entire political spectrum in which even socialists and communists were the “conservative”...It was begun and led by lifelong pacifists, many of them devoutly religious men and women who practiced nonviolence as part of their faith...Antiwar movement was not a movement of the young, it was conceived, nurtured, and largely directed by adults...Antiwar movement was not a movement for cowards afraid to fight for their country. Its leaders and members endured years of harassment, surveillance, court trials, jailing, and in the case of armed forces deserters or draft refusers, long separation from home, family, and friends...Its membership was ordinary citizens, its leadership was, for the most part, straight-living under the constant threat of government spying and the public spotlight...It was not a monolithic organization but a loose, shifting, often uneasy coalition of groups and individuals who often disagreed on every issue except their hatred of the war...The antiwar movement was not “anti-American” rather it was a movement arising from profound patriotism... even the notable Pentagon Papers acted minimally...the courage of the press to question authority came slowly if at all... Like the movement to abolish slavery, the antiwar movement has become quasi-mythical, half-buried in time, an increasingly dim and distorted historical presence remembered kindly by some, belittled and reviled by others, and recalled inaccurately even by many who helped to make it happen.... (pp. xi-xiv).

Although scholars and journalists have been addressed about the anti-Vietnam War movement in the context of the US, a close examination of the transnational aspects of the anti-Vietnam War movement has been overlooked. Not only in the US and Europe, large scale protests and GI movement occurred also in Asia that hosted huge US military bases such as the Philippines and Japan.

From the beginning till the end, Beheiren, the subject of this dissertation, was transnational. They worked with transnational actors for demonstrations, rallies, and conferences, as well as assisting American deserters and active-duty GIs. The transnationality of the Beheiren movement was developed through what Sidney Tarrow (2005) describes as the processes that connect the local and the global. It should be stressed that Japan at the time was in the midst of postwar recovery, experiencing swift economic growth, and was still an in-between-country—not completely advanced, but not as underdeveloped—in other words, postwar Japan was in political upheaval. Globally, it was when liberation of the Third World still had impact on emerging African and Asian nations, including Japan. Algerian War of independence was just

over in 1962 and Europe faced new reality; the US civil rights movement had experienced its heyday; when China was heading into the Cultural Revolution; when Che Guevara famously said, “Create two, three, many Vietnams” for transnational solidarity. Vietnam was indeed the target of support from the Third World. When President Kennedy began aggressive military intervention in Vietnam in 1961 out of fear of the domino effect, who could imagine that Japan would witness the unprecedented scale of antiwar protests that lasted for a decade?

Beheiren: Anti-Vietnam War Movement in Japan

When the US started bombing North Vietnam on February 1965, the US bases in Japan went into full operation. Two months later, Beheiren (**B**etonamu ni **H**eiwa wo! **S**himin **R**engō [Citizens’ Committee for Peace in Vietnam]), was launched by a handful of postwar intellectuals that aimed solely to bring peace in Vietnam. Unlike other social movements in the turbulent postwar Japan, such as ANPO tōsō (conflict opposing the Japan-US Security Treaty, (often just called ANPO) and armed New Left sect-student movements, Beheiren employed the principle of nonviolence, and gained surprising popular support. Hundreds of loosely formed Beheiren groups emerged on campuses, in towns and cities across Japan. Having diverse groups with innovative individuals, Beheiren exercised their quirky originality.

Peace in Vietnam! The slogan looked simple at first glance, but in practice, Beheiren connoted the complex political reality of postwar Japan. Protesting America’s war in Vietnam during the Cold War and under the contradiction and dilemma involving Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution and the US-Japan Security Treaty, the central issue of the Beheiren movement was fundamentally transnational from the beginning. The movement involved Japan’s complicity in America’s war in Vietnam, which was in direct protest against the foreign policies

of both Japan and the US. The widespread presence of US bases throughout Japan allowed the American soldiers to carry out missions from (then) occupied Okinawa and Japan to kill Vietnamese people. Huge numbers of American soldiers were also transported to and from Vietnam, including wounded soldiers who needed treatment in the US field hospitals in Japan, as well as for the Rest and Recuperation (R & R). It was then the emergence of real, live deserters that transformed Beheiren into a transnational underground operation sheltering deserters and getting them out of Japan to third countries with cooperation from the former Soviet Union and the survivors of the Resistance movements in Europe and Algeria. During the process, a specialized sub-group called JATEC was formed for the sole purpose of helping American deserters. By 1970, when GI uprisings occurred in the US bases around the world, American activists and civil rights lawyers began coming to Japan and occupied Okinawa and worked with Beheiren to help active-duty antiwar GIs get out of the military system. Beheiren was deeply connected to the surging waves of global antiwar protests and GI resistance.

Seraphim (2006) points out that Beheiren was a special phenomenon (p. 223). Yet, little research has been done on Beheiren. There are some brief references to Japan and Beheiren in the American literature on the Vietnam War, but research on Beheiren itself has been limited, especially in English. Howard Zinn wrote about Beheiren in a few books, including *Vietnam: The logic of withdrawal* and *You can't be neutral on a moving train: A personal history of our times*. Right after the Fall of Saigon in 1975, David Cortright, who himself was a soldier during the Vietnam War, published *Soldiers in Revolt: The American Military Today*. It is noteworthy that, at this early point of the post-Vietnam War, Cortright had already mentioned Beheiren in the book. It was however limited to his study of GI underground newspapers, including those published in Asia. In 1987, Thomas Havens published *Fire Across the Sea: The Vietnam War*

and Japan 1965-1975, and wrote extensively about Beheiren. This is still the only well-researched, reliable book written about Beheiren in English. In this book, Havens focused on the impact of the Vietnam War on Japanese politics and foreign relations from the viewpoint of Japan as America's chief Pacific ally. In trying to see the Vietnam War from the perspective of postwar Japan, Havens addresses Beheiren based on their public events in the politically turbulent postwar Japan. These two earlier books by Cortright and Havens are informative although coverage on Beheiren's transnational operation is limited because they were published long before former Beheiren activists revealed their stories.

The circumstances changed at the start of the 21st century. Sasaki-Uemura (2001) referred to Beheiren several times in *Organizing the spontaneous. Citizen protest in postwar Japan*. His description of the basic characteristics and style of Beheiren is accurate. In *Making Japanese Citizens: Civil Society and the Mythology of the Shimin in Postwar Japan*, Simon Avenell (2010) also examines Beheiren through the *lens* of shimin (citizen), and views Beheiren as ethnic nationalism, which is an interesting view of Beheiren, as Beheiren practiced transnational activism from the beginning. More recently, younger scholars in Japan and abroad have started to look at Beheiren with fresh eyes. In *Transpacific Antiracism: Afro-Asian Solidarity in 20th Century Black America, Japan, and Okinawa*, Onishi Yuichiro (2013) referred to Beheiren in a few pages as his study of Afro-Asian solidarities often overlapped with the Beheiren movement, especially with regard to American activists in early 1970s. This is an important point that has been lacking in the previous studies. Except for Havens, however, none of these sources in English are studies of Beheiren.

In Japan, although there is also little academic studies of Beheiren, valuable new materials have come to lights since 1995 because certain former Beheiren activists have been

publishing their experiences little by little. The most comprehensive book for anyone who studies Beheiren is *Tonari ni dassōhei ga ita jidai – Jattekkū, aru shimin undō no kiroku* [*A period when deserters lived next-door – JATEC, the record of a certain civic movement*] (1998), edited by Sekiya Shigeru and Sakamoto Yoshie, two key activists of Beheiren. Since many former activists contributed their stories to this book, what they could not publish in Beheiren's newsletters in real time was partially revealed for the first time. Then in 2007, Takahashi Taketomo, one of the core activists, disclosed his underground activities for the first time by publishing *Watakushitachi ha dassō America hei wo ekkyō sasetā* [*We took the American deserters over the border*]. At the time Takahashi contributed to the 1998 collection *Tonari ni dassōhei ga ita jidai*, he was still not able to disclose his experience.

Although Beheiren published several different kinds of newsletters and various kinds of books related to the movement when they were active, this study was possible because of these recently revealed stories written by former activists. As more former activists and participants have disclosed their stories in recent years, young scholars started to pay more attention to Beheiren. Sekiya has found himself becoming busy since 2014, talking about Beheiren and JATEC at various events.

Except for a while after we published *Tonari ni dassōhei ga ita jidai* [*The era when deserters lived next-door*], there had been only one researcher or student in a couple of years, who wanted to hear from us. But when the 70th anniversary of the end of war was approaching, access to “war,” “Conscientious Objector,” and “desertion” increased. Forty-seven years after the Intrepid Four, Beheiren/JATEC does not seem like just memories (Sekiya, 2014, p. 19).

While this dissertation attempts to grasp the whole picture of Beheiren, the focus is on their transnational activism, especially their work with American GIs, which led them into underground activities that had been kept secret for a long time.

Theoretical Framework

Applying social movement theories to the movements that occurred in postwar Japan is challenging, especially when clandestine activities are involved. The theoretical ideas were developed by western social scientists through research on social movements in Europe and the Americas, but less attention was paid to other parts of the world (Steinhoff, 2016, p. 27).

Although no theory will perfectly fit the Beheiren movement, several theories developed in the West can help us better understand the phenomenon. The theoretical perspectives that I found helpful in understanding the Beheiren movement are the “political process model,” developed by Doug McAdam, and nonviolent direct action, including civil disobedience. The “generational model of continuity and change,” proposed by Nancy Whittier and Sidney Tarrow’s concept of “rooted cosmopolitans” were also helpful to explain Beheiren.

Political Process Model

Social movements emerge and disappear. How a movement emerges is the oldest and the most important question in the field of social movements (McAdam, 1982; McAdam, McCarthy & Zald, 1996, p. 7). In contemporary complex societies, Melucci (1996) suggests that movements are a sign that signals a deep transformation through symbolic codes before what is going on becomes clear to us all (p.1). As the emerging term “global sixties” indicates, the 1960s in particular witnessed a proliferation of social movements and they emerged as one of the scholarly “growth industries” (Jenkins & Perrow, 1977; McAdam, 1982, p. 1; McAdam, McCarthy & Zald, 1996, p. 1; McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly, 2001; McAdam, Sampson, Weffer and MacIndoe, 2005; Sasaki-Uemura, 2001). During the era, blacks, students, women, farm workers, and a variety of other groups struggled to change the political and economic structures of society

as well as to redefine minority status (McAdam, 1982, p. 1).

As an alternative to the classical and resource mobilization standpoints, in *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*, McAdam (1982) developed the political process model based on the idea that social processes such as industrialization promote insurgency only indirectly through a restructuring of existing power relations (p. 41). In contrast to the classical model, the political process model represents first that a social movement is above all else a political rather than a psychological phenomenon, and secondly is a continuous process (McAdam, 1982, p. 36). The US civil rights movement, which is significant in terms of its scale, length, and the complexities of the problem embedded in US history, was a good example. It took a long period for the US civil rights movement to finally emerge as a movement. Beheiren also had a long historical period and process to emerge as a movement. McAdam developed the political process model by analyzing empirically the historical trajectory, formation, stage and processes of the US civil rights movement. That includes the historical context of black insurgency (1876-1954), generation of black insurgency (1955-1960), heyday of black insurgency (1961-1965), and decline of black insurgency (1966-1970) (McAdam, 1982).

Three important elements in the political process model includes: political opportunities, indigenous organizations, and the presence of shared cognitive liberation. These are crucial for the success of the movement. When it is hard to find western theories that fit Beheiren, this model at least offers a framework for analyzing the entire process of movement formation and development rather than just looking at the emergence of the movement or success or failure of a movement.

Political opportunities. The concept of “political opportunity” was developed by movement scholars such as Charles Tilly, Sidney Tarrow, Craig Jenkins, Charles Perrow, Francis Fox Piven, Richard Cloward and Doug McAdam. The political opportunities approach views social movements as a collective reaction to the political system and examines the dynamic political environment in structuring these opportunities (Jenkins & Perrow, 1977; McAdam, 1982; McAdam, McCarthy & Zald, 1996; Piven & Cloward, 1977). In short, the emergence of popular uprisings reflects profound changes in the larger society (Piven & Cloward, 1977, p.328). The 1960s to early 70s was such a period globally, and the Vietnam War played a significant part in the turmoil. Once the aggrieved population achieved increased political power, they could reduce the risks associated with movement repression, and create new opportunities for the collective pursuit of group goals (McAdam, 1982, p. 43).

Indigenous organizations. The second element of the political process model is indigenous organization. To generate the movement, the aggrieved population must be able to “convert” a favorable “structure of political opportunities” into an organized campaign of social protest (McAdam, 1982, p.44). The initial organizations in the black community were the black churches, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the black colleges. The use of the term “indigenous” to describe these organizations may be confusing, but that is the term McAdam used to describe pre-existing organizations that served as the initial actors and resources in his model. It was the willingness of the leaders of these institutions to commit their energies and influence in the movement that convinced so many of the rank and file to do the same (McAdam, 1982, p.132). In early 1960s, after the movement had achieved its initial successes, dedicated social movement organizations such as the Student

Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) emerged. Beheiren is parallel to this second phase of the civil rights movement, as it was a single issue social movement organization which solely aimed at opposing the Vietnam War. Conditions for a movement existed before a network came into being, but the movement didn't exist until afterward. Marullo & Meyer (2004) also point out that what turned out to be critical to survive was the ability to connect with other organizations on a range of issues (p. 661).

Cognitive Liberation. As the third element, in addition to political opportunities and indigenous organizations, cognitive liberation—a transformation of consciousness within a significant segment of the aggrieved population—is crucial (McAdam, 1982, p.51). People must collectively define their situations as unjust before they start collective action (McAdam, 1982, p.51). Here, McAdam is suggesting the importance of networking. Cinalli & Füglistler (2008) also indicate that networks are fundamental for channeling political opportunities, increasing control of strategic assets, and producing orientations and identities (p. 270). Shifting political conditions supply the necessary “cognitive cues” capable of triggering the process of cognitive liberation while existent organizations afford insurgents the stable group-settings within which that process is most likely to occur (McAdam, 1982, p.51). In McAdam’s political process model, insurgency can arise when all three factors—political opportunities, indigenous organizations, and cognitive liberation—have developed.

Nonviolent Direct Action and Civil Disobedience

The 20th century observed various forms of resistance where ‘ordinary people’ did extraordinary things to change the course of history by nonviolent direct action. Nonviolent

direct action is an effective and deliberate means to bring about social and political changes (Ackerman and DuVall, 2000; Chenoweth & Stephan, 2011; Cortright, 2006 & 2008; Roberts & Ash, 2009; Sharp, 1973; Zunes & Kurtz, 1999). Arendt (1972) suggests that to speak of nonviolent power is redundant because while violence can destroy power, it is utterly incapable of creating it (p. 155). She stressed that violence cannot be derived from its opposite, which is power, and that in order to understand it for what it is, we shall have to examine its roots and nature (Arendt, 1972, p. 155).

The anti-Vietnam War movement came after the long stream of nonviolent direct action employed by people in different regions and cultures, including Buddhism, pacifism, woman's suffrage, labor movement, Mennonites, Brethren, and Quakers (Ash, 2009; Chatfield, 1999; Sharp, 1973). While the original idea of the practice of nonviolent direct action can be traced back to at least ancient Rome (Sharp, 1973), organized nonviolence is a 20th century development, beginning with Gandhi (Boulding, 1999; Carter, 2009; Chatfield, 2004; Cortright, 2006). Based on different standpoints, there are two predominant approaches to understanding and interpreting nonviolent direct action—principled and pragmatic. Principled nonviolence is based on moral and justice grounds, and its best-known practitioners are Mohandas Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr. On the other hand, pragmatic nonviolence, developed by Gene Sharp, is based on more on strategic grounds, and suggests that nonviolence is more effective than violence.

There were two pre-Gandhi nonviolent actors who deeply influenced Gandhi and King: Henry David Thoreau and Leo Tolstoy. Gandhi drew inspiration from Henry David Thoreau's 1849 essay, *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience* as well as Tolstoy's writings on 'non-resistance' while he was in the Volksrust prison in Transvaal, South Africa (Carter, 2009; Hendrick &

Hendrick, 2005). Gandhi developed nonviolent resistance into a political force by fusing the Western pacifist tradition of Thoreau, Tolstoy, the Quakers, and Jesus, along with the Buddhist, Jain and Vedic Hindu philosophies, to exert political pressure (Brown, 1994). In a sense, Gandhi was a transcultural actor rather than a nationalist as he is often described. Interestingly, Steger (2000) asserts that the realization of nonviolent principles requires a cosmopolitan framework firmly anchored in universal human standards (p. 190).

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., another well-known proponent of nonviolent direct action, was also influenced by Thoreau, and Gandhi. King revealed that Thoreau's essay was his first intellectual contact with the theory of nonviolent resistance (Hendrick & Hendrick, 2005, p. 192-193). Just like Gandhi, King developed a profound understanding of nonviolence through his struggle during his years in the civil rights movement. King also took an intensive interest in Gandhi's life and message, which carried throughout his activism (Cortright, 2006, p. 54).

Nonviolent struggles by Gandhi and King also attracted an international audience, as they presented an inconvenient hypocrisy of Western democracy: Great Britain forced oppression on a colony while enjoying democracy at home; the US segregated its own people based on the color of their skin. This was becoming embarrassing as diplomats from the newly formed African nations could not eat in certain restaurants or sleep in certain hotels in the segregated part of the US (Harrison, 1996). Eventually, both Gandhi and King drew enormous support from the international community, which worked as political pressure on the governments of Britain and the US. Likewise, during the Vietnam War, growing global opposition against the US policy in Vietnam worked as heavy political pressure on the US government.

Despite the long history of nonviolent direct action, historians and social scientists have paid little attention to the striking phenomenon of nonviolent direct action, and it was mostly

marginalized in the intellectual landscape (Bedau, 1969; Bilgrami, 2002; Boulding, 1999; Sath-Anand, 1991; Zunes & Kurtz, 1999). This is in sharp contrast to the amount of attention, enthusiasm, and funding paid for studies of war and militaries.

Entering the 21st century, however, a handful of scholars started to take a new look at nonviolent direct action and civil resistance, because civil resistance has become an increasingly salient feature of international politics over the last half century (Roberts & Ash, 2009). Particularly, debates on nonviolent direct action from the perspectives of strategic logic, long-term effectiveness, and sustainability have become popular among security study scholars. In *Why Civil Resistance Works. The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*, Chenoweth & Stephan (2011) concluded that nonviolence is strategically more effective. Nepstad (2015) points out that this is an exciting time for nonviolence researchers, given the new energy, enthusiasm, and interest that this area of study has generated recently (p. 423).

Civil disobedience. Civil disobedience is one of the most significant approaches to nonviolent direct action, which was used by people worldwide in resistance movements, including Gandhi during his struggle with India's independence, King during the US civil rights movement, and Nelson Mandela during the struggle against South Africa's segregation policy. Unlike in domestic affairs in which violence functions as the last resort against those who refused to be overpowered, Arendt (1972) pointed out that in actual warfare in Vietnam, we have seen how an enormous superiority in the means of violence can become helpless if confronted with an ill-equipped but well-organized opponent (p. 150). Power needs no justification but needs legitimacy (Arendt, 1972, p. 151). The Vietnamese people challenged the legitimacy of the superpower who invaded their country by absolute force of arms.

Piven & Cloward (1977) points out that a major transformation occurs when ordinarily docile masses become 'defiant.' Civil disobedience is a determined act of protest, deliberately unlawful, conscientiously and publicly performed (Cohen, 1971, p. 40). During the Vietnam War, individuals who followed their conscience were the government's worst nightmare (Lynd & Lynd, 1995; Friedland, 1998). Where commands are no longer obeyed, the means of violence are of no use (Arendt, 1972, 148). By thoroughly analyzing hundreds of cases of nonviolent direct action, Gene Sharp (1973) pointed out how power was used from the bottom up rather than the top down. He then developed his theory of power:

'Obedience' is at the heart of political power but it is voluntary. Political power disintegrates when the people withdraw their obedience and support.

Oda Makoto, who would become the leader of Beheiren, witnessed the brutal reality of American democracy during the civil rights movement as a Fulbright scholar in 1958-1960. He became aware of the potential of civil disobedience. A few years later, while working closely with American deserters and GIs in 1960s to early 1970s, Beheiren activists began to see the dynamics of the fundamental tension inherent between the 'individual' and the 'state.' The theory of civil disobedience is essential to understand the Beheiren movement.

Generational Model of Continuity and Change

The generational model of continuity and change proposed by Nancy Whittier is another helpful model. While Whittier (1997) regards immersion in protest as transformative at any age, differences emerge when different generations of activists enter into a cycle of protest (p. 762). She proposed three generational processes to shape movement continuity and change by analyzing the women's movements from 1969 to 1992 in Columbus Ohio. By proposing the generational model, Whittier is not making a predictive traditional theory, but calling attention to

the dynamics of generational aspects, which has been lacking in other theories. Because Beheiren involved a wide range of generations, from teenagers to 80s, this model was helpful.

Three propositions of this model include 1) Generational persistence: the collective identity of a given cohort of social movement participants remains consistent over time, contributing to movement continuity. This suggests that people who share transformative experiences construct a collective identity that persists throughout their lives; 2) Cohort differences: cohorts construct different collective identities based on the changing external contexts and internal conditions of the movement at the time of their entry. Micro-cohorts are clusters of participants who enter a social movement within a year or two of each other and are shaped by distinct transformative experiences that differ because of subtle shifts in the political context; 3) Cohort replacement: cohort replacement affects the composition of the multiorganizational field, the internal dynamics of ongoing organizations, and thus contributes to change in social movements over time (Whittier, 1997, pp. 763-771).

As the Beheiren activists' generation ranged from those born in the 1910s to the 1950s, Whittier's approach helped me conceptualize the dynamics of working relationship among different cohorts in the transformative development and continuity of the Beheiren movement. Beheiren was founded by those who were born in 1920s and 1930s, and while those generations played central roles, the younger generation who were born in 1940s and early 1950s, who came into the movement a few years later, also played important but different roles. The students of the time, who were born between 1947 and 1950, especially fits with "micro-cohorts." In Whittier's study, micro-cohort differences were an important internal dynamic during the women's movement's heyday in the 1970s (Whittier, 1997, p. 769). Early 1970s is when

Beheiren's younger micro-cohort, which came of age as college students during a period of intense campus struggle, played significant roles.

Rooted Cosmopolitans

Tarrow (2005) argues that the most effective transnational activists are “rooted cosmopolitans” (p. xiii). He defines rooted cosmopolitans as individuals and groups who mobilize domestic and international resources and opportunities as to advance claims on behalf of external actors, against external opponents, or in favor of goals they hold in common with transnational allies (Tarrow, 2005, p. 29). Tarrow (2005) further defines rooted cosmopolitans as people and groups who are rooted in specific national contexts, but who engage in contentious political activities that involve them in transnational networks of contacts and conflicts (p. 29). The founders and the central actors of Beheiren fit these definitions, and the postwar Japan produced an environment for rooted cosmopolitans to act and thrive. This is a helpful concept to see the impact of central figures of Beheiren on the movement and its participants. As their unexpectedly globalized experiences are indicative of how transnational activism is transformative, “rooted cosmopolitans” is a valuable conceptual tool to understand a very important aspect of the Beheiren movement.

Taking together, these diverse theoretical concepts will help explain Beheiren. Since there is no single theory that could effectively explain the Beheiren movement that occurred in postwar Japan, I looked at these four approaches.

Research Questions

Through using these theoretical concepts, this dissertation will seek answers to the following questions to understand Beheiren and its legacy. First is a common question about any

social movement: How did the movement emerge and why? What were the thought and philosophy behind the emergence and development of the Beheiren movement? The second question is about transnationality, which is a significant characteristic of Beheiren: In postwar Japan during the Cold War, when there were no Internet or cell-phones, how did Beheiren practice and develop transnational activism? How did this transnationalism transform the movement and its participants? Third is a question unique to the Beheiren movement: What made countless numbers of ordinary citizens of Japan actively take risks by sheltering American deserters in their homes? Included in this question is the aspect of transnational underground operation which has been disclosed recently. The fourth and last question is the length and continuity of the movement: the Beheiren movement lasted for about a decade from 1965 to 1974. How did the movement sustain itself for a decade with no major internal conflict amidst the upheaval of the global sixties? How did the experience of participating in Beheiren affect the activists' later life? This dissertation answers to these questions by using the following methods.

Methods

Multiple Methods

This dissertation employs multiple methods. The Beheiren movement involved multifaceted dimensions with diverse sets of information, events, and people, but it was a decentralized civic movement based on individual activists and regional groups. This makes it difficult to paint the whole picture of the movement. Therefore, multiple methods are the appropriate approach to putting the small puzzles together. Although it requires time and resources, using multiple methods creates the opportunity to put texts or people in contexts, thus providing a richer and more accurate interpretation (Reinharz, 1992). Historical analysis and

qualitative content analysis were conducted based on archives, along with interviews with former Beheiren activists. The opportunity for participant observation also arose in the last phase of this study.

Primary Resource materials. While there are few resources on *Beheiren* in English, the Hamilton Library at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa holds the Takazawa Collection, an extensive collection of resource materials on social movements in postwar Japan, including Beheiren’s newsletters, leaflets, and fliers. For this dissertation, three different newsletters published by Beheiren are used as primary materials. The first monthly newsletter, the *Beheiren Nyūsu* (Beheiren News) was published in October 23, 1965 to connect the activists and to provide readers with a variety of windows into how Beheiren participants could continue as individual activists, independent of any political affiliation or organizations. They provided local, national, and global information on wide ranges of antiwar themes, including Japan’s past, the US-Japan relations, and then occupied Okinawa. They also called for donations in the newsletters. The *Beheiren Nyūsu* was issued until March 1974, altogether for 101 issues.

In 1969, the *Dassōhei Tsūshin* (Deserter Communication) was also published. *Dassōhei* means deserter in Japanese. The purpose of publishing the *Dassōhei Tsūshin* was to provide the latest information and guidance to people who contributed to Beheiren by sheltering deserters and securing fund through donation (Motono, 2016, personal interview). Thus, the *Dassōhei Tsūshin* was solely focused on deserter issues, apart from the more general *Beheiren Nyūsu*. A total of 16 issues were published from August 1969 to January 1971. In April 1971, the *Dassōhei Tsūshin* changed the title to *JATEC Tsūshin* (JATEC Communication). JATEC stands for “Japan Technical Committee for Assistance to US Antiwar Deserters,” which was created by Beheiren

groups for the sole purpose of assisting American deserters. Seven *JATEC Tsūshin* were published between April 1971 to March 1973. It should be noted that all these three newsletters were published in Tokyo by the Beheiren groups in Tokyo, but there were a variety of regional newsletters published by each regional group.

Qualitative content analysis. Content analysis is often used to uncover themes in texts. While quantitative content analysis can tackle large samples of text, such as already existing archives of press coverage, qualitative content analysis is more focused on the identification of themes, dispositions, ideologies, symbols, beliefs and principles (Bryman, 2006). To analyze the messages left by American deserters and GIs which appeared on the Beheiren's newsletters, I created a relational database, using Microsoft Access. Access has the ability to relate records in multiple tables, which is a powerful tool when analyzing the complicated and sometimes confusing data like Beheiren's newsletters that contain a variety of different contents randomly in one page. Using Access is beneficial as it allows the user to use any language to enter data. The Japanese words used in the Beheiren newsletters were entered into the database as they were. This in turn allows me to identify themes and patterns more accurately without worrying about missing or losing the context in translation. In the master table in the database, the unique ID number was given to each Issue of the Beheiren's three newsletters. One case (record) is put in one row, and one variable is put in one column. When multiple instances of something occur in one record, a sub-table was created to hold their content. As a relational database, Access has ability to relate records in multiple tables, which allows me to analyze the data systematically without losing the context. Furthermore, what was written in Japanese in the original archives was translated into English when necessary for quotation or analytical discussion.

Interviews. I was initially planning to write this dissertation solely through archival data. However, while these archives provide me with a lot of information, certain aspects and sensitivities of the activities were still not fully connected because of the clandestine nature of certain activities. Although the leaders of the movement were already deceased, some founding, central figures and younger activists who have deep knowledge about the movement are still alive. Therefore, I could conduct semi-structured interviews with them to hear their life history, which helped me connect the dots and clarify the specific roles that they may have played in these historically significant but very sensitive activities. The study was approved as exempt by the University of Hawai‘i Human Studies Program.

Participants. I interviewed 13 former activists, aged 68 to 83 (at the time of interview) Four were females and nine were males. Three participants were born in the 1930s, six participants in the 1940s, and four were born in early 1950s. Twelve of them are Japanese citizens, and one is an American, who happens to live in Hawai‘i where I live. I found his name in Japanese while I was reading the *Beheiren Nyūsu* Issue No. 74 (December 1, 1971). I knew his name as an attorney who had defended former lieutenant Watada, the first commissioned officer who refused to deploy to Iraq in 2006 because, “The war was illegal.” Because of the continuity of the type of the work he did in the early 1970s in Japan, I assumed it was the same person, and contacted him, and he was.

On the other hand, finding the contact information of the former Beheiren activists in Japan was not easy because unlike the US, it is not common to find contact information, especially email addresses, of Japanese individuals on the Internet unless they are connected with a business of some sort. I could only find three former activists’ business mail addresses, and I

sent them regular letters, and received responses by email by two of them. It cascaded from there as these first two activists I contacted arranged for me to meet with nine more former Beheiren activists living in Japan. One activist was introduced by a professor on my Ph.D committee, to whom she had recently revealed her own long-secret former involvement in Beheiren.

Interview process. Between January and October 2016, a few individual interviews and three group interviews were conducted in Honolulu, Kyoto, Iwakuni, and Tokyo. Each interview took from one hours to a whole day because all of the group interviews included either lunch, dinner, or both. In Iwakuni, the former activists also gave me a tour of the US Marine Corps Air Station (MCAS) Iwakuni, which continues to occupy a large portion of the town.

All the interviews were conducted as semi-structured interviews adapted to each former activist's unique circumstances as each of them likely have unique roles and experiences in the movement. Each person was asked about their own personal experiences and any other recollections they had about the movement, including about the time period. General questions included how they got involved in the movement, how they actually participated, how dangerous they thought it was, and how that experience may have had an impact on their later lives. Semi-structured interviews helped me connect the dots for critical and sensitive parts of the research that are difficult to glean from the existing published materials. All the former activists allowed me to audio-record the entire interviews, which were later transcribed. Consent forms were not translated as all the participants read English (Evidently, they were interacting with American GIs and activists). Except for one participant, all of them were fine with having me use their real names. As in much research on specific historical movements, removing personal identifiers is not so relevant because most of their names are already in print. Many of the former activists are

authors, and some of them are well-known historical actors. Those names need to be included to connect their actions to their philosophy and writings.

Chapter Outline

This dissertation examines three phases of the development of the Beheiren movement. The first phase is the movement launching phase and building a transnational antiwar network (chapter 2-4). The second phase focuses on the transnational activism of Beheiren, including helping American deserters from the US bases getting out of Japan and connecting with underground networks in Europe (chapter 5-7). The third phase looks at how Beheiren worked with American active-duty GIs and incoming American activists who came to Japan to work with the antiwar network and GIs at US bases (chapter 8-9), followed by Conclusion (Chapter 10).

Chapter Two looks at the historical background, including contentious US-Japan relations and intellectual landscape in the postwar Japan. Beheiren was founded by postwar intellectuals, and the core actors were those who were children at the time of Japan's defeat. Therefore, understanding these basic historical elements that led to the formation of Beheiren is important. Chapter Three examines Beheiren's organizational characteristics, its individual, voluntary and horizontal nature, as well as its three-head leadership. The chapter also introduces Beheiren's operational style. Chapter Four presents the intense publicity in the first phase of the movement. Beheiren rigorously engaged in communications at local, national, and international levels. They invited internationally known figures such as Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir to Japan to hold lectures and conferences. This in turn attracted media attention and helped establish the public image of Beheiren.

Chapter Five introduces the emergence of American deserters on the streets of Tokyo, the beginning of direct contact with American GIs. This chapter is focused on the Intrepid Four, the four sailors, who walked away from the USS carrier Intrepid in 1967 while it was docked in Yokosuka, Japan. Beheiren helped them flee to Sweden via the Soviet Union which was highly publicized worldwide amidst the height of the Cold War. This was the turning point that fundamentally changed Beheiren as they ventured into the unknown realm of clandestine activities. Chapter Six presents the increasing number of deserters in Japan in 1968 as the war in Southeast Asia escalated further. To adapt to the situation, Beheiren created a sub-group called JATEC that solely focused on assisting American deserters. While countless ordinary citizens of Japan risked themselves sheltering deserters in their homes as their number increased, American intelligence also appeared, which led to arrests of deserters. Chapter Six also introduces the transnational underground operations. Because of the increasing arrests of deserters and surveillance of Beheiren activists, getting deserters out of Japan via the Soviet Union became very difficult. To solve that problem, JATEC sought an alternative solution in Europe, where they connected with the underground network and survivors of the Resistance. Transnational underground aspects of Beheiren were kept secret for a long time until they were revealed in 2007. This chapter also introduced the critical role that student activists played in taking care of American deserters.

Chapter Seven looks at GI movements that arose around 1970 in US bases worldwide. By this phase, Beheiren stopped assisting deserters, as they had learned from American activists that assisting GIs to use their legal rights and options was more effective. Therefore, Beheiren underwent another transformation by shifting the focus to work with GIs and American activists who came to Japan and occupied Okinawa. This transformation was possible because of

incoming American activists who targeted Japan as the front line of stopping the war. Chapter Eight highlights the GI uprising in Iwakuni, where one of the largest US Marine Corps Air Station (MCAS) in Asia-Pacific region is located. It was critical to dedicate one chapter to Iwakuni because it was the epicenter of GI resistance. This chapter closely examines a lot of happenings in Iwakuni in early 1970 where repression against the GIs and activists by both American and Japanese authorities became severe.

Chapter 9 is the concluding chapter, which summarizes two elements of the Beheiren movement that emerged in this study, which is recognition of the importance of transnational civic networks, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the skepticism toward power and fundamental questions about the individual versus the state that Beheiren posed throughout its history. Most importantly, these elements contributed to the continuity of transnational civic activism, which has quietly been maintained by former Beheiren activists. In addition, conclusion includes a few examples of the recent development of their continuing loose but strong network and transnational activism. Overall, this study demonstrates that Beheiren was a very early example of transnational activism.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

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 means of settling international disputes. 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. (The Constitution of Japan, Article 9)

Justice will fail (Tsurumi Shunsuke)

Old Left in Prewar Japan

McAdam (1982) points out that broadening the time frame and including the preceding period is significant when analyzing the development of events over time. To understand a movement like the US civil rights movements that took decades to develop, studying the historical background that led to the movement formation is critical. Likewise, because Beheiren was an antiwar movement that occurred just twenty years into postwar Japan, knowing the historical background of the prewar “Old Left” is crucial context to understand Beheiren.

The Old Left in prewar Japan included Marxists, communists, socialists, and those opposed to the emperor system, as well as radical anarchist groups who tried to assassinate the emperor in 1910, which shook Japan. When the Russian Revolution occurred in 1917 it had a great influence on Japanese communists and intellectuals. Communism increased its leverage in Japan where farmer and labor movements were beginning to emerge (Kuno, Tsurumi & Fujita, 1995). In 1922, while the Russian Revolution triggered the red purge in the US, the Japan

Communist Party (JCP) was founded, illegally, as a branch of the Comintern by socialists of a variety of persuasions, including some who were antiwar activists during the 1904 Russo-Japanese War (Gomi, Takano & Toriumi, 2005; Ishii, Gomi, Sasayama & Takano; 2006; Kuno, Tsurumi & Fujita, 1995). Although the JCP experienced severe internal conflicts from the beginning, members worked closely with Moscow.

This prompted the legislation of the 1925 Peace Preservation Law, which was aimed at preventing the spread of communism, and gave the government justification for the use of severe repression. The Peace Preservation Law also made it illegal to advocate or provide any form of support for opposing the capitalist economic order or the *kokutai* [Imperial national polity]. In 1929, Sano Manabu and Nabeyama Sadachika, two highly influential figures of the JCP, were arrested for violation of the Peace Preservation Law. The Peace Preservation Law led to mass arrests of 3,000 people, not just the top figures of the JCP, but also its members, sympathizers and intellectuals (Steinhoff, 2016, p. 29). While those people were in jail and trials were beginning, the 1931 Manchurian Incident happened, which was the beginning of Japan's Fifteen Year War. June 10, 1933 marked the opening phase of the phenomenon of *tenkō* (conversion of ideology) when Sano and Nabeyama released their *tenkō* statement from jail during their trial as leaders of the illegal JCP. The most influential figures of the JCP completely overturned their prior positions in this statement by saying that it was time “*to realize the ‘socialist’ revolution under the ‘emperor system’ and encourage the war in China...*” (Hanneman, 2007; Takabatake, 1971). Under the 1925 Peace Preservation Law, acts were prosecuted but they were acts based on specific ideas. That is what made the authorities pursue *tenkō* (conversion of ideology). Steinhoff (1969) suggested there were three pressures to *tenkō*. Physical pressures, psychological pressures, and *tenkō* pressures from personal relationships such as family, relatives, friends. The

conditions of the Jail cells in Japan at the time was poor and unhealthy, the prisoners were treated badly, and consequently, death was reality (Steinhoff, 1969, pp. 128-139). Pressures from personal relationships was emotional. People were already in jail, but the authorities and family members wanted to erase the basis for their “criminal acts” by having them renounce the underlying ideas.

The phenomenon of *tenkō* shook Japan because the JCP was the only powerful group who had been opposing the war (Takabatake, 1971, p. 64). The statements by Sano and Nabeyama especially hit Japan’s Old Left. After their *tenko* statement, 90% of the Old Left in jail followed them under pressure from authorities, and they also pledged *tenko* (Gomi, Takano & Toriumi, 2005; Ishii, Gomi, Sasayama & Takano; 2006; Steinhoff, 1969; Steinhoff, 1991a).

Steinhoff pointed out that it was unfortunate that although Japan was moving in a more democratic direction in 1920s, it expanded militarily in the 1930s, and ultra-nationalism became more intense at home (Steinhoff, 2016, pp. 29-30). Japanese Imperialism was heading to war at full speed. It is worth noting that despite these repressive circumstances, the Japanese translation of the collected work of Marx and Engels was published starting in 1926, before it was on the market in Russia and Germany, and 15,000 copies were sold (Gomi, Takano & Toriumi, 2005; Ishii, Gomi, Sasayama & Takano, 2006).

Meanwhile, as imperial military aggression escalated, control of thought intensified further. In 1937, the Ministry of Education issued the basic principle of the *kokutai* (Imperial national polity) and built up the mobilization of the national spirit to promote militarism, and urged people to support the war (Gomi, Takano & Toriumi, 2005; Ishii, Gomi, Sasayama & Takano; 2006). Under the Meiji Constitution, “*kokutai*” was vaguely used to describe Japan as a family nation that shared the same destiny, centered on the unbroken line of emperors. In 1937,

Japan made the *kokutai* the core of educational policy to intensify the control to carry out the war. With this type of ongoing severe social repression, Marxism lost its vigor. The media built up a general mobilization for the people to the principle of *kokutai* permeate their thoughts, and to stir up nationalism to support the war (Gomi, Takano & Toriumi, 2005; Ishii, Gomi, Sasayama & Takano; 2006). The JCP was eventually annihilated and left-wing activities became unfeasible. The few JCP members who never made their *tenko* were kept in jail until Japan's surrender but half of those who did make a *tenkō* were also held until the end of the war. It was ironic that those in jail would survive the war because they were in jail. They were however unable to share the same experience that the rest of the population had to endure. That in turn caused problems once they got out of jail and started to rebuild the JCP once the war ended.

On the other hand, key actors of Beheiren were children of Imperial Japan when Japan's Fifteen Years War ended in August 15, 1945. They witnessed and experienced drastic change from Imperial military state to democracy. Those children's experiences have been buried in history and not seriously studied. But it was their observation of the behavior of adults on August 15, 1945 that created the anti-establishment generation of Japan, who are skeptical of power. In a sense, it was only natural that those children became the central actors in the Beheiren movement twenty years later. For this reason, understanding the historical background is critical to understand Beheiren.

August 15, 1945: Perspectives from the Children of the Time

Japan accepted the Potsdam Declaration by unconditional surrender on August 14, and Emperor Hirohito broadcast the news to the nation the following day. The millions of Japanese who gathered around neighborhood radios to hear the broadcast were not "citizens" but the

emperor's subjects, and in Japanese parlance, the long war had been a "holy war" (Dower, 1999, p. 34). Although the Imperial war was conducted by the name of emperor, nobody had ever heard his voice until that moment. Not only was the reception poor, but the words themselves were difficult to grasp (Dower, 1999, p. 34). Bowing their heads, adults and children tried to understand what the emperor was saying but only a few of them could understand as he did not speak like everybody else. Translation was needed. This notion is in fact what I have been hearing from almost anyone who listened to that broadcast, including my own family members and the Beheiren activists whom I interviewed. With this broadcast, whether you understood or not, the horror of Japan's Fifteen Year War was over. The spell of the emperor as a 'living god' was finally broken. It was when emperor became the symbol of a Japanese system of irresponsibility (Takabatake, 1977, p. 176). For ordinary people who listened to the emperor for the first time, it was rather a surreal moment.

Back in 1941, the year Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, all of the elementary schools became 'national schools' where children were taught the "Imperial Rescript on Education." Children born around 1934-1939 are called "Yake-ato (burn-out)" generation. Those who entered elementary school in 1941 like Motono Yoshio (born in 1934) and Takahashi Taketomo (born in 1935), who would later become the core Beheiren activists, are the generation who attended only the 'national schools' for their entire elementary years where they were brainwashed by imperial militarism. During the war, children like Motono and Takahashi, who lived in big cities like Tokyo and Osaka, were forced or encouraged to *sokai*, which was to evacuate to the countryside to avoid the bombings, apart from the parents. There were two types of *sokai*—evacuation in a group and refuge through family connection or relatives. Motono who endured the group evacuation recalled:

Group evacuation was a nightmare. I was 10 years old and stayed there for a year. There was no place to escape. It was like a concentration camp. I had never been bullied until then...it was traumatic. My antiwar feelings came from that traumatic experience in evacuation...it's a deep sense of loss...and when I returned to Tokyo, my home had been burned down and my father had died (Motono, 2016, personal interview).

Takahashi, a childhood friend of Motono from Azabu Gakuen, a liberal elite private middle and high school in Tokyo, was lucky enough to be able to take refuge with relatives but the experience was no less hard. Those children who endured air-raid, hiding in the shelter, and traumatic living arrangements witnessed the burnt-ruins of their homes, and experienced the dramatic paradigm shift after the emperor's broadcast. Motono and Takahashi were among those children who listened to the emperor's broadcast.

"Our generation is skeptical towards power," said Motono. He was 10 years old when he heard of Japan's defeat through Emperor Hirohito's radio broadcast.

Yes, I heard the emperor's announcement at my place of refuge. I was not quite sure what it was...before that, I thought I would be killed soon, but then I did not know what 'being killed' meant. Then the next day (after the broadcast), a male teacher told us children, "From now on, Japan will live as a civil nation." It was confusing for us. But then a female teacher told us, "the (male) teacher said such a thing, but we should not forget revenge!" Children responded to her with applause because that was easy to understand as it was along the same lines as what they had been teaching us. But what the male teacher told us, the idea of a 'civil nation' sounded so fake. How could the male teacher reverse what he had been telling us overnight? I had already lost my faith in teachers...and then he said that. Because of this, our generation is skeptical towards power. Power is suspicious...I don't believe those who support power...that has become my lifestyle (Motono, 2016, personal interview).

This is a significant remark from a child of the time. During the war when people were experiencing the endless bombing, day-to-day physical survival was the utmost priority, and the overall well-being of children was often put off. But this story shows that some children of the time were keen observers of their surroundings, and they clearly saw the deception of adults.

Takahashi, who has been the director of the *Wadatsumi Kai* (memorial society of students who died in war) since 1994, shared similar sentiments of mistrust towards power after the emperor's broadcast. He was also a 10-year-old boy who believed that Japan would win the war.

Upon the emperor's announcement on August 15, what we were not told, and what should have never happened for a 10-year-old, who was ready to follow the kamikaze, happened. I could not get over the thought that the adults deceived us. We felt that we had been fooled and betrayed. The adults knew that Japan might lose, and they quickly changed overnight, saying, "We'll start a democracy from now on"...but they had not informed us children about anything. The adults could reverse their minds overnight, but we the children could not. That was my biggest starting point...I told myself that I would never ever become an adult who deceives children."
(Takahashi, 2015, p. 19)

Takahashi stressed several times when I met him, that he determined not to be an adult who deceive children. Along with Motono's recollection, this indicates that children old enough to understand things in war time were as anxious as adults, and they lived under extreme tension like adults. On the other hand, Sakamoto Yoshie, who would also become a core activist of Beheiren, and was three years younger than Motono and Takahashi recalled:

When I learned that the war was over, I was a first grader. I was too young to be evacuated, and was still in Tokyo at the time of the Tokyo Air Raid in March 10, 1945. I saw B29s dropping bombs, shells rained down on us...and the sky in Tokyo turned so red...there were burning papers raining with tremendous force. My uncle was at the University of Tokyo, and I heard he saw lots of burned corpses around Ueno...My house was burned down after I was evacuated when I was a second grader. Upon the announcement of the emperor, I didn't think as deeply as Motono-san and Takahashi-san. I was simply happy, thinking that my dad would be back soon...He never came back (Sakamoto, 2016, personal interview).

These are the commonly shared experiences and traumatic memories among the Japanese children born in the 1930s. On August 15, 1945, things changed overnight, and forever. The impact might have been greater on children. In fact, most of the key actors of the Beheiren movement came from this generation. Oda Makoto, a novelist and the future leader of Beheiren, who was born in 1932, extensively wrote about his war time and August 15 experiences as a child. Yoshikawa Yūichi, who played an irreplaceable role in managing Beheiren was born in

1931. They were a few years older than Takahashi and Motono. In the chaotic period of the immediate postwar, children's needs were not a priority in rebuilding the nation from ashes. While these children must have grown up watching adults work frantically, nobody cared about the impact August 15 had on their belief system. Apparently, it was bigger than anyone could imagine. These children kept these feelings for a long time within them, and it gushed out 20 years later when the US intervention in Vietnam presented a serious turn. Vietnam triggered their sense of distrust in authority that they experienced as children on August 15, 1945—For the core actors of Beheiren, this day is symbolic in a different way from how it is normally treated. Basically, Beheiren was founded and operated by the children born in the 1930s—This was my first finding when I was going through the Beheiren materials, and later reconfirmed through interviewing former activists. “Generational persistence,” one of the three propositions of Whittier's generational model, could explain this phenomenon. Generational persistence suggests that people who share transformative experiences construct a collective identity that persists throughout their lives and contribute to movement continuity. The generation born in the 1930s shared a common reaction to their childhood experience at the end of the war, and a certain fraction of this cohort founded Beheiren.

Entering an Era of Contentious US-Japan Relations

War is over. Japan entered an era of American occupation. For the first time in Japan's history, all aspects of life were run and controlled by a foreign power. On January 1, 1946, Emperor Hirohito presented “Rescript to Promote the National Destiny” in national newspapers, which is known as *Ningen Sengen* [declaration of humanity]. It was immediately hailed as the emperor's “renunciation of divinity” by the American and British (Dower, 1999, p. 308). The

new Peace Constitution that included Article 9 was enacted in 1947.

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 means of settling international disputes. 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.

With this, Japan declared that she will never engage in war. This is the best-known and most contentious feature of this constitution (Cumings, 1993, pp. 51-52; Dower, 1999, pp. 83-84; Steinhoff, 2016, p. 30).

Interestingly, as Emperor Hirohito officially became human from ‘living god,’ there was a resurgence of popular “new religions.” Some that had been repressed under the prewar Peace Preservation Law, often on the specific grounds of lese majesty, re-emerged as vigorous centers of spiritual attraction (Dower, 1999, p. 307). Those established as new postwar religious organizations included Rissho Kōseikai in 1948, Honmichi in 1950 and Sōka Gakkai in 1952. Those new religions maintain certain influence on Japanese people and politics.

Meanwhile, the US occupation of Japan ended in 1952 when the San Francisco Peace Treaty came into force. The end of occupation, however, came with the controversial Japan-US Security Treaty, abbreviated as “ANPO” that allowed the US military bases and troops to remain in Japan for an unlimited term. The American occupation force then changed their title from “occupation” troops to ‘stationed’ troops (Havens, 1987). This was the beginning of the contentious US-Japan relationship. The new Peace Constitution, which was written largely by the occupation leaders, combined with ANPO, involved a contradiction and produced a national dilemma. They could trigger conflicts at anytime. How could Japan with its Peace Constitution allow the presence of the US bases, whose primary mission was war and killing? Although the official explanation was that the American forces were needed to protect Japan because it could

not have its own military, isn't this an automatic violation of the Peace Constitution? The coming cycle of protests such as anti-nuclear movements that started in 1950s, the 1960 ANPO protest, and the subsequent anti-Vietnam War movement, anti-base movement, and Okinawa struggle, were directly related to this specific national dilemma that came with ANPO.

With ANPO, the US not only acquired geographically pivotal, and significant portions of land in Japan for US Forces but also huge sums of money from the Japanese government to maintain and manage its bases. Conveniently, as Arendt (1972) pointed out, the Second World War was not followed by peace but by a cold war and the establishment of the military-industrial-labor complex (p. 111). ANPO, combined with the Cold War, Japan was inevitably tied to America's war regardless of the will of the Japanese people and their Constitution. The US military personnel were and still are able to travel in and out of Japan without a passport, using their military orders and military identification. Okinawa continued to be under occupation until the reversion occurred in 1972, but the US bases have remained in Okinawa and across Japan to the present. For these reasons, there are people in Japan who think Japan is not a sovereign nation. Postwar Japan began with a contentious debate on Japan's sovereignty. Antiwar movements in Japan have thus been fundamentally transnational from the beginning.

Intellectual Landscape of Postwar Japan

Imperial military defeat had a great impact on postwar intellectuals. Postwar culture in Japan had no place for those intellectuals who had actively contributed to Japan's pursuit of war (Hanneman, 2007, p. 483). How and why did Japan come to see this reality of utter burnt ruins? As people needed explanations, intellectual discourse reached a wide audience (Dower, 1999). The bud of political activism was already present in the immediate postwar moment.

As only a handful of academics emerged from the war with their reputations enhanced for not having been swept along with the tides of ultra-nationalism, the postwar era was a virtuoso turnabout for the intelligentsia, precious few of whom had opposed the war (Dower, 1999, p. 233). These intellectuals and the cultural continuity offered by the old generation of non-Marxist, liberal intellectuals, whose reputations survived the war, provided an important foundation for the postwar period (Hanneman, 2007, p. 488). The postwar community formed because of the iconoclastic effect of defeat, the discrediting of institutional royalties and authority, and a shared sense of the need to articulate the meaning of wartime experience (Koschmann, 1993, p. 396).

When the prewar JCP members were released from prison, a new JCP was re-established, ‘legally’ this time. It is ironic and tragic that JCP members who were jailed throughout the war—thus they missed the firsthand experience of the reality of war—rebuilt the JCP as a top-down structure, just like the old JCP. While the new JCP organized labor unions, they attacked other groups, such as the Japan Socialist Party (JSP), instead of cooperating with them (Tsurumi, Ueno & Oguma, 2004). So, Japan’s reestablishing of the organized Left had a bumpy start.

Marxism appeared to receive mixed reviews in postwar Japan. Although the immediate postwar years saw a revival of Marxism as the only systematic theory that could give people the quickest answers to replace the right-wing nationalism of the prewar years, by 1955, Marxism virtually ceased to be one of the guiding principles of the intellectual community (Dower, 1999; Fujita, 1995; Hanneman, 2007). Sasaki-Uemura (2001) points out that many progressive writers and intellectuals were dissatisfied with the constraints of Marxist orthodoxy, and that postwar ‘citizen’ protesters also could not identify with the industrial working class or the Marxist ideology (p. 32-34). Postwar scholars pointed out that Marxism inherently contained authoritarianism, and that could connect to nationalism. In fact, some intellectuals found it

difficult to apply Marxism in the plural nature of postwar Japan. Apparently, they were searching for political thought that fits postwar Japan that was independent from Marxism. They were independent' thinkers.

Takabatake Michitoshi (1971), a political scientist and a founding figure of Beheiren, suggested that, in Japan, Marxism presented a program called 'revolution,' and it invited a total rebellion against the emperor system—the social order of Japan (p. 89). Under the emperor system, however, intellectual thought was mercilessly dismantled and was drawn into glorifying the imperial war, and this fact had not been fundamentally questioned (Takabatake, 1995, p. 353). Fujita Shōzo (1995), also a political scientist, summarized (1995).

Marxism had characteristics of bringing the contradictory aspects that essentially exist only in theories, such as "idee (idea) and dasein (being)" or "theory and history," into the real world. Marxism draws its movement energy out of it. But that was a problem in postwar Japan because historically idee and dasein had always been combined as "emperor equals living god." That is so non-revolutionary. In a way, Marxism created a dogma, instead of a church in Japan (p. 62).

On the other hand, Kuno Osamu (1995), a philosopher, and also a founding actor of Beheiren, asked, "Aren't scientific (not dogmatic) theories essentially humbler?" and elaborated his thoughts on the inconvenient aspects of Marxism.

While Marxism's accountability in explaining all things in the universe might be good enough, the characteristics of Marxism that set it apart from other theories are that Marxism unites three aspects into one whole—science (prosaic), political ideology (dramatic), and worldview (poetic)—but it needs to be modified according to the development of situations....thus in Marxism, verifying the theory is treated lightly, and it will have no end...it is an eternal movement. Marxists do study doctrinally and academically, and then they advertise them. Scholastic attitudes are academic, but publicizing becomes propaganda of the political party. That is mixing up academism and propaganda. No human responsibility or worldview can be generated from there. Only one of the three aspects will mechanically assimilate other aspects... In short, the strength of Marxism is its biggest defect (Kuno, 1995, pp. 69-74).

These mostly non-Marxist independent thinkers worked independently and collectively. During Japan's Imperial war, no one dared to utter a word of dissent. There really were only a

few academics and intellectuals, who were not part of the vast majority of people who supported the war. Even for them, the postwar era began with a strong sense of remorse and self-criticism. Therefore, questioning the emperor system was the primary task for postwar intellectuals (Takabatake, 1977 & 1995; Sataka, 2006). Individually and collectively, many dwelled openly on their guilt and responsibility for having failed to take a principled stand against the repression and aggression of the power of the military state (Dower, 1999; Hanneman, 2007; Koschmann, 1993; Kuno, Tsurumi & Fujita, 1995; Oda, 1978; Sasaki-Uemura, 2001; Takabatake, 1977; Tsurumi, 2004 & 2009).

“*Shisō*” in Japanese is a word that loosely translates to “thought” or “philosophy” or “intellectual history,” but there is no appropriate English word for *shisō*. While *shisō* is not theory or ideology, it could be interpreted or perceived as such in Western minds. Fujita suggested that *shisō* is a complex of one’s values and behavioral attitudes toward the reality (1995, p. 219). Kuno (1995) claimed that Japanese *shisō* failed the test called “war,” and that the war not only destroyed the land but Japan’s *shisō* more profoundly. On the other hand, Maruyama Masao, a political scientist who is often regarded as the most influential intellectual figure in Japan, thought that the responsibility for the war is attributed ultimately to those who were in the power system, and not to intellectuals (Maruyama, 1976, pp. 596-599). He pointed out that the responsibilities of the two fundamental political poles—emperor and the JCP—must be debated. Maruyama asserted that abdication was the only way for the emperor to take responsibility for the war, and that the JCP, the symbol of anti-establishment, failed to organize the anti-fascism/anti-imperial struggle (Maruyama, 1976, pp. 599-602). In fact, Igarashi (2002) pointed out that Japan’s ill-fated war efforts and its consequential defeat were merely symptoms of a larger problem (p. 196).

It is no surprise that there were also huge gaps between intellectuals and the masses (Takabatake, 1977, p. 10). Ordinary people in the postwar era displayed disillusionment and a strong rejection against any kind of ‘ideology’ and ‘ism,’ including Marxism, communism, militarism, and imperialism, and *kokutai* [*Imperial national polity*] that they had been forced to believe. They held a general suspicion toward intellectuals (Dower, 1999; Koschmann, 1993 & 1996; Kuno, Tsurumi & Fujita, 1995; Oda, 1986; Takabatake, 1977; Tsurumi, 1986). For ordinary citizens, those ‘isms’ were the very sources that had destroyed everything in their ordinary lives and caused them great suffering. They were mobilized or forced into a reckless war, and witnessed their houses and families being destroyed. They clearly realized the madness and absurdity of war, or the idea of war. Thus, Japan’s relation to its past was filled with tension (Igarashi, 2000). In this kind of postwar climate, it was natural that young intellectuals eagerly explored alternative ways of thinking and different paths forward. There was space for those born in the 1930s children like Motono and Takahashi. Their skepticism towards power that they acquired at the end of the war was the greatest motivation of their activism.

The 1960 ANPO Protests

While the mobilization to protest the Japan-US Security Treaty started in late 1950s, the protest peaked in the first half of 1960. When the Diet was taking up passage of the law to ratify the treaty for another ten years, public skepticism grew by the day, and people took to the street. The major ANPO protest movement was mobilized by a coalition of the Japan Communist Party (JCP), the Japan Socialist Party (JSP), and Sohyō, which was the biggest national league of labor unions, as well as the national elected leadership of *Zengakuren* (All Japan National Student Federation) participated in the organizing coalition as the representative of student groups. By

letting the government revise ANPO, and allowing the US Forces to stay in Japan, postwar citizens feared that Japan would be under the control of the US, and that could lead to another war.

From May to June 1960, hundreds of thousands of people surrounded the Diet as a daily occurrence. While the conservative government led by the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) strongly supported the treaty, the Left felt it threatened Japanese sovereignty, and that the treaty violated Article 9 and wanted Japan to take a neutral posture independent of the United States (Steinhoff, 2016, p. 31). Students who had been receiving postwar education of democracy were the leading participants in the protest. However, the mainstream of Zengakuren was controlled by Kyōsanshugisha Dōmei [Communist League], a group formed by Zengakuren national leaders who had left and then were formally expelled from the JCP, who regarded ANPO as the first step toward revolution (Oguma, 2002, p. 505). The anti-Mainstream faction of student groups still connected to the JCP, and other groups without such affiliation also participated in the huge protests (Steinhoff, 2016, p. 31).

On May 19, 1960, while a massive number of protesters surrounded the Diet, the Kishi cabinet pushed a forced vote of the revision of ANPO at the House of Representatives by having the police cart away the socialist members who were sitting outside of the chamber and refusing to let others inside. The following day on May 20, despite the unprecedented scale of protests, the revision of ANPO was passed for another 10 years. Just before passing it, they had voted to extend the Diet for one month, and as long as they stayed in session, the law would be automatically ratified. This is when ordinary citizens joined in the protests. People collectively shouted “*Kishi wo taose!* (Oust Kishi!).” For the protesters, Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke,

once a class A war criminal, and grandfather of the current Prime Minister Abe Shinzo, was an obvious threat to Japan's Peace Constitution and democracy.

The crisis of parliamentary democracy became the main issue and progressives such as Maruyama Masao, Shimizu Ikutaro, Tsurumi Shunsuke, Kuno Osamu, and Takeuchi Yoshimi became the standard bearers of the ANPO movement (Koschmann, 1993, p. 407). For a month after this forced passage, the ANPO protests swept across Japan. The Diet building was surrounded by massive numbers of people every day. On June 15, Kamba Michiko, a female student of the University of Tokyo, who was participating in the demonstration, was crushed to death. That outraged the entire nation, especially students. When the treaty was ratified automatically, Japan erupted. Facing the huge protest, President Eisenhower who was scheduled to visit Japan canceled his trip, and Kishi resigned within a week. Kishi was the epitome of the irresponsible leader of Imperial Japan. He represented everything that the postwar culture hated—bureaucratic authoritarianism, subordination to the US, oblivion of war responsibilities, and dirtiness (Oguma, 2002, p. 511).

Nevertheless, this was the beginning of a militarized Asia-Pacific region. With the revision of 1960 ANPO, the US was set to legally maintain its military bases in Japan up to this day. The bitter experience of feeling of failure of the ANPO protests left Japanese citizens with a sense of powerlessness and incompleteness. Social movement scholars tend to evaluate the social movement from the viewpoint of either success or failure. I would argue that, in the long run, the fact that the ordinary people clearly identified the problem and spontaneously stood up against the power itself has a significant value that will be remembered regardless of success or failure. The fact that “We have done it before” or “They did it. Why don't we try?” will be a realistic reminder when such time arises. In fact, having participated in the protest, Tsurumi Shunsuke

has an insightful afterthought about the *Bund* student group who participated in the 1960 ANPO protests.

I have been alive since 1922. Takeuchi Yoshimi has been alive since the end of Meiji, and Maruyama Masao, since 1914. Having watched the past Japan, we had never seen or even imagined that such a huge and spontaneous movement would occur. So, for us, Takeuchi, Maruyama, and I were just satisfied with the fact that it happened... That's the difference between us and the young students of Bund (Communist League). When the revised ANPO was automatically approved in 1960, students said they failed because they could not stop it. On the other hand, as we did not have high expectation, we were impressed that such an unexpectedly big movement occurred in Japan. We had different opinions as for why the protests became so big. Bund students thought that it arose because their platform was supported, or because it was one step away from revolution. But when they could not stop the ANPO, they were so disappointed. In my view, Bund was not a big group. Among thousands nationwide in Bund groups, probably one hundred of them were serious activists. That one hundred students who were expelled from the JCP, rushed into political injustice, and that triggered one after another, like a chain reaction... they were pure (Tsurumi, 2004, p. 278).

This reflection of Tsusumi shows that the generation that experienced the war viewed the 1960 ANPO protests pragmatically, but younger generation evaluated the movement by its success or failure, as movement scholars often do. Steinhoff (2016), on the other hand, points out that they lost the fight, but solidified democratic institutions in the process (p. 32). Oguma (2002), a sociologist, also indicates that, the 1960 ANPO protests marked the emergence of 'citizens,' who were free of any ideology or affiliation. Oguma points out the impact of TV, the new media at the time, on the forced passage of ANPO. Because of the wedding of Crown Prince Akihito the year before in 1959, the diffusion rate of TV was reaching 30% (Oguma, 2002, p. 522). Shōda Michiko was the first commoner to marry someone who was next in line of succession to become emperor, and it was symbolic of postwar Constitution as Japan's system of nobility was abolished in 1947. This means that, by 1960, people watched the ANPO protests through TV. People's reactions to the ANPO protests were largely favorable, probably because of the shared opposition against Kishi and the protest was regarded as selfless action (Oguma, 2002, p. 530).

Interestingly, while there was support for Japan's ANPO protests from the non-Western countries, it invited laughter from the West as it was perceived as a riot in a small Asian country whose parliamentary system was immature—until it went beyond their imagination—then the laughter changed into fear and hatred, and they labeled the protest participants as Tokyo's fanatic children, and to “Remember Pearl Harbor!” (Oguma, 2002, pp. 540-542). This reaction from the West on the ANPO protests would have been called ‘racist’ in today's sense, but it was 1960 when the Third World powers were arising, and Japan was still in the postwar struggle. After these intense months of ANPO protests, Japan aggressively pursued economic development, rather than political growth, under the new Prime Minister Ikeda Hayato. While many intellectuals retreated from politics once the Kishi cabinet fell, the pragmatist-populists Kuno and Tsurumi could remain involved in various ways (Koschmann, 1993, p. 408). When Tsurumi learned that Takeuchi resigned from his position at Tokyo Metropolitan University during the ANPO protest against Prime Minister Kishi, Tsurumi also resigned from the Tokyo Institute of Technology (Tsurumi, 2004, p. 200). Later in 1970, Tsurumi once again resigned from Doshisha University to protest the school's decision to let the riot police into the campus against the students who were holding a strike.

One thing that is often overlooked in the discussion of ANPO protests is that the *Koe Naki Koe no Kai* (the Voiceless Voices), the first civic movement in Japan, emerged during this political process as Sasaki-Uemura (2001) correctly pointed out. The Voiceless Voices was founded by the members of the *Shisō no Kagaku* (Science of Thought), and these two groups played the role of indigenous organizations in the political process model, equivalent of the black leaders and organizations in the US civil rights movement for the Beheiren movement. Therefore, I will briefly introduce them.

Shisō no Kagaku (Science of Thought)

The study group *Shisō no Kagaku* (Science of Thought), which became an influential publisher, was formed by seven young intellectuals in 1946 immediately after the war was over. The idea of forming this study group originated from Tsurumi Kazuko, a sociologist and the sister of Tsurumi Shunsuke. When the Pacific War started, both Tsurumi Shunsuke and Tsurumi Kazuko were studying in the US but they returned to Japan in 1942 on the last repatriation ship. Tsurumi Shunsuke was then drafted and sent to Java as a civilian employee of the Navy. By the time Shunsuke returned to Japan at the end of 1944, his sister Kazuko, had already gathered information on the war-time intellectuals' words and deeds—who supported the war, and who did not—she then asked her brother Shunsuke to launch a small publisher and to be the editor (Tsurumi, 2009, p. 149). In addition to herself and her brother Shunsuke, Kazuko had hand-picked five founding members of the Science of Thought, including Tsuru Shigeto (economist), Taketani Mitsuo (physicist), Takeda Kiyoko (intellectual historian), Watanabe Satoshi (physicist), and Maruyama Masao (political scientist). Tsurumi Kazuko selected these individuals based on the relationships of trust in how they lived their lives during the war (Tsurumi, 2004). Taketani was Marxist, but believed it was good to have at least one journal independent of the JCP (Tsurumi, Ueno & Oguma, 2004). Other members who joined the group included Kuno Osamu and Takabatake Michitoshi. Basically, the *Shisō no Kagaku* group consisted of liberals who hoped to supplant both Marxism and German idealism with a pragmatism that was at once popular and academic (Havens, 1987, pp. 54-55).

Science of Thought started as a journal based on pluralism, and its principle was not to have only 'one color' (Tsurumi, 2004, p. 159). Unlike the Cold War liberals who plunged America headlong into Vietnam, these scholars eluded the snare of knee-jerk anticommunism

and worked instead for world peace, Japanese-American friendship without treaty commitments, and a value-free social science (Havens, 1987, p.55). The *Journal of Shisō no Kagaku*, having Tsurumi Shunsuke as the editor, attracted many postwar intellectuals, and it became one of the most influential publishers in postwar Japan. Takabatake pointed out that postwar intellectuals did not treat *shisō* merely as ideology of ‘right’ or ‘left,’ but from many different viewpoints, and they tried to take a hard look inside of each thinker, rather than his ideology alone (Takabatake, 1995, p. 352). Started as a progressive journal, Science of Thought published many important books until it discontinued in 1996, after being active for 50 years. Nearly all of the Beheiren founders and core activists were connected to Science of Thought at one time or another. Therefore, when studying the intellectual background of the Beheiren movement, it is important to see the network built through Science of Thought since the early postwar years.

Koe Naki Koe no Kai (Voiceless Voices)

There was a woman who played an important role in Japan’s civic movement by starting a small protest group in which anyone could join. Kobayashi Tomi, born in the 1930, a graduate from the Tokyo University of the Arts, taught painting to children. Kobayashi was 11 years old when she watched the sky burn fiery-red from the flames of the Great Tokyo Air Raid of March 1945 all night long over the river that separates Tokyo from Chiba where her family lived (Iwadare, 2010 & 2014). From the following days, she saw the refugees flooding to her city. As one of the children born in the 1930s, Kobayashi also experienced evacuation soon after the air raid, but she could not escape the bombing there neither.

When the ANPO protests occurred, Kobayashi wanted to participate. She was however reluctant to walk with any political groups as she had no affiliation with any political party nor

union. Above all, she did not want to walk with them. One day, Kobayashi accompanied Okamoto Taro, an avant-garde artist, to the Science of Thought office, and she joined in the group (Hayano, 2006). When Kobayashi told Tsurumi Shunsuke that she had never participated in any demonstration, Tsurumi suggested to her, “Why don’t you make your own group and go to the protest?” Kobayashi made her political debut, and participated in the ANPO protests in June 1960, along with some members from the Science of Thought, and they named their group *Koe Naki Koe no Kai* (Voiceless Voices Society) (Havens, 1987, p. 55; Sasaki-Uemura, 2001). The naming of the “Voiceless Voices” was taken from Kishi’s own words. Kishi had brushed aside the ANPO demonstrators by saying, “I think we must incline our ears to the voiceless voices.” (1987, Havens, p. 55).

Carrying signs that said, “All *Citizens! Take courage! Walk with me, and show them how we feel*” (Oguma, 2002; Sasaki-Uemura, 2001; Tsurumi, Ueno & Oguma, 2004; Tsurumi 2009), Kobayashi and Tsurumi, and a small group of ordinary citizens walked to the National Diet. She did not try to recruit others to join her in the demonstration but by the time she reached near the Diet the number of people increased to 300, and it eventually increased to almost 10,000 (Tsurumi, Ueno & Oguma, 2004, p. 276). The Voiceless Voices, Japan’s first civic movement, was born. In answering the question “Why did you participate in the ANPO protests from the standpoint of an ordinary citizen, by Iwadare Hiroshi, a journalist, Kobayashi replied.

I think there were two concerns among the people who crowded into the Diet at the time. The ruling party steamrolled the revised ANPO, and even the police force was brought in. So, one was the anger that democracy was destroyed, and we had to protect democracy. Another one was simply the fear that Japan might be involved with war again because of the revised ANPO. I had both concerns, with this alarming feeling...the possibility of having war was a matter of more grave importance to me (Iwadare, 2014).

Takabatake Michitoshi, a member of the Science of Thought and the founder of the

Beheirn, played the role of the manager in the Voiceless Voices (Tsurumi, 2009, p. 139).

The formation of the Voiceless Voices was the precursor of Beheiren.

Conclusion

This chapter presented the historical sequence that was important to understand the formation of Beheiren. The 1925 Peace Preservation Law crushed Japan's Old Left in early 1930s. Imperial Japan then dashed into a reckless war that she had no way to win. Japan's unconditional surrender on August 15, 1945 was inevitable. For some children who were 6 years old to 15 years old on the day, this was a symbolic day. They witnessed adults changing their words, beliefs and attitudes overnight. This decisively made those children who were born in the 1930s distrustful and skeptical of the power, adults who possess or support the power, for the rest of their lives.

Postwar Japan started with American occupation of Japan. While the US-Japan relations became contentious, the anarchic state of the immediate postwar provided opportunities for young activist intellectuals who did not support the war. There were not many of them. A handful of them, who knew that there was no way for Japan to win the war, were patiently waiting for the war to end. They had been preparing for the right time. Unlike the wartime intellectuals who supported the war and therefore lost credibility, those young intellectuals could immediately start expressing their thoughts by publication when the war finally ended. The Science of Thought, founded by Tsurumi Shunsuke, played a critical role to form intellectual communities in postwar Japan. From this newly formed community, the Voiceless Voices, emerged during the massive ANPO protests in 1960. Beheiren, bearing the legacy of the 1960 ANPO protests, the

Science of Thought and the Voiceless Voices, was launched five years later in 1965. The key actors of Beheiren were those who were born in the 1930s and were children when the war ended in 1945. This was my first finding in this study.

CHAPTER 3

LAUNCHING BEHEIREN

We, the Japanese were on the side of the killing of the Vietnamese people. As this recognition grew, I clearly understood our past. Vietnam was moral and logical issue for me (Oda Makoto)

The Vietnam War was an undeclared war. The US bombing campaign to North Vietnam in February 1965 triggered Takabatake Michitoshi, a professor of political science at the Rikkyo University at the time, to launch a movement to oppose the bombing. Born in 1933, Takabatake was one of those children who was born in the 1930s. He consulted his older friends Tsurumi Shunsuke (born in 1922), a philosopher, then a professor of journalism at the Doshisha University, and Kuno Osamu (born in 1910), also a philosopher. Three of them had already known each other through the Science of Thought and the Voiceless Voices. They wanted a new movement as the Voiceless Voices style—independent of any political affiliation or ideology. They agreed that the traditional top-down organizations such as the Japan Communist Party (JCP) and the Japan Socialist Party (JSP), would not work for their purpose.

As a reaction to the Old Left's hierarchical structure, they wanted to make a new movement that was individual, voluntary and horizontal (Kuno & Oda, 1998, p. 490; Tsurumi, Ueno, & Oguma, 2004, p. 361). This group of intellectuals had learned their hard lessons from the traditional top-down system of the Old Left, so they wanted someone from a younger generation, independent from the JCP and the JSP, and someone who did not take the leadership roles during the 1960 ANPO protests to lead the grassroots antiwar movement (Kuno & Oda, 1998, p. 486; Tsurumi, Ueno & Oguma, 2004, p. pp. 360-361). Tsurumi came up with the idea to

recruit Oda Makoto, the young bestselling author of *Nandemo Miteyarō* [I'm gonna look at everything], the travelogue that Oda made after his study at Harvard University as a Fulbright scholar, which contributed to the backpacker boom in Japan. Oda did not participate in the ANPO protests because he caught malaria during this trip and was lying in bed during the ANPO protests. These facts made Oda a perfect candidate for Tsurumi, Takabatake, and Kuno. They believed that Oda would be a good person to lead the new movement. Kuno (1998) recalled.

Tsurumi was interested in Oda after he read Oda's bestseller book, *Nandemo Miteyarō*, but he didn't know him personally. I had heard about Oda as an interesting guy from my young friends who lived with Oda at the time...Oda had just returned from the US, wrote a book, went to Korea, and didn't particularly do anything political. When I met him at the insistence of my friends, Oda was such an attractive person, a guy that you would be unlikely to meet in academia. We all thought Oda would be the most suitable guy for a self-starting civic movement, and no one opposed it (p. 486).

Tsurumi then gave Oda a call. He was impressed with his quick response.

I called him. He was in Nishinomiya (near Kobe). Within just a few minutes, despite a call from a stranger, Oda said, "Let's do it!" He told me he would come to Tokyo, so let's meet at the fruit parlor in Shinbashi station. When we met him, he had already prepared a simple appeal that people could easily relate with...A common feeling that we don't want to be killed and we don't want to kill...a really common feeling (Tsurumi, 2010).

This appeal that Oda wrote on the train to Tokyo was used as fliers calling for the first demonstration of Beheiren.

We are ordinary citizens. Ordinary citizen means, office workers, elementary school teachers, newspaper reporters, florists, people who write novels, and boys learning English. That is, it's you who is reading this leaflet. All that we want to say is "Peace in Vietnam!" (Beheiren Nyūsu #1, 1965, p.1).

Responding to Oda's call, a total of 1,500 people took to the street on April 24, 1965. They walked to the American Embassy in Tokyo, and to the residence of Prime Minister, Kishi Nobusuke. The Voiceless Voices also joined. Kobaysahi Tomi recalled how a group of 40 people ended up with 1,500.

About 40 of us gathered in the Shimizudani Park. There was a yellow Beheiren banner. The cleaning shop owner brought a banner that said, “*Koe naki koe no kai [Voiceless Voices]*.” Takabatake also prepared a big banner that said, “Citizen’s demonstration. Anyone can join. Peace in Vietnam!” As we walked, men and women after work, housewives with grocery bags, children and elderly people joined us...I think it was because there had been no space for ordinary people to express their feelings. When I looked back, I saw various colors of banners and balloons. I think the passers-by were also angry at America’s bombing campaign in North Vietnam. Many people joined us, I think because the atmosphere of our demonstration was calm and loose, so it was easy for people to casually join. At the end, it swelled to a total of 1,500. Oda Makoto handed his fliers to the passers-by and to everyone who walked with us (Kobayashi, 1969, pp. 180-181).

This is how Beheiren was born. After this first demonstration, Shimizudani Park, half an hour walking distance from the Imperial Palace in Tokyo, became the starting point of Beheiren’s monthly demonstration. Writers, philosophers, mathematicians, scientists, professors, artists, musicians, filmmakers, and TV producers, joined. Many of them already had transnational networks. In fact, Tarrow (2005) suggests that scientists are a prime example of “rooted cosmopolitans” as they owe their training, resources, and primary opportunities to their roles in our society, but their membership in international professional societies and their devotion to the universal values of science provide them with perspectives and professional ties that bring them close to colleagues abroad, even at the height of the Cold War (p. 195). Likewise, artists and musicians could easily be rooted cosmopolitans.

The upbringings and experiences of Tsurumi Shunsuke and his family members and Oda produced a synergy effect and contributed to the extension of the already existing transnational civic network in Beheiren. As Keck and Sikkink (1998) suggest, setting aside domestic and international differences, the network concept travels well because it stresses fluid and open relations among committed and knowledgeable actors working in specialized issue areas (p. 8). This description seems to fit Beheiren as well. When there was no Internet or cell phone, unlike today, Beheiren’s loose nature fit well into the transnational antiwar network in the

counterculture era of the 1960s. Beheiren was, in a sense, started by rooted cosmopolitans, who already had transnational networks. College and high school students and thousands of ordinary citizens joined into this mix, that would later change their lives. They created regional Beheiren groups across towns, cities, and campuses. It was the biggest and the first antiwar movement in Japan's history (Havens, 1987, p. 6 & 261).

Three-Head Leadership

The idea of launching a new movement that opposed the war in Vietnam was suggested by Takabatake Michitoshi, and many prominent figures from diverse fields joined in the project. Countless ordinary citizens and students also joined, and they formed the style, direction and culture of Beheiren. Anyone, regardless of their name recognition, was free to speak and write what they think. They were independent thinkers. Because of its operational style, Beheiren was often said to be a 'leaderless' movement. Yet, based on my research, it was clear to me that Beheiren had three beloved leaders: Tsurumi Shunsuke, Oda Makoto, and Yoshikawa Yūichi. Sekiya, who was involved in various aspects of the movement and the co-editor of the 1998 collection *Tonari ni dassōhei ga ita jidai* confirmed this three-head leadership style.

Yes, Beheiren was operated by these three figures. A three-head system. With the out-of-ordinary capacities of Oda and Tsurumi, the movement functioned. Tsurumi was highly respected and was influential in a different way from that of Oda. He really understood human psychology and could read the future. Yoshikawa was like a super-capable top bureaucrat who was good at everything and could manage and carry out anything... Yoshikawa's organizational skill was unmatched. Although most of the decisions were made by each regional individual and group, when something unexpected or big issues came up, the advice from at least one of the three was sought (Sekiya, 2016, personal interview).

I have already mentioned and quoted Tsurumi, Oda, and Yoshikawa, in the previous narrative and their names will appear hereafter as well. All three of them have passed away, but the former activists I interviewed kept talking about them respectfully, and they all agreed that

these three were the most influential figures of Beheiren. McAdam (1982) stressed the importance of leaders or organizers to generate of social insurgency, and that the established leaders are among the first to join a new movement by virtue of their central position within the communities (p. 47). As the impact of these three leaders of Beheiren on individual activists and overall movement was significant up to this day, introducing them upfront as central figures seems critical to understanding Beheiren. Each of them had multifaced capacity of its own.

Tsurumi Shunsuke (1922-2015)

Understanding Tsurumi Shunsuke, a gentle-mannered philosopher, is a complicated task. Suzuki Masaho (2016), a former student activist of Beheiren and the current Kyoto councilman, described Tsurumi in one word—Gandalf—a wizard character from Tolkien’s novels *The Hobbit and The Lord of the Rings* (personal interview). Born as a member of the well-established family in Japan, Tsurumi Shunsuke had a complex childhood. His maternal grandfather was Goto Shinpei, who filled various Cabinet posts, and was the first President of the Manchuria Railroad Company during the time Japan colonized Manchuria. His father was Tsurumi Yūsuke, the former Minister of Public Welfare, whom Tsurumi was critical of as a brilliant student of ‘Number 1 disease,’ who always needed to be Number 1, who wanted to be Prime Minister. Tsurumi particularly criticized his father’s *tenko* (ideological conversion) from liberal to ultra-nationalist and his support of the war. Tsurumi is also a relative of Sano Manabu, the most influential figure of Japan’s prewar Old Left who co-authored the *tenko* statement that I introduced in chapter two. Sano Manabu’s nephew, and Tsurumi’s cousin is Sano Seki, a social activist and theatric producer who lived in exile in Mexico after being deported from the Soviet Union.

According to Ono Nobuyuki, a lawyer who worked with Beheiren to defend American deserters, Tsurumi always wanted to be arrested if possible, but police never arrested him as they knew if they arrested him, it would have been big news because his family name was too big in the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), Japan's dominant power (Ono, 2016, personal interview). Tsurumi also stated in many occasions that conflict with his unusually strict mother made his childhood so miserable, and he eventually became a delinquent. Although he had read a tremendous amount of books by the end of the elementary school, Tsurumi was only an elementary-graduate in Japan. Worried, his father sent him to the US in 1938, where he began to study seriously, and was accepted to study at Harvard University. As I described in the previous chapter, after the Pearl Harbor Attack, he and his sister Kazuko who was also studying at Columbia University, returned to Japan in the last repatriation ship in 1942. Sekiya Keiko, Sekiya's wife who took care of Tsurumi Shunsuke in his last days, recalled.

When he knew Japan would lose, he was physically in the winning side (the US). But he wanted to be in the losing side (Japan)...Tsurumi always said "I want to be among the losing side when we lose..." I think it was the aesthetic that Tsurumi possessed...he always preferred to be away from the center of power. He always said that it was best to see things from the losing side because we could not see things if we were in the center...it was his aesthetic (Sekiya Keiko, 2016, personal interview).

This describes his life. This is also a noteworthy account because when Tsurumi returned to Japan in 1942, Japan was still fighting hard in the war, believing in her victory, but then a 20 years old Tsurumi already recognized at that point that there was no way that Japan would win and he "wanted to be in the "losing side." Although it was clear to certain people that Japan would lose, this was the time that expressing that Japan would lose was risky behavior worth being sent to jail.

Right after they returned to Japan in 1942, Tsurumi received a physical examination for

the draft. Already having antiwar sentiment and knowing that Japan would lose, he enlisted in the Navy as a civilian employee, and was sent to Java to serve as an interpreter. Tsurumi described his days in Navy as “*Every day was horrible*” (2004, p. 52). As a civilian employee, he did not have a gun, and suicide was not even an option. He stole opium to commit suicide in case he was placed in a position where he needed to kill someone, and he didn’t want to, but the problem was he did not know what the lethal dose was (Tsurumi, 2004, p. 52). Eventually his caries (tuberculous osteitis) became worse, and he was sent back to Japan in 1944.

When Tsurumi started his new life as a founder and chief-editor of the *Science of Thought* journal, he and his sister Kazuko played significant roles in forming intellectual networks in the immediate postwar era that generated critical discourse. Tsurumi also started his professorship at Kyoto University in 1948, then moved to Tokyo Institute of Technology in 1954, and then to Doshisha University in 1961. He quit Tokyo Institute of Technology to protest Kishi during the ANPO protests and again quit Doshisha University in protest of police violence against the students in 1970 as described in the previous chapter.

According to Tsurumi, his childhood fondness for Pyotr Kropotkin since age 15 was very influential to his thinking (Tsurumi, 2004, p. 134, 149, 186). Besides Kropotkin, individuals who influenced him in the US, include Alfred Whitehead, Bertrand Russell, Willard Quine, Tsuru Shigeto (whom Tsurumi later invited to join the *Science of Thought* group), William James, and particularly, Charles Peirce (Tsurumi, 2004 & 2009). At Harvard, he learned semiotics, linguistic philosophy, and pragmatism. Ono (2016) pointed out that in relations with “America,” if ANPO was one point of contact between Japan and America, another point of contact was Tsurumi Shunsuke (personal interview).

Tsurumi's position toward Marxism was clear. He saw feudalism and patriarchy as the foundation of Marxism. Yet, Tsurumi describes himself as anti-anti-Marxist. Having been a fan of Kropotkin, Tsurumi learned how Marx monopolized power. As a result, he did not 'need' to become a Marxist, yet he opposed those who opposed Marxism (Tsurumi, 2004, p. 149; Tsurumi, 2009, pp. 122-123). Tsurumi however differentiates Karl Marx himself from Marxism.

Marx proved himself as a great philosopher in *Das Kapital*, but to me, Marxism was like a religion in which justice and power are merged...Marxism is the ideology of "you are wrong. I am right." So, mistakes will not become energy. The power of thought comes when we slap our knees as we realize "oh, I was wrong!" (Tsurumi, 2004, p.121).

In regard to the emergence of deserters, Tsurumi (2009) admitted that they were not prepared for that scenario but thanked Peirce's pragmatism in moving forward.

We were not prepared at all despite handing out the fliers to GIs and putting up fliers in cafés or bars in Yokosuka, to encourage GIs to desert. No one thought it would happen...but it happened. It was a surprise...so as for deserters, both Oda and I made a wrong forecast. To begin with, Beheiren is fallibilism. The term fallibilism was created by Charles Peirce, one of the founders of pragmatism. We get energy by making mistakes, and then move forward (p. 121).

Besides publishing numerous books in diverse fields, Tsurumi was also a dedicated activist.

Even after his death in 2015, everyone I interviewed shared stories of Tsurumi. He left a lasting impression particularly on then young Beheiren activists. What kind of activist was Tsurumi Shunsuke? They agreed that Tsurumi was not the kind of person who would push himself to the forefront. He would stay away from power. He was not interested at all in obtaining power or playing the power game. This is very different from the image of a leader of social movement in Japan, who would agitate loudly on the streets, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, and engage in power struggles. They also agreed that Tsurumi was amused with anything, and enjoyed everything, especially when he was talking with young people. Those who were students at the time all said that Tsurumi was good at praising them, and they really treasured their interaction

with him. It was during the particularly tumultuous period when the radical New Left student revolt occurred across Japan. Iwase Jōko, a former supporter of Beheiren, and now a writer of children's literature, fondly recalled of Tsurumi.

There is probably no scholar who was so loved by young people...He praised everything and everyone...He was the opposite of regular adults...he believed that it was young people who should have opinions...he once told me, "You know, the soles that we stand on are so small" (Iwase, 2016, personal interview).

According to Watanabe Takesato (2017), a professor emeritus at Doshisha University, who was one of Tsurumi's last students at Doshisha, upon resigning from the school, Tsurumi told the school, "*I cannot stay in the school that let riot police into the school to repress students*" (2017, personal communication). Apparently, Tsurumi was very critical of people in power and the establishment, but kind with ordinary citizens. Tsurumi explains why.

I do criticize intellectuals, but I'm not equal to the task of lecturing ordinary people. I am a skeptic in the first place and have no universal ethics. I would only say, "I'm thinking to live this way, and I have lived this way." That's all (Tsurumi, 2004, p. 358).

Watanabe revealed that he was one of Tsurumi's students who had sheltered American deserters. Eric Seitz, a civil rights lawyer in Hawai'i, who worked with Beheiren in early 1970s told me about Beheiren's leadership this way.

The leadership of Beheiren was phenomenal...such a high quality of leadership. They were philosophical people. Tsurumi was the one I worked with most closely. I was in constant contact with him. It was delightful...I don't know what to tell you...I was just so impressed. Tsurumi was very approachable, very interested in everything we were doing, easy to talk to, extremely principled, I don't know what to tell you...it was terrific...I was very lucky (Seitz, 2016).

It should be noted that Tsurumi's cousin, Tsurumi Yoshiyuki (1926-1994), an anthropologist and Asian Studies scholar, was also deeply involved in Beheiren, and was an influential figure, especially in the Tokyo area. He was born in Los Angeles as a son of Tsurumi Ken, a diplomat. Tsurumi Yoshiyuki worked at the International House of Japan from 1955 to

1986. A few Beheiren activists whom I interviewed in Tokyo talked more about Tsurumi Yoshiyuki than about Tsurumi Shunsuke. It probably is because Shunsuke's base was in Kyoto, whereas Yoshiyuki lived in Tokyo. According to my interviewees, Tsurumi Kazuko, Tsusumi Shunsuke's sister, a sociologist and the professor of Jōchi University at the time, had also sheltered American deserters. The Tsurumi family was a good example of Tarrow's rooted cosmopolitans. Their primary ties were domestic, but they were part of the complex international society from an early age.

Oda Makoto (1932-2007)

Recruited to lead the new movement, Oda Makoto indeed played a central role in the Beheiren movement. He was a born activist, and also fits the definition of Tarrow's rooted cosmopolitans. He brought new ideas, information, networks, and what was going on from all over the world as he was constantly travelling around the world at the time there was no Internet or cellphone; what Oda brought from all over Japan and the world had direct impact on the newly formed movement and its participants. He was especially aware of what antiwar activists in the US were doing and building networks with them. Therefore, from early on, Beheiren was capable of holding major antiwar events simultaneously with their American counterparts. As an activist intellectual, Oda constantly published and was a good public speaker. I have heard Oda speaking on the streets several times since childhood. Always talking in his native Osaka dialect anywhere he spoke, what he talked about was original and inspiring, with a pinch of eccentricity, even to a child. Tsurumi, who recruited Oda, expressed his encounter with Oda this way.

Walking on the beach, there was a bottle. From curiosity, I opened the cap, then clouds of smoke billowed from the bottle, and a giant appeared...Oda exceeded my expectation in all aspects...then that giant really used me physically and financially...He would tell me, "Go lecture here and there," "Do demonstration here and there," and so on. I ended up spending more

than 60% of my income every year (on Beheiren)...but Oda himself worked hard...and I was the one who recruited him...and because Takabatake left for Yale University soon, I was the only one left who pulled him in...so I couldn't just leave. Oda really had excellent capacity for impromptu actions (Tsurumi, 2004, pp. 361-362).

Sekiya, who worked closely with Oda and Tsurumi, expressed Oda's unique leadership style this way.

I would say that Oda was almost too creative (laugh). He was a "what is common sense?" kind of guy. Going his own way, speaking his mind, and not really caring what others say or do. He attracted people with his eloquent speech. Tsurumi Shunsuke used to say that it was a miracle that someone like Oda came from the University of Tokyo, and that neither the University of Tokyo nor Harvard could squeeze him into a mold. Oda would come late in the meeting, and turn over the debate, but what he would say was amazing...Oda was carrying writing papers with him all the time, and whenever he found a little time, he was writing...anywhere he went. Both Oda and Tsurumi had no baggage. They had no organization behind them...just an individual (Sekiya, 2016, personal interview).

Oda Makoto, a novelist, social critic, Greek scholar, a pioneer backpacker, and a controversial magnet of activism, entered naturally into the turmoil of the global sixties. A few years older than Takahashi and Motono, whom I introduced in Chapter 2, Oda Makoto also belonged to the 1930s generation. He was 13 years old at the time of Japan's surrender. Like many in this generation, air raids and other war related experiences during his childhood served as the prototype of the development of Oda's thinking toward war.

For me, the war ended on August 14. Osaka, where I lived, experienced the largest air raid, on the very day that Japan accepted the Potsdam Declaration. Until the last day, and within one week of the A-bomb to Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the US dropped one-ton bombs that were the most destructive force next to the A-bomb, all over Osaka. When I came out of the shoddy bomb-shelter, I picked up one flier that said, "Your government surrendered. War is over." I didn't believe it, but 20 hours later, the broadcast of the emperor's announcement confirmed the fact. This was my August 15. When the war was already over, why did this destruction and massacre have to be done? Why did people need to be killed? That was my August 14 with my anger toward the senseless death (Oda, 1999).

Having witnessed his seniors' *tenko* (ideological conversion) swing from emperor ideology to democracy endowed Oda with a healthy skepticism towards anything orthodox

(Rosenbaum, 2005, p. 142), just as it did for Takahashi and Motono. Throughout his life, Oda often posed fundamental and rarely asked questions, primarily about inequality and injustice, including Japan's imperial colonialism and discrimination against minority and indigenous populations that exist in Japan. In my observation, there was not a single time that Oda carried favor with either the authorities or with the public. He was a fiercely independent thinker and speaker.

Oda was not only a bestselling author but also a Greek scholar who stands on the original meaning of *demos* (people) and *kratos* (power) from Athens.

The original form of civic society is demonstration. Normally people try to solve their problems through their professions, but when they realize that doesn't work, they get together in some open space, and shout, "Enough!" then start walking together. There are no name-card exchanges. You just take to the streets, walk with strangers, maybe take some risks but they share the same will. That is civil society (Oda, 1995).

He applied this Greek democracy to Beheiren. Although he had already published two novels before he went to Harvard, it was his *Nandemo mite yarō* [*I'm gonna look at it all*], a bestseller travelogue published in 1961 that established Oda as a writer. Just as Tocqueville did, Oda candidly expressed his impression of 'democracy in America.' Rosenbaum (2005) points out that this book formed one of the ideological bases for the later part of the tumultuous sixties (p. 146). In fact, asked by Oguma Eiji what Tsurumi thought of the opening of Beheiren, Tsurumi replied.

"Hmmm...If I venture to say, the sense of expanse in Oda's *Nandemo mite yarō* did not make the Vietnam War as somebody else's business...Oda was a Japanese who didn't have a colony...He was not the kind of person who fawned on America and Europe but bossed around Asia...and it was displayed in *Nandemo mite yarō* (Tsurumi, 2004, p. 359).

Although some wording is outdated, *Nandemo mite yarō* is still relevant today. Traveling in dozens of countries from the US, Mexico, Europe, Middle East to India in late 1950s to early

1960 after his days at Harvard, Oda critically talks about serious issues, but one cannot read it without burst into laughter at times. Running into 32 editions in 2008, the book has three afterword. In “Afterword 3” that he wrote in 1971, Oda revealed.

My Beheiren activities are clearly connected to Nandemo mite yarō. If I didn’t make that “I’m gonna look at it all” trip, I would not have started the antiwar movement” (Oda, 2010, p. 457).

This implies that along with his war experience as a child, his backpacking travels abroad, that included sleeping on the streets of Calcutta (now Kolkata), were an important factor in his leading the Beheiren movement five years later. In fact, various people whom Oda met during this trip contributed to Beheiren’s transnational activism.

Genba [the actual location or scene] is a key word to understand Oda. In Japanese, *genba* is used as “the scene of crime or event on the ground.” According to Oda (1986), time is carved in *genba*, and in *genba*, people feel present in connection with the past and future. For example, the bus in Montgomery in 1955 was the *genba*. A black woman created *genba* all by herself, just by sitting down in the “white-only” seat in the bus (Oda, 1986, p. 22). On the other hand, in the ordinary ‘*ba*’ [daily life space], as opposed to non-daily *genba*, the pyramid of social strata exists, but ‘*genba*,’ is a pyramid that becomes flat where people see equality (Oda, 1986, p. 41). Nowhere else did Oda experienced *genba* more than during the war as a teenager.

The first time I was conscious of the existence of *genba* was in the bomb shelter during the war. I still vividly remember the color of the mud wall of the shelter. That was the ‘*genba*’ which was certainly different from ‘*ba*’ [the daily life space]. Seeing the world through the eye of ‘*genba*’ or ‘*ba*’ depends on where you stand. For example, black people in (apartheid era) South Africa will see the world through the viewpoints of *genba* because they are forced to live in *genba*. Likewise, I was unmistakably in the *genba* of the war where the next day was the *genba* of charred bodies... bodies of those who were not allowed to die as human beings. It was in this *genba* that I started to think about ways of death for human beings, and I later wrote a book titled “*Nanshi no shisō* [thought of difficult death]”...Marx tried to think of the world through the eyes of *genba*. You get to think that way, but it is fundamentally different from seeing the *genba* that is full of contradictions and problems where we confront, and desperately form our actions...In *genba*, we cut the Möbius strip by constantly making decisions, and act in every moment...on the other

hand, there are so many people who do nothing after reading Marx. My question was how to deal with the *genba* that suddenly surged toward me, and why I tried to deal with it (Oda, 1986, pp. 2-30).

Oda consistently saw the world from his '*genba*' viewpoint—in Lebanon, in South Africa, in Vietnam, in former Eastern Europe, in the former Soviet Union regions, and anywhere else—he further developed his thinking. Among many struggles for liberation in which he took part, Palestine was the one he found the most congenial. For Oda, a civic movement was the accumulation of each citizen who is willing to take part in '*genba*' while settling down in '*ba*' in his daily life at the same time. This is different from revolutionary movements, which aim to change '*ba*' to a more desirable one by creating '*genba*' based on ideology or some 'ism.' In the case of civic movements, '*genba*' appears to our daily life. That *genba* is, in a sense, against universal reason. So, instead of trying to avoid seeing it, or suffering in silence, we take the '*genba*' as a problem of our society at large, and act on solving the problem. (Oda, 1986, p. 119).

It appeared that interacting with young American soldiers through his Beheiren activities gave Oda an opportunity to develop and sharpen his theory of victim=victimizer. For Oda, the soldier was a 'victim' in a sense that he was forced to go to Vietnam as a 'soldier' by the power called the 'state.' But what the soldier would do in Vietnam was kill Vietnamese people, directly or indirectly. The structure here is the mechanism of "victim = victimizer," in which the soldier was victimizer precisely because he was the victim, not that he was the victimizer 'despite' that he was the victim. In this structure, Oda (1986) saw the essence of the pyramid of '*ba* [daily life space]' which was formed by the powerful and supported by the less powerful (p. 134). The big pyramid of '*ba*' overpowers small countries and ethnic groups and creates the "victim=victimizer" mechanism (p. 136). In times of war, the state compels individuals to fight.

As the individual soldier fires the shot which knocks over the enemy, he stands as victim in relation to the state, and victimizer in relation to the enemy—This is the pure and simple logic of war (Oda, 1978, p. 160). Among the Beheiren activists, this is a well-discussed theory of “victim=victimizer.”

Oda stressed that cutting this mechanism of “victim=victimizer,” is to reject ‘killing and being killed, and that is ultimately to reject ‘oppressing and being oppressed.’ Oda suggests that this will be achieved, not by the words, but by acting collectively and standing in the killer’s way, saying “Do not kill!” (Oda, 1986, p. 148). This is similar to Gene Sharp’s theory of power. This thinking also led Oda to create the philosophy of “*ware=ware*.” *Ware* in Japanese means “I” while *warera* means “we.” According to Oda, Beheiren was a “*ware=ware* [I=I]” movement, not “*warera* [we]” movement.

Japanese people like “*warera* [we].” But when *ware* [I] and *ware* [I] connect, it becomes “*ware=ware* [I=I]” then it grows to “*ware=ware=ware* [I=I=I]” then to “*ware=ware=ware=ware* [I=I=I=I]” and goes on. I think that’s the way civil society should be. The student movement was “*warera* [we]” movement. But “*warera*” won’t coexist with the diverse values of what the “*ware=ware* [I=I]” model offers...International solidarity lies on the extension of “*ware=ware* [I=I],” not on the link between organizations. Beheiren was formed as an alliance that “*ware=ware*” gathered...The American deserters quite naturally entered into Beheiren’s “*ware=ware*” world. “Quit alone” was deserters’ logic. If you don’t agree, you quit. You don’t participate. Beheiren’s idea was “Start alone.” Throughout the Beheiren movement, I had never forced people to do something. I just said “I’ll do this and that. What would you do?” (Kuno & Oda, 1998, pp.485-488).

No wonder that Beheiren was designed to be an individual based movement. While the framework of the “individual vs. state” repeatedly surfaced in Beheiren, Oda indicates that Greek classics were on his mind throughout his adult life. Oda’s examination of democracy—*demos* (people) + *kratos* (power) from Athens—served as one of his foundational sources. He started to translate his version of *The Iliad* in 2002 but passed away in 2007 before its completion. Oda pointed out that, “people’s power” was the most accurate translation of democracy (Tsurumi &

Oda, 2011, p. 87). Oda also asserted that it was important to remember that ancient Rome and Greece were different, and that if you attempted the same sort of democracy in Rome, you could be killed. Oda pointed out that, in *The Iliad*, it was repeatedly suggested that there was no such thing as ‘justice.’

When I first read *The Iliad*, I was shocked as one of ‘demos’... There, demos are killed by participating in war, but Agamemnon was unhurt. It is the same as the emperor system. The emperor was uninjured. Small people were killed...and, while Socrates ultimately took poison as ordered by the ‘state,’ here is Alcibiades, who faced the death penalty for refusing to be a General, and then fled to Sparta. When he was questioned upon returning to Athens, Alcibiades answered, “The state must love me just as I love the state.” This is interesting. Alcibiades is saying that the ‘state’ and ‘I’ are equal, and that if the state tries to give me the death penalty, it is OK for ‘me’ to leave the state. This is a great theory that we should all learn from (Tsurumi & Oda, 2011, p. 102).

Oda’s summary of democracy from *The Iliad* is, first, demos (people) will be killed; second, people will beat you if you resist; third, when demos finally get power (kratos), they will engage in acts of folly; so, live in the mind-set that the state and the citizen are equal (Tsurumi & Oda, 2011, p. 112). In other words, you can leave or change your mind, or renounce the ‘state’ that kills people and does not treat the citizens equally—that is the bottom line of Oda’s interpretation of Greek democracy.

Oda also uses the example of Daniel Berrigan, an American Catholic priest activist during the Vietnam War, who publicly declared, “*This is wrong! The evil of Socrates was, that he showed that people needed to obey the state. This is one of the harmful effects Socrates spread around the world. It is OK to reject a wrong law. Socrates was wrong!*” Berrigan traveled from place to place, with the help of Howard Zinn (Tsurumi & Oda, 2011, p. 113). Oda (2011) suggested that we must think exhaustively that Socrates was not always right, and people were not always right, and therefore, we need to have our own sound judgment, otherwise we will be in trouble (p. 113). This echoes Tsurumi’s point that Beheiren was fallibilism, that making

mistakes was totally acceptable. Both the Tsurumi family and Oda had abundant experiences with transnational actors and networks, as did other founding actors of Beheiren. This element certainly made Beheiren transnational from the beginning. The youngest of the three leaders, Oda passed away in July 30, 2007.

Yoshikawa Yūichi (1931-2015)

Going through the archives and interviews, it was clear that Beheiren could not have fully operated without Yoshikawa Yūichi. Having Yoshikawa as a practical operational administrator made Beheiren functional. Sekiya (2016) confirmed this for me, “*Yoshikawa was a person who was capable of dealing with everything. And his organizational skill was unmatched*” (2016, personal interview). “A capable man,” is what I heard about Yoshikawa from all the former activists I met. Yoshikawa was the ‘professional’ civic activist, and the first person in Japan who lived the lifestyle of civic movement (Takakusagi, 2016, p. 20). Tsurumi (2004) reflected of Oda and Yoshikawa as an excellent combination, because while Oda was making money, lecturing and writing, he was not at all good at accounting—Beheiren functioned because of this exquisite pair of Oda and Yoshikawa (p. 375)—no one in Beheiren will disagree with it.

Yoshikawa joined the Japan Communist Party (JCP) when he entered the University of Tokyo in 1951 and became the chairman of the student council. Then Popolo incident occurred on campus in 1952, which took until 1973 to finally be settled by the Supreme Court (Takazawa, Sanaga & Matsumura, 1985, p. 262; Yoshikawa, 2011, p. 41). When the student theatrical group, Popolo, was performing on campus, students found four plain-clothes police, whom they knew had been spying on them. Students confronted the policemen and took their IDs and found the memos showing that not only students, but also certain professors were spied on, with detailed descriptions such as when and whom they met and what they talked about (Takahashi, 2015, pp.

25-26; Takazawa, Sanaga & Matsumura, 1985, p. 262; Yoshikawa, 2011, p. 41). Students published the memo nationwide, then the riot police entered the campus a few days later and arrested two students. This became a political uproar because of the debate raised about self-governance of university and the violation of academic freedom (Takazawa, Sanaga & Matsumura, 1985, p. 262; Yoshikawa, 2011, p. 41). Yoshikawa as the chairman of the student council testified along with the president of the University of Tokyo and his fellow students at the Diet in March 1952 (Takahashi, 2015, p. 26; Yoshikawa, 2011, p. 41). Takahashi, four years younger than Yoshikawa, recalled the incident and what followed.

Yoshikawa was a well-known figure since my high school years. Because there was no TV, it was after I entered the university when I saw him. In April in the same year, there was an all campus strike protesting against the San Francisco Peace Treaty and ANPO, and Yoshikawa was expelled from school because of the allegation that he led the strike (Takahashi, 2015, p. 26).

Yoshikawa himself put the incidents this way.

For the Popolo incident, the University and the student council stood against the police in solidarity. So professors and students were allies. Right after the incident, the San Francisco Peace Treaty and ANPO came into effect on April 28, 1952. This was the day Okinawa was separated from Japan. On the same day, a student strike against both treaties was staged based on a resolution of the student council. Since I was the chairman, I was expelled from school (Yoshikawa, 2011, pp. 42-43).

He seems to be trained to be expelled. Yoshikawa was also a member of the Japan Peace Committee. After the US conducted hydrogen bomb tests in the Pacific Ocean near Bikini atoll in the Marshall Islands on March 1, 1954 and twenty-three Japanese fishermen were exposed to radiation, the movement to ban atomic bombs and hydrogen bombs intensified. The International Conference to Ban-Nuclear Weapons was held in Hiroshima in 1955. However, Japan's Anti-nuclear bomb movements had an unfortunate history because of political rifts between the JCP and JSP during the Cold War, based on conflicts between China and Russia. The antagonism got

bogged deeper into the political mud. The Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (*Gensuikyō*), which was formed in 1955 eventually, split. *Gensuikyō* came under the JCP, and the JSP separately formed the Japan National Congress against A- and H-Bombs (*Gensuikin*) in 1965. During this time, no longer tolerating this political situation, Yoshikawa started to criticize the JCP despite his own role as a member, so he was expelled from the JCP in 1965. Mutō Ichiyō, an anti-establishment and antiwar political commentator and Beheiren activist, who was working at *Gensuikyō* recruited Yoshikawa to be Beheiren's secretary general. Muto thought Beheiren did not need to pay him since Yoshikawa's wife was working (Yoshikawa, 1999). As Yoshikawa had been interested in Beheiren, it worked for both sides. Yoshikawa recalled the day he met Oda for the first time at demonstration.

When Beheiren was formed, I wanted to join, but I was just expelled from the JCP, so I was hesitant. Around that time, if you were expelled from the JCP, you would be treated as if you were evil at birth...so I thought a guy like me would cause the newly formed Beheiren trouble. So I didn't go to its first demonstration in April 1965, but I walked in the rear for their second demonstration ... When I was asked to be the secretary general, I wondered, "Me? Really?" At the end of the demonstration, I talked to Oda Makoto for the first time. I told him, "*I'm such an infamous guy and the relation with the JCP may turn out bad. Will it be okay?*" Oda just told me, "*No problem, no problem! It doesn't matter. What's wrong with it? You'll help us, right? Then good, but we can't pay you, OK?*" That was it. I was surprised to find a movement like that existed. It was refreshingly surprising...going from the JCP to Beheiren was like when the curtain opens, and the screen spreads wide in the movie theater (Yoshikawa, 1999)

Feeling motivated, Yoshikawa became an integral part of Beheiren. Takakusagi (2016) points out that for the civic movement in the 1960s, feeling their way around, the presence of Yoshikawa who had organizational management know-how, and yet was capable of adapting it to a new movement with flexible thinking and ability to get things done, must have been precious (p. 20). After he was expelled from the JCP, Yoshikawa joined the *Kyōrōtō* (Communist Labor Party), but he never tried to bring his ideology into Beheiren. He knew too well what organization could do to people. Tsurumi asserted.

Having been in the JCP, Yoshikawa knew the negative side of organization to the core. He hated that the mass movement was being dragged through the political parties. He himself was the member of the *Kyōrōtō* (Communist Labor Party), which Iida Momo formed. But Yoshikawa never brought *Kyōrōtō* activities into Beheiren...as if it was his duty as a *Kyōrōtō* member to protect Beheiren from *Kyōrōtō*...that was the lesson that Yoshikawa learned from his struggle (Tsurumi, 2004, pp. 377-378).

In fact, Sekiya (2016) pointed out that there were quite few members of *Kyōrōtō* in Beheiren, who had been expelled from the JCP. They were called the “Soviet faction,” but nobody from this Old Left could control Oda and Tsurumi (Sekiya, 2016, personal interview). Tsurumi also pointed out that it was true that Yoshikawa had an acquaintance in the Soviet Embassy, but there was no truth in the rumor that Beheiren received ¥100,000 (\$278 at the rate of the time) from the KGB. That was a false charge against Beheiren by *Sankei Shimbun* (newspaper) via American intelligence (Tsurumi, 2004, p. 370). Tsurumi (2004) asserted that he and Oda had had invested tens of times more than that in Beheiren to begin with (p. 370). I think that was true because the younger Beheiren activists all said that they had received operational money from those adult activists. Yoshioka Shinobu, a non-fiction writer and currently the Director of Japan P.E.N. Club, was a freshman student at Waseda University when he joined Beheiren in the spring of 1967. He later became the chief editor of the *Beheiren Nyūsu*. He recalled his days with Yoshikawa.

Yoshikawa was an idea man. I learned a lot about practical things from him. For example, there were no computers and printers at the time when we made posters for demonstrations. Then Yoshikawa would cut a stencil out of thick paper with a message such as “Vietnam for the Vietnamese” or “Beheiren,” lay it on posterboard and spray paint it. What I learned most from Yoshikawa was the importance of doing business properly when dealing with money. We would give a receipt even for a ¥1(one cent) donation. Because accounts are the problem that many NPOs have. A civic movement will not be trusted once it has a damaged reputation on money issues. So, when I went to the Tokyo Beheiren office, he had us send the receipt for those ¥1 donation when a postcard was ¥5 or ¥10... Besides, not only that, Yoshikawa said, “Add some words to the receipt. Later, he created monthly receipts by mimeograph. He was teaching English at Yoyogi Seminar (cram school) and came to the office after his class. He was the secretary general, but he was not paid a penny from Beheiren. Of course we were all not paid a penny either. Yoshikawa was the person who created that kind of civic movement. Everything was new, and I think he was enjoying that (Yoshioka, 2016, p. 72).

While devoted to Beheiren, Yoshikawa made a living by teaching English at a cram school and doing translations. In fact, several Beheiren activists, including Oda, were teaching at the cram school. While Oda, Tsurumi and many other former Beheiren activists kept active even after their Beheiren years, Yoshikawa lived all his life as a civic activist. If there was a term, “professional activist,” it should go to Yoshikawa. He passed away on May 28, 2015, just two months before Tsurumi Shunsuke’s death. Yoshikawa was like an undiluted solution, and the sphere of ‘citizen’ that he opened up, the lifestyle as a civic movement activist, was no longer ignored (Takakusagi, 2016, p. 21). He was a rare breed. Amazingly methodical records, files and chronology of the Beheiren movement are left thanks to Yoshikawa. Many of them are now kept in the Research Center for Cooperative Civil Societies, located in Rikkyo University.

Organizational Characteristics

While the most significant characteristics of Beheiren was its transnationalism, in this section, I will focus on its organizational characteristics. Beheiren was not a traditional Japanese hierarchical organization, but a loosely formed movement with various regional Beheiren groups and local and student chapters across Japan. Tsurumi Yoshiyuki (1969), the cousin of Tsurumi Shunsuke, described Beheiren as a self-starting movement and not an organization; it did not start from ideology, but was spontaneous (p. 48). There was no main office and each Beheiren chapter was independent. Sekiya (2016) also stressed that because there was no model movement, each person had to think individually, and act accordingly (personal interview). Yoshikawa (1969) stressed that because there was no formal membership system, there was no membership fee, nor bylaw nor agreement of any kind, except the three-slogan principle, and nobody received direction or orders from anywhere (pp. 17-18). As a veteran activist who was

expelled from the JCP and other related organization, Yoshikawa fully acknowledged the benefit of a non-membership style

Because there are no ‘members,’ there are no elections. Therefore, there are no officers or directors. To be clear, my ‘secretary general’ position is nothing like an official position. I was not like an elected person, and never received a penny. I was merely one of the people who frequently stopped by the Tokyo Beheiren office, and I was relatively older. That’s all. I would also add that Beheiren never paid a penny for labor costs since it launched. This kind of organizational or non-organizational situation is very similar to the Zenkyō-tō of the University of Tokyo. Well, Beheiren came first, so I should rather say that Zenkyō-tō is similar to Beheiren style (Yoshikawa, 1969, pp. 17-18).

As this notion of ‘no membership’ is often addressed in publications written by the former activists and by my interviewees, it was obvious that they took pride in not having a membership system. I was curious about their repeated emphasis of ‘no membership’ and was looking for an acceptable term to describe the participants of Beheiren because I wanted to respect their strong feelings against the term, ‘member.’ Therefore, I asked about the term ‘member’ when I met them. Their reaction was significant. All of them, without exception, expressed some sort of discomfort or rejection with the term ‘member’ and being called a ‘member.’ They would say, “No! Not member!” or “That’s wrong!” Interestingly, it prompted a discussion among them. Despite being involved in the movement for a decade as key actors, they did not feel like they were ‘members’ of any sort. They preferred to be called someone who walked along with others or supported the cause. Some alternative terms that they came up with were impossible to translate into English. So, I decided to declare that they were all *akutibisuto*, “activist” in Japanese *katakana*. *Katakana* is used for words that came from a foreign language. I told them, “*You were not just a ‘supporter.’ You were all central actors of the movement who played significant roles. And there is term for that. We call them activists.*” I then explained that “activist” in English is not necessarily a negative term like “*katsudōka*,” which is ‘activist’ in

Japanese. So, I let them know that I would use the term ‘activist’ to describe them. They seemed to accept it. That is the reason that I do not use the term “member” in this dissertation, and instead, use the term ‘activist’ for the Beheiren participants.

The term ‘activist’ in Japanese, ‘*katsudōka*,’ comes with some negative nuance and stigma as it has been used to describe members of violent New Left student groups including the Red Army groups who had engaged in the killing of their own members or terroristic attacks including hijacking and bombing attacks, especially in the late 1960s to the early 1970s, the same period that Beheiren was active. Those ‘*katsudōka*,’ were often called ‘members.’ So, it is not uncommon for Japanese to connect the term ‘*katsudōka*’ to a ‘member’ of a dangerous group. The former Beheiren activists’ reluctance to use the term ‘member’ is understandable in the context of Japanese leftist movements. It is interesting though that *akutibisuto*, the English word ‘activists,’ seemed to be a more acceptable term than ‘member’ for them. Further, the same was true with the term ‘organization.’ All of those I interviewed stressed that Beheiren and JATEC were not ‘organizations’ but a ‘movement.’

Three-Slogan Principle

“*Beheiren was...If anyone said, ‘I’m Beheiren,’ then he/she is Beheiren,*” said Ms. Z (2016, personal interview). This was a simple revelation of what Beheiren was. According to Yoshikawa (1969), the criteria for the objective difference whether one was Beheiren or not was quite vague, but to call oneself Beheiren, at least they ought to agree with the loose non-hierarchical structure and the three slogans as certain commonality (p. 18). These slogans were used in their demonstrations as well (Beheiren Nyūsu # 32; Havens, 1987, p. 55; Yoshikawa, 1969, p.18)

- 1) Peace in Vietnam
- 2) Self-determination for the Vietnamese people
- 3) End Japan's complicity in the war

The three-slogan principle was simple yet to the point. Anyone who agreed with these three slogans was free to take part and was invited to use the name Beheiren to launch their own Beheiren groups or chapters. It was the foundation of the Beheiren movement, and because of its straightforwardness, it reached straight to the general audience. First, *Peace in Vietnam!* was what people were wishing for every day. Second, *Self-determination for the Vietnamese people* was resonated in postwar Japan, which had just started to practice democracy and constitutional rights. The third slogan, *End Japan's complicity in the war* was directly connected to the 1960 ANPO protests, and it was a message to the Japanese government, and thus effectively displayed Beheiren's position. Therefore, the three-slogan principle played a role as Beheiren's mission statement.

The slogans match what the political process model suggests: to generate a social movement, the aggrieved population must be able to "convert" a favorable "structure of political opportunities" into an organized campaign of social protest (McAdam, 1982, p. 44). Snow & Byrd (2000) also suggests that providing views and aims is important because it works as a conceptual handle in the service of the articulation process, and in turn symbolizes the larger frame of the movement (p. 130). The three-slogan principle was simple yet clear enough to reassure the activists, supporters and general audience about the feelings and opinions they already had toward the Vietnam War. They helped in promoting their aims. In fact, despite the lack of an organizational structure, or because of this loose structure, hundreds of Beheiren groups were formed nationwide. Motivation expanded as the movement progressed, and invited more participants.

Two Quirky Rules

In addition to the three-slogan principle, there were two quirky rules that were practiced at all levels of Beheiren. The two rules were very characteristic of Beheiren and were critical elements in how Beheiren operated on a daily basis.

- 1) *Idashippe no hōsoku* [the rule of the first to suggest] that translates “if you suggest something, you initiate it.”
- 2) *Deiri jiyū no hōsoku* [the rule of freedom of in and out] that translates “anyone is welcome to join us and free to quit anytime”

***Idashippe no hōsoku* [the rule of the first to suggest].** Yoshioka Shinobu, then one of young Beheiren, experienced this *Idashippe no hōsoku* first-hand from early on. When Oda Makoto brought some yellow peace buttons with antiwar slogans in 1967 from Washington D.C., Yoshioka thought they were cool, and suggested Oda to make those buttons in Japan for Beheiren. Yoshioka recalled of his experience.

Oda immediately told me, “You know what? In Beheiren, you suggest something, you do it!” Back then, I had just moved to Tokyo from Nagano prefecture to attend Waseda University. I had no idea where to start. I didn’t know what to do...then Kaiko Takeshi (writer) introduced me to Wada Makoto (Illustrator) who was then working in an advertising design company in Ginza. I showed him the peace buttons and the full-page antiwar ad that Beheiren had just posted in the Washington Post. The ad contained a powerful calligraphy by Okamoto Taro (a well-known avant-garde artist) that said “*Korosuna!* (Do not kill!).” I wanted to use that specific calligraphy. That’s how the “Korosuna” button was born. I think that was the first such button in Japan...I was also impressed with Wada wearing a pink shirt and jeans, and a Micky Mouse watch...It was cool...I bought the same Micky Mouse watch on the way back in Ginza (Yoshioka, 2016, personal interview).

This recollection of Yoshioka not only demonstrated what the “rule of the first to suggest” meant but also the Beheiren style, and what kind of people were involved in the movement. Yoshioka’s recollection also reflected the 1960s culture of postwar Japan where the influx of American culture, like metal buttons with slogans, blue jeans, pink shirts that Japanese men did not normally wear around the time, and Micky Mouse watches, began to spread in big

cities. According to Yoshioka (2016), there was not so much rock music in Japan in 1967, and at his college entrance ceremony and the first demonstration he participated, he was the only one wearing jeans (personal interview). Most interesting in this narrative is that simply suggesting making the buttons led Yoshioka, a freshman student from Nagano, unexpectedly to communicate with prominent writers and artists within the Beheiren network, and they all helped him achieve what he suggested. One could easily imagine how young Yoshioka, who had just moved to Tokyo, was exposed to the creative world of artists in Tokyo at the height of the global sixties. This experience fits within “cognitive liberation” of the political process model. The significance of existent organizations (networks in this case) for the process of movement emergence stems from the expectation that cognitive liberation is most likely to take place within established interpersonal networks (McAdam, 1982, p. 51).

Further, this “*Korosuna*” button that Yoshioka produced was a big hit. It became very popular on the streets, especially among middle and high school students, even among elementary school students as shown in the *Beheiren Nyūsu* from a fourth grader who sent ¥100 (¢28) donation to Beheiren.

I think that the Vietnam War would have been ended sooner or would not have been such a big problem if America did not meddle...I go to school putting my “*Korosuna*” button on my cap. The button is very popular at school, and everybody wants to have one (Fukutomi, 1968, p. 2).

It is surprising that this “*Korosuna*” button has continued to sell in Japan to this day. The words only changed from “Do not kill in Vietnam” to “Do not kill anywhere, anytime.” This widely-sold button is just one example of the “rule of the first to suggest.” It must have given young activists motivation, and contributed to develop their creativity and resilience, elements to be an activist.

Deiri jiyū no hōsoku [the rule of freedom of in-and-out]. Another principle, the rule of “freedom of in-and-out,” which means that anyone is welcome to join and free to quit anytime, was a significant rule in the context of both Japanese political organizations and New Left student movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s, where splitting and violent infighting were rampant. Having some veteran activists like Yoshikawa and Mutō Ichiyō, Beheiren’s key actors knew too well the problems that stems from ideological differences and restriction. Therefore, they did not care much about ideological or cultural ‘belonging,’ and accepted anyone who agreed with the three-slogan principle, and let them join and leave whenever they wanted to. If someone did not agree with Beheiren’s philosophy or activities, or someone no longer was interested in participating, they could simply leave on their own decision, and no one asked them to stay or blamed them for leaving. Those who left could also come back anytime.

This rule was crucial especially for older activists who knew the Old Left with its expectation of ideological loyalty. This was also the time of radical New Left student sects that displayed their ideological differences by the color of the helmets they wore. Those New Left students also came to Beheiren. But for them, Beheiren was too mild and not ‘revolutionary’ enough. So they would leave Beheiren to join more revolutionary movements. For this reason, there was a “Beheiren Tunnel Theory”—those wait-and-see students should go to Beheiren first and be trained a little bit; they will be unsatisfied as they see the limitation of Beheiren; then they would eventually come out of the tunnel, and there, the New Left will wait for you. (Tsurumi, Yoshiyuki, 1969, p. 91; Yoshikawa, 1999). For the New Left students of the time, Beheiren was just a passing tunnel for the next step to achieve world revolution.

Beheiren Style

Beheiren groups usually named themselves after the names of their towns, cities, university, or identity, such as Kyoto Beheiren, Shinjuku Beheiren, or Dōshisha Daigaku (Doshisha University) Beheiren. At times, there were cases of two Beheiren groups in one campus but that was totally fine, and nobody competed about which one was the original (Yoshikawa, 1969, p. 18). There were even solo Beheiren. The Gaijin (foreigners) Beheiren was formed in 1969 by Douglas Lummis who opposed ANPO and the new immigration control law (Lummis, 1969). Lummis has continued to live in Japan since then, teaching in universities and publishing books. What each Beheiren chapter would do was solely dependent on its participants.

So, because there was no membership, we actually didn't know who was in Beheiren. Only when we went to the annual national meeting that any Beheiren activist could attend from all over Japan, that's when we met other activists and got to know who was in the movement (Sekiya, 2016, personal interview).

Because Beheiren had no formal membership, they did not keep close track of what groups and individuals were acting under the Beheiren name. Unless you attend the annual national meeting, you would never know who were Beheiren in other regions, and there must be a lot more people who could not attend than people who did. It is therefore not surprising that, up to this day, no one could possibly tell exactly how many Beheiren chapters were formed. According to Sekiya (2016), after the publication of *Tonari ni dassōhei ga ita jidai* in 1998, they were contacted by people who had formed regional Beheiren groups, and Yoshikawa began tracking the number. By 2016, a total of 393 Beheiren groups were confirmed (Sekiya, 2016, personal interview).

Because of this kind of loose network, former Beheiren activists often say, “*I knew what I was doing. But I had no idea what other activists were doing.*” Therefore, no one could grasp the whole picture of Beheiren, especially its clandestine operation in which “not knowing” or “not asking” was considered best practice (Sekiya, 2016; Tomita, 2016; Washino, 2016; Ms. Z, 2016, personal interviews). Indeed, even people who were deeply involved in Beheiren did not know what other activists were doing, and no one could probably paint the full picture of Beheiren then or now (Konaka, 1998, p. 479; Saitō, 1998, p. 439; Sekiya, 1998b, p. 236; Shimada, 1998, p. 452; Tsurumi, 1998, p. 495).

Overall, because of these ambiguous characteristics that Beheiren presented, the authorities and the establishment did not seem to know where to situate Beheiren, and how to deal with them. Beheiren activists were less ideological, inclusive, transnational; their framework probably was beyond the established mindset of the time. Yoshikawa (1969) pointed out that there was nothing more nonsensical than seeking authority or power in the Beheiren movement (p 19). Both the Old Left and the New Left, and even the Right wing, who were constantly struggling for power, often criticized Beheiren as half-baked, or, as petit-bourgeois intellectuals selling indulgence, or elitists (Hanazaki, 1969, p. 179; Tsurumi, 2004, p. 343; Yoshikawa, 1969, pp. 9-10). In fact, Saishu Satoru, an environmental philosopher, who also formed the anti-Vietnam War Committee with fellow students of science at the University of Tokyo, admitted that he had certain suspicious feeling toward Beheiren.

Beheiren, like Yohikawa and Oda were a bit older...In the center of Beheiren, there were ‘gentlemen’ and ‘intelligentsia.’ We felt the term, ‘citizen,’ did not fit us...as Oda’s ‘citizen’ jumped to the citizens of Athens...citizens who don’t work, citizens who use slaves, and male-only citizens...and their rhetoric like “Citizens won’t use violence” sounded fishy, and we were like, “Where is the citizen?” (Saishu, 2011, p. 166).

Meanwhile, Yamamoto Yoshitaka, the former chair of the University of Tokyo Zenkyōtō, was also one of the members who formed the anti-Vietnam War Committee on campus. Fifty years later, however, Yamamoto (2016) pointed out that Beheiren was the only movement in Japan around the time that was transnational (public lecture).

It is interesting that Snow (2007) acknowledges the role of ambiguity in the movements and suggests that there are moments and situations in social life in which the relevance or fit of extant cultural frames is likely to be ambiguous or open to question, and it is in such contexts that the kind of interpretive work associated with collective action frames is most likely to flourish (Snow, 2007, p. 385). Oguma (2004) also pointed out that, in Beheiren's operation, there was both a go-go mood of rapid growth and a still-continuing state of anarchy of the postwar period (p. 377). The anarchic state of the chaotic postwar Japan should not be underestimated. It was this anarchic state that allowed young intellectuals to come out. The characterization of Beheiren by Fujieda Reiko, who was recruited by Yoshikawa for her English proficiency in assisting American deserters, is telling.

I have learned a lot through Beheiren. They made my life rich. It has not all been fun but they indeed were groups of versatile and colorful individuals. I am grateful that I could spend a certain period of my life with those exciting and dramatic groups. They were not regimented but distinguishingly amorphous" (Fujieda, 1998, p. 162).

Unlike the New Left student movements who were seriously running at full speed for 'world revolution,' Beheiren kept its aim as a single-issue movement that opposed the Vietnam War. The New Left, in the Japanese context, means groups starting in 1958 that were not part of the Japan Communist Party, but typically were farther left than the JCP. They included some student groups affiliated with the Socialist Party, which had a much wider array of internal factions following different western socialist ideas. While Beheiren activists demonstrated with

flowers, the helmeted New Left students engaged in infighting and clashing with the riot police. In addition, Tsurumi pointed out another characteristic of Beheiren—active participation of women. It was different from the previous social movements in Japan because women came into the center of the movement, and took on responsibility (Tsurumi, 1994, p. 48). This is because ever since they encountered deserters, women were often the ones who dealt with them at home, and they also gave instructions for desertion at the critical point, because the deserters tended to trust them more (Tsurumi, 1994, p. 49).

Conclusion

This chapter discussed how Beheiren was launched and formed, along with its organizational characteristics as a movement. Beheiren was often said to be a leaderless movement because of its loose nature. But in reality, there was a non-hierarchical three-head leadership. Tsurumi Shunsuke, Oda Mokoto and Yoshikawa Yūichi are the pioneer civic activists who contributed to spread the concepts such as individual, citizen, and democracy in postwar Japan. Through their experiences living in Imperial Japan and the aftermath, each of them developed their lifestyle and had self-trained capacity to lead a loose movement. In a sense, they were product of the times. Unlike today, around the time Beheiren was launched, the US was not the only dominant power, and there was active presence of the former Eastern bloc in Japan, and the JCP and the JSP still had certain political influence. Under the Cold War, Japan maintained relations with countries that the US viewed as enemy such as the Soviet Union and Cuba. Social environments, along with the transnational networks that the key figures of Beheiren already had, enabled Beheiren to further expand its networks and capacity through their activities in the following phases that went beyond borders.

There were plenty of political opportunities, the Voiceless Voices that emerged from the ANPO protests, and ordinary citizens who were ready to act. The three-slogans were timely and simple enough for people to act. Two unwritten rules were also simple, but they were also well thought-out by key figures who knew the negative effects of Japan's hierarchical organizations. "If you suggest something, you do it." This was especially inspiring to young activists. "Freedom of in and out" was a necessary idea to avoid infighting, but this also gives young activists a sense of independence. Three-slogans and two quirky rules practically and effectively contributed to form the Beheiren style.

As Tarrow (2005) suggests, transnational movement do not automatically emerge like Venus on her seashell from macroprocesses like globalization or from the growth of global consciousness (p. 138). They are built up through agent-specific processes like the horizontal diffusion of a form of contention, or through a shift in scale from the local or national level to the international level and back again (Tarrow, 2005, p. 138). These processes reflect what Beheiren went through. I will show the transformative processes of transnational activism that the Beheiren movement went through in the rest of the chapters.

CHAPTER 4

PUBLIC IMAGE

Imagine what the world would look like if there weren't any protests (Oda Makoto)

Like many social movements, Beheiren started by taking to the streets. In the first demonstration on April 24, 1965, the day Beheiren was launched, about 1,500 people walked with hand-made signs, balloons and flowers. After that, they carried out various kinds of protests, consistently nonviolent, which were effective to gain popular support while receiving some criticism as half-baked. One of the reasons why nonviolence is still marginalized in the intellectual landscape is because it suffers from the hegemony of violent discourse that is considered “normal” academic discourse that believes conflict is an integral part of social reality (Satha-Anand, 1991, pp. 124-125). Nonviolence visually differentiated Beheiren from other social movement scenes in the 1960s Japan where using violence was becoming the norm. When Beheiren's sole aim was bringing peace in Vietnam, going nonviolent was vital for the newly founded peace movement. Public image was important. In fact, the scale, frequency, and quality of publicity in the initial years of the Beheiren movement was striking. Having versatile and multiform talents within, Beheiren maximized its messages locally, nationally and globally. Countless demonstrations, rallies, sit-ins, panel discussions, conferences, concerts, and lectures, small and big, were held across Japan, followed by reports and publications.

This chapter will show the early phase of the Beheiren movement that demonstrates their transnational networks. The chapter also shows their ability to express their opinions effectively

and facilitate international events that attracted the public and the media. Convinced by the enthusiastic public response, Beheiren continued their efforts beyond borders and were dedicated to educating themselves and the public. Below are a few examples of many publicized activities that contributed to the public image of Beheiren.

Demonstrations

Since its launch, many demonstrations were carried out in various forms by regional groups across Japan. There were monthly demonstrations, daily demonstration events, and big events in which they collaborated with other anti-Vietnam War and social movement groups. The monthly demonstrations in Tokyo started with rallies. Every first Saturday, they gathered at Shimizudani Park and then walked to Shinbashi. Sometimes there were 50 participants, other times, there were 30,000 (Yoshikawa, 2011, p. 67).

Beheiren also coordinated with the influential National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (old Mobe) which would become the largest civilian peace organization in the United States. The Mobe was a loose coalition of more than 150 antiwar groups formed in 1967 and its leaders included Dave Dillinger, Rennie Davis, and Tom Hayden (Parsons, 2017, p. 23-24). The Mobe changed their name to the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (new Mobe) in July 1969. It often called the Mobe, old or new.

When the Mobe organized massive demonstrations in the US, Beheiren also held parallel demonstrations on the same day. For example, the Mobe held the Spring Mobilization on April 15, 1967 in which 400,000 participated including Martin Luther King, Jr., Coretta Scott King, James Bevel, Benjamin Spock, Daniel Berrigan, participated (Friedland, 1998, p. 183; Parsons, 2017, p. 24; Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1984, p. 116). Six months later, the Mobe held Siege of

Pentagon on October 21, 1967. Calling for a civil disobedience action, protesters walked from Lincoln Memorial Park in Washington to the Pentagon, aimed at “shutting down the Pentagon (Friedland, 1998; Lynd & Lynd, 1995, pp. 274-286; Parsons, 2017, p. 24; Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1984, p. 117). Although the number of participants at 150,000 was reduced to a few hundred by the time they reached the Pentagon, witnessing the marchers from the building’s roof, Robert McNamara, then the Secretary of Defense, reflected on the event years later.

I could not help but think that had the protesters been more disciplined—Gandhi-like—they could have achieved their objective of shutting us down. All they would have had to do was lie on the pavement around the building. We would have found it impossible to remove enough of them fast enough to keep the Pentagon open (Friedland, 1998, p. 195).

Because of these collaborative efforts, according to Yoshikawa, the number of participants in Beheiren’s monthly demonstration dramatically increased beginning in 1968. (Yoshikawa, 1968, p. 5). The monthly demonstrations were held 90 times in Kyoto until April 1973, and 97 times in Tokyo until October 1973 (Sekiya & Sakamoto, 1998, pp. 639-641). In photos of the early phase of Beheiren demonstrations, a few police with their regular uniform are seen walking along with the demonstrators. Later, when New Left student demonstration escalated, more police presence was seen. However, there was no presence of riot police for Beheiren demonstrations, except for demonstrations held with other New Left groups. Compare to the aggressive demonstrations by New Left groups in the late 1960s Japan, where most demonstrations were confronted by riot police, Beheiren maintained peaceful demonstrations with no violent interruption. In fact, Steinhoff (1984) points out that, compared to the late 1950s, the student movements in Japan became badly divided by the 1970s, and lost most public support for their increasingly violent tactics (p. 174).

Snow & Byrd (2000) indicate that removing the fear of risks associated with collective action was critical (p. 128), and that was what Beheiren tried to do. They removed the fear by making their initial demonstrations look fun by modeling them after 1930s anti-fascist demonstrations such as the International Authors Convention demonstration led by André Malraux in Paris in which 400,000 people, including Bertolt Brecht and Heinrich Mann participated (Kuno and Oda, 1998, p.486-487). By keeping the demonstrations and rallies nonviolent, people could participate comfortably. Flowers were used as a symbol of resistance. Instead of long wooden staves, so called *gebabō*, carried by helmeted New Left student activists, Beheiren activists held flowers, and gave the flowers away to the passers-by while walking (Beheiren Nyūsu #41, 1969, p. 5). *Gebabō* is a coined word based on *gewalt* (violence in German) and *bō* (stick or pole in Japanese). New Left students with colored helmets brandished *gebabō* while fighting with police. Riot police, who were familiar with helmeted New Left students with *gebabō* did not know how to deal with the flowery Beheiren activists.

Publications

As Beheiren was initiated by academics and there were many authors within, writing and disseminating information was a big part of their activities from the beginning. They relentlessly published books and columns individually and collectively, and kept sending messages to the general audience. Besides those individual publications, they published three monthly newsletters: *Beheiren Nyūsu* [*Beheiren News*], Issue 1-101 (1965 – 1974); *Dassōhei Tsūshin* [*Deserter News*], Issue 1-16 (1969 – 1971); *JATEC Tsūshin* [*JATEC News*] Issue 0-7 (1971-1973). The first *Beheiren Nyūsu* was published on October 1965, six months after the first demonstration. Those newsletters were also sold on the streets, in certain bookstores, and by

mail-order. It did not take long for the newsletters to become the motive power of Beheiren to gain more support and donations that helped to sustain themselves. When the situation in Vietnam worsened, and deserters emerged, they started *Dassōhei Tsūshin* [*Deserter News*] in addition to *Beheiren Nyūsu* to address the emerging issues. When they changed the strategies from assisting deserters to assisting antiwar GIs, they changed its name from *Dassōhei Tsūshin* to *JATEC Tsūshin* to adapt to the new situation. Over time, those newsletters contributed to advance Beheiren's messages as the political process model points out. The survival of a social movement requires that insurgents be able to maintain and successfully utilize their newly acquired political leverage to advance collective interests (McAdam, 1982, p. 52).

In addition, the Beheiren bulletin, the *Shūkan ANPO* [Weekly ANPO] was published from June 1969 to June 1970. The *Shūkan ANPO* was initiated by Oda Makoto for the coming 1970 renewal of the Japan-US Security Treaty (ANPO), and he was the publisher and the editor of this magazine (Beheiren Nyūsu #44, 1969). This magazine focused on issues concerning ANPO and Okinawa and demanded the repeal of the treaty. Compared to *Beheiren Nyūsu*, *Shūkan ANPO* was much thicker, and looked like a 'real' magazine as the aim was that anyone who opposed ANPO could contribute. Unlike Beheiren's newsletters, *Shūkan ANPO* was sold in regular bookstores. With its colorful and at times psychedelic cover, *Shūkan ANPO* was attractive to a certain population. The cover was created by popular illustrators of the time, such as Yokoo Tadanori. Further, on November 1969, an English magazine called *AMPO: A Report from the Japanese New Left* created by Mutō Ichiyō, was published in 1969, aimed at English readers in Japan. Mutō is another 1930s generation skeptic. The font of this magazine was, however, extremely small for anyone to read. When I had a brief opportunity to meet Mutō, I asked him about the font. He smiled and said, "Oh...we had so many things that we wanted to

put into it, and the only way to put everything into the pages was to make the font small”

(personal communication, 2017). Those publications contributed to Beheiren’s ability to speak to a wider audience.

Buying Ads in The New York Times and The Washington Post

In the very first issue of the *Beheiren Nyūsu*, in which they addressed Japan’s complicity in supporting the war in Vietnam and nonviolent resistance, they called for donations to buy a full-page ad in *The New York Times* to express their opinion opposing the war in Vietnam. The ad, “*Bring peace in Vietnam, but, with bombs? From our past experience,*” appeared in *The New York Times* on November 16, 1965. It was possible because by the second issue of the newsletter, the donations soared to ¥2,000,000 (Beheiren Nyūsu #2, 1965). This ad received overwhelmingly positive responses and even donations from American readers (Beheiren Nyūsu, #3, 1965, p. 1). According to Tsurumi Yoshiyuki (1969), the anti-Vietnam War ad in *The New York Times* was a very Beheiren style of “turning the daily mannerism upside down” because it reversed the post-war Japan-US relation by giving money to the American press to express ‘our’ idea, instead of ‘we’ receiving money and the ‘right’ idea from America as was the case for the past 20 years of the postwar era (p.85). Considering that John Lennon and Yoko Ono’s “*War is over – if you want it*” billboard, along with a full-page message in *The New York Times* started appearing around Christmas 1969 (Haskell, 1991), Beheiren was ahead of the time in effectively exercising international outreach through influential media. Less than two years later on April 3, 1967, Beheiren bought another full-page ad in the *Washington Post* that simply stated “*Korosuna!* [Do not kill!]” in powerful calligraphy written by Okamoto Taro (Beheiren Nyūsu # 20, 1967), the very calligraphy that Yoshioka used for *Korosuna* buttons.

Outreach to American GIs

On December 10, 1966, Beheiren started handing out fliers written in English to American GIs by the gate of the US base in Yokosuka. Speaking from 'our' own Imperial past, they encouraged GIs to desert instead of making the same mistakes that Imperial Japan did. One of the fliers reads:

In 1931, our Government launched an undeclared war against China, disguising it under the name of the Manchurian Incident. Few people realized then that it was the beginning of World War II. Now in 1966, we feel that another undeclared war is going on in Asia, which may turn out to be the beginning of World War III... Here are some measures you may want to take: 1) write letters to your boss or the President; 2) hold meetings on the base and participate in mass protest; 3) carry out sabotage; 4) escape; and 5) claim Conscientious Objection(CO) status with the military (Beheiren Nyūsu # 16, 1967).

Reaching out directly to American GIs became their routine activity. They also held fundraising events for Vietnam Peace Boat to send medical supplies to Vietnam. People watched these activities on the street and TV news supported their cause. The constant publicity greatly contributed to the name recognition of Beheiren as a group that fiercely but nonviolently protested the war. Beheiren's messages appeared to resonate with the postwar citizens who were sick of anything related to 'war.'

Building Transnational Networks

Besides actors like Oda and the Tsurumi family, founding individuals of Beheiren included numerous actors who already had transnational networks. Thus, it was only natural for a group like Beheiren whose target was the US foreign policies in Vietnam to go transnational from the beginning. A good example of how such person with transnational networks could also be connected to transnational activism is shown by Takahashi's experience. Takahashi Taketomo left Japan to study in France in 1965, right after Beheiren was launched. In France, even before

the May 1968 civil unrest, social activism was already widespread, and the anti-Vietnam War movement was active and flourishing (Iwama & Takahashi, 2015, pp.28-29). Takahashi formed Paris Beheiren and contributed to *Beheiren Nyūsu* by writing columns on the antiwar situation in Europe. Around this time, waves of the anti-Vietnam War movement were spreading across Europe, and there were international conferences on Vietnam in major cities. One of the major conferences that Takahashi attended was the Russell Tribunal in Stockholm, also known as International War Crimes Tribunal or Russell-Sartre Tribunal, initiated by Bertrand Russell and Jean-Paul Sartre, which evaluated American intervention in Vietnam. Oda Makoto also stopped by Paris twice while Takahashi was there to organize a transnational antiwar network. According to Takahashi (2007), he accompanied Oda everywhere he went, and learned how to connect with transnational movements by following Oda (p. 55). This indicates that Oda had already started expanding transnational networks in this early phase of the movement, and Takahashi was involved with the networking. Because the Vietnam War had become a global issue, Beheiren's guests from abroad were culturally diverse. Below are only some of the major events held between 1966 and 1968, focused on transnational interaction, its impact on the movement, and its participants.

Lecture Tour with Howard Zinn and Ralph Featherstone

Oda Makoto kept travelling. While traveling the US in 1965 seeking solidarity with the American antiwar networks, he came up with an idea of holding a lecture tour in Japan (Oda, 1995, p. 101). He first talked with Staughton Lynd, one of the few Americans who had been to North Vietnam, who at the time had just received \$1,000 for writing a report on North Vietnam for *Life* magazine. As Lynd wanted to use the money wisely, he happily agreed to join in the

lecture tour in Japan, but he could not get a visa to enter Japan (Tsurumi, 1967, p. 226). Instead, Howard Zinn, then a young professor at Boston University, came with Ralph Featherstone, a field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) (Oda, 1995, p. 101). SNCC was one of the four influential black organizations during the US civil rights movement, which emerged in the wake of the Woolworth's lunch counter sit-in in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1960. Howard Zinn played an important role throughout the Beheiren movement, and their relationship continued long after the movement dissolved.

From June 2 to 12, 1966, the group gave 14 lectures mostly at college campuses with the theme "American conscience and Japan" in Sapporo, Sendai, Tokyo, Nagoya, Kyoto, Osaka, Hiroshima, Fukuoka, and Okinawa to a total audience of 11,400 (Beheiren Nyūsu #10, 1966, p. 1; Havens, 1987, p. 119; Sekiya, 1998a, pp. 34-35; Sekiya & Sakamoto, 1998, p644, Yoshikawa, 1999). Oda Makoto, Mutō Ichiyō, Tsurumi Yoshiyuki, Kaiko Takeshi, Iida Momo, Katagiri Yuzuru, and Tsurumi Shunsuke took turns speaking during the tour, while professors in each campus helped organize the events, which were packed and successful (Beheiren Nyūsu #10, 1966, p. 1). Only Zinn and Featherstone went to US occupied Okinawa because no visa was granted to the Japanese Beheiren activists (Beheiren Nyūsu #10, 1966, p. 1).

This lecture tour with Zinn and Featherstone in the early phase of the movement produced a powerful impact on Beheiren, especially on the principle of nonviolence. During the tour, Zinn and Featherstone, who were active participants in the US civil rights movement, repeatedly talked about nonviolence and civil disobedience, and why non-violence was not only a measure but also a principle (Sekiya, 1998a, p. 34). Their visit gave concrete expression to the sense of common purpose that the Japanese antiwar movement felt with peace protesters

everywhere, and it inspired Beheiren to use nonviolent direct action “to create solidarity with citizens” at large (Havens, 1987, p. 119). Tsurumi Yoshiyuki recalled the impression of Zinn.

When American young people, including SNCC, were receiving authoritarian criticism in the US, Zinn was placing a high value on those young American people. In Zinn, I saw healthy heresy and proud independence” (Sekiya, 1998a, p. 34).

Likewise, Yoshikawa mentioned the impact of the concepts Zinn and Featherstone brought.

The exchange with Zinn in 1966 gave a historical impact in pursuing nonviolent action. In Japan, we have had massive movements, including a campaign against nuclear weapons in the 1950s and the 1960 ANPO. But, concepts such as “civil disobedience” and “nonviolent direct action” that the American civil rights movement and antiwar movement used were new to many Japanese and it was sensational. Beheiren’s civil disobedience activities such as assisting antiwar deserters or supporting antiwar GIs in the US bases in Japan started from there (Yoshikawa, 1967).

Even decades later, Yoshikawa (2009) acknowledged how the 1966 lecture tour made a lasting theoretical impact on Beheiren’s nonviolent activities. Hereafter, Beheiren gradually added the aim of resisting the state to their list of objectives during 1966-1967 (Havens, 1987, p. 120). Zinn also wrote about his impressions of Beheiren and Oda.

In the summer of 1966, with the escalation still going on, with the bombing more ferocious than ever, an invitation came from a Japanese group opposing U.S. intervention in Vietnam. I and Ralph Featherstone, a black SNCC worker I knew from Mississippi, were asked to do a two-week lecture circuit in Japan. Our hosts, a group called Beheiren, were young intellectuals of the Japanese New Left—novelists, journalists, filmmakers, poets, philosophers, and housewives. Their chairman, Oda Makoto, a famous writer, big, tousle-haired, with unpressed coat and trousers, who had studied Greek and Latin, spoke English well, seemed to have an encyclopedic knowledge of world politics, and never wore a tie no matter what the occasion (determined, it seemed, to break the stereotype of the well-dressed, formal Japanese) (Zinn, 1994, p. 108). Zinn also introduced Tsurumi Shunsuke and his experience of being jailed while in the US after Japan attacked Pearl Harbor.

When we took the high-speed train from Tokyo to Kyoto, our host, who met us at the station was a sweet-faced, mild-mannered philosopher named Tsurumi Shunsuke. He had studied at Harvard and was in his last year when Pearl Harbor was bombed. Tsurumi was picked up by the police as an enemy alien and put in the Charles Street Jail in Boston. Tsurumi was interrogated. “Are you loyal to the Japanese government?” He answered, “No.” “Are you loyal to the American government?” Again, his answer was “No.” Whereupon they said, “You are an anarchist. You will have to be kept in jail. (Tsurumi was released sometime later, when the Red Cross arranged a prisoner exchange”) (Zinn, 1994, p. 108-109).

If asked the same loyalty question in wartime Japan, Tsurumi would have been sent to jail as well—It was a frenzied era when national ‘loyalty’ was a serious issue in both nations. This episode, introduced by Zinn, shows characteristics of Tsurumi and the absurdity of war.

Transnational interaction has a reciprocal effect. While the impact of Howard Zinn on Beheiren was great, the trip to Japan was influential on Zinn as well. After completing the lecture tour, Zinn stated that he learned a lot in two weeks, that Japanese citizens had a high level of interest in the Vietnam War, and that the questions given in the events were also of a high level and logical. Taking the reverse standpoint of fisherman and fish, Zinn reflected on his experience in Japan.

Something like reverse role of fisherman and fish happens when you spend time in Japan, talking to Japanese people about American foreign policy in Vietnam. The Japanese have had a more intimate association with death, both as killers and victims. We in America still cling to the romance of war that is not really war, but Terry and the Pirates, Defending the Free World, or JTB in a Green Beret. For the Japanese, the Kamikaze pilots, and then the turnabout—Hiroshima and Nagasaki—wore off all the sheen. Out of this experience, they have wanted desperately to speak to Americans (Zinn, 1967, p. 10).

Through this tour Zinn learned that most Japanese were against the war in Vietnam. Tsurumi Shunsuke took Zinn and Featherstone to a Buddhist temple in Kyoto where a photo was displayed of a Vietnamese Buddhist monk sitting cross-legged on a street in Saigon, setting himself on fire (Zinn, 1994, p. 108-109). In Kyoto, thousands of people came to the lecture to hear and talk about Vietnam. Among the audience, Dr. Matsuda Michio (regarded as Dr. Spock of Japan) pointed out that the US reaction to Vietnam was neurotic, and what the US needed was “a sedative” (Zinn, 1994, p. 109). In Hiroshima, Zinn spoke with survivors of the A-bomb. In Sendai, he talked with 50 young men and women in a park into the wee hours of the morning. They were conscious and ashamed of Japan’s history of aggression, and told Zinn, softly but

firmly, over and over, *“You are behaving in Asia as we did”* (Zinn, 1994, p. 110). In fact, Zinn later talked about his experience, as a historian.

In Japanese universities, we could easily find people who were in jail for a long time because they opposed Japan’s invasion to Asian nations. Dr. Niimura, an expert of French literature, was arrested in 1937 for translating Romain Rolland and Denis Diderot. When I asked him how many of his students in his department at his university would support US policy on Vietnam, his answer was, “Not a single student.” For the Japanese people who we have met, the fact that Americans support Johnson’s policy was simply unthinkable. “Any country should not export anti-revolution to other country, like the US is doing,” said another professor in Tokyo. And, why did Japanese students spend the whole night till morning discussing Vietnam in the park? Did American students gather, in the park in the middle of the night, to discuss about the US support of the French government’s repression in Algeria? I wondered...and I think I found the answer by the end of my trip to Japan. I think it is because the Japanese have a keen conscience in its own recent history. A student from the University of Tokyo told me, “please let your American friends know that the majority of Japanese believe that the US bases in Japan are not protecting Japan’s security. Rather, we believe we are risking our lives for hosting the US bases” (Zinn, 1967, pp. 12-14; 1968, pp. 242-246).

After his trip to Japan, Zinn continued to speak against the war across the US: teach-ins, rallies, and debates (Zinn, 1994, p. 110). He was becoming more and more frustrated by the fact that, in the US, no major public figure, no leading periodical, no published book, however critical of the war, dared to say what seemed so clear to him, that the US simply must get out of Vietnam (Zinn, 1994, p. 110).

It should be noted that Zinn and Featherstone visited Japan from June 2-12, 1966. Around that time, the US civil rights movement was beginning to decline. Malcolm X was assassinated a year before in February 1965, followed by the Watts riots in Los Angeles in August. It was also right after John Lewis, the chair of SNCC, was replaced by Stokely Carmichael, and the SNCC started to take a more militant, radical turn. It was June 16, 1966 that Carmichael used the term “Black Power” in his speech upon his release from the arrest during the March Against Fear where James Meredith was shot. Hereafter, the concept of “black power” spread across the US, and the Black Panther Party was founded in Oakland in October 15, 1966. In a sense, Zinn and

Featherstone brought this heat with them to Beheiren. It was unfortunate that Beheiren's connection with Ralph Featherstone abruptly ended when he and his SNCC comrade were killed when a bomb exploded beneath their car on March 11, 1970 (Beheiren Nyūsu #55, 1970, p. 1).

Japan-United States Citizen's Conference for Peace in Vietnam

Two months later in August 1966, Beheiren sponsored a three-day Japan-US Citizen's Conference in Tokyo. Sixty-one people participated from Japan, and nine participated from the US—David Dellinger, Quentin Basset from SDS, Donald Keith, Murray Levin and Howard Zinn (and his wife), David McReynolds, Robert M. O'Quinn, and Israel Dresdner, as well as fifteen observers participated from nine countries—France, England, Canada, Pakistan, India, Mongolia, the Soviet Union, Argentina, the US, and Jean-Paul Sartre sent greetings to this conference (Beheiren Nyūsu #12, 1966, 1-3; Havens, 1987, p. 119). Democracy, individualism, and the authority of the state were discussed during the conference (Havens, 1987, p. 119). At the end of the conference, "Japan-US Citizen's Agreement," which consist of nine articles, was signed with a 50-cent pen by Oda Makoto and David Dellinger with big applause (Beheiren Nyūsu #12, 1966, p.3; Oda, 1968, pp. 59-61). This shows that the individual and the state frame were already in the Beheiren narrative.

International Citizen's Conference for Peace in Vietnam

In October 1966, when the Sartre-boom was sweeping across Japan, Beheiren invited Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir to a teach-in, titled "The Vietnam War and the antiwar principle" (Beheiren Nyūsu #14, 1966, p. 1). The event generated megawatts of free attention from the press (Havens, 1998, p. 66). Sartre and Beauvoir stayed in Japan for a month. Ebisaka Takeshi, a French literary professor and Beheiren activist, who published dozens of books on

Sartre and translation, recalls that the lectures that Sartre gave in Japan were esoteric because he was trying to suggest new ideas of “engagement” by defining intellectuals, and he was giving everything he had at the time in his lectures while in Japan (Ebisaka, 2004, p. 42). At the teach-in, Sartre expressed concerns about the disappearance of humanism because of the dependency of production and research on nuclear weapons. *Beheiren Nyūsu* reports:

What we need to do now for Vietnam is, let America isolate. We have to publicize to the blind Americans that America is like a dirty dog-like existence...Intellectuals need to act double. Deepen international solidarity and tighten bonds with people who are actually engaging in the antiwar movement (*Beheiren Nyūsu* #14, 1966, p. 1).

Having an international star of the time caused various debates and reactions in the media. One month later in November 1966, they also had a panel discussion with Thích Nhất Hạnh and held “Peace Together! From Hiroshima to Vietnam,” in which Barbara Reynolds also participated (Oda, 1995, p. 647).

Rallies and Concert with Joan Baez

In January 1967, Joan Baez was invited to join in “Students Peace Rally: Protest against Bombing Hanoi” at Osaka University, and a concert called “Let’s discuss anti-Vietnam War together” (*Beheiren Nyūsu* #17, 1967, p.1; Havens, 1987, p. 119; Sekiya, 1998a, pp. 34-35).

Beheiren asked Baez about ‘nonviolent revolution’ (*Beheiren Nyūsu* #17, 1967). Baez’ answers reflect the situations in the US civil rights movement and changing culture.

Interviewer (name not specified): You are trying to achieve non-violent revolution in America.

Joan Baez (JB): Not only in America, but all around the world.

Interviewer: Where is the power for the revolution? To achieve such revolution, in my opinion, millions of people need to agree with the idea.

JB: I don’t think so. Only 3% of people are trying to resolve the issues affecting black Americans, and they are gaining power, and it is already affecting students.

Interviewer: Do you think those students can get power for change?

JB: I cannot guarantee it, but it has already started, and I want to take it seriously.

Interviewer: What do you specifically want to change?

JB: The first presupposition is diplomacy. It affects us all.

Interviewer: How would you describe “change” in one word?

JB: Stop centralization. In other words, stop the way that only three people make an important decision that can prevent human-beings (us) from thriving (Beheiren Nyūsu #17, 1967, p. 1).

This was when folk songs were becoming more and more popular in Japan, and where music kept sending powerful political messages. Baez, who was one of the most vocal antiwar musicians, was a timely person, and was received well by Japanese citizens.

International People's Conference against War and for Fundamental Social Change

In August 11-13, 1968, Beheiren sponsored another three-day international conference titled, “International People’s Conference against War and for Fundamental Social Change” in Kyoto. For this conference, Tsurumi Yoshiyuki wanted to invite more diverse participants than the 1966 Japan-US Citizen’s Conference, and invited organizations such as SNCC, Students from a Democratic Society (SDS), National Black Antiwar Antidraft Union, National Lawyers Guild, the Black Panther Party, Women’s Strike for Peace (WSP) from the US, Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS) from Cuba, and many others from Europe (Beheiren Nyūsu #34, 1968, p. 6). Assuming that many young people who would become the leaders of antiwar movement in the coming 1970s would participate, Tsurumi Shunsuke expressed his hope that the conference would not be restricted by any framework and did not want the conference to work for a pre-prepared conclusion (Beheiren Nyūsu #35, 1968, p. 1). All the participants attended this conference as ‘individuals’ who were fighting against the Vietnam War, and while Beheiren had certain concerns about whether effective dialogue would be possible in such a setting, they were looking forward to having direct contacts with groups like the Black Panther Party (Beheiren Nyūsu #35, 1968, p. 2).

Steinhoff (2016) points out that Beheiren’s own coverage of this conference emphasized the various issues debated and the final agreement on future joint activities but said little about

the international participants while the newspapers of several New Left sects reported more detail about the international participants (p. 169). Coverage by the *Kyōsan Shugisha Dōmei* (the Communist League)'s newspaper, *Senki*, was especially extensive (Steinhoff, 2016, p. 169). The *Kyōsan Shugisha Dōmei*, often called Bund took advantage of Beheiren's International People's Conference that brought foreign student activists to Japan. Bund organized a series of nine International meetings for students in the major cities of Japan between August 3 and August 18, featuring some of the foreign guests who had come for the Beheiren's conference (Steinhoff, 2016, p. 169). During their meetings, Bund presented its goal for World Revolution to defeat the imperialist bourgeoisie, and *Senki* devoted nearly a full page to the rallies and their foreign guests, including Ken Cloke of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), Barry Sheppard and Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), John Wilson of the SNCC, Jeanette Habel of France representing the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (RCY), and Walter Teague of the USA Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (Steinhoff, 2016, p. 170).

No wonder Beheiren people were exhausted and frustrated with the events (Yoshioka, 1968, pp. 1-4). For Beheiren, which organized various conferences, the 1968 International People's Conference against War and for Fundamental Social Change was different from the 1966 International Citizen's Conference for Peace in Vietnam. There were not only more diverse international visitors but Japanese New Left students with different ideologies. Consequently, the issue of "radical" emerged throughout the conference and it dominated the atmosphere of the conference, which might not have been what Beheiren expected, or wanted (Yoshioka, 1968, pp. 3-4). Thus, tension between the more ideological participants like New Left students whose ultimate purpose was 'world revolution' and the less ideological activists was reported. In

reporting the event in the *Beheiren Nyūsu*, Yoshioka (1968) also pointed out that three days were simply too short to discuss so many problems, and the Japanese participants learned that foreign participants knew little about ANPO and Okinawa, despite the fact that the Vietnam War would have been impossible without the presence of US bases in Japan (pp. 1-2). This tension indicates the socio-cultural change between 1966 and 1968 as the situation in Vietnam got worse, and the renewal of ANPO in 1970 and the Okinawa reversion talks were fast approaching in Japan.

Table 4.1. *Main Events in Early Phase (1965-1968)*

Year	Date	Event	Main Guests
1965	November 16	A full page antiwar ad on The New York Times: "Bring peace in Vietnam, but, with bombs? From our own experience"	
1966	June 2-12	Lecture Tour Across Japan	Howard Zinn, Ralph Featherstone
	August 11-14	Japan-United States Citizen's Conference for Peace in Vietnam (Tokyo)	15 observers from 10 countries: Howard Zinn, David Dellinger, Murray Levin, etc.
	October 15	International Citizen's Conference for Peace in Vietnam "The Vietnam War and the anti-war principle"	Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir
	November 22	Discussion with Thích Nhất Hạnh, Barbara Reynolds	Thích Nhất Hạnh
	November 27	Peace Together! From Hiroshima to Vietnam	Thích Nhất Hạnh, Barbara Reynolds
1967	January 19	Students Peace Rally: Protest against Bombing Hanoi" at Osaka University	Joan Baez
	January 25	Rally: Let's oppose the Vietnam War together! With Joan Baez	Joan Baez
1967	April 3	A full page antiwar ad on Washington Post: Korosuna! [Do not kill!]	
1968	August 11-13	International People's Conference against War and for Fundamental Social Change (Kyoto)	David Dellinger, Black Panther Party, SNCC, SDS,

On-the-Spot Protests

Beheiren was not the only anti-Vietnam War group. There were a broader anti-Vietnam War movement in Japan. The major protests that targeted particular event, issue, or audience were carried out in collaboration with other groups that opposed the US bases and the Vietnam War. Beheiren's antiwar activities were often part of them. The following three protests were a few such examples that attracted the media between 1967 and 1969.

US Field Hospital Protest

During the Vietnam War, thousands of severely wounded American soldiers were transported to field hospitals in Japan. Asaka field hospital was one of them, where a strong opposition movement against the hospital—the *Ōizumi shimin no kai* [Citizen of Ōizumi Committee]—led by Wada Haruki, was very active. Entering 1968, when the number of wounded soldiers and casualties increased in Vietnam, the US forces needed more beds. When the US Army Far Eastern map services moved to Hawai'i, the US Army rushed the conversion of the map center into the 400-bed facility in December 1967 (Havens, 1987, p. 155). It was at the former Camp Ōji, which was the site of the former Imperial Japanese Army base in northern Tokyo. When the US abruptly opened a military field hospital there in March 1968, huge protests erupted in the neighborhood communities. Most protesters were irate residents without strong views on Vietnam who were angry at the clatter of helicopters and fearful of communicable diseases (Havens, 1987, p. 156). Housewives in white aprons, high school students, and the neighborhood association appeared outside the gates. A series of demonstrations led by the anti-JCP student factions, by Hansen Seinen Inkan (antiwar youth committee, an organization of young workers organized by the New Left), and by Beheiren

resulted in more than 600 arrests and 1,500 injuries (Tamori, 1968, p. 4; Havens, 1987, pp. 155-156). Minobe Ryōkichi, the progressive Governor of Tokyo at the time, implored the US military headquarters at Fuchū to move the hospital (Havens, 1987, p. 156). The protests continued, and the Ōji field hospital was forced to close in December 1969 (Havens, 1987, p. 156). This final protest was led by the Citizen of Ōizumi Committee, not by Beheiren. This was a good example of collaborative action by civic networks.

Enterprise Protest

The Enterprise, the world's largest nuclear-powered aircraft carrier at the time, entered the US Naval base in Sasebo, located in Nagasaki prefecture, Southern Japan, from January 19 to 23, 1968. The intense protests started from January 17, and the largest rally drew 50,000 people (Havens, 1987, p. 148). Japan's three nonnuclear principles—not to make, possess, allow the entry of nuclear weapons into Japan—was openly violated. On top of that, Nagasaki was one of only two places on earth that was hit by A-bomb, not too long ago. The Enterprise provoked the sensibilities of many Japanese who did not like having the US and Japanese governments deliberately irritate their innate nuclear allergy (Havens, 1987, p. 148). Beheiren prepared fliers in English and handed them out to American sailors around the bars in the base town.

You probably heard about the Intrepid Four. They left the battle front. They will no longer participate in war. They live peacefully in Sweden. Why don't you follow them? We will help you. The Vietnam War is the dirtiest war in history. Stop the killing! (Beheiren Nyūsu #29, 1968, pp. 1-2).

The fliers attracted the sailors, as all of them knew about “Beheiren” because of the Intrepid Four, the four sailors deserted from Japan just a month earlier, which I will introduce in the next chapter.

This was the beginning of the so-called the *Enpura tōsō*, or Enterprise struggle. People from all over Japan flooded to Sasebo to protest. In fact, nearly every group in the political rainbow, including major political parties such as the LDP, JSP and JCP, appeared in Sasebo to ‘greet’ the Enterprise; unlike all the others, the aim of the LDP was to support the US (Beheiren Nyūsu #29, 1968, pp. 1-2; Havens, 1987, p. 148). New Left students also traveled to Sasebo and tried to block the Enterprise from entering the port. Young Beheiren activists performed a sit-in on the bridge nearby. The protest was created by the presence of peoples’ physical bodies, and the protesters refused to leave. Riot police confronted helmeted radical students (Havens, 1987, p. 149).



Photo 4.1. Protesting the nuclear-powered USS Aircraft Carrier Enterprise, “No group to join? Let’s walk together!” Yoshikawa Yūichi (third from left with beret), Oda Makoto (2nd from right in a big coat). January 1968, Sasebo.
(https://www.google.com/search?biw=1536&bih=758&tbm=isch&sa=1&ei=2gY3W8j4CPTg9AOlJlvQBw&q=%E3%81%B9%E5%B9%B3%E9%80%A3&oq=%E3%81%B9%E5%B9%B3%E9%80%A3&gs_l=img.3..35i39k1l2j0i10i24k1.112633.113880.0.115427.9.9.0.0.0.153.976.0j8.8.0....0...1c.1j4.64.img..2.7.868...0j0i4k1j0i4i10k1j0i4i24k1j0i4i10i24k1.0.VSmdBDR5sCU).

Oda and Yoshikawa had rented a small boat to go around the Enterprise. Dr. Earle Reynolds, the anti-nuclear activist and the owner of the yacht Phoenix of Hiroshima and his wife Barbara, also rushed to the Sasebo port by taxi, right before Beheiren's small boat departed and joined Oda and Yoshikawa with other Beheiren activists on board (Beheiren Nyūsu #29, 1968, p. 1). When the eerie gray gigantic Enterprise entered the port and appeared before their eyes, Beheiren's small boat encircled the Enterprise with a pre-recorded tape in English broadcasting from the speaker, "It is time to stop the killing!" Oda Makoto also directly spoke to the sailors on the Enterprise with a megaphone.

The Enterprise protest was a moment of high theater in the antiwar movement, a week-long drama that is remembered more vividly in Japan even two decades later than any other Vietnam protests (Havens, 1987, p. 147). Because of the encounters of the right-wingers, New Left students, and the riot-police, there was violence with a lot of injuries and arrests. On the other hand, Beheiren took to the street with their familiar banner, "*No group to join? Walk together with us. Protest the Enterprise. Beheiren*" In fact, although its representatives were dwarfed by other demonstrators who flooded to Sasebo, Beheiren benefited from the renewed media attention paid to the war (Havens, 1987, p. 150). As a direct result of the Enterprise protest, Sasebo Beheiren was born (Sekiya & Sakamoto, 1998, p. 609). Oda recalled the Enterprise protests decades later.

Comparison was clear. With a microphone, I was shouting hard against the gigantic warship, from a small 3.5 tons boat to the 75,700 tons lump of steel...It was like caricature, at least from the material-based perspective. I felt helplessness at times with a great sense of despair. At the same time, I was closely watching American sailors, human being, on the deck. Then the number of sailors on the deck steadily increased. Eventually, I was convinced that I was talking to them. I was no longer in despair (Oda, 1995, p. 378).

This kind of the moment of conviction seems to make activists move forward. Two

months later, President Johnson announced that he would not seek reelection. On the other hand, despite the furor over the Enterprise protests in January, the Tet offensive bombing in February, and the Ōji hospital protests in March, Prime Minister Sato was totally unprepared for the announcement (Havens, 1987, p. 157).

Shinjuku Folk Guerilla.

Young people and music are inseparable. In February 28, 1969, a few young Beheiren activists, including Yoshioka Shinobu, started to play guitars and sing in the open space called the “West Wing Underground Plaza” at Shinjuku station on Saturdays. Shinjuku had the largest number of passengers a day of any train station in Japan. The folk guerilla movement, originally started in Osaka and Kyoto area, quickly became a cultural phenomenon in Tokyo as well. It was not just protest song gathering but the lively discussions and debates were going on here and there. Participants expressed their feelings against war, ANPO, and authorities. Donation were collected. Media started to call the weekly event, Shinjuku Folk Guerilla. Other groups and individuals would join them in singing, which in turn attracted a broad audience that eventually reached up to 7,000 participants (Havens, 1987, p. 183; Ōhki & Suzuki, 2014, p. 88). Estimates of the number differ by source. The Shinjuku Folk Guerilla started early 1969 right after the riot police entered the University of Tokyo campus and ended a six-month students’ occupation of the Yasuda Auditorium. Students were facing severe repression with overwhelming feelings of defeat. It was natural for the helmeted students who had lost their space to start appearing at the Shinjuku Folk Guerilla. The problem was that it attracted the authorities as well. The audience included children, young and old, men and women, students from different New Left groups, and white-collar salarymen and blue-collar workers.

Authorities did not like what was going on. Starting in May 1969 the Shinjuku Yodobashi Police periodically cleared away the crowds on the pretext that they were blocking pedestrian traffic (Havens, 1987, p. 183). On June 28, riot police brutally crushed the crowd with tear gas and batons (Ōhki & Suzuki, 2014, p. 83). On July 5, the folk guerillas tried to stop the New Left students from destroying the police booth nearby with metal pipes, and the police were brutally violent against them (Beheiren Nyūsu # 47, 1967, p. 1; Havens, 1987, p. 183). Arrests were made. The Folk guerillas suspected that the person who first threw a stone was a plain-clothes police officer, as he was always among the singers, and that the assault on the police booth might have done by him (Yoshioka, 2014, p. 83). On July 12, the underground open space was filled with more people, followed by more arrests (Ōhki & Suzuki, 2014, p. 88). On July 18, the authority effectively banned the event by changing the name of the open space from ‘Plaza’ to ‘Pathway’ (Beheiren Nyūsu #47, 1969, p. 1; Ōhki & Suzuki, 2014, p. 92). People could play guitar and sing in the open ‘Plaza’ but not in the ‘Pathway’ at the station. The Shinjuku Folk Guerilla, a widely attended weekly event was permanently banned. One of the facilitators and sponsors of the Shinjuku Folk Guerilla, Yoshioka Shinobu (2016), described the gathering scene as a “bazaar of movements.” Being a student himself at the time, Yoshioka had valuable insights on the New Left students, that really reflects the social mood of the 1969 Japan.

Later on, I was arrested for facilitating the Folk Guerilla... Well, we were protesting war, playing guitar, but it's not like we didn't know that changing the world wasn't so simple, we were fairly aware of it. Then there came those radical New Left students, who had lost their space and had nowhere to turn... they approached us during the event. One day, the Keihin-Anpo Kyōtō students came right before the event, and questioned us, “*Do you really think the world will change by doing such a thing as playing guitar and singing-along?*” They started to complain about this and that... their talk was incoherent. It was annoying when there was a crowd already, and I was a sponsor. Then five minutes later, other radical students came on their own, and started to say the same kinds of things. They were the Red Army Faction. I didn't want them to come to us when we were about to start playing... As both groups were saying the same things, I asked them, “OK,

looks like you both are saying the same kind of things. I'll pay (for coffee), come with me." I took them to a coffeeshop in the station. There, the Keihin-Anpo Kyōtō sat on one side and the Red Army Faction on the other side. I paid for coffee for all seven or eight of them. I pleaded with them, "If you have something you want to say, can you guys consult each other, organize your thoughts and consolidate them into a memo and bring it to me after the event as I don't have time now but I'd listen to you more later" (Yoshioka, 2016, personal interview).

Three years later, Yoshioka was saddened with the horrific news of the United Red Army purge, and still remembered that day that he invited them for coffee, which might have resulted in connecting them.

I was afraid that the connection between the Red Army Faction and Keihin-Anpo Kyōtō was made at that moment for the first time...until then, they didn't know each other at all...one of them was Nagata Hiroko...I am afraid that my action resulted in the formation of the United Red Army (Rengō Sekigun). I still wonder...if only I didn't put them together...if only I didn't pay for coffee for them then...You know, at the time, those extreme students were already shut out, had lost their place, and had nowhere to go. They came to the Folk Guerilla every Saturday. It was like a bazaar of different movements. There was a sense of liberation there. It was totally OK for different people to come to complain, but not right before the event...I guess they were lonely in their own way. Around that time, out of curiosity, I was in-and-out of the barricades on campus...it smelled so bad...I'm the kind of person who wants to take a shower everyday...but we delivered food to them at times (Yoshioka, 2016, personal interview).

Yoshioka's story is revealing. Yoshioka and the New Left students were of the same generation, but the contrast between them is striking. Those radical students had been feeling that they were failing to achieve their goal of 'world revolution,' and looking for the space where they could belong. On the other hand, the young Beheiren students who were facilitating the Folk Guerilla had no aspiration of 'world revolution,' but had plenty of things to do to achieve their aim, peace in Vietnam, and started to establish themselves as independent civic activists. The New Left students radicalized further, and the difference between them became clearer in the 1970s, which I will address in chapter 8.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have introduced some of the major activities in the early phase of the movement that openly took place in public and attracted media. This phase, which was before the emergence of American deserters, demonstrates that Beheiren already had transnational civic networks, as well as their ability to effectively facilitate international events. Tarrow (2005) points out that transnational protest events are often seen as set-piece demonstrations that challenge policy makers, bring police, make for good media copy, and then disappear, but participation in such events can be transformative for those who participate in them (p. 178).

One of the most important concepts Beheiren learned in this phase was nonviolent direct action and civil disobedience, brought by Howard Zinn and Ralph Featherstone who were active players of the US civil rights movement. This newly introduced concept set the tone of the movement. Various activities and events in the early phase contributed to create the public image of Beheiren as a civic movement in which anyone who wanted peace in Vietnam could join, while at the same time, bringing international stars, which was effective to generate media attention. As a single-issue movement with clear slogans, Beheiren provided opportunities and comfortable space for ordinary citizens who wanted to express their opposition to the Vietnam War but did not want to affiliate with any political parties or organizations. Convinced by the positive responses from the general audience, Beheiren expanded their efforts beyond borders by collaborating with transnational actors and educating themselves and public. They constantly published what was going on in Vietnam and the world from the perspective of ordinary people.

For ordinary citizens, including students, who participated in this early phase of the Beheiren movement, it was the entry to what Steger refers as “global imaginary.” It is a concept referring to people’s growing consciousness of global connectivity (Steger, 2013, p. 10). During

this phase, while the New Left students were getting more and more radicalized within their own ideological sects, Beheiren students were getting globalized. Around the time, police escalated their control over the radical New Left students, but Beheiren had relatively good relations with the police and media. This situation was about to change toward the late 1960s with the emergence of American deserters, which I will discuss in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

EMERGENCE OF AMERICAN DESERTERS

You are a soldier. You have been taught to shoot, to stab, to march, to do gymnastics...perhaps have been in campaign and have fought with the Turks or Chinese, obeying all your orders. It has not even entered your head to ask yourself whether what you were ordered to do was good or bad...It has been instilled into you that you are not responsible for the consequences of your shots. But you know that the man who falls bleeding from your shot is killed by you and by no one else, and you know that you could have refrained from shooting and that then the man would not have been killed...These and others, already in our time, cannot but acknowledge in the end this truth, simple and now sharp clear to the eye, that for the betterment of life one thing only is necessary, to stop doing that which causes this suffering (Tolstoy, 1987, pp. 39-40 & 386).

DESERTER—What will come to mind when you hear this term? It may vary time to time, and by culture and generation. Yet, for many, the term “deserter” often comes with negative connotations. In Japan, the image and idea of deserter had never been good. It was generally perceived as cowardly or traitorous. For the wartime generation, desertion meant the death penalty. Tsurumi Shunsuke (2004) wanted to desert but he couldn’t because a deserter could be shot to death if found in Japan’s old military system (p. 364). Worse, it was not only a matter of the person in question, but the family was also ostracized, and relationships were cut except in cases of a fire or funerals (Yoshikawa, 2011, p. 70). Suzuki Michihiko, a professor of French literature, introduced a report by Asahi Shimbun (Asahi Newspaper) about a bereaved family, whose family member was shot to death as a result of desertion on Bougainville Island in the last days of the Pacific War, who had been living ashamed for over 20 years, wishing to clear his name (Suzuki, 1969, p. 66). Desertion was, therefore, a heavy subject. This image was about to change.

It was the four American sailors who walked away from the USS carrier Intrepid Four that docked in Yokosuka, Japan in 1967, that fundamentally changed Beheiren. From this point, the element of ‘underground’ operation entered into their public image that had been so far open. The emergence of American deserters inevitably made the movement further transnational but in a different way compared to its earlier phase when ‘transnational’ was limited to events with the well-known figures, which promoted Beheiren’s public image. This chapter shows how Beheiren’s transnational aspect shifted to more grassroots, day-to-day operations that were secretly carried out by its activists and ordinary citizens of postwar Japan.

The Vietnam War Era Deserters

During the Vietnam War, young American men began crossing the border into Canada to avoid the draft by emigrating. It was a center of high media and political drama (Cortright, 1975; MacPherson, 1984). By 1970, the *Manual for Draft-Age Immigrants to Canada*, a Canadian underground bestseller, was in its fifth edition. Overall, 65,000 copies were available at any US resistance or draft-counseling office and most US campus bookstores (MacPherson, 1984, p. 357). It is said that between 1968 and 1972, some 67,000 Americans ‘legally’ immigrated to Canada (MacPherson, 1984, p. 354). Not all the draft age youth were, however, lucky enough to make it ‘legally.’ In Japan, deserters from the US bases started to emerge in 1967.

The term “*dassōhei* [deserter]” first appeared in the *Beheiren Nyūsu* #19 on April 1967, two years after Beheiren was launched. The first deserter reported in the newsletter was a Korean Army soldier called Kim Dong Hee, who was one of the 50,000 Korean soldiers to be sent to Vietnam under Park Chung-Hee. Kim refused to go to Vietnam because he “did not want to kill Vietnamese people” (Beheiren Nyūsu #19, 1967). Believing in Article 9 of Japanese

Constitution, Kim tried to enter Japan via Tsushima Island in July 1965, where he was captured, and sent to Fukuoka prison in southern Japan for smuggling (Beheiren Nyūsu #19, 1967; Sekiya, 1998a, pp. 38-39; Oda, 1995, pp. 160-162; Tsurumi, 1969, p. 111). After completing his one-year term, Kim was sent to Ōmura Immigration Camp in Nagasaki in February 1967 but was brought to court for deportation (Oda, 1995, p. 160; Tsurumi, 1969, p. 111). When Beheiren learned about Kim, they demanded that the Japanese government grant Kim asylum. They made fliers and collected petitions (Beheiren Nyūsu #19, 1967; Oda, 1995, pp. 160-161; Tsurumi, 1969, p. 111-112). Kim wrote an appeal.

I have experienced the cruelty of war throughout the Korean War, in which many fellow countrymen were killed, and the homeland was destroyed. I will oppose killing human beings again in Vietnam with no reasons, except being ordered by the military. Therefore, I have implemented my plan (to desert) during my special overnight occasion. I chose Japan as a destination not only because of its geographical convenience but also because of Japan's effort for peace and renunciation of war by Article 9 (Beheiren Nyūsu, #19, 1967).

Beheiren Nyūsu reported about Kim for five consecutive issues. The Ōmura Immigration Camp was originally created to accommodate stowaways from Korea during the Korean War and later to imprison Korean residents in Japan who committed crimes, as preparation for deporting them to Korea. Kim would face the death penalty if he were sent back to Korea (Oda, 1995, p.160). Before he was sent to the Ōmura Immigration Center, various Japanese peace groups and activists petitioned not to deport him to Korea and called for donations. The group brought Kim Dong Hee's case to the Fukuoka district court to stop deportation (Beheiren Nyūsu #21, June 1, 1967, p. 1). Although Kim was not allowed to be present in the trials because he was incarcerated at the Ōmura Immigration Camp, his first trial drew 250 audience (Beheiren Nyūsu #21, 1967, p.1). Beheiren's protests against the Japanese government continued. Activists from all over Japan gathered at the Ōmura Immigration Camp. Oda Makoto talked to the Camp

residents through a microphone over the wall of the Ōmura Immigration Camp. Tsurumi reported how Oda directly addressed to the center residents that their director was lying to them.

Oda kept talking to them, “Just let you know that Kai Masayoshi, the security director, is lying to you. It is a lie that you cannot meet anyone except your relatives. You can see beyond your relatives of the fourth degree. Demand that the camp let you meet us. The security director, Kai Masayoshi is lying!” (Tsurumi, 1969, p. 116).

After a few trial sessions, Japanese government neither deported Kim to Korea nor granted him asylum. Eventually, despite Kim’s reluctance, he was sent to North Korea, and left via the Soviet Union in January 1968 (Sekiya, 1998a, pp. 38-40; Oda, 1995, p.161). No one knows the process of this development but since late 1950s, a project called “Return to North Korea,” that encouraged Korean residents in Japan to return to the “paradise on earth,” North Korea. There were groups who helped to arrange such project through the Japanese Red Cross. Before his departure, Kim sent Beheiren a letter telling them that he came to Japan to “live,” and that the Korean Army was becoming like a slave to protect the country and peace. Kim asked them not to forget about the scene of the Pacific War (Kim, 1968, p.1). When Oda Makoto visited North Korea and met Kim Il Sung in 1976, Oda directly asked Kim Il Sung about Kim Don Hee.

Kim Il Sung told me he knew nothing about him but said he would have someone look at it. Later, I received the answer that there was nobody of that description...what is truly regrettable here is that the Japanese government did not grant asylum to Kim. Later, we faced many American deserters who wanted to seek asylum in Japan, a country that had the Peace Constitution, which Japan should be proud of before the whole world (Oda, 1995, p.161).

No one knows what happened to Kim. Through Kim Dong Hee’s case, Beheiren activists learned about Japan’s lack of comprehensive refugee and asylum policies. At this point, Beheiren did not know that more deserters were about to emerge in the coming days.

Escalation of New Left Student Movements in Japan

Besides Beheiren, many different groups in Japan also opposed the Vietnam War. One central issue in the Japanese protest cycle of the late 1960s and early 1970s was Japan's peripheral involvement in the Vietnam War, through the Japan-US Joint Security Treaty (Steinhoff, 2013, p. 132). Around the time deserters emerged, protests escalated against Prime Minister Sato Eisaku, brother of Kishi Nobusuke, who was largely seen as another blind follower of the US. Asahi Shimbun devoted a good deal of space to photos of massive, violent protests against Sato in October and November 1967. The protests particularly intensified when Sato was to visit South Vietnam, and then to Washington D.C. in about a month. As both protests were carried out around the Haneda Airport, two events are called the First and the Second Haneda Incidents. On October 8, 1967, in opposition to Sato's visit to South Vietnam, thousands of students from various New Left groups and workers organized massive protests around the Haneda Airport in Tokyo to prevent Sato from leaving. Haneda Airport is built on landfill in Tokyo Bay, and at that time it was accessed across a river by several bridges and a highway (Steinhoff, 2013, p. 132). Thousands of riot police were deployed on the highway and at the main bridges to keep the protesters from reaching the airport. Although students had previously used helmets for infighting (*uchigeba*), this was the first time they came to a big demonstration with helmet and wooden poles (*gebabō*) and used them against the riot police. When Yamazaki Hiroaki, an 18-year-old student from Kyoto University and a member of the New Left group *Chūkakuha* was killed during the protest, outraged students erupted, and the protest escalated. The riot police used teargas, batons, and water cannons against the students, and police swept the students off the bridge into the river (Steinhoff, 2013, pp. 133-134). The use of tear gas was quite a sensitive issue in Japan at the time, and this was first use since the 1960 ANPO protest seven

years earlier (Steinhoff, 2013, p. 134). Sekiya was among the crowd watching the event from the roadside along with thousands of others. He recalled.

On October 8, 1967, Tsurumi Shunsuke's group had planned a sit-in, and asked me to come as a contact person and watch them sit-in from other side of the roads in case all of them were arrested. That was the first time I talked with Tsurumi although we had exchanged greetings previously. I saw student heading to the airport and the riot police were clashing on the Anamori bridge, and there were also big police vans on the bridge. The roads and both sides of bridges were full of people, and it was impossible to go toward the bridge. There was nothing I could do. I learned about Yamazaki's death by radio when I got home. When I read the paper next day, it was really different from what I saw. The paper reported that "Students unilaterally attacked the police..." I realized for the first time that the paper could write utterly wrong stories (Sekiya, personal interview, 2016).

This was the First Haneda Incident. The impact of Yamazaki's death on students was enormous. Havens (1987) asserts that the 1967 protest against Sato's trip to South Vietnam was a turning point in the resistance to the Vietnam War because it brought both the radical students and the antiwar youth committee, Hansen, actively into the protest movement for the first time (p. 134). Steinhoff (2013) further points out that this event was a call for action even for apolitical students who had not been involved (p. 136). Later in the same day, protesters would hear the news of the death of Che Guevara, who said, "Create two, three, many Vietnams." After the first Haneda Incidents, student movements escalated. The impact of the death of Yamazaki paralleled that of Kanba Michiko, the female University of Tokyo student who was killed during the 1960 ANPO protests. Both deaths drew public outrage and sympathy. Kanba's mother attended Yamazaki's memorial and her father spoke at the event (Saiken Junbi Iinkai, 2018).

One month later on November 12, the Second Haneda Incident occurred, this time to stop Sato's visit to Washington D.C. The day before Sato's departure on November 11, 1967, a significant incident occurred. Yui Chūnoshin, a 73-year-old pacifist and Esperantist, burned himself to death in front of Sato's official residence in protest of Sato's policies and attitudes

toward Okinawa and the US bombing to Vietnam (Asahi Shimbun, November 12, 1967). In the letter to Sato, Yui stated that he “hopes to end the suffering of the Vietnamese people” and asked Sato to press Johnson to end the bombings and start peace negotiation (Asahi Shimbun, November 12, 1967, p. 15; Havens, 1987, p. 136). Yui died the next day, five minutes before Sato’s jet took off from Haneda Airport (Asahi Shimbun, November 13, 1967; Havens, 1987, p. 136). This was a shocking news. Although self-immolation was performed among Buddhist monks in Vietnam, it is a rare method of protest in Japan. It perplexed the government. In his suicide letter to Sato asking him to demand that Johnson end the bombing of Vietnam, Yui stated that he had learned loyalty and patriotism during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, but now he saw the United States repeating in Vietnam the same mistakes Japan had made in China during World War II (Havens, 1987, p. 136). In thinking of the violent death that pacifist Yui chose, Ebisaka (2004) concluded that Yui must have tried the last dialogue by ultimate action outside of language—it had been traumatic for Yui to have spent 12 years as an engineer in Japanese-colonized Manchuria (p. 117-118). Learning about Yui’s death in the newspaper, Takabatake (1971) found that Yui’s daughter was a fellow member of the Voiceless Voices (p. 218).

Yui left an essay before his death. When I read it, I had a feeling...This is not something like a sudden outburst of a solitary old man. In his essay, there was the calmness and intellect of a person who had been contemplating acting. He must be someone like us...Then, I found a connection between Yui and me in the best possible place...Yui was the father of our fellow in the Voiceless Voices. My mind began to shake. When I was in the US, whenever I had read the news of self-immolation by monks and nuns in Vietnam, I was glued to the TV news or radio. But the aftershock I felt of Yui as a person around me was different...I felt Yui’s purpose in our purpose (Takabatake, 1971, pp. 218-219).

Asahi Shimbun reported that 5,000 riot police were mobilized while 5,700 New Left students from the anti-JCP groups, including *Kakumaru* and other groups dashed into Ōtorii

station close to the Haneda Airport with stones and fighting poles (Asahi Shimbun, November 13, 1967). Photos show the fight between helmeted students and equally helmeted riot police with large duralumin shields. Another 70,000 activists from Beheiren, Hansen Seinen Linkai (Antiwar youth committee), the JCP, and other groups demonstrated peacefully against the American policies in Vietnam and Sato's reaffirmations of them when he met President Johnson the following day (Havens, 1987, p. 137). The second Haneda Incident resulted in more than 172 injuries and 333 arrests (Asahi Shimbun, November 13, 1967).

As Steinhoff (2013) pointed out, by 1967 the great majority of Japanese homes had television, and the events and the protests were heavily covered on the evening news (p. 136). Therefore, this sequence of events turned the general public's attention to the Vietnam War. While the impact of Yui's death during the Second Haneda Incident was great on Japanese citizens in general, Yamazaki's death during the First Haneda Incident was huge on students. The First Haneda Incident has taken on an iconic status within the New Left as the point when everything changed, and the movement took off, and it even affected students who were not there (Steinhoff, 2013, p. 139). Even today, a memorial of Yamazaki is still held in Tokyo. When I attended the 49th memorial in October 8, 2016. Yamamoto Yoshitaka, the former leader of *Zenkyōtō* which also opposed the Vietnam War, chaired the memorial event, in which Takahashi Taketomo was an invited speaker. Fall 1967 was a busy time for activists and media. Then, the Intrepid Four was added to this already highly politically explosive environment.

The Intrepid Four

In late evening on October 26, 1967, Yamada Kenji, a University of Tokyo student, was approached by two foreigners outside the "Fūgetsudo" coffee shop in Shinjuku, Tokyo, which

was well known among the postwar artists and hippies in the late 1960s. The two foreigners asked Yamada if he knew any place to stay cheaply. They had only ¥130 (¢36), so Yamada took them to his small room (Yamada, 1998, p.11). There, the two foreigners revealed that they were John and Craig, sailors from the US Navy, who had escaped from the USS carrier *Intrepid* when it entered the US military base at Yokosuka. They then asked Yamada if they could bring two more sailors who were waiting in Fūgetsudo, but his room was only a four-and-half tatami mat room, so they went back to the coffee shop, and told their friends to act separately. Yamada recalled.

They wanted to live in Japan...I called my friends up, and we discussed various options. I also tried to call a professor who had always told us to come anytime whenever we were in trouble. But then he disgustedly told me, "Don't ever get involved in such a matter! Call the police!" I hung up. Two days later, after much contemplation, we contacted Beheiren from the University of Tokyo campus because it seemed to be the most appropriate group to reach out to. Tsurumi Yoshiyuki and Yoshikawa Yūichi came to the campus to meet the two Americans. After talking with the two for an hour, they believed their stories. We then went to someone's place nearby where some more Beheiren activists, including a foreign couple, were waiting for us. While the foreign couple were talking with the two 'deserters,' other people were contacting lawyers and constitution scholars over the phone to seek their opinions (Yamada, 1998, pp.11-14).

This narrative of Yamada shows that he made the right decision to contact Beheiren, and to meet on campus, which he thought was the safest place to meet. Despite the sudden contact from an unknown student on an unexpected happening, the action taken by Yoshikawa and Tsurumi Yoshiyuki was prompt and organized. It might have helped that Yamada was a student from the University of Tokyo, where both Yoshikawa and Tsurumi Yoshiyuki attended. In fact, the University of Tokyo network was strong in Beheiren. In a short amount of time, they were able of arrange for a foreign couple to come over to meet the two deserters. In the context of 1960s Japan, this is not that easy to do. While they were discussing at the residence, they received a call from the Tokyo Beheiren office informing them that two deserters were in

Fūgetsudo. They sounded like Michael and Richard, the two fellow sailors whom John and Craig had asked Yamada to bring in but his room was too small for all of them. Somehow, they also contacted Beheiren through someone else. Arrangements were immediately made, and two more sailors from the Intrepid Four were brought to the residence. Tsurumi Shunsuke later revealed that it was his cousin Tsurumi Yoshiyuki's residence. Yamada recalled.

When the four sailors got together again, they exchanged firm handshakes. They didn't think they would ever meet again. When we left the place, I told the four deserters, "I don't think I'll see you again. I can't directly help you, but I'll expand my antiwar activities." John and Craig firmly shook my hands. Beheiren activists told me to forget everything that I had seen there, and in case I needed to contact them, make sure to tell them "regarding the tofu shop" (Yamada, 1998, pp.14-15).

This was the beginning of the so-called Intrepid Four, and the beginning of Beheiren's underground operation. Despite having distributed fliers to American GIs calling on them to desert, Beheiren was surprised when it actually happened (Sekiya, 1998a, p.20; Oda, 1995, p. 160). Sekiya was in the Tokyo Beheiren's office when the first call was made. He recalled:

When Yoshikawa got the call in the office, he asked back, "DE-SER-TER?" I was sitting next to him, keeping accounts. Everyone in the office fell silent. Before Yoshikawa left the office, he told me they might later need to ask me for help, but I didn't meet the Four. After this news broke, we received lots of letters of support (Sekiya, 2016, personal interview).

The Beheiren office informed Oda and Tsurumi of the news. Oda was out of town. He recalled of this day.

I was on a trip somewhere for a lecture or demonstration, and I got a call to come back immediately as deserters had appeared. When I went to Tsurumi Yoshiyuki's apartment, the four were there. "Real live deserters!" was my first impression. There, we had to think about various things in a short time. First, how to hide them, second, how to get them out of Japan. We had no idea. Compare to the resistance movements in Europe with a long history of struggles, and organizations beyond their borders, we had little knowledge... We had to think and find ways by ourselves (Oda, 1995, p.164-165).

Tsurumi Shunsuke in Kyoto was informed of the news by telegraph as he did not have a home phone at the time. Here is Tsurumi's initial reaction.

A telegram was sent to my home in Kyoto from the Beheiren office in Tokyo. It said, “Deserters appeared. Please call.” Beheiren had been putting the fliers at cafés and bars in Yokosuka, suggesting that GIs desert, but we didn’t think it would actually happen and we were not prepared...but it happened...four of them. We were surprised (Tsurumi, 2004, p. 366; Tsurumi, 2009, p. 119).

The emergence of these four deserters, John M. Barilla (then 19 years old), Richard D. Bailey (19 years old), Craig W. Anderson (20 years old), and Michael A. Lindner (19 years old) changed Beheiren forever. They were not just deserters but were committed ‘antiwar’ deserters, calling themselves ‘patriotic deserters.’ When the four learned that asylum was not even an option in Japan, they repeatedly asked Beheiren for an opportunity to make a public declaration against the Vietnam War because they wanted other Americans, especially those in the military, Japanese, and the entire world to stand up and stop this ‘unjust’ war (Beheiren Nyūsu #27, 1967; Sekiya, 1998a, p. 21-22). Because of the sailors’ young age, Beheiren wanted to make sure desertion was really what they wanted. Thinking of their future, Konaka Yōtarō, writer and the former director of NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation), reminded them, “It’s not too late. You can still go back to the Carrier. You won’t then need a public declaration” (Sekiya, 1998a, p.22). John Barilla pressed him, “Then, our action, why we left the Carrier will never make sense. I won’t hide. I want to appeal” (Sekiya, 1998a, p.22). Beheiren asked Howard Zinn to send someone who could be a witness (Sekiya, 1998a, p. 27). Dr. Ernest P. Young, then a professor at Dartmouth College, came to Japan to interview the four deserters and confirmed that the four sailors’ decisions for desertion were their own.

On the practical side, while protecting the safety of the four deserters was Beheiren’s priority, finding people who could secretly shelter them was an immediate task. Transporting them also required careful planning. It was agreed that nobody should take any memos or notes. They took turns sheltering the four deserters in their homes and asking someone else to take

them. Mathematicians, writers, farmers, church workers, love-hotel owners, and ordinary citizens helped the deserters (Sekiya, 1998a, pp. 53-59). Well-known authors offered their second houses in remote, quiet locations. Meanwhile, meetings were held to discuss the most feasible way for the four deserters to get out of Japan. Eventually, Beheiren came up with the idea of using the Soviet ship Baikal that had a Yokohama-Nakhodka service. Oda recalled of their struggle.

I used to joke that we had so many intellectuals from top-ranking universities in Beheiren, and we even had an American Zen monk like Brian Victoria Ryōjun...so if we think hard, nothing is impossible....but in reality, what these great intellectuals fervently discussed was not about Marxism nor structuralism...it was how to prepare these four live deserters to blend into the crowd of visitors in the Soviet Union liner, how to keep them on the ship after all the visitors get off the ship without looking suspicious...We did contact the Soviet Union. But I want to point out that the country where the four sailors initially wanted to stay was Japan, but Japan was the country that would arrest them instead of accepting them. Sweden was the most realistic option at the time. But how to get to Sweden? Contacting the Soviet Union was the best available solution. Going there via the Soviet Union was not what the four sailors particularly wanted...and the Soviets did not give us a 100% guarantee...so we worried about what would happen to the four sailors in case the Soviets changed their mind (Oda, 1995, p.165-166).

Before the departure, Beheiren had the four deserters write down their statements because they wanted to make public declaration, and Beheiren also wanted the world to know about the significance of the four deserters' action. In the statements, the four deserters expressed their strong opposition to the war in Vietnam because the needless murder of civilians through the systematic bombing of an agricultural, poverty-stricken country by a technological society is criminal (See Appendix A). They were young Americans who chose to enlist right after high school rather than waiting in fear of the draft and were sent to Vietnam. When they walked away from the carrier, they were aware that they might not be able to see their family and friends again. Each of them wrote why they deserted at the risk of their lives and futures. Oda was impressed with the power of their statements.

I was not sure if they could write their statements in decent English. It was when I actually read their statements that I realized my presumption. Each of them wrote up his determination for

desertion, and the principle behind his determination in a clear and powerful form of English with their own words (Oda, 1995, p.167-168).

Beheiren was aware that they were also taking a risk, and there was concern about using the Baikal. So they made a film of the four deserters reading their statements. Oda explained their worries and decision to film them.

Imagine...if they disappeared far into the fog of the North...in that case, only their statements could prove their existence and actions. So, we decided to film the four deserters reading aloud their statements...that would also protect them from unforeseen events, because, by publicly showing the film, their safety would be protected (Oda, 1995, p.166-167).

The documentary film, "The Intrepid Four," was produced by Kubo Keinosuke, a film producer and the first secretary general of Beheiren before Yoshikawa took over (Oda, 1995, p. 167; Sekiya, 1998a, p. 21). Six statements were prepared; a joint statement and individual statements by the four deserters, and another statement by Dr. Young. In the film, the four deserters read aloud their statements as their messages to the world. Tsurumi Shunsuke, who had experienced being sent to war, recalled that he and his fellow activists were about to go to jail by doing this.

The four were initially sheltered at my cousin, Tsurumi Yoshiyuki's place. We all knew our own military system, where deserters faced immediate death by firing squad. Those who helped them were also sent to jail. Oda Makoto thought we would all go to jail, and Beheiren would be crushed if we helped the deserters. So, we decided to make a film. In the process of filming, Oda was supposed to speak as a representative, but then, Oda wanted three more individuals from Beheiren to appear with him...so four of us, Oda Makoto, Kaiko Takeshi, Hidaka Rokurō, and I got together. Hidaka was called for one reason. Believing that we would be arrested, Oda thought it might be a good idea to go to jail with a professor from the University of Tokyo...Hidaka was such a nice guy, and came over at midnight to be in the film...and because we all thought we would be going to jail, we looked very tense in the film (Tsurumi, 2004, p. 366; Tsurumi, 2009, p. 119-120).

Indeed, they did look tense in the film. Coincidentally, the day of filming was the day of the state funeral for Yoshida Shigeru, the former prime minister of postwar Japan. This helped the filming crew because police and the riot squad were called to watch for radical students, so

the car carrying the heavy film equipment and photographers could pass unchallenged (Tsurumi, 2004, p. 366). It was right after the First Haneda Incident, and police in Tokyo were busy watching the New Left students. At this time, police had not yet paid much attention to Beheiren.

Getting Out of Japan

On November 11, 1967, the four deserters went to Yokohama, one of the major ports in Japan, to board the Baikal. Yokohama to Nakhodka is about a 52-hour sailing distance. In the 1960s and 1970s, Yokohama-Nakhodka run by Baikal was very popular among budget tourists traveling to Europe. From the transit point of Nakhodka, tourists could take the Trans-Siberian Railway from Khabarovsk to Moscow, a week-long trip by train. Once in Moscow, Helsinki was the door to Western Europe, and Sweden was one of the few countries that accepted American deserters. There were all kind of passengers in Yokohama, and nobody would suspect when four white young men boarded the Baikal.

Through various channels, Beheiren obtained some 'on-board' visitor-passes. The four deserters got on board with the visitor-passes, pretending they were visitors, who would only stay briefly on the ship to say good-bye to the passengers. Those with a visitor pass needed to get off the ship by a certain time before the ship departed. Yoshikawa revealed the arrangement.

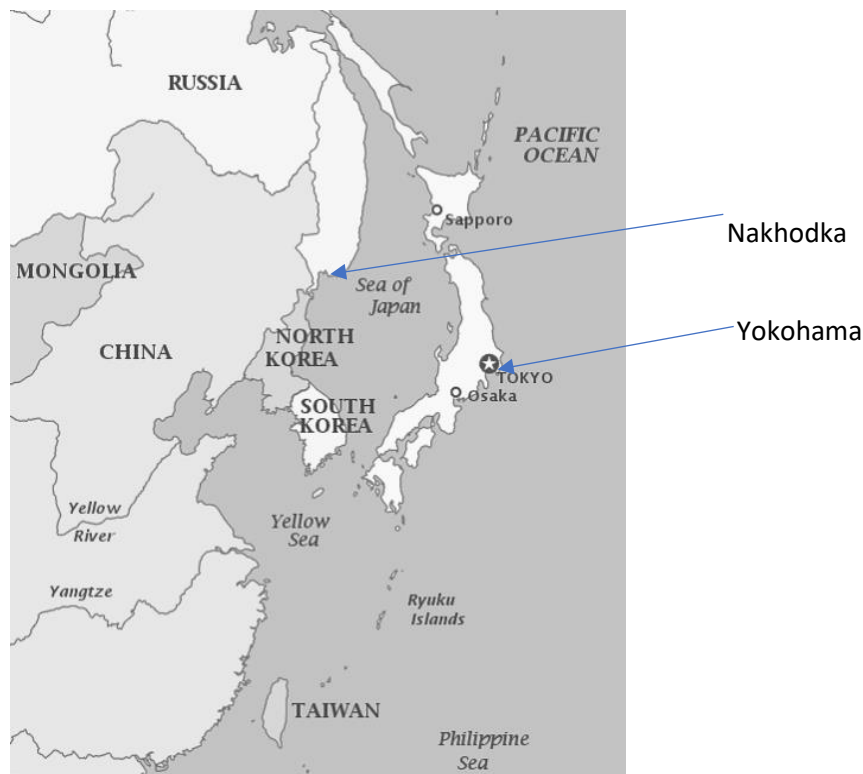
I talked with the Embassy of Soviet Union ahead of the time. The embassy told me, "We'll tolerate them as long as the Japanese police don't find out. In case the police found the four deserters, we cannot stop them from being arrested as sovereignty resides with Japan. Do whatever you can to get them boarded on your own responsibility. We won't help you with that, but when the ship gets out of Japan's territorial waters, and enters international waters, then the four Americans should give their names to the captain. Sovereignty of the ship on international waters resides with Soviet Union, so we will harbor them" (Yoshikawa, 2011, p. 75).

The coordination with the Soviet Union was needed because American servicemen could come and go in Japan without a passport, thus the four deserters had no passports. According to

Richard Bailey, who contributed his travel report later to Beheiren, the most difficult part in getting on the Baikal was pretending to be a tourist. Craig Anderson and Michael Lindner got on board first because if they were arrested, John Barilla and Bailey were going to leave the scene and to try again in two weeks (Bailey, 1969, p. 89). But they all made it. Bailey's report shows how the Soviets treated the four Americans deserters in the middle of the Cold War.

We made it. John and I went down to the bottom of the ship and hid in the bathroom about one and a half hours. When we thought the ship had departed, we went up to the deck, but it was still docked. Everyone was throwing colorful tapes to the people as a send-off, and shouting. The ship left in five minutes. Around 10pm, a guy talked to me, "No one will sleep in the library on a passenger boat." We tried to find the captain and asked him to take us to the Soviet Union... we were not so diplomatic, but a man came and assigned us the rooms and food tickets. The next day was a grey day, and the sea was rough. We were supposed to enter the Soviet port by 5pm. A nervous looking PR guy told us to gather at John's room. He told us to stay in the ship for another hour after all the passengers left. When we got off the ship, we were led to an old room in an old building, where we were given warm clothes, caviars on Russian bread, smoked salmon, beef, with cognac and vodka. (Bailey, 1969, p. 90-91).

Map 5.1. *Yokohama to Nakhodka*



In Japan meanwhile, around the time the Baikal entered international waters on November 13, 1967, Beheiren held a press conference, announcing to the large crowd of reporters, that they had successfully freed four American deserters from the Carrier Intrepid out of Japan. They however did not disclose the whereabouts of the four. Beheiren then showed the film “The Intrepid Four,” in which the four read aloud their statements. Since then the four sailors have been called the “Intrepid Four.” The day after the press conference in Tokyo, the film was also shown in the headquarters of Blue Van Film Studios in New York City, sponsored by Liberation Magazine (Asahi Shimbun, November 15, 1967). When the film ended, Dr. Young, who had just returned from Japan after meeting with the four, reported to the audience that he was convinced that the four servicemen had been honorably motivated in their desire for peace (Asahi Shimbun, November 15, 1967; Trumbull, 1967).

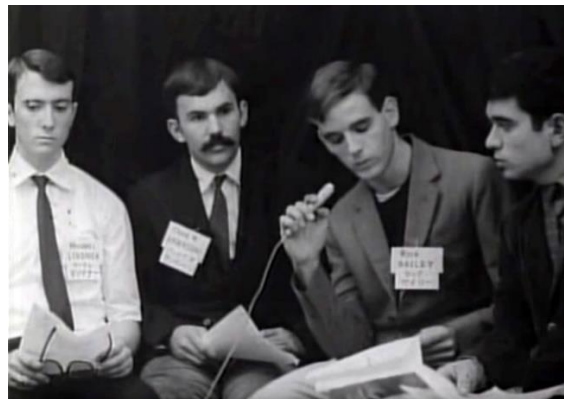


Photo 5.1. The Intrepid Four answering questions in the film (November 1967).

(https://www.google.com/search?biw=1536&bih=758&tbm=isch&sa=1&ei=hr02W5juO4Oe0gKOMrHoAQ&q=%E3%82%A4%E3%83%B3%E3%83%88%E3%83%AC%E3%83%94%E3%83%83%E3%83%89%E3%81%AE4%E4%BA%BA%E8%A8%98%E8%80%85%E4%BC%9A%E8%A6%8B&oq=%E3%82%A4%E3%83%B3%E3%83%88%E3%83%AC%E3%83%94%E3%83%83%E3%83%89%E3%81%AE4%E4%BA%BA%E8%A8%98%E8%80%85%E4%BC%9A%E8%A6%8B&gs_l=img.3...50158.52345.0.52820.12.12.0.0.0.0.124.1256.3j9.12.0....0...1c.1j4.64.img..0.1.123...0i24i23k1.0.u_n1sUJ9IY4#imgrc=Wx5IyifF6ATdFM)

The news drew huge publicity in Japan and elsewhere and evoked a massive response.

This drama occurred when Prime Minister Sato was on the airplane heading to Washington D.C.,

the trip that had prompted the Second Haneda Incident. While Sato issued a joint statement with President Johnson in support of the war, he was chagrined to learn about the Intrepid Four after arriving in D.C. (Havens, 1987, p. 141). The US media coverage of the Intrepid Four was greater than Sato's visit (Asahi Shimbun, November 15, 1967; Sekiya, 1998a, p. 30). This day, November 13, 1967, must have been a busy day for the press in Japan. They had to cover the Second Haneda Incident, the 73-years-old Yui's self-immolation, and Beheiren's press conference on the Intrepid Four, on the same page. All of them were related to the opposition to the Vietnam War.

From the morning of following the press conference, the small Tokyo Beheiren office was all hustle and bustle as it was swamped by phone calls along with reporters and photographers. Letters, telegraphs, and donations were pouring into Beheiren from people all over the nation (Beheiren Nyūsu #27, 1967, p. 1; Oda, 1995, p. 172; Sekiya, 1998a, p. 30; Yoshikawa, 2011, p. 70). On the other hand, attacks against Beheiren also started from certain right-wing groups and the powerful media who smeared Beheiren's action as 'unpatriotic' or 'communist.' The Tokyo Beheiren office was burglarized during this time (Beheiren Nyūsu #28, 1968, pp. 2-6; Oda, 1995, pp. 172-173). The attack was done by a right-wing group from Aichi prefecture, and all their office materials and documents were thrown out of the window to the Kanda river below their office. The media continued to report sensationally about the Intrepid Four.

Meanwhile, the four young Americans, who had just graduated from high school not too long ago, were having a good time traveling around the Soviet Union during the Cold War.

Bailey described their trip:

We were in the train all night long...the food was good, people were kind, and traveling was fun. The next morning, we got to Khabarovsk. The Soviet's Red Cross staff gave us a tour and accommodations. As we were warned about Russian food while we were in Japan, the volume of the food in the evening was way more than we expected. Starting from the abalone appetizer, the waitress gave us plenty of food. We ate one thing after another for one and a half hour as we thought it was rude not to eat. After the last toast, I took a bath and went to bed. I woke up around 2am and wrote some poetry. What a wonderful life! The next morning, we flew to Moscow (Bailey, 1969, p. 90-91).



Photo 5.2. Where are they? Asahi Shimbun, November 14, 1967



Photo 5.3. Film released in the US. Asahi Shimbun, November 15, 1967

On November 21, 1967, the Intrepid Four held an international press conference in Moscow. It became world news. As Beheiren did not say where the Intrepid Four were heading when they had held their press conference a week earlier in Tokyo, Japanese people who were wondering about the whereabouts of the Intrepid Four were relieved by the news from Moscow. From the beginning, Oda Makoto was determined to let people in the world know of the strong will of the Intrepid Four. That is why he made sure to place the Soviet Union in a position to have no choice but to accept American deserters (Oda, 1995, p. 171). In the end, it went beyond Oda's intention. The Soviet Union wholeheartedly welcomed the Intrepid Four. Behind the Iron

curtain amid the Cold War, the Intrepid Four was a unique opportunity for the Soviet Union to publicize their position to the world—four American armed force personnel, who rightfully and publicly opposed America’s unjust war in Vietnam, courageously deserted in Japan, and sought help in the Soviet Union! It was an unexpected gift to Moscow. They even invited the Intrepid Four to tour other parts of the Soviet Union, including Kiev, Sochi, and Tbilisi. Bailey reports.

I was surprised to see no snow in Moscow. Also, there were no barbed wire fences, no MPs, no machine guns, no demons, no polar bears, and no barbarians. I had been taught that those things were in Russia. We were greeted by two people at the airport and settled in a retreat. We became guests of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was a beautiful country, and people were very kind. I want to go back one day and want to learn more about that country, especially the southern part of it. During our three weeks stay in Moscow, we were introduced to lots of Russian culture. We became fairly civilized people, and only got drunk once at the Bolshoi Theater. (Bailey, 1969, p. 92-93).

Here, Bailey described their experience as “becoming fairly civilized people.” For the young Americans who had just graduated from high school, the experience in Vietnam, Japan, and then the Soviet Union in such a circumstance was a globalizing experience that was transformative although they might have not realized the implication at the time. Moscow prepared them with Red Cross passports, and on December 29, 1967, the Intrepid Four arrived safely in Stockholm, their final destination, and were greeted by many reporters at the airport (Bailey, 1969, p. 93; Beheiren Nyūsu #29, 1968, p. 3; Sekiya, 1998a, p. 31). It was two months after they walked away from their ship in Yokosuka. Sweden awarded them permanent residency ten days later (Beheiren Nyūsu #29, 1968, p. 3; Sekiya, 1998a, p. 31). Cortright (1975) pointed out that the Intrepid Four was the first known anti-Vietnam War incident within the Navy (p. 107).



Photo 5.4. Is the Vietnam War right?
Asahi Shimbun, December 1, 1967



Photo 5.5. Arrived in Sweden.
Asahi Shimbun, December 30, 1967

No event transformed Beheiren more than the desertion of the four airmen from the aircraft Intrepid (Havens, 1987, p. 141). Going through the Soviet Union probably was the appropriate choice because it is much closer to Japan and the accessibility to the Western Europe was much greater than going to Cuba which was too close to the US.

The Intrepid Four Spoke Out

From the beginning, the Intrepid Four wanted to make a public declaration. So Beheiren had each of them write their statement, and a joint statement. They wanted to speak to people, and this public statement served that purpose. Normally, deserters do not release public declarations when they desert. Statements written by the Intrepid Four are therefore valuable to learn what makes servicemen decide to take the drastic measure of desertion. While other deserters who followed them in Japan also wrote statements, the Intrepid Four's public statements were the most comprehensive. The four clearly knew that 'desertion' was a serious

action that required them giving up seeing their families and friends back home again. I obtained the original version in English courtesy of Sekiya. They are worth reading as we could see what these American young men had to go through, what was in their minds, their pain, their consciousness, their youthful sense of justice with a sense of urgency. Below is the joint statement titled by “Four Patriot Deserters.” (See Appendix A).

Joint statement.

JOINT STATEMENT

BY FOUR PATRIOTIC DESERTERS
OF THE USS INTREPID

Nov. 1, 1967, Tokyo

You are now looking at four deserters. Four patriotic deserters from the United States Armed Forces. Throughout history, the name deserter has applied to cowards, traitors and misfits. We are not concerned with categories or labels. We have reached the point where we must stand up for what we believe to be the truth. This overshadows the consequences imposed by the categories.

Why Have We Done This?

We oppose the escalation of the Vietnam war because in our opinion the murder and needless slaughter of civilians through the systematic bombing of an agricultural, poverty stricken country, by a technological society, is criminal.

We believe that the U.S. must discontinue all bombing, and pull out of Vietnam, letting the Vietnamese people govern themselves.

We believe that a majority of the people in Japan and the U.S. oppose the war in Vietnam, but are individually indifferent in taking actions to move towards peace. We appeal to the people the world over to realize that each one of us is responsible for the slaughter in Vietnam.

We believe that further escalation in Vietnam will eventually lead to a direct confrontation with China, resulting in a world war.

We oppose the war as true Americans, not affiliated with any political party.

We face military disciplinary action as a result of our beliefs, therefore we seek political asylum in Japan, or any other country not engaged in the war.

We believe that the people in Japan, seeking peace in Vietnam, should unite with the Americans, and all other peaceful people of the world, in a united stand against the war.

We oppose the militaristic impression the U.S. is foreign on the world. Through military occupation and economic domination, the U.S. controls many small countries. We oppose American military forces in Vietnam, but not Americans. With only seven per cent of the world's population and control of one third of the world's wealth, Americans should make a humanitarian stand rather than a military stand.

We believe that all military expenses should be cut. The money now spent for the war effort, should be rechanneled into health, education and welfare, throughout the world.

It is our fervent hope that our actions will move you, wherever you are, whoever you are, to do whatever you can to bring peace to Vietnam.

To conclude, we think that we have made it clear that our decision to publicize our action in deserting from the military has been made in the hope that other Americans, particularly those in military, the people in Japan and of all countries can be spurred into action to work towards stopping this war.

We appeal to all of you wherever you may be to take action in whatever way you can to bring peace to the troubled country of Vietnam. Let all of us unite together and work for peace.

John Michael Barilla
Richard D. Bailey
Michael A. Lindner
Craig W. Anderson

In their individual statements, each of the four briefly described their upbringing as middle-class family, mentioned siblings, and expressed they would not be able to see their family again. All of them mentioned that they did not care about being labeled (e.g. communist, anti-American, or some kind of "...ist"). They mentioned being jailed or sentenced. They also expressed fear of escalation to world war. Here are some excerpts from the individual statement.

I felt that I was not prepared for college, so I had very little choice but to enter the military or get drafted. This ultimatum seemed quite contradictory to a supposedly democratic society. All war is ugly and I cannot understand how the United States, supposedly standing for a world peace, could possibly release such a colossal destruction force against such a small underdeveloped Asian country. I can no longer betray my own humanitarian beliefs and the ideals of peace shared by so many throughout the world, by further engaging myself in the war...A governmental speech containing so many word such as "Communism", "freedom" and "the aggressor" hardly gives an excuse to murder countless numbers of Americans and Vietnamese...It is time for Americans to wake up to reason and not to words, peace and not to war. Because of my actions and beliefs, I will be jailed if I am apprehended...I am just an American standing up for what I think is right. I am not alone (Barilla, 1967)

If these people (western society) would place things in their proper order, using the mind and mental processes to amplify the feelings, there would be no war in Vietnam, or hereafter. But, since the mental process is now primary, people will continue to fight, ideas against ideas, people against people, categories against categories. I will fall into the category of radical, pacifist, and ultimately communist, the final enemy of the U.S. and American system. I am an American. It hurts to leave my friends, family, and future there, knowing I can never return. But I am willing to be labeled a communist, if this is what it takes to stop this war, and bring America to its senses. Let the spirit of the constitution prevail (Bailey, 1967)

I regret that I will never again be able to see my family because of what I believe in and stand up for these things that are guaranteed me by the Bill of Rights and denied me by the military. Taking the consequences in consideration and placing them in their proper perspective, I have decided to desert the military and the crimes that it represents. I believe that my presence in supporting the Vietnam war was immoral and entirely inhumane. To take another person's life for any reason is crime against myself as well as the person whose blood I am shedding. It is too bad that I will be labeled with some kind of "...-ist" pronoun and do not want to be classified in anyway except as being an American who refuse to support mass military slaughter (Lindner, 1967)

While I was deployed aboard the USS Intrepid, I saw tons and tons of bombs being loaded and jet after jet launched. The U.S. military machine is rapidly tearing down the freedom guaranteed us as Americans. We must by non-violent movement affect changes in this monstrous structure. If the government's actions are not supported by the majority, then the people must react. I appeal to the whole of America as a fellow young American to stop the war machine. I was and still am aware that if I would have stayed in the military service, I would have been honorably discharged within eight months. And now I face a long prison sentence. This has little meaning in the light of further escalation into a world war. If we are to attain peace, we as individuals must all act now (Anderson, 1967)

In another part of his individual statement above, Anderson described his experience. Despite both a civilian psychologist and a naval psychiatrist agreeing that his psychological state with his moral and philosophical belief he was not fit to perform his duties, the captain overruled the opinions of the medical officer, and he was deployed (Anderson, 1967).

Statement by Dr. Ernest P. Young. At the request of Beheiren, Howard Zinn sent Dr. Young to Japan to meet the four to determine if their decision to desert was real and on their own. In his testimonial statement, as a person in profound and conscientious opposition to his government in Vietnam, Young welcomed the bravery and integrity of the Intrepid Four. Not just confirming that it was real, Young pointed out that what the four witnessed and experienced in Vietnam fundamentally triggered their conscientiousness, and that realization made their lives unbearable because of that awakening, to the point of having to say good-bye to their homeland. (See Appendix B).

Legal Concerns

During the *Intrepid Four* drama, legal issues were of concern to everyone involved. If people who watched the news on the *Intrepid Four* did not believe them, Oda Makoto thought that was their problem. His concern was for the unknown future of Beheiren by launching activities that could be illegal.

What will happen to Beheiren after this? Do I go to jail for a few years for doing this? Well, I could then just write some more novels...but it could be unbearable. For revolutionaries, going to jail as a consequence of their revolutionary actions might be an honor, but for an ordinary citizen, just a novelist, that's quite annoying (Oda, 1995, p. 171).

Fortunately, none of those who appeared in the film “*Intrepid Four*” were sent to jail. It turned out that while deserting is illegal for American servicemen under American martial law and thus deserters would be the target of inquiry, Japanese citizens who shelter American deserters in Japan were not doing anything illegal because there were no laws to exert control over those who support American deserters in Japan (Kuno & Oda, p. 1998, p. 490; Oda, Suzuki, & Tsurumi, 1969, pp. 256-258; Yoshikawa, 2011, p. 72). Therefore, there was no problem for Japanese citizens to shelter American deserters in Japan. Due to ANPO, however, if American authorities request the Japanese police to arrest a certain deserter, Japanese police are obligated to arrest and turn him over to the US military. This ironic legal situation posed a fundamental question of Japan's sovereignty. Oda (1995) pointed out.

It was ironic. Thanks to ANPO, we were protected and not arrested. Because of ANPO, we became America's accomplice in the Vietnam War. Because of ANPO, American deserters can become 'wanted' personnel from both the American government and the Japanese government. But because of the Japan-US Administrative Agreement in ANPO, Japanese citizens involved with American deserters were not legally charged. It is comically ironic. The US military personnel allowed themselves free access in and out of Japan in order to keep 100% freedom, in other words, for self-convenience, in pursuing their military missions. So, it is out of Japan's control. Under this ironic circumstance, this means that assisting smuggling, which is illegal, was not supposed to exist (for American servicemen) to begin with (Oda, 1995, p. 171-172).

Up to this day, American servicemen can enter or leave Japan without a passport, just like domestic traveling in the US, totally legally. So, the term ‘smuggling’ cannot be applied to them. Yet, when authorities are determined to achieve their missions, they will likely try their best. Beheiren warned in their newsletters to act carefully. Later, a “Legal Advice” section was added to *Dassōhei Tsushin*. They suggested that it was better to think of each deserter basically as a ‘wanted’ person and provided detailed advice in case Beheiren activists got involved in trouble with the police.

The American military authority can ask Japanese police to arrest deserters. If the Japanese police suspect someone, they have the right of on the spot inspection or asking them to appear at a police station. If one refuses these requests, the maximum fine is ¥10,000 (\$28). However, it has never been applied. We suggest that you answer any inquiry by saying “I never met them,” “I don’t know,” and “I can’t say.” In case you are with a deserter at the time of the inquiry, and he was arrested, you might be asked to make a voluntary appearance, but try your best to refuse it, and you do not need to answer any question. Instead, you should ask for the police officer’s ID, write down his name and status, ask for an arrest warrant (they don’t usually have one), ask what kind of charge has been made, and where he (the deserter) would be taken after the arrest. Then inform us as soon as possible. Beheiren and many of our attorneys will immediately stage a protest (*Dassōhei Tsūshin*#8, 1970).

Oda later reflected on Beheiren’s deserter assistance activities that resulted in his being detained at immigration when traveling to the US for the rest of his life.

The Beheiren movement was an anti-war movement achieved by ordinary people, and that was powerful, particularly assistance for deserters...I guess it was unpleasant for American authorities. I think they really hated our deserter assistance activities. In fact, my name is still on the blacklist, and I’m still detained at Immigration every time I go to the US (Kuno & Oda, 1998, pp. 490-491).

Kuno Osamu also had been on the blacklist since the ANPO protest, and had detained by US immigration, so he stopped going to the US all together (Kuno & Oda, 1998, p.491). Tsurumi Shunsuke also stopped going to the US altogether after the US refused to issue him a visa when Stanford University invited him for an assistant professorship in 1951. Tsurumi, at the time, was denied a visa for his activism in the anti-nuclear movement.

Conclusion

The emergence of the Intrepid Four fundamentally transformed Beheiren. It immediately threw them from an open sphere of civic movement to the unknown sphere of underground operation. Although both spheres were uniquely transnational, the real process of transnational operation that involved sheltering American deserters and getting them out of Japan to Sweden was supported by countless ordinary citizens of the world, and it was powerful.

For those individuals who interacted with Beheiren in the Intrepid Four case, including students like Yamada Kenji who happened to encounter the four deserters, and ordinary citizens who sheltered them, the experience was the introduction to transnational activism. They were thrown unexpectedly into a globalizing experience. Likewise, after the nightmare experience in Vietnam, four American deserters interacted with diverse sets of people in Japan had unique experiences through Beheiren. They got on board the Baikal, the ship of the Soviet Union, the country they were taught to be their worst enemy. Contrary to what they were taught, the Soviets treated them very well throughout their journey. Connecting to Beheiren enabled the Intrepid Four settle in Sweden. For them, it was these globalized processes that affected their later lives.

One of the civilian foreigners in Japan whom the Intrepid Four met was Gary Snyder, an American poet of beat generation who is the winner of a Pulitzer Prize for poetry. Snyder lived in Kyoto, and Tsurumi Shunsuke chatted with him on the street whenever they met each other (Tsurumi, 2012, p. 434-435). One of those days, Tsurumi asked Snyder if he could take care of two deserters for a half day. Tsurumi recalled.

There was a day that I could not take care of deserters, who were the first ones that came to us. Snyder willingly took two young American deserters. He took them to Nara, and showed them Tōdai-ji temple, the biggest wooden temple in the world. On the way back, he took them to a small bar, where a sea cucumber dish was served. Looking at the two young American deserters who appeared to be hesitant to eat that, Snyder had them eat it by telling them, “If you can’t eat such a thing, it would be difficult to

live in Japan in hide.” These two later freed to Sweden via the Soviet Union, so the sea cucumber could have been a good training (to a different culture) (Tsurumi, 2012, p. 435).

Although Tsurumi did not mention that they were two of the Intrepid Four, it was obvious by Tsurumi’s narrative and archive that they were two of the Intrepid Four. This was later confirmed. Gary Snyder is someone that young American sailors would be unlikely to meet. Their decision to desert in Japan, and interactions with Tsurumi, one of Beheiren’s rooted cosmopolitans, led them to encounter Snyder. We will see that this global encounter had additional meaning at the end of this study.

CHAPTER 6

A FLOOD OF DESERTERS AND A TRANSNATIONAL UNDERGROUND OPERATION

It takes courage to go to war. It takes more courage to say “No” to go (1969)
(Terry Whitmore, deserted in Japan in 1968)

Did the government put me in this shit? (2005)
(Terry Whitmore, 1947-2007)

There were no borders. Underground tradition is handed down from citizen to citizen.
Transnationalism is not about rhetoric but about concrete action (Takahashi Taketomo, 2016)

The tumultuous 1967 ended with the news that the Intrepid Four had safely reached their ultimate destination, Sweden. The whole development of the Intrepid Four brought great publicity to Beheiren (Havens, 1987, p. 130). The impact of the Intrepid Four was especially big on their fellow American servicemen. Entering 1968, more deserters appeared to Beheiren one by one. Takahashi’s story provides a good example as to how ordinary people individually get involved with seemingly clandestine activity. Takahashi returned to Japan from France in 1967 right after the Intrepid Four event occurred. One day, he stopped to see Motono, his childhood friend, to ask him about sheltering an American deserter. Takahashi already had one with him. Motono and his (then) wife Sakamoto were both TV producers. Takahashi and Motono were in their early 30s, and Sakamoto was in her late 20s. We can see the transformational process from the following conversations by Takahashi, Motono and Sakamoto.

Sakamoto: I had been to Beheiren rallies. The most memorable one was the one when Sartre and Beauvoir came in 1966. At the time, I enjoyed freedom, as there were no deserters yet. Another thing was that, around that time, I read an essay by Hotta Yoshie (novelist) in the Asahi newspaper. A story about when he was living in France. A couple who owned the used-book store whom Hotta befriended told him that they had sheltered deserters during the Algerian War. I was impressed with the story, and with the fact that there were ordinary people who did such a thing in France. I clipped and saved the article. Then, soon after I read about it, deserters emerged in Japan too...I was Motono's wife back then and Takahashi was a frequent guest to our home.

Takahashi: On one of those days, I asked them if they could shelter one deserter.

Motono: That was January 1968...

Sakamoto: Yes, it was right after the Intrepid Four. It was January 1968.

Motono: So it started by accepting one deserter.

Takahashi: I already had one deserter, so I asked them if they could also shelter one. They didn't seem to be reluctant at all.

Sakamoto: Because I had already read Hotta's story of the French couple, it was natural for me to take them in when they came to us.

Takahashi: Yes...it went naturally.

Motono: It was more like...once we got involved...then, it was one after another...

Hereafter, Motono and Sakamoto quickly became involved in Beheiren. It did not take them long to become the ones who would ask people around them for help just as Takahashi had asked them. All three of them told me that they did not feel like they were doing anything special. Rather, they thought they did what anyone would do as a human. The three of them, who were born in the 1930s, became the core activists in assisting deserters.

As the number of deserter-candidates increased, so did the activity of American intelligence that resulted in arrests of deserters. This chapter shows Beheiren's daily struggle in dealing with American deserters and American intelligence agents in Japan under the Cold War, by introducing a few cases of deserters. This chapter also introduces the long-hidden story of the transnational underground operation that Beheiren/JATEC performed with the help of the underground tradition in Europe, which has only come to light recently. Connecting with the underground networks of Europe was a transformational shift for Beheiren. It greatly helped Beheiren/JATEC send the last two deserters to France. First, I will start with the post-Intrepid Four deserters.

Kim Jin Suh, or Kenneth Charles Griggs in his American name, a 21 years old Korean American soldier, appeared to Beheiren in early 1968 right after the Intrepid Four. In late March 1967, even before the Intrepid Four, Kim Jin Suh had deserted from Camp Zama, the US Army post in Kanagawa prefecture while on R & R (Rest & Recuperation) from Vietnam. Not knowing about Beheiren, Kim sought help from the Japan Communist Party and the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (Chongryun) but was turned away. The Chongryun, however, suggested that he contact the Cuban Embassy, which accepted Kim (Oda, 1995, p.163; Sekiya, 1998a, p.40; Yoshikawa, 2011, p. 72). The Cuban Embassy informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) that they were protecting an American soldier seeking refuge, and this was reported in the media on April 1, 1967 (Sekiya, 1998a, pp.40-41). The MOFA requested the extradition of Kim as Japan had no protective rights for political asylum. Cuba replied that, as a signatory member of the Havana Convention, they would not do so (Sekiya, 1998a, p. 41). In early January 1968, Kim sneaked out of the Cuban Embassy and tried to seek help from *Sōhyō*, the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan. According to Yoshikawa, Suzuki Michihiko, a French literature scholar, who was in *Sōhyō* by chance, contacted Beheiren to inform them that Kim was at the *Sōhyō* office. Yoshikawa was surprised because he thought Kim was sheltered in Cuban Embassy, but he met Kim anyway. Acknowledging that people might have different memories of how they met with the Cuban Embassy personnel, Yoshikawa left his recollection.

I met Kim in a coffeeshop, and I learned that he had left the Cuban Embassy without telling them. I told Kim that was rude to them, who had been taking a great risk for sheltering him for such a long time (for about 9 months then). So I made a call to the Cuban Embassy, and informed them, “We have Kim.” The Cuban Embassy was so surprised and told me, “We thought he must have been arrested. Please wait for us. We’ll meet you right there!” Two guys from the Embassy drove up in a black official car and rushed into the coffeeshop. The Embassy staffer put something from his pocket on the table. Everybody was frightened to see that. It was a gun. The embassy person asked Kim, “Do you know why I brought this?” Kim got pale with fear. Then the person told Kim, “We will protect you if the American MPs or the Japanese police try to raid you. That’s

why we brought this. Don't you understand we have been really worried about you? Kim hung his head, and returned to the Embassy with them (Yoshikawa, 2011, p. 74).

According to Yoshikawa (2011), just a few years after their revolution, Cuba was a country that was indeed filled with revolutionary feelings. Most of the staff in the Cuban Embassy in Tokyo were in their 20s, the older ones were in their 30s, and they were young men who had participated in the revolution (Yoshikawa, 2011, p. 73). A while later, Kim contacted Beheiren again, "I left the Cuban Embassy again. I discussed it with them. Please help me." Kim explained to Beheiren that the Embassy people told him he could stay if he wanted but if he wanted to leave, the embassy would need to inform MOFA as all the authorities in Japan knew that they had been sheltering him. The Cuban Embassy was kind enough to give Kim 72 hours before they would contact the MOFA (Yoshikawa, 2011, pp. 74-75).

Yoshioka Shinobu had a slightly different story about Kim and the Cuban Embassy officials. In November 1967, around the time the Intrepid Four appeared, Yoshioka was the only one who was in the office when he received a call from Kim, who had called the Beheiren office from the nearby Ochanomizu station.

So, I walked to the Ochanomizu station to pick Kim up, and contacted Yoshikawa for advice. Around the time, there were a few *ryokan* (Japanese-style inns) in Ochanomizu, where novelists who were finishing their writing stayed, and we knew many of them. We then found that Matsugi Nobuhiko was in one of those inns, so we went there. Yoshikawa called the Cuban Embassy as they must have been worried about Kim's disappearance. They rushed to the inn...it was November 1967, so just several years after the Cuban Revolution. The Ambassador, who was one of the revolutionists and a pianist, came to see us. What surprised me was that, because it was a small Japanese inn, a room with tatami mat and no chairs, the Ambassador could not sit down on the floor (like we do). A gun came out of his pocket as he tried to sit...I thought, "This is what a revolutionary looks like!" That was the beginning of my involvement with deserters when we didn't have any hiding place yet (Yoshioka, 2016, personal interview).

Yoshioka's recollection is different from that of Yoshikawa. As this incident happened more than 50 years ago, and Yoshikawa is no longer with us, there is no way to check. But they

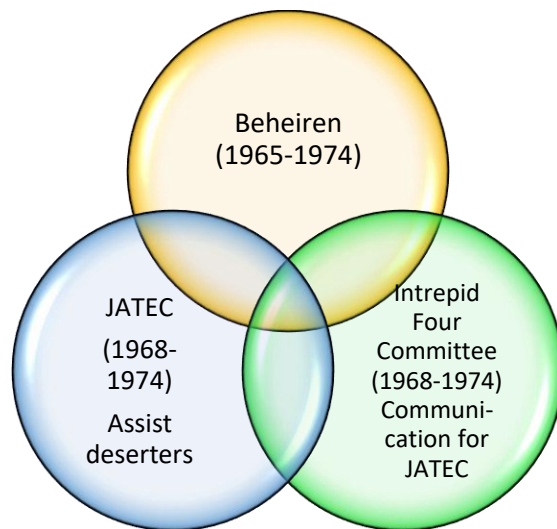
both remembered that the Cuban revolutionists carried guns, something rarely seen this casually in Japan. Since Kim left the Embassy twice, both events might have happened. Kim appeared to be a difficult person to deal with, and Yoshioka had to take him to Kyoto where people took turns sheltering him. Nevertheless, his weariness of Vietnam was so strong, Kim not only wanted to pay for the dinners he had with Beheiren activists, but also donated ¥130,000 (\$361) to Beheiren for their antiwar efforts. In his letter to Oda Makoto, Kim (1968) expressed that he did not want to use the money he earned in Vietnam and rather hoped that Beheiren would use his money to help other deserters like him (p. 1). In his statement, Kim expressed a great appreciation to Beheiren, as well as to the Cuban Embassy and all the people in the Embassy, especially to the Ambassador and his family, for allowing him to stay for a long time in their residence. Kim wanted to hold a filmed press conference like the Intrepid Four did, but in his case, an arrest warrant had been issued, so he was not allowed to be filmed. By this time, Beheiren already had other deserters.

Birth of the Specialized Committee: JATEC

After the Intrepid Four and Kim Jin Suh, Kurihara Yukio, a literary critic, suggested at the meeting, “If this happens this frequently, we cannot do our primary activities. Why don’t we create a special group in charge of helping deserters?” Oda Makoto immediately replied, “Why don’t you start it then?” (Sekiya, 1998a, p. 50). This was a typical example of one of the two rules of Beheiren, “*idashippe no hōsoku* [if you suggest something, you initiate it].” In April 1968, Japan Technical Committee for Assistance to US Antiwar Deserters (JATEC) was born. It was an undercover operational group that exclusively focused on assisting American deserters. Kurihara, the *idashippe* (person who suggested it), became the chairperson of JATEC.

Throughout 1968, deserter-candidates kept coming. Sheltering deserters, who usually came with just the clothes they wore, was a monumental task—providing everything from places to stay, meals, clothes, all the necessities for their daily lives. And this needed to be done secretly. They should never attract the US Military Police (MP) or Japanese authorities. Facing a new reality, endless meetings were held to solve dilemmas and controversies that would inevitably come with operating ‘underground’ in a popular civic movement like Beheiren (Yoshikawa, 2009). Oda (1995) also had concerns about bringing ‘secrecy’ into a movement that had so far been very open. To reduce the dilemma, they created another group called “The Intrepid Four Committee” as a front group of JATEC so each JATEC activist could act individually. The idea was that each individual in JATEC is JATEC, and the Intrepid Four Committee was the group of broad ordinary citizens who supported JATEC (Oda, 1995, p. 174).

Figure 6.1. *Functional Body of Beheiren*



While JATEC would individually operate underground activities, the Intrepid Four Committee would play the front role of public relations for JATEC. All JATEC's publications were published in the name of the Intrepid Four Committee. Sekiya (2016) said that JATEC was the only activity in Beheiren that it did not publicize (personal interview). From this point, Beheiren consisted of three overlapping groups that had different roles—Beheiren as a whole was an ongoing antiwar movement, JATEC was aimed solely at assisting deserters, and the Intrepid Four Committee was a communication project for JATEC.

The lines were not always clear as roles overlapped at times, but the three groups functioned well as a triple-feature of the Beheiren movement. They worked independently and cooperatively. The Intrepid Four Committee started publishing *Dassōhei Tsūshin* [Deserters News] on August 2, 1969. As some people assumed that JATEC was an underground sub-group of Beheiren, they explained in the initial issue that it was not 'underground' but suggested that they needed to watch out for spies. They were very careful.

JATEC is not a group of special experts or schemers. It is an anti-war civic movement where ordinary citizens just like you, voluntarily spend time or money to support deserters. Just as Beheiren is not an organization, JATEC is not an 'underground' organization. Anyone can participate whether you speak English or not. Please do whatever you can. You will be JATEC at the moment you donate money, a room, or transport deserters. We have some basic rules based on our past experiences. For example, we need to be careful about potential spies and the security authorities, although worrying too much about secrecy will invite the decline of the movement. Most importantly, this movement cannot continue a single day without broader support from ordinary citizens like you. Like Beheiren, JATEC does not have a headquarters nor branch office. We are facing an increasing number of deserters, and we need your help...if there is one JATEC in one town across Japan, authorities will not be able to meddle with us...we take a positive approach to American soldiers. Most of them come from lower or lower-middle class backgrounds, and they are both perpetrators and victims with regard to the Vietnam War. It is in our best interest that we treat them as human beings and share our antiwar principles with them. This movement can produce more deserters and will expand the civil disobedience that has already been happening in the US military bases" (*Dassōhei Tsūshin*#1, 1969, p.1).

The struggle of dealing with deserters and needing to be responsible with their supporters at the same time can be read between the lines in this message. “It was really a hand-to-mouth operation,” said Motono (2016, personal interview). Gradually, JATEC developed a plan for how to help deserters, and a 35-item personal datasheet was created, including their background, education, military service record, and thoughts on the Vietnam War (Sekiya, 1998a, p. 56). They also developed a protocol for screening the deserter-candidates.

Screening the Deserter-Candidates

I use the term ‘deserter-candidate’ because JATEC did not accept all those who contacted them. Hiding American deserters in 1960s Japan was beyond the scope and imagination of anyone, and a careful examination was needed. This was because there were various kinds of deserters, and not everyone was as disciplined and serious as the Intrepid Four. There was also the presence of US intelligence agents pretending to be deserters. Also, American soldiers were often inept at waiting in hiding for an uncertain period of time. For these reasons, screening was essential to determine whether a candidate could bear the isolated life on the run, and whether he was a government agent or not. This process was demanding but critical for keeping deserters, host families and JATEC activists safe.

Process of sheltering American deserters. If JATEC determined that going back to the base was in the person’s best interest, arrangements were made accordingly. If JATEC determined to accept the deserter-candidate, he would be placed in some household. Takahashi (1998) described the process as follows (pp. 112-113). Items 4 to 6 of the process were repeated as needed. Item 7 became harder as time went on.

- 1) Interview to determine if JATEC would accept the deserter or not
- 2) Secure a place for him to stay

- 3) Transport him to the place (usually someone's house)
- 4) Find the next house to stay
- 5) Transport him to the next house
- 6) Provide counseling when any trouble occurred in the host family
- 7) Departure to a third country.

Unlike today, there were not many foreign residents in Japan at that time. Transnational operations required careful effort. As deserter-candidates increased, so did troubles and horror stories. Many deserters had problems with drugs, alcohol, and women. They were young, and most of them were from rural areas with limited education and life experiences. Out of urgent necessity to lessen the stress on host families, JATEC created a guidance manual. The following passages in *Dassōhei Tsūshin* indicate that those Japanese families who sheltered American deserters faced a variety of issues that they probably had never imagined. The manual explained who the American deserters were and how to treat them.

There is no definite way of assisting deserters. It depends on each deserter and the host family... Yet we would like you to know the basic aspects of American deserters.

- 1) Most of them are 18 to 21-years-old, like high school students, or freshmen in college.
- 2) Before they entered the military system, most of them had little idea or interest about this war or politics. Most of them blindly believed the propaganda of the American government. Some of them have racial, religious and ideological prejudice, especially groundless prejudice against communism.
- 3) Further, by having been thrown into the unusual situation of the military and the war, they have extensive experiences that even adults do not have, such as with drugs, women, guns and murder.
- 4) However, they are young men who took the drastic measure of desertion to reject the Vietnam War and the inhumane military system, instinctively, or by experience, or deliberately.

In sum, while they are ordinary American young men, there are certain aspects that make it difficult to treat them as we would civil members of society. For example, they were not antiwar heroes from the beginning. You may be disappointed if you expect that. In the end, we are equal humans. As human and humans, it is critical to first discuss our expectations and conditions, in order to avoid unnecessary misunderstanding (*Dassōhei Tsūshin*#8, 1970, pp. 6-7).

All the deserters came to the host family with a notebook, filled with reports by former host families about him, including meals, bath, laundry, and health conditions. This helped the

next host family, as most of them had no idea what to do with their unique guests. JATEC also provided practical guidance to reduce the burden and stress on the host family, including safety, living conditions (e.g. no special treatment needed), what to do when they get sick, financial and legal concerns, as well as in case of police inquiry or the arrest of the deserter (Dassōhei Tsūshin#8, 1970).

To secure the safety and confidentiality of the host families, deserters were not supposed to stay in one home for too long, and they kept moving from home to home. That was when student activists like Yoshioka and Sekiya were called. In assisting deserters, no one, including the deserters, used their real names, and everyone had a code name. No memos were taken while transporting them house to house to avoid leaving any evidence that could fall into the wrong hands. This is one of the reasons that grasping the whole picture of Beheiren is not easy. Protecting the host family's address and phone number was critical, and deserters were not informed of the host family's contact information. Motono (2004) described the hustle of sheltering deserters.

Certain media labeled us as an 'underground' organization of Beheiren, but in reality, it was a loose network of volunteers who were housewives, salarymen, public servants, teachers, and students. In the poor living environment of the era that cannot be compared with that of today, it took more than ordinary effort to offer one room to deserters who came one after another, provide them with three meals and take care of their daily lives. Usually, we had them move to the next place in one week to ten days, so we had to keep finding new places. Therefore, deserters ended up traveling around Japan. Moving them around safely and sheltering them for a long time were gracious acts of hundreds of nameless citizens. Not once, was there a case where a deserter was arrested because of anonymous reporting by Japanese. Overall, I am proud because these were appropriate actions to take as citizens under a Peace Constitution...I met many deserter-candidates, probably more than 50 of them, including those who returned to their bases. There were a variety of types of soldiers including those who had been to Vietnam and were injured physically or mentally or both. A great majority of them used drugs to escape from the fear. On the other hand, those who had not yet gone to Vietnam were mostly cheerful, some were drunk and made trouble in host homes. Most of them were far from the image of antiwar warriors. If there was one commonality, it was their attitude of "Never believe in what the government and military say." If I were to summarize their beliefs, it would condense to "I will refuse to be killed or kill for what they (authorities) call freedom and democracy" (Motono, October 1, 2004).

The commonalty, the attitude of deserters, “Never believe in what the government and military say” that Motono found in deserters was exactly what Motono himself came to believe after the war. Motono’s generation, who were born in the 1930s could understand how American deserters felt about their government and respected their younger counterparts from America no matter how badly they behaved at times.

Once launched, JATEC became the vehicle that kept running, non-stop. Yoshioka’s story in dealing with deserters shows the reality of American deserter-candidates.

Around that time, there was a Mongolian scholar who was very supportive of Beheiren. I did house-sitting at his residence while he was gone to London for a year. The house functioned as a base and a hideout for JATEC for the screening. That said, I was one of the first to meet the deserter-candidates. Soon after, I was always followed on my way to class...and the shadow lasted for a few years. My task was to care for deserters for the first one week or so to determine if they were capable of living in hiding. Most of them were either neurotic, injured, drunk, or drug addict...they were not like antiwar proponents...they just didn’t want to be killed more than anything else, and they didn’t know the meaning of killing. In those days, there were helicopters flying over Tokyo every morning to report traffic to the media...deserters would wake up frightened and groaning with the sound of the helicopters...I then realized how they were traumatized in Vietnam (Yoshioka, 2016, personal interview).

Most American deserters were the same generation as Yoshioka. Hearing and watching them, Yoshioka revealed that he lost his desire to study in the US. Although he could easily make friends with them, he had come to think he did not want to go to a country where those people live. Sometimes, JATEC had to send the deserters back to their bases. It was hard to turn them down but was often necessary.

Deserters were penniless, so we took them around Japan every week or 10 days with donations from Beheiren. We bought everything for them from the train ticket to meals. I know at least 30 deserter-candidates, including the spies who were blended into the crowds... Not even half of them got out of Japan. I had to tell them don’t do this, do that, follow me...and I realized that, in such a case as assisting deserters, traditional US-Japan relations in which the US always tells us what to do was reversed. How I came to realize this was when we made the decision for a certain deserter that he was unlikely to be able to endure the life in hideouts for months in Japan (until they could get him out of Japan). In such a case we took him to some bustling station (to go back

to the base), saying good bye and good luck. They would look so small although Americans are physically much bigger than me...you can imagine the scene, right? This was the image that was imprinted on my mind...I felt as though I were a guardian, and really wished he would not die...some of them must be among those 58,000 who died in Vietnam... (Yoshioka, 2016, personal interview).

Hearing these experiences, I came to understand what Yoshioka and other young Beheiren activists told me. Working in Beheiren was much more interesting than listening to lectures in classes, and that Beheiren was their school. Interacting with American deserters, along with Beheiren's rooted cosmopolitans, provided young Japanese students a unique transnational opportunity where local met global. They were about to start seeing the world more globally, and for them, that was intellectually more stimulating than going to the class.

GI Language

In introducing the messages that American servicemen left in Beheiren materials, there is one issue that could potentially be problematic in the context of a dissertation. That is the language that young American deserters and GIs used during their interactions with the Beheiren activists. This language may not be appropriate in any circumstances today, especially the use of the n-word. However, that was part of the living language of the 1960s, used in American society in everyday life. In the Beheiren newsletters, I noticed that black GIs called themselves "nigger." At the same time, it should be noted that this GI language was one of the things that frustrated the 'educated' Beheiren activists who only knew 'good' English during their initial interviews with the deserter-candidates and during the screening process. Fujieda Mioko, a feminist scholar of Kyoto Seika University, who was recruited by Yoshikawa Yūichi was deeply involved with JATEC. She recalled:

I went through many interesting and not so pleasant experiences dealing with young American deserters...one of my frustrations that I felt was my good English. My English was middle-class,

textbook English. This was not good. GIs used different dialects and slang. In unbalanced environmental dynamics between us who “provide shelter” and them “being sheltered,” my English sounded too good for them. Communication by different language in extreme conditions makes things more complicated (Fujieda, 1998, pp.161-166).

Likewise, Kakegawa Yasuko, a translator of children’s literature, expressed her language experience with American GIs in a different way.

When I communicated with foreigners in English, there were times when the content was too difficult, or I did not know the vocabulary. But it was only due to my language learning ability. Dealing with American GIs was different. It made me acutely aware how language carries culture, and that one’s upbringing matters more than the difference of the country (Kakegawa, 1998, p. 177).

Such gaps and struggles in dealing with the reality of living language in a different culture may be unavoidable in transnational civic activism. Kakegawa (1998) also reported that on some occasions, an interpreter was needed between white GIs and black GIs, because white GIs could not fully understand black GIs’ language. I have used the GI language as it was left in the Beheiren materials for the purpose of preserving the history as it was. Terry Whitmore was one of the most beloved deserters among Beheiren activists, and one of those who kept in touch with Beheiren for a long time.

Terry Whitmore (1947-2007. 21 years old)

I will introduce Terry Whitmore, a black Marine from Memphis, Tennessee, because the way he contacted Beheiren after the Intrepid Four exemplifies how American servicemen who were seeking help reached out to Beheiren. Also, because of his relationship with Beheiren and his willingness to tell his stories, his words are well documented up to 2005, two years before his death, which is not always the case in tracking the deserters. His stories should not be buried in history.

Despite being seriously wounded in Vietnam, Whitmore was a vibrant and humorous deserter. He wrote about his desertion experience in *Memphis-Nam-Sweden* (1971), which was translated into Japanese by Yoshikawa Yūichi, and published in 1993. By publishing this book, Whitmore left us a rare unofficial history. Born in Memphis, growing up black during the civil rights movement and seeing the rise of black power, he enlisted as a Marine in February 1967 and was sent to Vietnam where he got severely injured. On December 23, around the time the Intrepid Four were heading to Stockholm, President Lyndon Johnson visited the field hospital in Vietnam to give Whitmore a medal when he was in bed paralyzed, wrapped neck to toe in white bandages (Whitmore, R., 1971, p. 85). The conversation between Johnson and Whitmore, followed by that with General Westmoreland shows the dynamics of the Vietnam wartime authorities and a soldier.

Finally, The Man gets to my bed. I'm stiff as a board in front of him...he takes my hand, just standing there, looking down at me. Looking so sad, as if the whole world were on his shoulders...Then some dude picks up this sign at the foot of my bed and starts to read it off. "Lance Corporal Terence Marvel Whitmore, Memphis, Tennessee. Wounded December 15, 1967." LBJ is still holding my hand. And all I'm doing is yes-sirring him the whole time.

"How do you feel, son?"

"Fine, sir, fine." I'm half-dead. But when The Man asks me how I'm doing, it's just "Fine, sir, fine. Ready to go back to combat. Ready to go back."

"Where you from, son?"

"Tennessee."

"Ya know, I'll bet all those Tennesseans are real proud of you, son. Real proud of you back home."

"Yes sir, thank you, sir. Thank you, sir."

It was time to pass out the medals...with every other guy, the Man just pinned them on his pajama top. But he couldn't do the same with me all wrapped up in bandages. There was no pajama top. So he just stood there for a while, smiled a bit.

"Is it all right if I pin your medals on your pillows, son?"

"Oh, yes sir, Yes sir. Anywhere, sir, anywhere."

"I sure hate to see you looking like this, son."

Sure he does. Like I know that it's his fault that I'm lying there. But that's not on my mind at this point. Even if it were, I sure as hell was not about to say anything.

(Whitmore, 1971, pp. 86-87).

General Westmoreland was following behind LJB.

“Son, you just gotta stay out there punchin’ and punchin’ and punchin’ away. We gonna win this war yet, son.”

It didn’t seem to make any difference to old Westmoreland that this dude’s arm was half shot off. He wasn’t going to be punching anybody anymore. A newsman asked me what unit I’m in. “I’m in One-one.” Westmoreland overheard this.

“You in the hundred and first too, soldier?”

“Hundred and first? Man, I’m in One-one. First Marine, First Division. I ain’t in no motherfuckin’ army! I’m a U.S. Marine!”

I was grooving too high to realize who he was. Didn’t even notice the goddamn stars. But he just walked off. “Man, do you know who that was?” The dude next to me is having a shit fit. “No. Who?” “General Westmoreland.” Westmoreland! Goddamn, take me right now, Jack, ‘cause I know I’m going to the brig (Whitmore, 1971, pp. 87-88).

“Brig” is a military term for jail, often used by GIs. Instead of the brig, Whitmore was sent to Japan on a medical plane after the New Year in 1968.

The doc came alongside as they were wheeling me out on the field. “Look, I got some bad news for you. You know, you got polka-dotted pretty bad. I’m afraid that we have to send you to Japan.” Afraid? The doc had some sense of humor. Bad news, shit! I made him repeat that just to be certain. It was unbelievable. I never thought that I would leave that world of shit. Out of the fucking Nam (Whitmore, 1971, pp. 89-90).

Whitmore fully enjoyed the flight to an Army hospital at Kishine Barracks in Yokohama, Japan, the city that became the base ground of the US forces after the GHQ requisitioned it in 1945. As a Marine, Whitmore (1971) felt a bit odd to be in an Army hospital, but happy to be back to civilization, a safe country where no one would be shooting at him (p. 91). Lyndon Johnson declared that he would not seek re-election three months later.

American GIs contacted Beheiren in various ways. In Whitmore’s case, a girl whom he met in Yokohama informed him about the Intrepid Four and suggested that he do the same. She eventually contacted Beheiren for Whitmore. In the epilogue of his book, Whitmore (1971) thanked her the most, stating, “If she hadn’t opened my eyes, it never would have started. I’d either be dead in one of Sam’s boxes or busting my ass for the man back in a Memphis ghetto. I can never thank her enough” (p. 188). In 1993, as one of a few deserters that Beheiren kept in

touch with, Whitmore was invited for the 25th anniversary of his desertion and visited Japan from Sweden. Furthermore, Whitmore appeared in three films: *Terry Whitmore, for Example* (1969), *Georgia Georgia* (1972), and *Sir! No Sir!* (2005). “*Did the government put me into this shit?*” that I used under this chapter title is a quote from what Whitmore asked in *Sir! No Sir!* In that documentary film, released in 2005, which was 37 years after his desertion, Whitmore was clearly still thinking about what had happened, and appeared to believe that he suffered for his government. Whitmore, a thinker, passed away in 2007, two years after the film was released.

Searching for a New Exit Route

Meanwhile Beheiren was facing an unexpected problem. When Beheiren held a press conference for the Intrepid Four on November 13, 1967, they did not disclose how they left Japan and where they were heading to. Therefore, they were astonished when they found a photo of the Intrepid Four on the deck of the Baikal, titled “The four deserters getting on the Baikal” in *Asahi Graph* published in December 15, 1967 (Sekiya, 1998a, p. 29; Yoshikawa, 2011, p. 75). This was one week before the Intrepid Four held a press conference in Moscow, when nobody knew where they were. The photo was taken by someone who came to send off the Baikal passengers. With the ongoing news on the Intrepid Four, someone must have found that he or she had caught the four deserters without knowing who they were at the time he took the picture. It was obvious that Beheiren could no longer use the Baikal. The Soviet Union would refuse to use the Baikal to carry American deserters ever again. Beheiren needed to find another ‘exit’ route. There were other ports from which deserters could get on to Soviet ships, but the Soviet Union insisted on receiving them in international waters (Sekiya, 1998a, p. 61). Beheiren had a hard time finding a new exit route. They first explored a route through China for Kim Jin Suh. Yoshikawa revealed.

Kim was South Korean, which was under a military regime of the time. Kim told us if he were not able to stay in Japan, going to North Korea was an option. So, we explored a route through China. At the time, ML (Marx-Lenin) sect, one of the New Left groups in Japan had connections in China. Through the ML, we developed a plan to put Kim on a Chinese cargo ship to Shanghai, then to North Korea...but China at the time was in the midst of the Cultural Revolution, and the captain of the cargo ship, who had previously agreed, ultimately cancelled the plan (Yoshikawa, 2011, p. 76).

After extensive search and negotiations with various groups and individuals, including the JCP, the JSP, and Sohyō, they finally came up with an idea to use the *Reposen*, a Japanese fishing boat from Nemuro, the easternmost tip of Hokkaido. Yoshikawa explained.

I'm not sure if these still exist, but it was a poaching boat. The Soviets would overlook a Japanese boat that took more fish than agreed on in Soviet waters. As a reward, they would receive information from the Japanese media, or the Japanese Self-Defense Force. There were several such boats in Nemuro. Through congressmen from the JSP, a fisherman accepted our request for a favor. So, the plan was to put the deserters in the fisherman's boat, and when the boat entered the Sea of Okhotsk, they would transfer to a Soviet patrol ship on the waters. The Soviet ship would then carry the deserters to Vladivostok or Nakhodka (Yoshikawa, 2011, p. 75-76).

The new exit route was finally developed. Besides Kim Jin Suh (21-year-old, Army) and Terry Whitmore (21 years old, Marine), four more deserters were on the waiting list to get out. On April 21, 1968, those six deserters flew to Hokkaido, and successfully got out via this newly developed Nemuro exit route (Sekiya, 1998a, p. 63). Like the Intrepid Four, they held a press conference in Moscow on May 3, 1968, and arrived in Stockholm a few weeks later (Moscow times). At JATEC's request, Beheiren also gave a press conference on the six deserters on May 7, 1968, and the personal statements by the six deserters were published in the newsletters (Beheiren News #33, 1968, pp. 2-5).

Whitmore's book appeared to be the most accurate on how they got out of Japan via the Nemuro Route. One day, Whitmore was told by JATEC that he would take a flight to 'northern' Japan (Hokkaidō) the next morning, and that he would be joined by five more Americans, and would be taking a trip to the Soviet Union. The six American deserters were told that there

would be many students who would have big demonstrations at Haneda Airport, and they were instructed to create chaos if the deserter group was in any trouble (Whitmore, 1971, pp. 145-146). It was the plan to divert police attention away from the six Americans. The six deserters were told, “As military men, you should know how to take care of yourselves.” Whitmore, who called the young Beheiren activists like Yoshioka the “Capone boys,” recalled.

Some more of that Al Capone stuff again. I’m really going to miss these Beheiren boys.... Sit back. Relax. It’s good-bye Tokyo. Hokkaido. Freedom soon! A Japanese woman who had come with us from Beheiren got us off the street in a hurry and set us up in a fishing-boat captain’s house. “Tonight you will be my guests. I’m going to take you in my boat to meet the Soviet Coast Guard. You must trust me. I hate war too. I was a *kamikaze* pilot in the war. I came back. You trust me.” The skipper fitted us out with Japanese fishermen’s outfits. At night we were going to walk down to his boat before the crew arrived...So we’re going to meet the Russian Coast Guard. Ooowee! That gave me the shivers. Nobody had told us what was up after that...Six fugitives from America literally in the same boat...Uuush—seasick. The sea was rough right from the start...And then a bright light. A searchlight! “It’s them, man. The Russians are coming! We gonna be free now, baby. Fuck you, Sam!” The sea was rocking the hell out of both ships, so it was a tough job to hitch them together. As one rose on a wave, the other sank...A Russian started to give orders in Japanese to the fishing crew. They were running every which way, opening hatches, throwing lines. The excuse for all this was supposed to be an inspection of the fishing catch by a Russian officer. He leaped down to the fishing boat’s deck and the Japanese crew followed him below for a look at the fish. This is our cue. The skipper opened the door and gave us the go sign—run for it! Jump!...Well, we were on a Communist ship, cannon and all. We were free, all right, but I wasn’t too wild about those big Russian bears and their cannons... (Whitmore, 1971, pp. 146-151).

After all the six deserters managed to jump into the Soviet Coast Guard ship, they were given their rooms, followed by the big dinner, and greeted by reporters, experiences that parallel those of the Intrepid Four.

Dinner time. We’re to be guests at the captain’s table. Hungry refugees pile on in and plop down...“Good evening, sir!” We greeted the captain, who didn’t say anything. Just nodded and sat down. An interpreter joined us and we started some small talk with the captain about Russian food. He made a little hand motion towards two big flunkies who rushed over and laid it all out. Piles of salmon. Then came vodka. “I don’t drink hard stuff.” “But you must toast!” We all toast our good luck. The captain toasts us. We toast him. Everybody toasts the interpreter, who toasts us back. Please, no more!...There isn’t a hell of a lot to do as honored guests of a Soviet Coast Guard ship. We spent most of our time playing cards...Nothing happened during those four days. All we saw through our porthole windows were icebergs floating by. Then we spotted land. “Gentlemen, pack your bags.” A tugboat came to pick us up...Standing on the dock was the

biggest man I've ever seen. He was the driver of one of the three cars waiting to take us to an airport...The shock was waiting for us at the next airport. Mobs of people, photographers, little girls with flowers. This made quite a change from being fugitives...“Where we going?” “Moscow.” Moscow! That's supposed to be the center of the whole Communist world. Holy shit! We were scared, no matter how nice they'd been to us...After arriving in Moscow, we checked into a large downtown hotel...We decided to fit right in and play the role of big-time tourists (Whitmore, 1971, pp. 152-156).

It appeared that a few friendly ‘boys,’ who looked right out of a gangster movie with 38s under their plainclothes jackets, were assigned to watch the six American ‘guests.’ The Russians gave these six American deserters a hearty welcome and showed them to many different sites and cultures, like they did with the Intrepid Four. Whitmore expressed his anxiety about his future rather than enjoying the Russian history or sightseeing, but he was aware of why the Russians treated them well this way.

Lunch. More toasts...For almost four weeks, we flew around the Soviet Union as the guests of a Soviet peace group. They wanted us to see as much of their country as possible. This was all very kind of them, but we still didn't know where the hell we would be spending the rest of our lives. This worrying took most of the fun out of touring. If I'd have known that it would be only a four-week tour before settling in Sweden, it would have been a hell of a lot more enjoyable. My mind wasn't on Lenin's tomb, or the October Revolution or some Siberian deer...The Russian certainly had some good propaganda reasons for dragging us all over their country, from one town hall to the next. But we were getting a big favor in return—a one-way ticket and a safe conduct pass to our new home. We weren't too hip on bullshitting about politics, so all they could do was to stick us behind a dinner table, introduce us as six young Americans who refused to return to Nam...sit down, eat and get drunk...We were probably better excuses for partying than for making propaganda (Whitmore, 1971, pp. 157-158).

One day, the six guests were told to speak to the international press. According to Whitmore, it was not a completely international press because the journalists were from Eastern Europe, and he was not comfortable with some questions.

They did a lot of poking. “Isn't it true that there are only black men on the front lines in Vietnam?” “No. Most black soldiers are in combat, but blacks and whites are together in the front.” This kind of questioning pissed me off...(Whitmore, 1971, p. 160).

One day, the Soviet Union delivered the big news to the six guests.

“You will be allowed to live in Sweden. In a few days, a plane will take you to Stockholm. Sweden? Where’s that? I don’t know. The cat says Sweden, so we go to Sweden...And Sweden sure must be better than the States or Nam as far as I’m concerned...at the airline terminal in Leningrad, the Soviet peace group had given us three hundred dollars apiece to take care of our needs for the first few weeks in Stockholm. In Stockholm, we would be met by the Swedish-Vietnam Committee and the American Deserters Committee, who were supposed to help us get our feet on the ground (Whitmore, 1971, pp. 167-168).

Whitmore’s story was not only a buried history of American deserters but also of the political climate of the Cold War. It showed the tense international relations between the East and West from the perspective of one young black American, and how the simplistic propaganda of the ‘evil communist’ was successfully spread among Americans, from their childhood. Having been raised in the United States and being sent to Vietnam, and then to the Soviet Union must have been like going from one propaganda to another. Going to Russia, an enemy state where they were taught that horrible people lived, was an unthinkable idea even to a determined deserter like Whitmore, who ‘shivered’ at and felt ‘scared’ of anything ‘Russia.’ After all, it was their desire to live without being killed or kill in the unjust war, and they were at the point where going to Russia was a better choice than staying in the US military system.

1968: More Deserters, More Spies

In May 1968, Beheiren accepted three more deserters from the Marine Corps Air Station (MCAS) Iwakuni. On June 20, 1968, three of them, who had a relatively short waiting period, left via the Nemuro exit-route. One of them, Randy, however, entered the US Embassy in Moscow instead of going to Sweden, and never came back. The other two safely made it to Sweden on July 25, (Sekiya, 1998a, p. 74). “Randy” was the first deserter who provided information regarding JATEC to the US authorities (Sekiya, 1998a, p. 74). JATEC was not sure

if he was an intelligence agent or if he changed his mind and decided to appear in the US Embassy when he arrived in Moscow. Next was a 20-year-old Army soldier who arrived in June 1968. In July, two more young Army men contacted Beheiren. Interestingly, one of them, Robert, who was frequently followed, disappeared immediately after he heard that Randy had entered the US Embassy in Moscow. A person in the French Embassy who had sheltered Robert was soon sent to Tunis for his safety (Sekiya, 1998a, p. 76). This person's boss arranged it after the person told him that a CIA agent had approached him to offer 'personal cooperation' (Sekiya, 1998a, p. 76). This indicates that, by mid-1968, US intelligence certainly became more active as more deserters emerged. Three more deserters, who had called Beheiren and were arrested in Yokohama on March 14, 1968, later contacted Beheiren again on July 22, through a New Left group called *Shaseidō*. They were a rascal trio and caused trouble everywhere they went. Because this was around the time that Beheiren was busy preparing for the "1968 International People's Conference against War and for Fundamental Social Change," the troublesome trio were sent to a hippie commune in Suwanose-jima, a remote Island, located between Kagoshima prefecture and Amami Island. The leader-like figure among these hippies later told Anai Fumihiko, a non-fiction writer and Beheiren activist, about the trio.

They cannot become hippies. They are typical American youths. They don't have any profound thought. What they were forced to experience in war is beyond our imagination at such a young age...that's why their minds are broken (Sekiya, 1998a, pp. 80-81).

On September 1, 1968, the trio left Nemuro to the Soviet Union with another deserter. On September 17, 1968, four of them arrived in Stockholm. Their stay in the Soviet Union was a lot shorter than the previous deserters. Sekiya (1998a) guessed that the Soviets must have found the trio quite troublesome too (p. 82).

Melvin and spy Johnson. On September 21, 1968, when a graduate student from Hitotsubashi University Beheiren was cleaning the Tokyo Beheiren office, a white man spoke to him, “Are you going to help American servicemen?” (Sekiya, 1998a, p. 95). The student replied, “Of course!” That was Melvin (code name), a 19 years old sailor. Soon after that in early October, a man named Rush Johnson (28 years old, also Navy) contacted Beheiren. From the beginning, JATEC who interviewed Johnson felt he was different from other deserters whom they had so far interviewed. By this time, JATEC had concerns about the increased involvement of American intelligence agents. Something was wrong with Johnson. He was ‘too good.’ Unlike other deserters, Johnson could articulate his thinking; spoke and wrote accurately and correctly; did not seem to have a sense of urgency; replied in perfect Japanese at times; was frequently being followed no matter how many times JATEC ditched a shadow. Moreover, Japanese police had gone around the homes that Johnson stayed at, and he wore a mysterious watch (Sekiya, 1998a, pp. 96-98). They were 99 percent certain he must be a spy (Sekiya, 1998a, p. 98-99). Kurihara, the first chairperson of JATEC, shared his thoughts on Johnson with Tsurumi Shunsuke. After much contemplation, Tsurumi responded,

It is when these fearful and suspicious frames of mind rise in a movement that the movement is crushed (Sekiya, 1998a, p. 103).

Therefore, despite the suspicion, they decided to send Johnson to Nemuro along with Melvin.

The Spy Johnson incident. On November 5, 1968, during a break at an inn on the way to the *Reposen* fishing boat in Nemuro, Johnson disappeared. Melvin was arrested in Teshikaga, a small town between Kushiro and Nemuro in East Hokkaido on his way. Melvin became the first deserter who was arrested among those Beheiren assisted. Sekiya (1998) reports the account of

Yamaguchi Fuminori, a student who accompanied Melvin to Hokkaido and was with him at the time of his arrest.

The police asked me to let him drive our rental car, but I refused. I kept driving myself and took Melvin to the local police station. At the station, another Japanese attendant and I were not asked anything, and we were soon released. Line police men in Teshikaga did not seem to understand what was going on (1998, pp. 101-102).

Another student who was with them reflected on what led to Melvin' arrest. They were driving on an open road in a flat area of Hokkaido with good visibility, and there was no sign of tailing, so all he could think of was that it had something to do with the mysterious watch-like device Johnson was wearing (Sekiya, 1998a, p. 100).

An American 'spy' in Japan! It was sensational news. For most Japanese, the term "spy" only existed in other countries or in movies, and Teshikaga was an unlikely location for that kind of drama to occur. Tsurumi Shunsuke immediately requested to meet Melvin, but Japanese authorities rejected the request. Beheiren, along with Noam Chomsky, organized a large protest against Meier's arrest (Beheiren Nyūsu #39, 1968). One month later, Melvin was sent to Hawai'i. Beheiren continued to protest and support Meires during his court-martial. As a result, he was eventually sent back to the US in January 1969 after serving a relatively short sentence for being AWOL (Dassōhei Tsūshin #1, 1969, p. 9). This incident is called as the "Spy Johnson incident" among the former Beheiren activists. Takahashi sheltered the spy Johnson, and Motono and Sakamoto sheltered Melvin. They recalled the incident and discussed what they later found about this episode.

Takahashi: *Now, through the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), we found that American intelligence were indeed checking on us and found our hideouts. Navy still would not reveal anything, but the Army disclosed what had happened.*

Motono: *Yes. We now know that Randy Coats, who entered the US Embassy in Moscow, was a spy. He testified at the US Congress. He described the living environment...and he was obviously talking about our house...*

Sakamoto: *The one who left with Coats made it to Sweden. There's another deserter who returned to the US after only a few months in Sweden when his father came to Sweden, and took him home. He also spoke about everything.*

Motono: *I don't think he was a spy...but he talked about everything.*

Sakamoto: *Then Johnson came next...I think that one (who returned to the US) could be the cause of Melvin's arrest.*

Takahashi: *Johnson stayed in my house the night before he left for Hokkaido*

Sakamoto: *We had Melvin who was arrested, so I didn't meet Johnson, but we were not actually surprised...Johnson appeared to be suspicious.*

Motono: *There might be more spies among those we sent back to the US bases...*

Takahashi: *The Soviet Union withdrew after they learned that US intelligence agents were sneaking into the group of deserters. Our movement got stuck.*

(2016, personal interview)

The Spy Johnson incident hit Beheiren and JATEC. This was the biggest crisis in the history of Beheiren. It fundamentally changed the dynamics of the movement, and JATEC needed to take a break.

Repression after the Spy Johnson incident. The Nemuro route became unavailable. Repression intensified. Deserters were arrested one after another. Not only American deserters but also JATEC activists faced repression. Takahashi had his house searched, and Yamaguchi, who accompanied Melvin to Nemuro, was later arrested. All the names of JATEC activists and supporters involved in the Spy Johnson incident were publicly disclosed. Because of the scale of the publicity, the Nemuro-route, the hard-sought exit in Hokkaido, had to be closed. The core JATEC activists gathered to devise remedial measures and agreed that the people whose names had been disclosed needed to withdraw completely from all JATEC related activities to protect themselves and the American deserters (Nagata, 1998; Takahashi, 1998).

Along with the already heavy surveillance over the groundswell of radical New Left students, protests against the coming 1970 renewal of ANPO, and the associated reversion of Okinawa, authorities did not miss the opportunity to start repressing Beheiren. In fact, it is

significant that the time when JATEC started full-scale operations matched the time of the escalation of the university conflicts, and that was not only in Japan but in Europe and the US (Takahashi, 2015, p. 30). According to Takahashi (2007), there were times that Beheiren helped hide American deserters and New Left student activists simultaneously (p. 14). Thus, the Spy Johnson incident occurred at the worst possible moment. Under this kind of political climate, sending deserters secretly and safely to a third country became almost impossible. Some activists withdrew from Beheiren because of the Spy Johnson incident. According to Motono (1998), who had sheltered Melvin for a week, most of those who left were the Old Left or their sympathizers. He was told, “It’s amateurish, risky, and we can no longer deal with you” (p. 406). Above all, what hit JATEC the most was the Soviets’ reaction to the Spy Johnson incident. Their notification to JATEC was decisive. They informed them that the ‘great power in the North’ would no longer assist deserters unless the deserter was either an American Air Force pilot or nuclear submariner (Nagata, 1998, p. 384). This was shocking news for JATEC. Nagata (1998) recalled,

That was when my expectation toward the ‘state’ was smashed. I realized that the ‘state’ was a snaky existence and it could become an individual’s enemy, which was essentially inherent within ‘state’ (p. 384).

Sakamoto (1998) spent decades wondering about Melvin, not because of his personal name but because his name became the symbol of the turning point of their deserter assistance activities (p. 330). The Spy Johnson incident also brought an ethical dilemma. Kurihara, the first chairperson of JATEC, even after 30 years, kept thinking about Spy Johnson, whom he was certain was a spy.

For the past 30 years, I have thought about what Tsurumi (Shunsuke) told me over and over. Because even before the incident, “the issues of spies in movements” had been one of the themes

for me with relation to the purge in the Soviet Union. I have eventually concluded that Tsurumi was right. JATEC was destroyed by spy Johnson. But if we became too cautious over the possible intrusion of spies, we would have looked at all deserters and the supporters with suspicion. The Beheiren movement would have collapsed, and we could never have the opportunity like this where the former activists and supporters of the movement can talk frankly about their recollections. There was no need to worry about being destroyed. I now think that it was better to keep the movement open with no secrets. The mind-set of trying to protect the organization at any cost is because we think of ourselves as special and irreplaceable, as say, avant-gardism as I used to be...But, instead, what is needed is a movement in which anyone can be replaced. In fact, I think JATEC was that kind of movement (Kurihara as quoted in Sekiya, 1998a, p. 103).

The involvement of US intelligence was real. It happened in spite of Beheiren and JATEC being careful about their surroundings as being followed was part of their daily experience (Takahashi, 2007, p. 16). There were deserter-candidates who would say “I’ll go back to the base to get something,” right after he was brought to the first house for interviewing, and those who made an appointment and never showed up at the meeting place, after which JATEC activists were being shadowed on the way back from the no-show appointment (Seikiya, 1998, p. 95). These occasions allowed American authorities to collect information about JATEC and its activities (Sekiya, 1998a, p. 95).

Second-Term JATEC

Recovering from the Spy Johnson incident took a few months. While repression intensifies, JATEC still had more deserters waiting for an exit. This meant that deserters needed to spend an indefinite period of time in hiding with no certain hope of getting out. In an urgent meeting after Takahashi’s home was searched, it was decided that Kurihara, the chair of JATEC, needed to be replaced by someone as his name had been disclosed in public. Despite having his house searched, Takahashi volunteered to be the second chair of JATEC, and it was unanimously approved (Takahashi, 2007, p. 19). The second-term JATEC began. Takahashi later recalled why he took over this risky role.

There was some motivation to why I volunteered to lead JATEC. The biggest reason was that I had studied in France from 1965 to 1967. There, I learned about the thought and practice of transnationalism from the anti-Vietnam War movement. When Kim Dong Hee was about to be deported, I talked about Kim at the Paris Vietnam Committee. Then a resolution, “Objection to the unacceptable attitudes of Government of Japan” was adopted. From this experience, I learned that transnationalism was not about rhetoric but about concrete action (Takahashi, 1998, pp. 109-110).

Coming from Takahashi, “Transnationalism is not about rhetoric but about concrete action” is a persuasive message. Takahashi and Motono (2016) recalled when the second-term JATEC began, with no exit-route in place.

Takahashi: In the first-term JATEC, deserters only needed to stay until they left for the Soviet Union. In second-term JATEC, as JATEC needed to shelter deserters for a long indefinite time, JATEC formed independent groups in different regions, and entrusted the task to each group.

Motono: For example, they would say that they would leave one deserter with this group or that group for certain months. So, in the second-term JATEC, student attendants did not travel as much as Yoshioka did in the first-term JATEC (2016, personal interview).

This meant that while the number of deserter-candidates increased because of the intensified situation in Vietnam, the second-term JATEC faced three obstacles. 1) the Soviet Union was no longer available; 2) deserters needed to be sheltered indefinitely, and; 3) continuing repression. It was hard for JATEC to shelter deserters for a long time with no prospect of exit. Therefore, they implemented a complete and tougher screening of the deserter-candidates. To adjust to this new reality, they also created regional groups and a small group to coordinate all those individual groups, but it was nothing like supervising them (Takahashi & Motono, 2016, personal interview). Whenever some problem occurred, they simply met to discuss the matter to resolve it. According to Takahashi and Motono (2016), a lot of heavy and long meetings were held with this coordinating group, and it was only done in Tokyo. One of them recalled.

The name “Japan Technical Committee for Assistance to Antiwar U.S. Deserters (JATEC)” sounds pretentious, but it was really a grassroots movement. During the SMALL group meeting, there was no chairman and no note taker. Nobody had roles and responsibilities but when someone needed to meet, we got together. It was far from the framework of ‘command and order.’ I don’t recall a single occasion that we took votes in the decision-making process, no matter how complicated the discussions became. We often discussed issues all night long, but no one controlled others’ activities. We left no memo, and I had no idea what others were actually doing (Nagata, 1998, p. 399).

This indicates the burden of those who worked hard to coordinate the deserter assistance activities. JATEC had no time to breathe. They had two deserters, Paul and Peter (both pseudonyms), who had drug addiction problems. They learned about Beheiren from a taxi driver on the way to Tokyo from the field hospital in Zama that they left on October 28, 1968. As Tokyo JATEC was preoccupied with the Spy Johnson incident, they were sent to Kyoto on November 9, 1968, and the first ever Kyoto JATEC meeting was held at the residence of Tsurumi Shunsuke (Sekiya, 1998b, p. 203). Tsurumi asked his students, who would not gossip around, for help (Sekiya, 1998b, p. 206). At least 30 students personally took care of Paul and Peter. There were rules that they only tell the necessary information to those who needed to know; keep it to themselves; don’t ask; don’t take notes; don’t talk about it in the presence of people unrelated to the matter (Sekiya, 1998b, p. 206).

There was a tight network in Kyoto, and people were supportive. When Paul got injured when he got in a fight with Peter, there were physicians in the Kyoto University Medical School who secretly put stitches in the wound and removed the sutures (Sekiya, 1998b, p. 208). Paul was the first deserter who tried to settle in Japan, rented an apartment, worked in a car maintenance factory, and taught conversational English in private settings and in a facility at Kyoto University. It would not have been difficult to reserve a space on campus as most of the

classes were canceled anyway around the time. While Paul left a good impression on the people who sheltered him, Peter caused them lots of problem related to alcohol, drugs and women.

Paul was arrested in Kyoto in May 12, 1969, six and a half months after he left the base. Ono Nobuyuki went to the Kawabata Police Station to see Paul. Ono was a young lawyer, who would soon become the first Japanese lawyer to appear in a US court-martial to defend an American soldier. Ono recalled.

My involvement with Beheiren actually started with Paul. He was arrested while hiding in Kyoto, and I was called. Why did I get involved with Beheiren? It might have been because of the one case I had taken that sought asylum for Kim Chi-Ha, a Korean poet under Pak Chung-hee, who was in the Ōmura Immigration Center. At the time, I was in a law firm related to the JSP (Japan Socialist Party). Kim Chi-Ha and Tsurumi Shunsuke befriended me...probably because I'm not the kind of lawyer who steals money. Maybe it was also because I spoke some English as I studied at Dartmouth College, so people in Beheiren might have thought I could be helpful. So, that was how I got connected to Tsurumi. I started as a lawyer for clients who could pay me nothing (smile). I got to know Sekiya then. Dealing with the unknown world is fun...so I enjoyed it (Ono, 2016, personal interview).

Three days later in May 15, the MPs car entered the Kawabata Police station when Paul was writing a letter to Beheiren.

I will probably be sent back to the US, but I will fight for my belief and the rights of other people. I would like to connect Japanese people and American people who support our beliefs. Although we are small in number, we are the strongest in the world. We will win...I hope you keep working for a better world. I will give Dusty, my dog, to Beheiren as a mascot. Now, MP has arrived. I will be immediately taken. But I will try to resist this militaristic invasion to myself. Further, I will work for Okinawa to be returned to Japan. I will keep in touch with Prof. Tsurumi. For a while, this could be my last words. But I will contact you again. Bless you and our beliefs. Best regard to Japanese people. *Mata ai masho* (See you again)! Paul (Sekiya, 1998b, p. 249).

The chief of the Kawabata police station handed Paul to the MPs. Around 150 people, including Tsurumi Shunsuke, had been staging a sit-in when Paul in a black van with the number plate, "U.S. Army IJ 6789," departed from the Kawabata Police Station with assistance from the riot police. Beheiren activists chased the car and found that the black van entered the Shin Meiwa Industries, a Japanese company in charge of US aircrafts and military supplies (Sekiya,

1998b, p. 250). There, a Japanese police car was waiting for the MP's car. One hour later, two Beheiren activists confirmed that a small white and grey twin-engine U. S. Army plane took off from the taxiway at the Shin Meiwa Industries (Sekiya, 1998b, p. 250). Paul was gone.

Peter, a trouble maker who appeared to have no interest in the antiwar cause, was also arrested on June 4, 1969 at a pharmacy in Osaka. He had a history of asking student attendants for codeine, cough medicine (Sekiya, 1998b, p. 208). Paul and Peter were sentenced to six months of hard labor and dishonorable discharge (Sekiya, 1998b, pp. 251-252). By this point in 1969, while JATEC still had deserters who were waiting for exit, the increasing presence of American intelligence agents who were assisted by Japanese police made getting deserters out of Japan harder and harder.

Coming Out: Transnational Underground Project

In 1970, Oda Makoto kept traveling—the Soviet Union, Cuba, Czechoslovak, Sweden, England, France, India, Cambodia, and North Vietnam—to form a transnational solidarity network for the anti-Vietnam War movement, and also to find any exit route for American deserters who were still in Japan (Oda, 1995, p. 227-228). In fact, whenever Beheiren activists traveled abroad, they made efforts to find an exit route, but it had not been so successful (Takahashi, 2007, p. 33). Meanwhile, American deserters had to keep changing their hideouts. One day, an aerogram from Italy was sent to Beheiren office. It was from Oda Makoto.

I had communication with PCI (Partito Comunista Italiano). There may be some possibility to open the hole. Send someone who is well-informed. Takahashi will do (Takahashi, 2007, p. 33).

Among JATEC and Beheiren, “open the hole” meant potential exit route. On March 1970, before the new school term would start in April, Takahashi resigned from his professorship at Rikkyō University in order to take the “open the hole” trip to Europe.

Connecting with Underground Tradition in Europe

Takahashi Taketomo carried the name card titled “Vice President of Beheiren.” Having lived in France, where he had formed Paris Beheiren in the mid-1960s, Takahashi was ready to take on this special mission. He started from Sweden, the country that had recognized North Vietnam in January 1969. As Beheiren was a member of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, its members provided accommodations for Takahashi. They gave him interesting suggestions such as going to Afghanistan or Nepal as alternative exit routes, as these countries were in delicate positions during the Cold War (Takahashi, 2007, pp. 39-40). There was also the “Stockholm Conference on Vietnam” that had been held in Stockholm since 1967, in which Beheiren had participated. He also met with Terry Whitmore who had settled in Stockholm (Takahashi, 2007, p. 35-39). In Europe, as in Japan, a variety of groups were strongly opposing the war, including young American activists, Quakers, scholars, and exiles from other nations (Takahashi, 2007, pp. 41-48).

Everywhere Takahashi went, activists in Europe helped him and provided him with rooms in Sweden, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, Denmark, Norway, England, and France. Most importantly, there was still a strong network of survivors of the Résistance who participated in the anti-fascist movement, as well as that of the Front de Liberation Nationale (FLN) of Algeria, who had achieved independence from France in 1962, just eight years prior to Takahashi’s mission trip to Europe. Many of them became activists from their teenage years and experienced the liberation. Those activists in Europe quickly understood what Takahashi was trying to do. They were eager to help Beheiren’s efforts in any way they could. It was, however, not always successful. For example, in Italy, which was his original destination as hinted by Oda Makoto, contact with the Partito Comunista Italiano (Communist Party of Italy) did not go well

as it mainly dealt with ‘legal’ activities (Takahashi, 2007, p. 49). Eventually, Takahashi was approached by a young man who whispered to him.

You will be soon introduced to the right group. You need to be very careful when you meet them. You have to get off the Metro right before the door closes and walk down the platform slowly. You must go without being followed (Takahashi, 2007, pp. 78-79).

One day, Takahashi visited a lawyer, and she asked him whether he would like to achieve his mission by making a great fuss or quietly (Takahashi, 2007, p. 82). Soon Takahashi met a middle-aged man with thick eye glasses, in a Citroën car, parked on the street.

The man spoke straight to the core of the subject in one breath. ‘Our group’ is related to the issues of the Third World. I heard that you wanted to get American deserters illegally out of your country. In our view, forging passports is the only way. We can teach you certain techniques for that purpose” (Takahashi, 2007, pp. 86-87).

Takahashi was impressed with his concise manner of speaking, and the accurate understanding of what Takahashi was looking for. When Takahashi accepted his suggestion, the man got out of the car, and a woman drove Takahashi to an apartment to introduce him to another man.

Throughout this time, no one introduced themselves.

There, the man showed me a few passports and gave me a big magnifying glass...he then taught me how to forge stamps (on passports), as well as practical advice on the psychology of immigration officers. He systematically taught me the basis and rationality of the work in a two-and-a-half-hour lesson. The man told me, “You are probably not an artist, but the key is to transfer the spirit of what I told you to the artist in the movement of your country. Then the artist will figure things out by himself” (Takahashi, 2007, pp. 86-87).

The man appeared to have great skill in teaching the essence of his artful technique in a mere two and a half hours to an utterly inexperienced person like Takahashi so that he could convey the methods to others. For Takahashi, the resplendent city of Paris he thought he knew had already turned into the trade center of activists, and now he really felt that he was entering an underground world (Takahashi, 2007, p. 87). In early 1970 France, there was still a historically

strong underground culture of resistance to support people and groups like Takahashi and Beheiren/JATEC who had the same mission regardless of time, location, and cultural background. In the context of postwar Europe and Japan, it may not be too surprising that the Resistance groups with an underground tradition reached Takahashi who could mentally and emotionally connect with them. How could they reach out to Takahashi? When he met the man in the Citroën again, he explained. Only referring to himself as “our group.”

For a while, “Our group” knew that you had been staying in Paris to find a solution for a certain problem. We have been thinking what channel was appropriate to approach you...whether through the small radical left cells that appeared after the May Revolution...but when we learned that you were the Vice President of a respectable organization (Beheiren), we decided to go with the line with decent social status (Takahashi, 2007, p. 88-89).

This was why Takahashi was led to visit the lawyer’s office. Takahashi (2007) later found that the man whom he had first met in the Citroën was the leader of the underground group, who called themselves ‘nous (we)’ or ‘notre (our) group’ (p. 88). “Our Group” had many highly receptive antennas in various fields including academia, literary and journalistic society, activists, foreigners’ communities, and apparently, they led Takahashi to reach out to them (Takahashi, 2007, p. 89).

The technique was transferred. The next task was to get passports to be used for forgery. All that required was obtaining some ‘real’ passports. It was not too hard. People in Europe were willing to help. Three passports were given in Sweden, three in Italy. Some people offered their own passports, saying, “I would just lose the passport” (Takahashi, 2007, p. 122). Before he headed back to Japan, the group suggested that Takahashi stop by Algeria, and he took the opportunity. The group had been organized because of the Algerian War and Algerian National Liberation Front (NFL), with the sole aim of supporting the Third World. Takahashi received a

warm welcome in Algiers where he met with representatives of other national liberation movements that had office in Algiers at the time, such as Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe, Mozambique, Ethiopia, and Palestine (Takahashi, 2007pp. 128-129). This indicates that Algeria at the time was not only theoretically but practically the center of the Third World and national liberation movements. The fact that they invited and welcomed Takahashi to Algiers and introduced him to this group of transnational activist groups indicates that Takahashi, from Beheiren, was regarded as one of them.

After returning to Japan, Takahashi relayed to a designer the techniques of copying the stamps that he had learned in Paris. When he told the designer the philosophical and spiritual impact of this work on the movement, this designer fully understood his mission (Takahashi, 2007, p. 155).

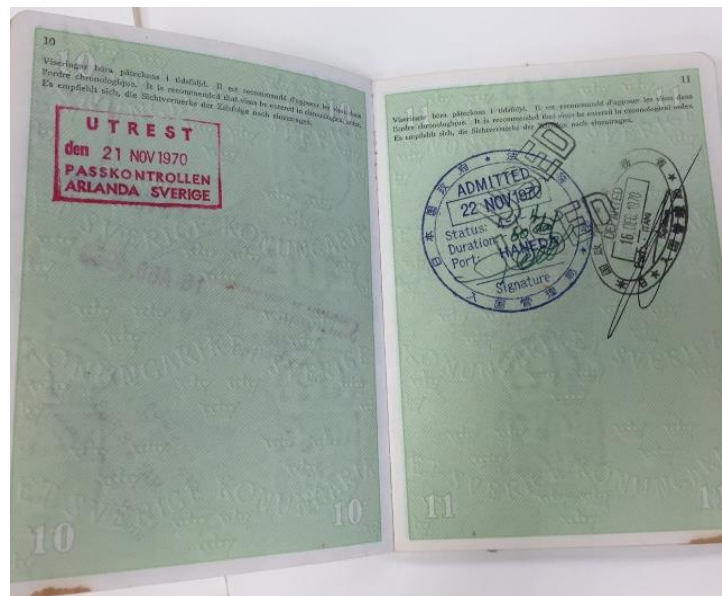


Photo 7.1. Passport used in early 1970s.
(Courtesy of Research Center for Cooperative Civil Societies, Rikkyo University).

Takahashi (2007) later revealed that this designer was prepared to receive a 20-year jail sentence by doing what he did (p. 169). They were ready to suffer for their mission. Because of the sensitivity required to achieve the mission and to protect everyone who would be involved with the next exit plan, Takahashi strictly limited sharing his plan to a very few people. Even most Beheiren/JATEC activists did not know about Takahashi's activities until he revealed his experience decades later.

Further, it took Takahashi another decade to learn who 'our group' really were. During his five months in Europe, people whom Takahashi met used code names and Takahashi was also given a French name, just as Beheiren and JATEC had been doing. He noticed that the man's apparent real name, Curiel, came up at times. Takahashi was shocked to see in *Le Monde* that Henri Curiel, the leader of the underground group in Paris was assassinated in 1978. Takahashi later learned that Curiel, born in Cairo to an Italian Jewish family, was devoted to the Algerian National Liberation, and was the person who had approached Takahashi in Paris in 1970 (Takahashi, 2007, p. 222-229).

At the time that Takahashi published his experience in 2007, he did not disclose the name of their group, Solidarité, to protect Curiel's fellow activists, assuming that they would have still been active after his assassination. This was confirmed in 2013 when Hirano Izumi, an archivist at the Research Center for Cooperative Civil Societies at Rikkyo University, had an opportunity to check the archives of Solidarité at the International Institute of Social History (IISH) in Amsterdam. With not much prior knowledge about Solidarité, Hirano was surprised to find the training materials for anti-colonialism and national liberation activists (Hirano, 2014, p. 9). How to teach someone to forge official documents which would take 2.5-3 hours, was one of these training materials (Hirano, 2014, p. 9). This was exactly what had been conveyed to Takahashi

from this group. In addition, Takahashi and Hirano found that there was a report by Curiel that referenced Takahashi.

On gardera aussi presenté à l'esprit le travail de formation et délaboration fait avec notre ami japonais: Ambroise, dont résultat est la presence à Paris, de notre ami David que certains d'entre vous connaissent bien- son séjour a pour principal objet d'assimiler le maximum des experiences de S (olidarité) en vue de la transformation du groupe japonais d'aide aux déserteurs américains en groupe d'aide aux Mouvements de Libération Nationale asiatiques. (Hirano, 2014, p. 10).

[We will also keep in mind the work of training and development done with our friend from Japan: Ambroise, whose result is the presence in Paris of our friend David (that some of you know well) -his stay here in Paris has the main purpose of interpreting as much as possible the experiences of Solidarity with the aim of the transformation of the Japanese group of aid for American deserters into an aid group for the Asian National Liberation Movements] (Translation by Hannah Looney, 2018).

The name “Ambroise” in this report was the code name given to Takahashi while he was in contact with them (Hirano, 2014, p. 10). According to Takahashi, these ‘used’ passports were unexpectedly sent back to him later from “our group” (2016, personal interview). These passports are the living evidence of civil resistance and the transnational underground tradition in Europe, which was brought to Japan by Takahashi. ‘State’ and borders had no meaning in the context of the underground tradition.

By creating JATEC, Beheiren’s frame as a nonviolent antiwar movement extended to include underground operations that eventually went beyond their imagination. It was a nice surprise for Takahashi to encounter people from the underground tradition across Europe who quickly grasped the situation and offered practical help. Snow, Rochford, Worden & Benford (1986) suggest that by entering a semi-clandestine sphere, as Beheiren did, the movement crossed the boundaries of its primary framework to encompass interests that are incidental to its primary object but of considerable salience to potential adherents (p. 472). After all, as Chomsky (1967) asserted in discussing civil disobedience—after the lessons of Dachau and Auschwitz, no

person of conscience can believe that authority must always be obeyed (Chomsky, 1967, p. 202). Yet, it should be remembered that, like precursors such as Gandhi and King, Curiel was killed for taking the risk of sacrificial service to the world at large. The following section recounts the stories of the two last deserters who successfully fled from Haneda Airport to France with special passports made exclusively for them using the technique Takahashi had learned in Paris.

Going Underground: The Last Deserters

The second-term JATEC had set the criteria for accepting deserter-candidates higher, because deserters were expected to have to wait indefinitely, and not many American GIs were capable of enduring the seemingly endless life in hiding. The new exit plan that Takahashi brought from Europe, would be applied only to those who refused to return to the base and had strong determination to pursue the antiwar cause (Takahashi, 2007, p. 151). Only two deserters passed this advanced screening—Kurusu (code name) and Kanda (code name) who agreed to risk getting out by any means. These two deserters told JATEC that they were willing to live in hiding no matter how long it might take, and they proved it. Kurusu endured two years, and Kanda for one year and ten months. Their experiences in Japan were, therefore, a bit different than previous deserters who were in hiding for a relatively short time.

Kurusu (19 years old). Kurusu was a corpsman, a military position for a medical assistant who is attached to a unit to provide immediate medical assistance when people get wounded. Kurusu deserted at the end of 1968 and lived in Japan for two years—the longest anyone stayed in hiding. He was a unique deserter who left a lasting impression on those who helped him. At the age of 17, Kurusu already was a pacifist and had antiwar feelings. He chose to enlist to be a corpsman rather than being drafted. Sometimes people who would prefer to be

conscientious objectors will choose to be corpsmen. After training in the US, he was sent to a field hospital in Yokohama, where he saw fatally wounded soldiers from Vietnam on the verge of death, who would not return home alive. He was one of those who learned about Beheiren while in service.

During the Tet offense, we had no time to eat and sleep as wounded soldiers were brought in one after another. Eventually, I lost all respect for officers. They were the representatives of the authoritarian system, who would never end the inhumane disaster. I was distressed when my colleague informed me that he saw my name on the list of transfers to Vietnam. Then I learned in Stars and Stripes, about the deserters who went to Sweden via Russia, assisted by a Japanese ‘underground’ organization. But for a while I worried...what the impact of desertion would be on me and my family...the long separation I would have to endure, my family’s sense of humiliation, people’s scorn, and so on (Kurusu, 1998, pp. 357-359).

This shows that although JATEC did not want people to think they were an ‘underground’ organization, those outside of the movement perceived them that way. Kurusu decided to walk away from his post. He wandered around Tokyo, knowing that he could be arrested anytime and sent to Vietnam. He kept walking and stopped by a jazz coffee shop. Kurusu recalled of the young man who helped him to meet Beheiren.

I observed the people in the coffee shop and talked to a young man with a leather jacket...he was initially not interested in my story, but I tried my best. Finally, he understood and told me to wait there...the waiting time seemed eternal. I worried if he was going to report me to the police, but I had to trust him...when he finally returned, he asked me to go out. There, on the street, he told me something I will never forget. *“I can’t help you, but I want to show my spirit by taking you to someone who could help you.”* It was like a ray of hope. For me at the moment, he looked like a knight in the armor of a shiny black leather jacket. And it was the first time to hear someone use the term ‘spirit’ the way that Japanese young man used. This word, “spirit,” became a word with profound meaning and source of comfort that gave me courage throughout my days in hiding. He put me in a taxi and took me to a building. When he knocked on a door, someone immediately opened, and we were drawn into the room. I felt a sense of regret coming to such a place, but when I saw the poster of Joan Baez on the wall, I knew I was in the right place...Intake interview took a long time as I had to prove that I was not from intelligence (Kurusu, 1998, pp. 360-362).

Kurusu passed the heavy screening, and his unique years as a deserter ‘novelist’ in hiding started. Oda Makoto called the late Nagakawa Reiji, then an English literature professor at

Tokyo Metropolitan University, asking him to shelter Kurusu. Nagakawa thought it would be impossible as he was single and was too busy at the time with faculty meetings to deal with campus upheaval. Nagakawa wondered how he could take care of a “wanted” person who could not even go out for grocery shopping. Reading his mind, Oda quickly told him in his Osaka dialect the reason why he wanted Nagakawa to take this particular deserter who had just turned 19 years old. This deserter, Oda continued, ran away when he was in high school, and was making money in a jazz band, and now he was writing his experience into a novel, writing every day. The budding novelist was at a loss at times as he had never written something, and there were not many English books and consultants. Oda said, “Your apartment is perfect as you have so many English literature books because of your occupation” (Nagakawa, 1998, p. 301).

Nagakawa reflected.

It seemed, in Oda’s mind, I was an ideal rental book owner...I had been a bit amazed at his pushiness but thinking about the deserter who was seriously writing something, and if my books could help him, there was no reason to refuse, especially when young attendant students would take care of his daily life. So, I asked when he would come. Oda replied, probably tonight...so I made a room in a hurry...Kurusu whom JATEC brought was very tall but looked like a child. According to the attendants, he was writing from early in the morning and was not demanding at all. As a first work of writing, it was not so skillful, but, even I, a middle-aged man, could understand his feeling of despair and worries before making a decision to desert...(Nagakawa, 1998, pp. 301-303).

Nagakawa thought that there would be an audience eager to read this deserter’s novel as the interest in the Vietnam War was growing among young people. He consulted with an editor close to him, who agreed to publish it serially from the initial issue of a new literary magazine, *Subaru* (Nagakawa, 1998, pp. 303). At the time both the Japanese government and corporations were all cooperating with the Vietnam War, so the editor’s decision to publish a deserter’s novel was noteworthy. Kurusu’s novel, *Wareraga kanko shite aoida hata [The flag we respected with cheers]* was published in 1970 (Law, 1970). The editor took extraordinary control until it was

published, and Nagakawa was busy translating Kurusu's novel under the pen name John Phillip Law (Nagakawa, 1998, p. 304). Kurusu picked this pen name as he was a fan of John Phillip Law, a Hollywood actor. Later in the spring, Nagakawa left for Europe as scheduled and his colleague took over Kurusu, reminding him to keep sending him the manuscripts so that he could send back the translated version to be published (Nagakawa, 1998, pp. 301-305).

Kurusu could finally leave Japan around the end of 1970 more than two years after his desertion. Using a forged passport, he passed through immigration with no problem, boarded the plane, and successfully entered Paris. Kurusu did not know that a JATEC activist was watching him at the airport until the airplane took off to make sure that his plane departed safely (Takahashi, 2007, p. 174). The designer who contributed to his passport celebrated with his wife (Takahashi, 2007, p. 175). Kurusu's departure was the result of an overwhelming amount of focused collaboration. Maria Jolas and Susan George, whom Takahashi had met in Paris greeted Kurusu at Orly Airport (Takahashi, 2007, p. 178). Although Kurusu's novel stopped at the 7th installment, his friendship with Nagakawa continued in Europe as Nagakawa settled down in Sevilla, Spain. They visited each other in Europe and Mexico, where Kurusu later studied medicine (Nagakawa, 1998, pp. 306-308). Kurusu now lives somewhere in the US as a physician.

Nagakawa was not the only academic who took care of Kurusu. Hidaka Rokuro, whom Oda Makoto had drawn into the *Intrepid Four* film, also took care of Kurusu. Hidaka was at first reluctant because he had been deeply involved with Beheiren, and his place might have been under surveillance and therefore not ideal. Plus, it was right after he resigned from University of Tokyo following the riot police entry into the campus. But Hidaka was impressed with Kurusu's writing.

He was born in a poor household and seemed to have lied about his age and enlisted when he was 17 years old to help his family. He started writing before he was 20...his writing was polished, words were well-chosen, long sentences, didn't use direct adjectives, everything flowed slowly, like a middle-age writer's view of human beings... Although a bit wordy sometimes, I wondered how a 20 years old could write this, and where his talent was hidden...I was amazed with his capacity of reading as well. He was an avid reader. He had a mysterious calmness and gentleness. If he were arrested, his novel would have been read by many. He could have hit the US by telling them the reality of the Vietnam War (Hidaka, 1998, pp. 312-314).

According to Hidaka, the editor who published his novel gave two reasons why they had decided to publish it. First, the editor evaluated its literary quality, and second, he thought that Japan, which had no official military, would be the only place where a publisher could publish a novel written by a deserter (Hidaka, 1998, p. 311). The monthly literary magazine *Subaru* that published Kurusu's novel still exists.

Kanda (24 years old, Marine). The last deserter was Kanda (code name), a pacifist who lived in hiding for one year and ten months. He has his own unique story in Japan. Born in Puerto Rico in 1945, Kanda was an earnest Christian. He was drafted on December 1968 in New York and was sent to basic training in North Carolina. He used his \$60 paycheck from the training to buy a bus ticket and returned home without official permission. His surprised parents told him to go back to the base. As a result, he was sent to Kadena Air Base in occupied Okinawa for correctional custody, as nonjudicial punishment for going AWOL and taking the unauthorized trip home. He eventually deserted at the end of September 1969. He managed to stay within the base for six weeks by sleeping in different barracks. In an interview he gave to *Shūkan AMPO*, Kanda revealed how this was possible at Kadena Air Base.

Nobody suspected me. Unlike other bases, there was no ID check, and nobody cared about other people. I could just be one of the Marines. There were only Marines and people believed we were all colleagues...I chose the barracks with a scratch team (not a group that functioned as one troop) where there were GIs coming from Vietnam or those waiting to go there...I was eventually caught by the MPs but escaped again...within the base...I found friendly GIs, black GIs. They were sympathetic to me...good people, and they helped me...they were all sick of military life

but did not believe they could actually do something...it was a sort of hypnotism that the government put on all the servicemen...I stayed there for another three weeks. Those black guys were planning something for me. They didn't try for themselves but supported those who tried. Their troop was scheduled to move to Camp Fuji (in mainland Japan) on September 1969, and they blended me into the troop. The port was so crowded with other troops, and there were so many beds in the ship, so I would just cuddle into one of them...there is no fear if you have determination. It is wrong to think that desertion is for cowards. It takes courage to desert. A coward cannot make it. By the end of the week, eight or nine GIs gave me donations. I wore the clothes they gave me and left the base. Then I went to Tokyo by train (Sekiya, 1998b, pp. 289-292).

Spanish was Kanda's native language. He first visited the Mexican Embassy in Tokyo for help but was turned down. They however informed him of the name Beheiren. It is not surprising that the Mexican Embassy knew about Beheiren as it had been in the news for years, and Mexico had good relationship with Cuba, which helped Kim Jin Suh. Kanda stopped by the Jōchi University campus and talked to a student who was wearing a white helmet and shouting into a microphone. The students took care of Kanda for a few days. On October 14, 1969, the students contacted Beheiren and left Kanda with Motono. JATEC interviewed him for several days and repeatedly told him that his future prospect was uncertain, to which Kanda answered, "I will wait no matter how many years I have to wait. I am a patient man," and he proved it (Sekiya, 1998c, p. 288). Below is Motono's impression of Kanda as someone who was fit to desert.

He was open, with Latin characteristics. He was also thoughtful but cautious and asserted himself. Unlike other deserters, he was interested in Japanese and learned daily conversation within a few months. He was always listening to music, kept his routine of walking despite my attempts to stop him, and took care of his mental and physical health. That kind of personality and lifestyle enabled him to achieve desertion (Sekiya, 1998c, p. 288).

Kanda, despite his status as a deserter, received interviews and even appeared on TV, disguised, where he asserted on camera, "The idea that desertion is dishonorable is created by government. It takes more courage to refuse the wrong than obeying what was ordered." It seems that Kanda was passed around between Tokyo and Kyoto. Takahashi (2007) did not remember

how many times he had to tell him to wait a little more, and he would say, “I accept it in protest” (p. 184). Kanda successfully fled to France in summer 1971, where Kurusu greeted him at the Orly Airport (Sekiya, 1998c, p. 288). That was the first time the last two deserters met although they were in Japan around the same time.

In Paris. One day, Hidaka Rokurō was surprised when he received a postcard from Paris, telling him “Freedom in Paris is wonderful.” He had no idea when Kurusu left Japan, but Hidaka was curious about the state of two last deserters and also wanted to see Paris during the ongoing Vietnam War. So, Hidaka and his wife went to Paris. Kurusu was working part-time in a hospital. Kurusu told Hidaka that deserters had difficult time living in Paris.

We were surprised to see him so skinny. Kurusu told us that working in a hospital has been extremely hard. When I asked him what happened to Paris’ wonderful freedom, he responded, “Freedom in Paris is complicated.” According to him, there were many American deserters in Paris who left from the NATO troops were stationed in Germany. They could walk freely in Paris, but French people tried not to see them. There was no government help and little civic help except some Quakers and deserter assistance groups. American deserters needed to make their own living, and life was tough...The Antipathy against the Vietnam War was rampant across France, but unlike in Japan where the US bases were in full operation, direct feel of the war was dim in Paris...there were then con artists who tried to steal from deserters...I was a freelancer at the time but Kurusu was even more hippie in France than he was in Japan...to that extent, he might have stopped writing the novel...getting fame did not seem to matter for him (Hidaka, 1998, 314-319).

The Hidaka couple, who decided to live in France, took care of not only Kurusu and Kanda but also other deserters in Paris in many ways. Hidaka was not sure if he helped them much but was certain that those deserters showed him a new world that he did not know (Hidaka, 1998, 320). Their friendship continued. In 2001, a theatrical performance called “*Your neighbor deserter*” was held in Tokyo. Saitō Ren, the playwright, who had been in the audience at the FTA show in 1972, set the years of the play to 1968-1971, as he felt that something ended, and something started in that four-year frame (Saitō, 2001, pp. 156-158). Tickets were discounted for

former JATEC activists. Former Beheiren activists who had sheltered Kurusu invited him to see the play (Saitō, 2001, p. 150). Thirty years had passed since he left Tokyo to go to Paris. In interview by Sekiya for the publication of *Tonari ni dassōhei ga ita jidai*, Hidaka Rokurō commented.

For me it was a precious memory...I could not just abandon them...it turned out that we ended up taking care of them till the end...of course, it had an aspect of opposing the Vietnam War, but it was more personal. They deserted. They had nowhere to go. I sheltered them...I think we were the only ones who followed deserters. The biggest problem that deserters faced in France was how to make a living although French people were also taking care of them. When I asked them to repair my house, they would come with friends...many deserters from NATO came to our house (in Paris). Kanda stayed half of the time at our house when he was in Paris...Kanda, Kurusu and American GIs from Berlin were publishing an antiwar newspaper...eventually, there were pardons. Kurusu returned to the US in spring 1974, and Kanda followed him a few days later. I was a bit worried...President Carter's official pardon came long after that. We assumed several possible scenarios and coded them. A telegram with a phrase of a folk song was sent to me, and from that, I could tell they had entered the US by the best scenario (Interview by Sekiya, 1998c, pp. 298-299).

Kurusu is now working as a physician, but he has not disclosed his past as 'free country' America still censors letters to deserters (Saitō, 2001, p. 149). Thinking back, Yoshikawa reflected how the image of deserters had completely changed in Japan during the Vietnam War.

The image of a "deserter" during the Pacific War and WWII was extremely bad. It was synonymous with traitor and coward. If one refused the military, and deserted, it was not just his problem but his whole family were ostracized...that was the way deserters were treated. But after 1967, the image of deserters in Japan changed...when the media reported on the Intrepid Four, there was overwhelming support from the ordinary citizens. There appeared a cartoon that added President Lincoln behind the Intrepid Four, titled the Five, showing the four young men who refused the Vietnam War as Lincoln's colleagues...and nobody wondered why...there was a groundswell of public opinion that the Vietnam War should be stopped...then, many Japanese citizen supported American soldiers who refused the war and deserted, who chose to quit the military rather than killing the Vietnamese people. I thought the image of 'deserter' had dramatically changed among Japanese people (Yoshikawa, 2011, 70-71).

Deserter assisting projects of Beheiren/JATEC's came to an end with these two deserters. The heavy responsibilities that Beheiren's adult activists had been carrying over the years finally ended. The time was moving.

Role of Student Beheiren Activists in Assisting Deserters

One important aspect I noticed throughout this study was the use of the terms, ‘otona’ (adult) and ‘wakamono’ (youth). Young Beheiren activists called their older counterpart, whose professions varied, by the generic term, “adults.” In response, the adult activists called the young activists ‘wakamono’ (young). The adult Beheiren activists were just in their late 20s, 30s and 40s, still young in today’s sense, but the former young activists praised them, saying that they were really adult. They are still respected highly by former young Beheiren today. While New Left students were rebelling against the older generation, the adult-youth relationship in Beheiren was significantly different and it functioned well.

Realistically, taking care of deserters secretly was not something that someone with a fulltime job could do. It was fortunate for deserters and deserter-candidates that students in the late 1960s Japan had lots of free time due to the escalation of campus struggle. The wave of protests both on the streets and on campuses in Japan peaked in 1968-1969, which paralleled protest cycles in the United States and Western Europe in the same time period (Steinhoff, 2016, p. 35). Classrooms were occupied, classes were canceled, and major campuses were closed. Over a two-year period, 162 university campuses in Japan experienced campus conflicts and strikes, which only ended after the Diet passed a new law that took effect in 1970 (Steinhoff, 2016, p. 35). Students were perfect people to take care of deserters as they were mostly the same age as the deserters, and most of them spoke some English. Those students were called ‘attendants,’ whose role was to assist deserters in their daily lives and accompany them whenever and wherever they moved from home to home, as Yoshioka and Sekiya did. They were both born in 1948, the first post-war generation, who experienced the campus struggle and protests first-hand. This is the generation of young Beheiren activists who worked closely with those who were born

in the 1930s, the generation right before them. JATEC's deserter assistance activities were possible because of the effective division of labor such as the *otona-wakamono* (adult-youth) working relationship.

Yoshioka Shinobu. Born in Nagano in 1948, Yoshioka, now a nonfiction writer, whom I have quoted in the previous sections, was a student of Waseda University. His experience shows how Yoshioka, who was interested in "America" since his middle school age, was even planning to study in America, changed his view through his experiences in Beheiren and interactions with American deserters.

The news of "Satellite broadcasting" for the Tokyo Olympic Games (1964) was a big event for kids at the time... Then, it turned out that the first broadcast was the assassination of President Kennedy... from that time, I started to think "something is wrong with America." Soon, the Tonkin Incident occurred, and I started to see the gap between the America I had been imagining and its reality that I was seeing. When I read something like (Allen) Ginsberg, I learned that America had already been eroded since the 1950s... but it was hard to see it in Japan... so I was getting more interested in the Vietnam War. As I was born and raised in Nagano, I didn't directly feel it much, but when the Beheiren newsletter, which I'd later become a chief editor of, was out on the street. I read it. In 1967, I went to Tokyo for college, started to participate in demonstrations. Student movements were not yet that big in 1967. For an 18-year-old, talking with people like Tsurumi Shunsuke, Oda Makoto, Ōe Kenzaburō, Kaiko Takeshi, was much more interesting than listening to lectures in classes. I also traveled all over with deserters. Sheltering deserters for a long time was hard but being sheltered was equally hard. Finding hideouts could take three days to two weeks. Terry Whitmore called us attendants "Capone boys." When Whitmore and I were staying in a tuberculosis ward in Shizuoka prefecture, we watched the news that Martin Luther King was assassinated in Memphis. Until that moment, Whitmore was nervous and reserved. He was still thinking about whether he should desert or not... but then the news of King's assassination was quite a shock to Terry, and Memphis was his hometown. He asked me to go for a walk... then he started to talk about the situations that blacks faced in America, and other stuff... This was the time he finally made his decision. Deserters wouldn't behave so openly for a while as they were also not sure if they could trust us... I thought being an activist was normal. It was fun. I could travel here and there for free, stayed in a 'love hotel' for ten days... I mean those were things we normally would not do... Until then, I only knew my hometown and Tokyo. Above all, there was a diverse group of people in Beheiren. Beheiren was like my college (Yoshioka, personal interview, 2016).

Yoshioka is not the only one who felt that way. Sekiya felt the same way. He said that being in Beheiren was too interesting to quit.

Sekiya Shigeru. Born in Niigata prefecture in 1948, Sekiya was a cram school student in Tokyo in 1967. He moved to Kyoto to attend Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto in 1968. As a student who worked very closely with Beheiren leaders, he probably was one of the rare few who could grasp the sense of the overall movement.

I started cram school in Tokyo in 1967, but I got bored and started looking for something different. One day, by chance, I went to a lecture by Tsurumi Yoshiyuki, and it was very interesting. So, before I went back home in Niigata for summer break, I stopped by the Beheiren office to donate the money I had, because I would not need it after I returned home. Beheiren was already a well-known group, so I imagined their office would be in a nice building...but it was in a really run-down multi-tenant building in Ochanomizu, and the person who was in the office was another cram school student like me. After the summer break, I stopped by the office again. There were many students from my cram school. I started spending all my time there. I initially thought Beheiren would be a world remote from my daily life, but I felt a sense of intimacy there. It was captivating, and I just could not leave. I stopped going to the cram school...my life changed...my memories up to my high school life became memories that I just don't remember. I would have been a normal salaryman if I didn't experience Beheiren. It totally changed my life. Later when I moved to Kyoto for college in 1968, I stopped by Tsurumi Shunsuke's office in Doshisha University. He asked me to work for deserters. It appeared that I was the right person for the task because I was not known to the police in Kyoto, but knew Tokyo and Beheiren people in Tokyo. So I was often asked to go to Tokyo to bring a deserter to Kyoto. Tsurumi told me not to attend rallies and demonstrations. So until the 1968 International People's Conference against War and for Fundamental Social Change in Kyoto, I had not met any of the Beheiren people in Kyoto. JATEC was the only movement in Beheiren that was not publicized. I was running errands for the central figures like Yoshikawa in Tokyo, and Tsurumi in Kyoto. So they gave me some information of what was going on in each region...Yoshikawa and Tsurumi were often contacting each other over the phone (Sekiya, personal interview, 2016).

Encountering Beheiren appeared to change his life. Having been given a unique position in Beheiren, Sekiya has quietly continues keeping the network together and engaging in transnational activism even after his retirement from the Law office of Ono Nobuyuki at the end of 2013. Ono and Sekiya met during Beheiren's legal fight with the Kawabata Police to get a deserter Paul back when he was arrested. At the time, Sekiya was asked to be a contact person by staying at the law office where Ono was working. When Ono opened his own law office in Kyoto, Sekiya was offered a position.

Suzuki Masaho. Born in 1949 in Kyoto and one year younger than Yoshioka and Sekiya, Suzuki Masaho, now a Kyoto city congressman, was a high school student when he started participating in Beheiren. During his years at Dōshisha University, Suzuki deepened his involvement with Beheiren, and took care of deserters. In the early 1970s, he went frequently been back and forth between Kyoto and Iwakuni, where the GI revolt erupted.

I had been to Beheiren's rallies from my high school years, and I spent one-year post-high school preparing for college in 1967...that was the year that Yamazaki Hiroaki was killed and the Intrepid Four emerged...it will be the 50-year anniversary next year (2017). I entered college in 1968...and I got involved more in Beheiren. It was at the 1968 International People's Conference against War in Kyoto that I got totally into it. I started to shelter deserters... Paul was arrested, whom I spent four months living with. From there, I got a sense of politics and gained political experience through Beheiren...I had been going back-and-forth between Kyoto and Iwakuni when the Hobbit (antiwar coffeehouse) was created. I ended up getting married to one of their regular customers...I was 24 at the time...and I finally graduated college in my 9th year at age 27. I was running a coffeeshop in Kyoto, called Rakuda-kan. I then thought of doing something else and ran for an election, calling it the 'Happy election.' I lost but kept trying and losing...I won when I was 38-years-old. I tried to run because when I was thinking what I could do in the town I was born and raised in...There were others from Beheiren who ran and won, like Ozawa Ryōko in Tokyo, and I thought, in Kyoto, it could be me. It's been 30 years since then. I retain my starting point, including all my activities. (Ono interrupted: your political style is cheery, not dark. I've been impressed with the fact that this kind of person has been accepted and is a good leader...). Now, I'm a representative of 1800 members of the party in the regional congress. Kyoto is where I was born and have been living all my life. When Paul was arrested in my hometown, we went to the Kawabata Police station (to protest), JATEC and Hobbit were born, many demos, various concerts...it was all fun! (Suzuki, personal interview, 2016).

Ms. Z. Born in 1950, Ms. Z was a freshman in college when she got involved in the second-term JATEC, in 1969. This was the first time that she has spoken about her experience to anyone, except her fellow JATEC activists. Even her current family, including her husband and children, do not know about her days with JATEC.

When I think back to what I was doing back then, I was not really involved much with Beheiren. I didn't start so early. I started getting involved around 1969, and I was not asked to help Beheiren but JATEC. In that sense, I don't identify myself as Beheiren. During Japan's "Church Struggle," I was asked by someone if I knew some English, and that was JATEC. They were looking for someone who could type. The church struggle and JATEC had things in common such as antiwar resistance, peace, and authority. Around the time, there were no classes because of campus conflicts, so I bought a typewriter and was practicing typing, preparing for future

classes. I helped type the newsletters, like JATEC newsletter in English. I mostly stayed in the office, but went out at times, like when a Quaker activist was detained in a hotel room in Haneda Airport when she arrived. Structurally, there were 'otona (adults)' and 'wakamono (youth).' The adults were in their 30s or 40s. I was 18 years old (Ms. Z, 2016, personal interview).

Because of her young age and the status of women in general in Japan at the time, I asked her if she ever felt scared, she responded, "Of course!"

I was followed by plain-clothes police officers. Also when I attended the Antiwar Day on April 28, 1969 in Shinjuku, on the train back home, a guy suddenly stood up, took my photo and left...that was scary. There was police violence too. That is why we used code names and didn't use our home phones. I was a young lady who had just graduated from high school. Nobody, including my parents, siblings, and friends knew what I was doing with JATEC. This is actually the first time I have ever spoken about what I was doing. It really is the first time, except to other JATEC fellows. We tried not to ask things...it was better not to know much...not knowing was safer...that was our common understanding. Beheiren was started by the adults. It was not a student movement but a civic movement. When it started, the scene of Beheiren was adult. JATEC was loose, and that was good to keep secrets secret. Most Beheiren people didn't know about JATEC. I don't know about Beheiren so much because I was only with JATEC. JATEC needed so many people, but all of us made sure to keep it a secret, so we don't know who was involved...and Beheiren people did not need to know about us (Ms. Z, 2016, Personal interview).

Among the 12 former activists that I interviewed, Ms. Z was the only person who did not want her name disclosed. She appeared to still keep secret a secret. There must be many more people like her in Japan.

Other student attendants. There are also examples that getting involved in political activism was part of life for many students in the highly political period of late 1960s Japan. The recollection of Yamamoto Kōtaro, a singer-song writer and music producer who was born in 1948, shows the likely scenario of starting activism.

Hitotsubashi University, which I attended, had Zenkyōtō at the time, but I really hated Gewalt [violence]. So I asked Inoue Sumio in the Hitotsubashi Beheiren if there was something I could do, and he introduced me to JATEC as the best peace movement around. I started my activism as an attendant. When a deserter and I were at someone's second house near a lake, we found a quiet place. I played guitar and had a gig with him for hours until it was past-midnight. Sometimes, we were filled with emotions, and broke into tears...one day we had a small fire break back out at the house while playing. We were later scolded by one of the adults. The deserter and I apologized because we were supposed to hide and spend our time quietly (Yamamoto, 1998, p. 447).

Yamamoto's story indicates that for those students who strongly rejected the New Left students' violent actions but nonetheless were eager to do something in the epochally political atmosphere of the late 1960s, Beheiren was an alternative choice. Senda, Yamamoto's friend, recalled how he participated in JATEC.

I was in a group that shared the same thinking (non-violence) as Yamamoto. When Yamamoto entered the professional music industry and got busier, I was frequently asked to take on his JATEC role. So, I naturally got involved with that movement. I went to many people's houses and met different kinds of people. What I did as an attendant was nothing special but was more of a daily chore. I also participated in different activities such as counting the number of Galaxy, aircrafts that flew into Yokota base in Fussa (Senda, 1998, p.450).

Yamada Kenji, a student of the University of Tokyo, who first encountered two of the Intrepid Four on the street in 1967, further advanced his activism after the 1969 Tokyo University incident and created his own group.

Encountering the Intrepid Four awakened me politically, and I became a non-sect radical student. I was once hit by the riot police with a shield when the Shinjuku uprising occurred. When Yasuda Auditorium fell (a symbolic incident when the riot police curtailed Japan's student movement at the University of Tokyo), there was little left that we could do on campus. In late 1969, one of my friends told me about this 'underground' group that was helping deserters. I was happy when he asked me for help because they were shorthanded, and I already had some experience with deserters. I then created my own group with eight students from Tokyo University and Rikkyo University where my (now) wife attended (Yamada, 1998, pp. 282-283).

In the upheaval of late 1960s, these former students' stories suggest how students at the time were already politically motivated or mobilized to take action. This is just like the case of the political process that McAdam described of the high levels of student activism in the black insurgency during the US civil rights movement such as the Greensboro sit-ins when students actively took actions.

While former young Beheiren students all said it was fun, overall responsibilities fell on the adults. There were constantly unexpected events that were difficult at times, they had to

manage for the safety of everyone involved. The experiences of the adults were more complex, especially in dealing with host families who sheltered deserters. In this regard, I can understand that some aspect of the experiences will never be unsealed.

Adult counterparts. As the first Japanese lawyer who defended American deserters in court-martials in the US base, Ono Nobuyuki was one of the younger adults. At one of the reunion events when Terry Whitmore visited Japan in 1993, he spoke of his days with Beheiren.

I think I was like a legal advisor to Beheiren around the Kyoto area. Some former activists said that their life went awry after Beheiren, but for me, Beheiren was good clients, which allowed me to build the base for my 25 years work. I think I have lived a very decent life thanks to Beheiren (Ono, 1994, p. 131).

As a younger adult of the time, Ono's experience with Beheiren is as positive as the youth.

While the youth and the younger adults enjoyed life with Beheiren, their older adult counterparts, who spent time, energy and money for years to assist deserters, had different stories. I asked Takahashi, Motono and Sakamoto, the core of the adult group of JATEC, about their relations with the younger Beheiren activists. Their reflections clearly show that the adults and the young had different experiences that were not always fun. The adults were taking care of both deserters and the young Beheiren students.

Sakamoto: We were the adults...but around 30 years old. Well, it might have been possible because of the period of rapid economic growth. No worries about money, we could feed many youth, who were hanging out at my house. When I got paid, I gave them money from my pay check to take care of the deserters. They also went to see Takahashi on his pay day.

Takahashi: Yes. Like, when they were hiding with a deserter in Karuizawa, the young attendant came to Tokyo by bus to see me on my pay day, and I gave him money at the station.

Motono: We had money, didn't we?

Sakamoto: In those days, monthly pay was raised yearly, and bonuses were always more than the year before...it continued like that for about 10 years. Thinking back, it would be hard nowadays that a 30 years old man or woman could feed many young people in their 20s....

Motono: Initially, we had no idea...but as we went on, we got connections with the young people. Because we had full-time jobs and could not stay with deserters 24/7, we needed someone to stay with the deserters all the time or accompany them when we moved them around from place to place.

Takahashi: So, students were the perfect people to be 'attendants' to take care of deserters.

Motono: Yoshioka did all kinds of things when he started from the first-term JATEC. In second-term JATEC, it was a bit different.

Obviously, the adult-youth relationship was mutually beneficial. Still, I asked them if they felt like wanting to quit, after using lots of their own money for years.

Motono: Well, if we knew what would happen, we might not have done it...

Sakamoto: Maybe...But we still could have made a living...it's just what we would spend our money on. It was really not anything special...I drove my kids to kindergarten, and carried deserters too...and as an extension, on the weekend, I bought lots of food and put them in the fridge. If the young people ate it all, then I'd just buy more food again next weekend.

Motono: In our case, it was like managing from one day to the next...If we stopped, we would fall, if we fell, we'd all starve...

Takahashi: And the schedule was all up to them...if a deserter appeared, we had to deal with him. We needed to confirm that he was serious...it's not like we were checking for spies...once we take in a live human being, we cannot just kick him out...how could we?

Motono: We didn't go out of our way to invite deserters, but we did something close to that...

Sakamoto: Oda Makoto started it first at the Enterprise protest...(publicly calling on the sailors to desert)

These recollections indicate that, besides the income from the newsletters and donations from supporters, there were adults who used their own money. Apparently, Beheiren had enough money to keep running, but I still wondered how it was financially sustainable for a decade. I asked Sekiya about it.

Unlike the student organizations, there was no power-money issue. In case of student organizations, controlling the membership money was an important issue to hold power. We didn't have that kind. In Beheiren, there were fair number of adults who could earn by writing. They tried their best to write in weekly and monthly publications, and poured their money into Beheiren (Sekiya, 2016, personal interview).

Apparently, Japan's swift economic growth in the postwar era contributed as it was during the *Izanagi* boom, one of Japan's longest periods of prosperity and rapid economic development of 1965-1970, that overlapped with the period when Beheiren was active. It was, however, the willingness of each adult activist who determined to exercise resistance, who put their own money into the movement because of their strong beliefs, that kept Beheiren going.

The role difference between the youth and the adults fits what Whittier calls “cohort differences.” The young students, especially those who were born in 1948 and 1949, were one generation younger than the key adult actors. Those students entered Beheiren in 1967 or 1968 when they were around 18 to 20 years old. According to Whittier (1997), cohorts construct different collective identities based on the changing external contexts and internal conditions of the movement at the time of entry (p. 764). Those young students joined Beheiren around the time American deserters emerged. It was also the time of the campus struggle. These external contexts really helped Beheiren’s adults who needed help in taking care of American deserters. Students who had plenty of free time because of the campus blockade with no classes were perfect people for the task. Plus, students were about the same age of most deserters. Japanese students and American deserters could share the same culture of the global sixties where music and arts were big part of it.

Conclusion

The Intrepid Four was just the beginning. This chapter showed the transformational processes of the post-Intrepid Four by introducing a few more deserters’ cases that included how they reached out to Beheiren. Throughout 1968, many more American deserter-candidates appeared one by one which made Beheiren’s daily operation hectic. Out of necessity, they created JATEC to focus solely on incoming deserter-candidates and deserters. When using the Soviet ship Baikal became unavailable, they developed a new exit route in Hokkaidō.

This chapter also introduced the involvement of American intelligence agents in Beheiren activities. As deserters increased, so did American intelligence agents. The Spy Johnson incident was the biggest crisis in Beheiren’s history that triggered JATEC to go further underground.

Transnational underground operation was possible because of the commitment, courage, and effort by numerous individual citizens of the world to work for one purpose. What Tarrow calls “transnational coalition formation,” which is the horizontal formation of common networks among actors from different countries with similar claims, occurred (Tarrow, 2005, p. 32). Every individual involved in this transnational underground operation understood the fundamentally globalized problem because of their direct knowledge of imperial war, resistance to fascism in Europe, or the Algerian war of independence. Yet, the fact that it took four decades for Takahashi to reveal the story indicates the sensitivities and prudence involving in carrying out such operation.

On the other hand, all the people who were involved in JATEC appeared to have experienced major transformation. For both deserters and Beheiren activists, the interaction was transformative. Likewise, both Japanese people who sheltered American deserters and the deserters they sheltered were affected by their interactions because of the circumstances and how they responded to those circumstances regardless of their ability of speaking English or Japanese. They were thrown into transnational activism by this globalizing experience. For young American men who were sent to Vietnam and deserted in Japan, then spent some time in the Soviet Union before reaching to final destination, this globalizing experience certainly would have prepared them to live in a different country. They interacted with different people anywhere they went and were exposed to diverse cultures. With the two last deserters to France, Beheiren and JATEC’s role in taking care of American deserters was completed. They moved forward to a different phase of the movement where young activists played the lead in supporting the GI movement that erupted in the US bases.

CHAPTER 7

GI MOVEMENT IN JAPAN & TRANSPACIFIC ACTIVISM

If I were asked to choose between going back to Vietnam, or going to jail,
I will go to jail. No question about it (American deserter during the Vietnam War)

To all the brothers and sisters in Okinawa. Your fight (against US oppression) is our fight.
Your enemy is our enemy. I have to warn you. American racism and the military system deceive
and threaten GIs. I want you to be careful (American active-duty GI during the Vietnam War)

What is a rebel? A man who says no (Albert Camus)

This chapter examines the last phase of the Beheiren movement from 1969 to early 1970s. As its deserter assistance phase came to an end, Beheiren made another transformation by working collaboratively with growing number of antiwar GIs and American activists as a response to the rise of GI movement in the US bases. It was also the shift from transnational operation to transpacific operation. Motono and Sakamoto recalled of the shift.

Motono: Our movement got stuck. Our activities (for deserters) got stuck, but thanks to the PCS (Pacific Counseling Services), we were relieved...PCS became one exit, and another exit was what Takahashi developed...we were greatly saved because of these two exits. With these two exits, new prospective opened up. If we didn't have them, I wondered what would have happened...

Sakamoto: It would have been the dead end (personal interview, 2016).

A social movement's structure influences the rate of cohort replacement and thus contributes to either change or continuity (Whittier, 1997, p. 764). It is noteworthy that, facing the rapid rise of the GI movement in the US bases in Japan, which was a new external factor, Beheiren adults understood the changing circumstances and accepted the shift with a sense of

relief, and continued to engage in the cause anyway they could. Thus, in Beheiren's case, cohort replacement, in the form of trashing leaders or burnout of leaders as Whittier suggested, did not particularly occur but change and continuity occurred simultaneously. They shifted their focus to support and help American active-duty GIs in the US bases with a new slogan, "*Beigun kaitai* [Disband American military system]." With this transformation, although cohort replacement did not occur, generational role shift was observed. Beheiren was launched by postwar intellectuals who already had transnational networks, and they had so far played central roles. In this phase, young Beheiren people, especially students, came to the center stage. Key players from older cohorts stepped back and fully supported and encouraged whatever their younger cohort tried. They kept providing advice and whatever supports whenever needed.

Another important element in this phase was that issues of racism in the US was brought to Beheiren by black GIs. Although severe discrimination against Korean and Chinese permanent residents, the indigenous people such as Ainu and *burakumin* [an outcast group at the bottom of social order] exists in Japan, concept of racism was new to many young Beheiren activists as manifestation of race was rare in Japan. As they closely interacted with black antiwar GIs, young Beheiren activists started recognizing the depth of the problem embedded in American society. In their increasingly globalizing experiences in a highly political environment, young Beheiren students were given opportunities to learn, directly from the black GIs, what was going on in the US, including the black power movement that emerged in the declining phase of the civil rights movement. They heard and witnessed the experiences of black GIs and published what they heard and saw in the newsletters with photos. Around the time, Beheiren's newsletters were full of issues of racism in the US bases. Compared to the transnational activism in the

previous phase, this phase was more transpacific. When the renewal of 1970 ANPO and the talk on the Okinawa Reversion were approaching, there was room for what Onishi (2013) calls “Afro-Asian solidarity” would occur between the young black GIs and the young Beheiren activists at the end of the global sixties.

Decline of the Civil Rights Movement and the Global Surge of the Antiwar Resistance

GI movement during the Vietnam War cannot be fully understood without addressing race relations in the US. The anti-Vietnam War movement started during the heyday of the civil rights movement and peaked when the civil rights movement started to decline. The fact that these two long-sustained movements simultaneously shared such a contentious period in US history should not be ignored. In this highly political period, it was not uncommon for civil rights activists, who had been motivated and participated in the political process, also to participate in antiwar protests. While Scholars such as Arendt (1972) and Chatfield (2004) suggest that the opposition to the Vietnam War was rooted in the great success of the earlier civil rights and student movements, Harrison points out that the key success of the civil rights movement had been its tradition of nonviolent civil disobedience. Harrison posed the question, if the United States could be so wrong on the race question, could not the same illogic lead it to tragic consequences in Vietnam? (Harrison,1996, p. 261). Because of the contentious debate, civil rights and free speech advocates on campuses turned their attention to the war and reached a far larger audience on campuses and beyond (Cortright, 1975; Murullo & Meyer, 2006, p. 650). Clergymen became part of that wider audience.

William Coffin, a Presbyterian chaplain at Yale University, and his colleagues could no longer remain silent, and proclaimed that the Vietnam War was so immoral that massive civil

disobedience was necessary (Friedland, 1998, p. 192-194). FBI agents began showing up on the Yale campus until the dean of students accused the agents of trespassing and interfering with the process of education (Friedland, 1998, p. 195). Daniel Berrigan, the American Jesuit priest, along with his brother Philip Berrigan, greatly energized the protests against the Vietnam War. (Reed, 2016). In the early 1970s, the Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam (CALCAV), persuaded the Dow Chemical Company and Honeywell to stop manufacturing napalm and antipersonnel weapons. The CALCAV was initiated by Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1967 before his assassination and questioned if such weapons were necessary. They picketed and purchased stock in the companies, which led to dramatic confrontations at stakeholders' meetings when members of the antiwar organization demanded that the companies sever ties with the Department of Defense (Friedland, 1998, pp. 229-230). By this time, police started to refuse to arrest the activists. These events point to the American public's increasing support for the antiwar efforts. Authorities were confronted more and more by both civil rights and antiwar activists. Harrison (1996) points out that the controversy over the Vietnam War helped to split the civil rights movement into factions, and the war became one of the major reasons for the decline of civil rights activism that truly had the potential for improving twentieth century race relations in America (pp. 261-275). By 1966, SNCC and CORE were in fact deeply divided over the competing issues of the Vietnam War (McAdam, 1982).

King's Dilemma

It is well known that Martin Luther King Jr. came out against the Vietnam War despite advice from many not to enter that 'different' terrain. King faced a dilemma between civil rights and the Vietnam War. People would ask King, "Why Vietnam? Peace and civil rights don't

mix.” But for him, they were related issues of fundamental human rights. King had clearly been disturbed by the war. He saw a socio-political connection between civil rights and the war in Vietnam that was also related to people of color. In 1967, he eventually decided to speak out and delivered a speech on *The Causalities of the War in Vietnam* in Los Angeles in February 25, 1967, followed by the well-known, *Beyond Vietnam: A Time to Break Silence*, often called his “Riverside Church” speech in New York, which was King’s painful expression of his heart and mind on the Vietnam War and human race.

The war in Vietnam is but a symptom of a far deeper malady within the American spirit, and if we ignore this sobering reality we will find ourselves organizing clergy-and-laymen-concerned committees for the next generation.

This was King’s loud “No!” to both ‘oppression at home’ and ‘colonization’ overseas, which parallels what Gandhi (1951b) stated in *On Non Violence*.

Military service is only a symptom of the disease which is deeper. I suggest to you that those who are not on the resister of military service are equally participating in the crime if they support the State in the military way—whether directly or indirectly—participate in the sin. Each man old or young takes part in the sin by contributing to the maintenance of the State by paying taxes... Therefore, all those who want to stop military service can do so by withdrawing all cooperation (Gandhi, 1951b, p. 359).

Deserters and GIs who stopped cooperation recognized the disease through their experiences.

This idea, “Stop cooperation” to military service to end the war,” is also what Oda had been suggesting. If soldier quit one by one, the military cannot exist. Although King was aware that his action opposing the war might destroy the gains achieved by the civil rights movement, he simply could no longer be silent despite strong public reaction. Thereafter, King intensified his campaign against the war and became the leading black spokesman against the war (Harrison, 1996, p. 273).

It is widely noted that King broke the silence with his 1967 Riverside Church speech. Seitz (2016), however, suggested that King first publicly connected civil rights and the war earlier than 1967. It happened during the commencement ceremony at Oberlin College in 1965 where Seitz was a graduating student. He had encountered King through his involvement in the civil rights struggle during his college years at Oberlin when the movement was reaching its peak. His experience could shed light on the political shift between the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War.

Oberlin College has a long history of political activism. When I got there in 1961, the civil rights movement was getting really started, and people were kind of disappearing from the school...people were constantly going to the South and participating in what was going on. At Oberlin, more people were involved in the civil rights movement than any other colleges and universities. Then 1964 was a really violent year, when civil rights folks were killed and churches were bombed and burned there...Oberlin college students organized "Carpenters for Christmas," a very famous episode...We were down there over Christmas and we rebuilt the church that was involved. That was huge, and we actually celebrated the 50-year anniversary of Carpenters for Christmas last year, back there. We were very much involved, and Martin Luther King Jr. offered to come to our school. He said, "*I want to do the commencement for this class.*" So he gave the speech at my graduation. I met him several times (Seitz, 2016, personal interview).

This episode grew out of the Mississippi Freedom Summer in 1964. Seitz pointed out that around 1963 to 1964, the public became aware of what was going on in Southeast Asia but did not understand why because the US committed only a few troops and advisors, and there was not much publicity or knowledge about the war. They then began to learn about it around 1964 as it became an issue in the presidential election. According to Seitz, at that point, it began to be a big issue in some places like Berkeley, Oberlin, Michigan, and New York City. Bringing King as the commencement speaker in spring 1965, however, did not go smoothly because the school had already scheduled Dean Rusk, then the Secretary of State, to receive an honorary degree and be the commencement speaker. That was unacceptable to the graduating students of Oberlin.

We students were horrified as we knew what was going on in Southeast Asia. When Martin Luther King called and offered to be the commencement speaker, the college politely told him “No thank you, we already have a speaker.” Can you imagine that? When we found about that, we demanded a change. They said they could not cancel the invitation because it would be a big embarrassment to the Secretary of State. We were going to picket Dean Rusk’s speech. So, we ended up with a compromise. The compromise was that Dean Rusk was given an honorary degree, a delegation of students would be given an opportunity to meet with him to express our views on the war in Vietnam, and then we would not picket. And Martin Luther King gave the commencement address. That’s what happened (Seitz, 2016, personal interview).

The year 1965 was a very political year. It was the year that Jimmie Lee Jackson, a civil right worker, was murdered in Selma, Alabama, followed by the Selma to Montgomery Marches, in which King played a big part. It was just three months after the marches that King spoke at the commencement at Oberlin, which Seitz pointed out as the first time King linked civil rights and the war publicly, and his commencement address was delivered in front of Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

In the commencement speech King gave us, having Dean Rusk seated behind him, it was the first time that I’m aware of, King made the linkage between the civil rights movement in this country and the war in Vietnam. First time! Now, this was 1965. People had been urging King to make that linkage for a number of years...some people didn’t like it because they thought it would alienate some of the political people who supported the civil rights movement who also supported the war...but he began to make the linkage, that was the first time I’m aware of, May of 1965. Eventually in 1967, King came out very strongly against the war in Vietnam. He not only made the connection, he pointed out that we can’t be free in this country unless minorities were free everywhere, and really came out against the war, which is what many of us suspected that got him killed...that connection became a very powerful connection (Seitz, 2016 personal interview).

In the commencement speech in June 1965, titled *Remaining Awake Through a Great Revolution*, King referred to Gandhi, his experience in India, and “oneness,” which is an important concept in Hinduism. King encouraged the graduates to continue their journey on the clamorous highway of life. Although King did not spell out “Vietnam” in the commencement speech, he did talk about “war” a few times as Seitz pointed out.

There is nothing more tragic than to sleep through a revolution. There can be no gainsaying of the fact that a great revolution is taking place in our world today. It is a social revolution, sweeping away the old order of colonialism...The world in which we live is geographically one. The great challenge now is to make it one in terms of brotherhood...Now there is another problem facing us

that we must deal with if we are to remain awake through a social revolution. We must get rid of violence, hatred, and war. Anyone who feels that the problems of mankind can be solved through violence is sleeping through revolution... We know about violence. It's been the inseparable twin of Western materialism, the hallmark of its grandeur. I am convinced that violence ends up creating many more social problems than it solves... So it is my great hope that, as we struggle for racial justice, we will follow that philosophy and method of nonviolent resistance, realizing that this is the approach that can bring about that better day of racial justice for everyone... In international relations, we must come to see this. We must find some alternative to war and bloodshed... In a day when man-made vehicles are dashing through outer space... it is no longer a choice between violence and nonviolence; it is either nonviolence or non-existence... So this is our challenge: to see that war is obsolete, cast into limbo (Martin Luther King, Jr., 1965).

From this commencement speech in 1965, King appeared to still have a dilemma, and carefully crafted the language not to provoke his civil rights peers by not specifically saying "Vietnam." It took almost two years from this 1965 speech to the Riverside Church speech in April 1967. The Vietnam War further intensified during this period, day by day. King was assassinated a year later. The impact of his death was enormous, especially on blacks. After all, it was the assassination of King that made Terry Whitmore, who watched the news in Japan, determined to desert.

Rise of Black Power within the US Bases

The first call for draft resistance within the civil rights movement began in July 1965 in McComb, Mississippi, four years after SNCC's voter registrations began. Leaflets were distributed in McComb.

No Mississippi Negroes should be fighting in Vietnam for the White Man's freedom, until all the Negro People are free in Mississippi... No one has a right to ask us to risk our lives and kill other Colored People in Santo Domingo and Viet Nam, so that the White American can get richer. We will be looked upon as traitors by all Colored People of the world if the Negro people continue to fight and die without a cause. (Lynd & Lynd, 1995, p. 271).

Probably, no statement could show the inseparable connection of the civil rights movement and the anti-Vietnam War movement more than this leaflet. Racism in the military was indeed an issue in the US bases in Japan as well. Beheiren's newspapers in this phase repeatedly reported

that black GIs were more often sent to the stockade (or brig) than their white counterparts.

Stockade (or brig) is military term for jail.

The term “black power” first appeared during the Meredith March through Mississippi in 1966 (Friedland, 1998, p. 189). That was around the time when the anti-Vietnam War movement was becoming powerful as the civil rights movement began to decline. Both the black power movement and the northern riots had considerably altered the role that white clergy could play in civil rights at roughly the same time the war escalated (Friedland, 1998, P. 191). As tension and confrontation between black GIs and white officers intensified, the revolt started. Antagonistic racial tension triggered disobedience and rebellion in the US bases. Anger was mostly directed at police and superior officers, which GIs called ‘pigs.’ Interestingly, Beheiren’s newsletters reported that black GIs often questioned why blacks had to kill other people of color in Vietnam, and they often felt the Vietcong and the National Liberation Front (NLF) were kinder to them in the battle field. The NLF gave the black soldiers signs during the battles, and they even gave fliers of their whereabouts to the black soldiers so that they would not be killed by them (Sekiya, 1998a, p. 59).

Terry Whitmore was one such black soldier. Lying on the bed in the field hospital, Whitmore thought over and over about one incident that he experienced in the fierce battle in Con Thien where he lost the majority of his platoon.

I could not stop thinking about one thing that happened to me in Vietnam...that is “Why didn’t the enemy shoot me while they killed my fellow white soldiers?” “Why did they let me go?”...I wondered if they knew us, black people, were suffering like they were. Did they know that I was there in Vietnam only because I was forced to go, and did they know I would need to fight again when I get back home?...Now, 71 days into life in a field hospital in Japan gave me plenty of time to think... ..reflecting on many things, it is now clear to me that I would never again fight against the Vietnamese people, whom I once hated, killed, and burned down their houses (Whitmore, 1968, pp. 4-5; Whitmore, 1969, pp. 220-222).

Blacks had served in the two world wars, had served in the military industry, and were rewarded with “last hired, first fired” (Harrison, 1993, p. 109). In Vietnam, blacks were drafted in almost doubled numbers, and would die on the front lines in much greater numbers (Cortright, 1975; Harrison, 1993 & 1996; MacPherson, 1984; Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1984). Yet, many off-base facilities were still segregated, black recruits were subjected to excessive harassment, and they were beaten more and given longer jail sentences. Soon, the stockade became more and more crowded as those GIs preferred to go to jail rather than kill people in Vietnam. Eventually, black GIs became the leaders of the GI movement. Confrontation between blacks and white superiors was common. The first known black defiance appeared in July 1967 when two Camp Pendleton Marines called a meeting to question *why black men should fight a white man’s war in Vietnam?* (Cortright, 1975, p. 52). Howard Zinn (1967) also reported the episode that field workers for SNCC told him “I just saw one of those Vietcong guerrillas on TV. He was dark-skinned, ragged, poor, and angry. I swear, he looked just like one of us” (p. 19). These words also clearly indicate the troubling nature of America’s war in Vietnam that had started during the civil rights movement. Dozens of resistance actions followed. Draft records were burned with napalm because “napalm has burned people to death in Vietnam, Guatemala, and Peru” (Lynd & Lynd, 1995; Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1984). It is noticeable that the black GIs not only linked their actions to the civil rights movement but also clearly framed their actions from transnational anti-colonial perspectives.

The Vietnam War could end tomorrow and leave undisturbed the quality of our society, and its world role. Thailand, Laos, and the Dominican Republic have already been Vietnams. Guatemala, the Canal Zone, Bolivia, and Peru could be Vietnam overnight. Meanwhile, the colonies at home rise in rage and destructiveness. Our black people have concluded that after 350 years, their human acceptance is long overdue (Lynd & Lynd, 1995, p. 288).

Concepts like black radicalism, black nationalism, black pride, and black power emerged from the highly visible racial tension during the civil rights movement and it was no surprise that black power quickly spread among black GIs. In the mid-60s, blacks were welcomed into the front line as a crucial resource for sustaining the Vietnam intervention, but by 1970, they were no longer considered reliable in combat (Cortright, 1975, P. 40). This new development of black power was naturally brought to the US bases in Japan by black GIs. Along with the quagmire status of the Vietnam War and more vocal global protests against the war, the Beheiren newsletters increasingly published issues related to black power and racism, and repeatedly interviewed black GIs. During the Vietnam War, journalists could freely go to Vietnam, the US military had war correspondents, and reporters and photographers were allowed to follow the soldiers. In fact, the Vietnam War was said to be the first war that appeared to the family viewers at home on TV. The whole world could see the atrocity of America's war in Vietnam through TV, and the impact of the horrific images from Vietnam on the public was great.

Emergence of Antiwar GIs

Times matter. The ethos of counterculture at the time had global impact. Youth in the late 1960s to early 1970s expressed their frustration through counterculture activities and alternative lifestyle. They started to travel to non-Western regions, including Asia, Latin America and Middle East. They came to Japan to learn about Zen. It was not uncommon to see white individuals sitting in temples in Japan around the time. In the West meanwhile, the first macrobiotic restaurant opened in London in February 1967, and the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (Mobe) mobilized an estimated 400,000 people to march in New York in April 1967, joined by Martin Luther King, Jr., James Bevel, Benjamin Spock,

and Stokely Carmichael. In 1968, while Columbia University and the Democratic National Convention erupted right after the civil unrest in France and the Prague Spring, the Beatles went to Rishikesh, India. It was as if youth globally revolted against the establishment. Counterculture peaked at the Woodstock music festival in 1969. Michel Foucault visited Zen monks in Japan in 1970. Youth from the global sixties, including American active-duty GIs, were jumping into the muddy poli-cultural waters of the early 1970s Japan. Therefore, generational shift that Beheiren went through where the young Beheiren activists played critical roles in interacting with American GIs was a natural tide and energy of the time.

As the war escalated, the GI movement reached its peak. The massive uprising during the Vietnam War was made up mostly of active-duty servicemen, a remarkable difference from resistance to WWI and WWII (Lynd & Lynd, 1995, pp. 294-300). From the late 1960s, the antiwar efforts increasingly aimed to 'stop' the war, not just oppose the war. By 1968, GIs had already lost their motivation. They were sick of Johnson's lies about the progress of the war. Not only fragging and mutiny but also generalized crisis, including the plummeting reenlistment rate, soaring desertions, and rising dissent threatened to destroy the American military apparatus (Cortright, 1975, p. 50). The GI revolts by rank-and-file active-duty soldiers probably had the most powerful impact on authorities. Some even committed "draft raid" on the offices where draft records were maintained to destroy draft files and burned hundreds and hundreds of papers instead of lives (Friedland, 1998; Lynd & Lynd, 1995; MacPherson, 1984; Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1984). For them, these papers represented misplaced power, concentrated in the ruling class of America, and their power threatened the peace of the world (Lynd & Lynd, 1995, p. 288). Over half a million men committed draft violations that could have sent them to prison for five years (MacPherson, 1984, p. 380). But many antiwar GIs chose to go to jail over going to Vietnam,

and there were attorneys who actively helped them. Impressed with the development, there were attorneys who volunteered to represent their trials (Friedland, 1998, p. 207). Civilian activists also started to realize that, to end the war, it was critical to reach GIs, who knew the reality of the war in Vietnam the most.

The first known incident was November 1965, when Lieutenant Henry Howe of Fort Bliss participated in a small civilian peace demonstration in downtown El Paso, followed by the first public refusal of orders to Vietnam in June 1966, when privates James Johnson, Dennis Mora, and David Samas announced they could not participate in an immoral war (Cortright, 1975, p. 52). One historic court-martial occurred in October 1966 when Army doctor Howard Levy refused to train Green Beret medics at Fort Jackson, claiming the illegality of the Vietnam War based on the Nuremberg principle requiring non-participation in war crimes (Cortright, 1975, p. 52).

During the Tet Offensive, the My Lai massacre, which later shocked the whole world occurred. In March 1968, a platoon led by Lieutenant William Calley went into the hamlet My Lai 4 in Son My village area in Quang Ngai province, and brutally slaughtered more than 500 Vietnamese civilians, including children, women and the elderly. The public disclosure of this crime was made months later when investigative journalist Seymour Hersh wrote a dispatch about the My Lai massacre in November 12, 1969. Then in December 1969, the photos that Army photographer Ronald Haeberle had taken on the day at the scene in My Lai were published on *Life* magazine. My Lai was a pivotal moment. The entire world, including American GIs had to themselves, “Is this really done by Americans who are supposed to be guardian of freedom and democracy?” “Isn’t it a crime?” In December 1969, Hersh also reported on this crime by American soldiers on the *New Yorker*. He published *My Lai 4: A Report on the Massacre and Its*

Aftermath in 1970, and won the Pulitzer Prize. Oda Mokoto translated it and published in the same year. The revelation of the My Lai massacre outraged the world. It severely damaged America's reputation and fundamentally shifted public opinion to against the war. Worse, it appeared that My Lai was not an independent incident, but one of many such mass killing in which military slaughtered unarmed civilians as they patrolled through villages. One deserter in Japan who appeared on the Narawa Morning Show on October 1970 talked about his experience in Vietnam. He accepted the interview because he believed that speaking out on TV was worth the risk. Asked about the My Lai massacre, he answered.

The Vietnam War is invasion...We are violating the Geneva Convention. Events like the My Lai massacre are a daily occurrence, if you ask me. It is just not known. Of course, anyone would think it's horrifying. But we must recognize that this is happening every day in this war. What's unusual in this incident (My Lai) is that it was disclosed (Dassōhei Tsūshin #7, 1970).

This TV program was not a local network show but a national broadcast, and the Japanese public learned that the My Lai massacre was just one of many such senseless massacres. In early 1970 in the US, the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (Mobe) established a special "GI Task Force" to mobilize the growing number of antiwar GIs, and drew an overwhelming GI response (Cortright, 1975, pp. 66-67; MacPherson, 1984; Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1984). The huge antiwar upsurge forced the military to cancel regularly scheduled Armed Forces Day exhibitions at 28 bases, and that had a great impact on the civilian community (Cortright, 1975, pp. 67-68). The spectacle of simultaneous soldier demonstrations finally convinced people that sweeping changes were occurring within the Army and renewed their appreciation of the potential of GI resistance (Cortright, 1975, p. 68). It was also reported that the morale of soldiers in Cambodia was the lowest (Dassōhei Tsūshin #11, 1970, p. 7). The once-proud American Army had become more of a liability than an asset, to the point that

commanders restricted the possession of arms among blacks and white radicals, and in many units, grenades and firearms were taken from all but those on guard duty and combat patrol (Cortright, 1975, p. 47). The officers and rank-and-files did not trust each other. The Army in Vietnam was unmistakably on the verge of collapse.

This reflects Sharp's theory of power that obedience is at the center of political power, and it disintegrates when the people withdraw their obedience and support. More and more GIs stopped being obedient and chose to go to jail. Who else went to jail?

Many of those who were religiously or philosophically qualified for Conscientious Objector (CO) status, but as a matter of principle, went to jail...There were those who were poor or uneducated who often unwittingly violated draft laws...and there were also those with messianic drive as well as a deep conviction that the war was wrong, and there were those who became fascinated with nonviolent civil disobedience, Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., and the civil rights movement (MacPherson, 1984, pp. 381-383).

In a heavily military-industrial-complex nation like the US, soldiers are successfully trained to obey orders, and the public was expected to respect the servicemen. But during the Vietnam War, 'obedience,' the very core of the military system, faced challenge because active-duty soldiers became active players in the antiwar movement. GIs founded organizations that proliferated and gained supports. Blacks were joined by white GIs in the formation of an organization called "GIs United Against the War in Vietnam. The American Servicemen's Union (ASU) and the Vietnam Veterans Against War (VVAW) were founded in 1967. The VVAW was unprecedented and against great odds (Chatfield, 2004). Legal/material aid services to GIs also started to emerge in late 1960s. Likewise, the United States Servicemen's Fund (USSF) was created in 1968 by Fred Gardner, Howard Levy, Benjamin Spock, Noam Chomsky and other antiwar activists to offer financial aid but assisted with films, entertainers, speakers, legal defense, and staff workers (Cortright, 1975; Parsons, 2017, p. 25; Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1984).

Although the initial efforts to coordinate GI movements failed due to sponsors' limited resources and because objective social conditions were not yet favorable, things changed after the public furor over the US invasion of Cambodia and the shooting of four students at Kent State University in May 1970 (Cortright, 1975; MacPherson, 1984; Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1984). The killing of the four students by National Guard troops during a protest resulted in huge protests. The strong reaction in the US paralleled the public response to the death of Kanba Michiko during the ANPO protests in Japan in 1960 and Yamazaki Hiroaki during the protests against Sato's visit to D.C. in 1967, which triggered more student uprisings. Eventually, GI organizations such as VVAW, ASU and USSF became influential groups across the US bases.

Who were in the US bases in Japan during the Vietnam War? At the time, only a minority of American went on to college, and the percentage was much lower for blacks. Unlike today, eighteen years old boys were drafted and sent to Vietnam, but they could enlist even earlier. For many leaving high school, with or without a diploma, the military appeared to be an attractive choice as it came with good benefits, regular pay, training, housing and food covered. In *Soldiers in revolt*, Cortright (1975), who himself went to Vietnam, described that most of the soldiers were from working-class, lower-income families who had an average education level slightly below a high-school graduate. Those who deserted were usually younger, less educated and more likely to come from rural regions than the average GI. At the time they were drafted, most of them had no idea about war, military, the state, and what they were going to do over there. This description of average soldiers fit with most of the deserters that Beheiren assisted. Cortright (1975) pointed out that while deserters had done the same as draft resisters in refusing to participate in the military, they had to learn the truth more slowly through actual experiences (p.

15). Beheiren's newsletters show such examples. A black GI indicated he had no choice other than to enlist and learned the reality of the situation later.

I'm black. All I did in high-school was sports, and I was not prepared for college, so I applied to the service...I didn't want to die, and in the military, we don't get the information we need. I started to think about what was going on...I have seen people put in jail with no particular reason...In Germany, I gradually understood the truth about the military...I made a decision to disobey orders, and to fight against the pigs. They did not tell me anything about underground papers like *Black Panther*, but I found and read them. Eventually a revolution that I never knew about occurred, a black revolution. (Dassōhei Tsūshin #4, 1969, p. 5).

From the late 1960s, issues concerning racism in the military were brought up in Beheiren's newsletters. They reported numerous race-related incidents and revolts in the US bases by interviewing black GIs who were involved in these events. Issues of black power or black liberation were discussed along with racism, which was particularly rampant in the US-occupied Okinawa (home of many US military bases active during the Vietnam War) and Iwakuni, the base town of the large Marine Corp Air Station (MCAS) in southwestern Japan.

GI Coffeehouse

The first coffeehouse project, called the UFO project, was launched by Fred Gardner, a writer and the former editor of the *Harvard Crimson*. After an active-duty tour followed by duty as a reservist, he realized that antiwar groups and organizations needed to connect with GI movements. Gardner was convinced that many GIs were not happy with the military life and needed a place independent of military influence where they could meet and freely exchange ideas (Cortright, 1975, p. 53; Parsons, 2017). He came up with the idea of opening a radical GI coffeehouse with psychedelic décor in a pro-military town in the American South. GI coffeehouse aimed to provide soldiers with a supportive place to hang out, listen to music, learn through literature of the time, and most importantly, to talk (Socialist Worker, 2007).

Psychedelic décor was important to create a counterculture atmosphere. In short, Gardner wanted GIs to get back their independent selves.

Fred Gardner officially opened the first GI coffeehouse near Fort Jackson in Columbia, South Carolina in January 1968 (Cortright, 1975, p. 53-56; Parsons, 2017; Socialist Worker, 2007). UFO became the only integrated place in the military town to hangout for not just white and black, but GIs and students, giving other like-minded GIs the opportunity for coordinated collective action for the first time (Socialist Worker, 2007). UFO attracted many GIs who were already disillusioned by Vietnam and the Johnson administration and the idea spread. GI coffeehouses provided the ever-frustrated GIs new information and a worldview where they could learn alternative culture, and just be themselves off-base. Rock music was an integral part of it. The image of clean-cut American GIs hanging out in a psychedelic coffeehouse, with students and young people with hippie attire in 1960s counterculture America, was odd enough, and garnered national attention (Parsons, 2017, p. 21). Going to coffeehouse thus became the symbol of freedom for GIs despite frequent harassment and intimidation by the community establishments and police.

Soon, leaders of the Mobe visited the UFO. Gardner's vision matched with the Mobe leaders, who had been seeking direct connection with GIs to create a network linked to their civilian antiwar activism and promote GI movement (Parsons, 2017, p. 24). The Mobe announced the carefully worded philosophy of the GI coffeehouse network by spelling out that the coffeehouses are not designed to organize soldiers, and the desirable qualities of the coffeehouse staff (Parsons, 2017, p. 25). The United States Servicemen's Fund also contributed to the GI coffeehouse projects by stressing that a youth-oriented counterculture would motivate the young disaffected GIs to be more politically active (Parsons, 2017, p. 27). The coffeehouse

projects expanded after the involvement of the Mobe. Most GI coffeehouses had a small library with books that were not available in the base such as black liberation books. They provided some oasis-like space for GIs where they could learn what was going on and openly exchange information that they could not otherwise obtain.

Meanwhile, in Japan, Suzuki Masaho, then a student of Doshisha University Beheiren, learned about the UFO project during the 1968 International People's Conference against War and Fundamental Social Change in Kyoto. It was when the coffeehouse projects in the US were at their peak. Inspired by the UFO project, Suzuki experimented by opening an antiwar coffeehouse called "UFO" during a three-day campus festival in November 1968 (Suzuki, 1969, p. 7). Students invited Oda Makoto to the festival for a teach-in that attracted 1,500 participants. Tsurumi Shunsuke then cut the specially made 'ANPO cake' on stage, and everyone got a bit of it (Suzuki, 1969, p. 7). This episode shows that Suzuki, one of the key actors of young Beheiren students, quickly grasped the implications of the GI coffeehouse and tried to implement what he heard just three months earlier at the 1968 International People's Conference against War and Fundamental Social Change. By this time, Suzuki had already been affected by transnational activism because of the circumstances. In fact, people who interacted with Beheiren started to have globalizing experiences. By 1971, about two dozen coffeehouses were open near the US bases in Germany and Japan and played central roles for antiwar activism in the communities despite the frequent harassment (Parsons, 2017; Socialist Worker, 2007). In Japan, the first coffeehouse, Owl, was opened near Misawa Air Force Base in 1970, followed by Hobbit near the Marine Corps in Iwakuni in 1972.

GI Underground Newspapers

Along with GI coffeehouses, GI press played a powerful role since late 1960s. Coffeehouses and GI newspapers were hand in hand, because the newspapers were often mimeographed in the coffeehouse and distributed in the community. By 1971, at least 259 (known) underground newspapers were published around the world (Cortright, 1975, p. 283). Most of them were published around 1970-1972 and peaked in 1971. Fifteen (known) GI newspapers were published in Japan during the Vietnam War as shown in Table 1. Those GI newspapers were published both by GIs and activists in the Tokyo area. Jan Eakes, an American antiwar activist, started publishing *We've Got the brASS* in Tokyo in 1969.

Table 8.1. *GI Papers in Japan during the Vietnam War*

GI Paper	Base in Japan	Year
Hair	Misawa AFB	1969-1971
Kill for People	Camp Drake USAF	1969-1970
We've got the brASS	Tokyo	1969-1970
Fall in at Ease	Tokyo	1970-1972
Freedom Rings	Tokyo	1970-1971
Right On	Camp Drake USAF	1970
Semper Fi	MCAS Iwakuni	1970-1978
Stars N Bars	MCAS Iwakuni brig	1970
Yand	Itazuke AFB	1970
Yokosuka David	Yokosuka Navy	1970-1972
First Amendment	Yokota AFB	1971-1972
1776-Right to Revolution	unknown	1972
Freedom of the Press	Yokosuka Navy	unknown
Off the Bridge	Yokosuka Navy	1973
United Front	Yokosuka Navy	1973

(Created based on Cortright, 1975, pp. 293-297; Kihara, p. 22)

Map 8.1. US Military Bases in Japan

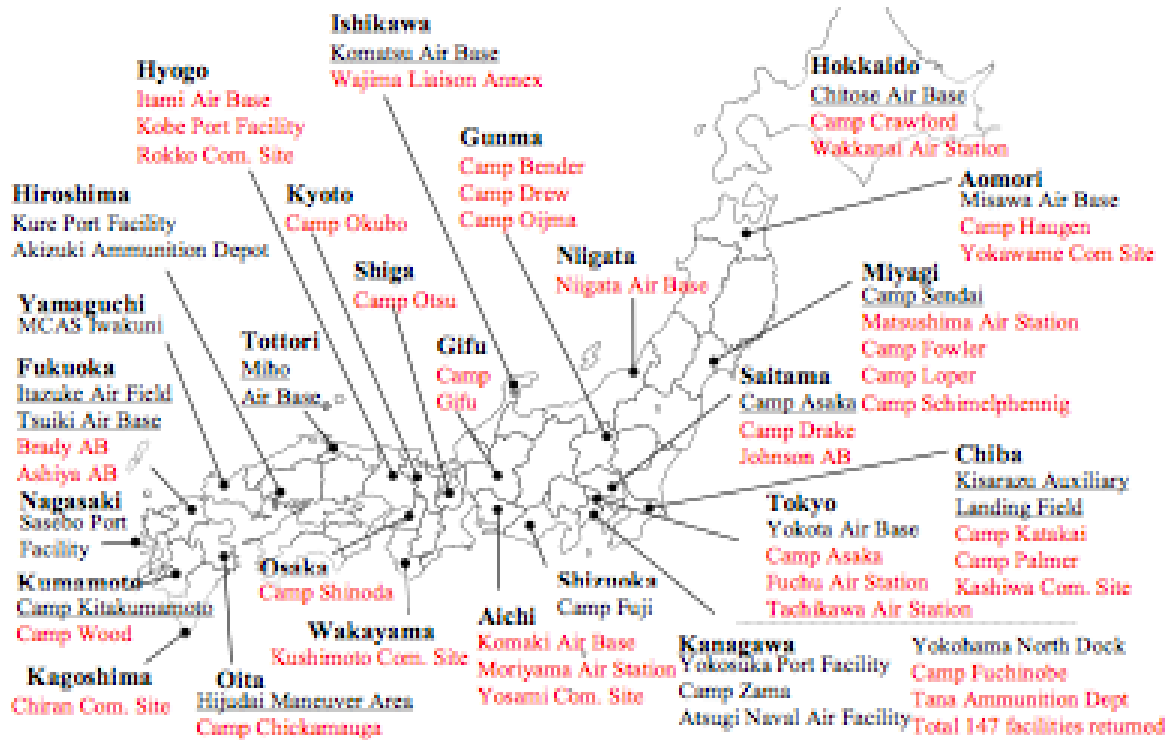


Table 8.1 indicates that while most GI newspapers were short-lived, *Semper Fi* in MCAS Iwakuni lasted until 1978. Cortright (1975) attributed it to valuable assistance provided by Beheiren (p. 104). But, fearing the growing readers and influence of *Semper Fi*, the US military authorities kept repressing GIs who were involved in publishing *Semper Fi* newspaper.

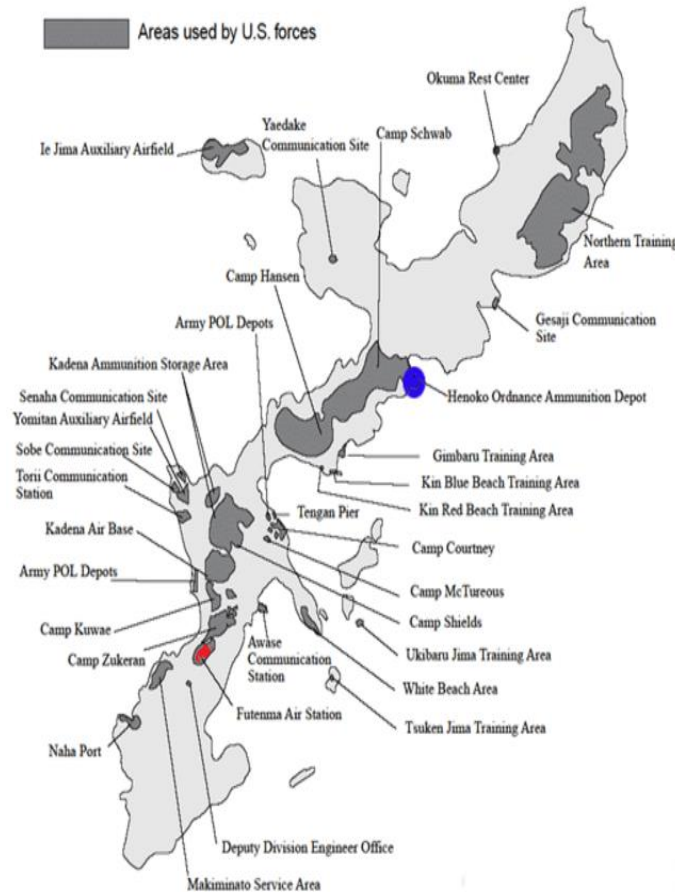
Meanwhile, seven GI newspapers were published in occupied Okinawa as shown in Table 8.2 Compared to Japan, where the first GI papers, *Hair*, was published in Misawa AFB in 1969, the movement started later in occupied Okinawa. Therefore, when activists visited Okinawa to distribute the GI newspapers, GIs there were eager to read them.

Table 8.2. *GI Papers in Occupied Okinawa during the Vietnam War*

GI Paper	Base in Japan	Year
Demand for Freedom	Kadena AFB	1970-1971
The Abolitionist	unknown	1971
Left Flank	Camp Hansen	1971
Omega Press	Koza	1971
The Man Can't Win if You Grin	unknown	1971
WHY	unknown	1971
Hansen Free Press	Camp Hansen	1972-1973

(Created based on Cortright, 1975, pp. 293-297; Kihara, p. 22)

Map 8.2. **US Military Bases in Okinawa**



Transpacific Activism

In 1969, Oda Mokoto kept traveling, trying to expand the networks for ‘antiwar solidarity.’ The first Vietnam Moratorium Day in the US was held on October 15, 1969 with a series of strikes that involved grassroots protests in separate communities, not just a major demonstration in the nation’s capital. The day was marked by peaceful demonstrations in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Ann Arbor, and smaller towns nationwide, with an estimated two million people involved (Friedland, 1998, p. 218; Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1984, pp. 257-269).

One month later in November 13-15, 1969, the Mobe organized the second Vietnam Moratorium Day in D.C., often called “Moratorium March on Washington” or “National Mobilization.” A total of 1,366 active-duty servicemen signed *The New York Times* ads for this peace rally (Cortright, 1975, p. 62; Friedland, 1998, p. 219). Over 500,000 antiwar protesters traveled to D.C., but some estimated the crowd as being ‘two Woodstocks,’ or 800,000 people, which marked the largest demonstration in American history (Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1984, pp. 286-299; Friedland, 1998, p. 219). Hundreds of thousands of Americans who had never demonstrated before took part (Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1984, p. 299). Oda Makoto was among the participants in D.C. and was invited by the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars to join in a lecture tour to talk about colonialism in Okinawa and America’s imperialism in Asia (Beheiren Nyūsu #52, 1970, p. 1; Onishi, 2013, p. 154). By this time, Oda had already been in contact with activists from SDS, SNCC, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, and numerous peace groups, as well as individual activists like David Dellinger, A. J. Muste, Norm Chomsky, Jean-Paul Sartre, Howard Zinn, Ralph Featherstone, Stokely Carmichael, Eldridge Cleaver and Katherine Cleaver (Onishi, 2012, p. 156-157). This was the first time that Oda publicly spoke in the US about the connection between the Vietnam War and ANPO. Tarrow (2005) suggests that

these relations place them beyond their local or national settings without detaching them from locality, which takes them to his concept of “rooted” cosmopolitanism (p. 42). Oda’s life style shows his rooted cosmopolitanism. Barbara Bye, a Quaker peace activist, who was just coming back from Peace Corps service in the Ivory Coast, was also among the audience. Hearing Oda speak about US Imperialism triggered Bye to visit Japan soon after.

Beheiren also organized a Vietnam Moratorium Day to take place on the same days in Japan (Sekiya & Sakamoto, 1998, p. 620). It was a symbolic demonstration because it was held just one week before the Sato-Nixon joint communiqué was issued on November 21, 1969. For the coming new year 1970, Oda gave an interview for the *Beheiren Nyūsu*. He talked extensively about his recent experience in the US and the importance of grassroots activism beyond the borders.

“International solidarity” is a beautiful word, but nothing meaningful has been done with this overused word. Now, however, different situation is going on. We may bear fruit. For example, the demonstration in Washington D.C. against Sato’s visit to the US was really effective. You might think that Sato’s visit was on the news, but in America, Japan is a small matter, so the news on the antiwar demonstration was much bigger than Sato’s visit in The New York Times. There was no coverage of Sato in the Washington Post (Beheiren Nyūsu 52, 1970, p. 1).

During the Moratorium March on Washington, Oda noticed the difference between the demonstration participants in US and in Japan and pointed out the isolation of American students.

I found that compared to the movement in America, many more middle class and middle-aged people are supporting the antiwar movement in Japan. It’s like emotional samba and antiwar feelings. In that sense, American students are more isolated right now. We should probably stress that we are connected. In bigger perspective, although it is through ANPO, there was no time in history that ‘people’ in two countries have been connected in this way...while walking in the demonstration (in the US), one young man, not the intellectual kind guy, told me that he came because he got our flier. He said, “I know nothing about Japan, but when ‘people’ in Japan are fighting, I’ll join. All power to the people”...I interpret it as fundamental solidarity through the Vietnam War and ANPO. And we have to keep fighting because solidarity is not just the exchange of messages (Beheiren Nyūsu #53, 1970, p. 1).

Oda was clearly looking at the year 1970 because of the renewal of the ANPO treaty. Although Oda had started publishing the magazine, *Shukan ANPO* (Weekly ANPO) in 1969, the renewal of the 1970 ANPO lacked public enthusiasm compared to that of the 1960 ANPO revision. The renewal process itself was automatic, so there was no focal debate in the Diet around which to organize; consequently, the protest events were disconnected from what they were protesting about. By this time, while Japan had witnessed the peak of the student movement and what was left was moving underground, American antiwar activists of all sorts started coming to Japan to connect with American GIs and Japanese activists.

Arrivals of American Activists as Transnational Brokers

Entering 1970, when GI upheaval was becoming more volatile, discussions on the reversion of the occupied Okinawa and the 1970 renewal of ANPO heated up, American priests, lawyers, advocates, Quakers, and students who were radicalized in the 1960s protest cycle, started coming to occupied Okinawa and Japan. They were aware of the ANPO and Okinawa situations. In the mix of the later development of the civil rights movements and the intensification of the Vietnam War, this emergence of American activists in Asia reflected King's dilemma and the situation in the US. Seitz pointed out.

Eventually by the late 1960s, two things happened with the civil rights movement. One was bad politics. It was more and more center of the course which basically removed people off the streets from prosecuting civil rights movements. Secondly, a number of blacks in the civil rights movements kind of demanded whites either take a back seat or not be involved because it's 'Our' fight...became very nationalistic in any respect, so that had a very significant impact. So white students were looking around what to do at that point. The war was heating up, and naturally became the focus for student groups. It was a kind of transition. We were kind of kicked out from the civil rights movements, which I didn't object to (Seitz, 2016 personal interview).

This explains why, in these increasingly globalized circumstances, some white American activists who were eager to continue their activism looked around the world, and started heading

to Asia, where they found their potential in stopping the war. Those young American activists who were heavily influenced by the US civil rights movement amid the black power uprising and the swelling of the anti-Vietnam War movement were quick to act. While some Japanese New Left student activists went underground or went abroad to pursue their 'world revolution,' young American activists traveled to places where US bases existed to continue their activism against the foreign policy of their own country. As American citizens, they could easily go back and forth to occupied Okinawa and Japan, which was something that Japanese citizen had no luxury to do at the time.

Jan Eakes and his girlfriend, Dianne (Annie) Durst, were two of the first American student activists who came to Japan in 1969 on a tourist visa. Beheiren readily accepted them although some people initially suspected them to be intelligence agents (Motono, 1998, p. 143). The American students quickly understood the struggles that Beheiren was facing and identified what was missing. Eakes wrote:

Japanese people surpassed us in the fundamental idea to crush the rare base of the invasion of Vietnam by an olive branch and not by bombs. The major obstruction they faced was their lack of technical and practical knowledge (on the US military system) and American youth culture, which was essential to connect with GIs. On the other hand, we shared the same culture with GIs. They are our brothers. We understand the peculiarity of being in the military, and the peculiarity of being in Asia. We had special skills the group (Beheiren) needed. For example, we know about GIs' legal rights, American youth culture, drug culture. Especially important at the time was slang used by black soldiers and slang used by white soldiers. Japanese people in the movement, even those who speak English well, only knew straight English (Eakes quoted in Motono, 1998, p. 144).

What Eakes identified was what Beheiren had been struggling with, including GI language. As a draft dodger himself, he knew the issues. Eakes was the former president of the Associated Students of Sacramento State College, who helped bring Martin Luther King Jr. to the campus in October 1967 (Onishi, 2013, p. 164). American antiwar activists were eager to

find some ways to stop ‘American imperialism’ in Asia and tried to coordinate with their Asian counterparts by helping any way they could. Eakes was ready to act. He fits Beheiren’s style with its official rule of “if you suggest something, you do it.” Transpacific activism began. They were especially active in occupied Okinawa, partially because most of them had experienced being refused entry to Japan and going to occupied Okinawa instead was an easier option for them. Most of them had also been to other Asian countries such as Thailand, the Philippines, and Hong Kong where they clearly saw the impact of the US imperialism. Most of them worked with Beheiren and JATEC at one point.

Beheiren had worked with transnational actors since they launched the movement in 1965 as its own key actors already had transnational networks. In this last phase of the movement, it was more like transpacific grass-roots activism. The arrivals of young American activists at this point was a timely development that changed the dynamics of Beheiren and other resistance movements in Japan and occupied Okinawa. They brought not only political, but new cultural information as well. As Eakes identified, drug related problems and GI language often caused Beheiren activists headaches and frustration while working with GIs. Eakes brought every day American culture and English to Beheiren. Motono told me that the arrival of Eakes was very helpful. One of the many contributions that Eakes made was to help publish *We’ve Got the brASS*, the first GI paper in Japan, as well as starting a GI counseling hotline, called “Roger Hobbit” at the Tokyo Beheiren office around March 1970 (Beheiren Nyūsu #54, 1970, p. 5; Dassōhei Tsūshin #8, 1970, p. 11; Motono, 1998, pp. 144-145). Kujiraoka (1971), who worked with Eakes in Okinawa, Yokota, Yokosuka, Misawa, and Iwakuni, pointed out that Eakes was a different type of deserter who deserted from America—in a sense, he deserted from political persecution to destroy the American military system (p. 5).

Tarrow (2005) calls an actor like Jan Eakes an agent of “brokerage” who can be a private “missionary” who carries the innovation to a new site and attempts to adapt it there (p. 190). Tarrow (2005) defines brokerage as the linking of two or more previously unconnected social actors by a unit that mediates their relations with one another and/or with yet other sites (p. 190). “Brokerage” is understood in contemporary social movement studies as a mechanism that helps to explain some part of a larger process and can be found in many different situations. In this context, Eakes’ girlfriend Annie also played a critical brokerage role as she was the one who connected the Pacific Counseling Service (PCS) to Beheiren. When she returned to the US before her Japan visa expired, she took the opportunity to reach out to people who were ready to work in Asia. PCS was interested in her information about antiwar activism in Japan because they had already been planning to send a specialist for a Pan-Pacific counseling tour (Motono, 1998, p. 146-147). Eric Seitz, who was then the first student member of the National Executive Board of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), and then Director from 1969-1971, confirmed this situation. Seitz had organized legal support work and projects in conjunction with the “Chicago 7” conspiracy trial and had coordinated legal representation for the Black Panther Party and other organizations. According to Seitz, the National Lawyers Guild was the only group who provided services to military people at the time. PCS urged the NLG to go to Asia.

PCS was part of the group urging us because they knew we did most of the antiwar military representation. They urged us to go to Asia. There were a number of different organizations. I started military cases in the Bay area in 1967 to 1968 while still a law student. The National Lawyers Guild was the only organization in the Bay area and nationally that provided lawyers to people in the military. Nobody else was doing that (Seitz, 2016, personal interview).

Seitz would come to Japan in May 1971, but first, Sid Peterman, the founder of PCS himself, wearing black clerical robes that reached to the ankles with a high collar, appeared at the Tokyo Beheiren office on March 1970 (Motono, 1998, p. 147).

Pacific Counseling Services (PCS)

Sid Peterman, a veteran white civil rights activist and a Unitarian minister founded the Pacific Counseling Services (PCS) near Fort Ord in Monterey, California in 1969. The PCS, initially known as the West Coast Counseling Services, emerged as an influential organization. They provided GIs information and advice on their legal rights and helped them file for legal discharge by Conscientious Objectors (CO). Their actions did not particularly help GIs personally because if they became conscientious objectors, they could not use the GI bill, and did not get any veterans' benefits, but no one expressed the slightest regret (Cortright, 1975; Lynd & Lynd, 1995; Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1984).

Having already been informed of the antiwar situation in Japan from Annie, Peterman immediately befriended key figures of Beheiren and JATEC. His mission was to provide counseling services to GIs deployed to Asia. Peterman explained to Beheiren and JATEC activists how negative the status of 'deserter' was in the US, and how hard it was to find a job if one was a deserter or received a dishonorable discharge. He then stressed to Japanese activists that when there was no hope of getting out to a third country, it was physically and mentally painful for the American deserters to hide in the home of people from a different culture, and that it was also burdensome for Japanese families who sheltered them. Peterman pointed out that what GIs needed most was information on their legal rights and counselors who could help them in filing for legal discharge such as Conscientious Objection (CO) (Motono, 1998, p. 147-148). Peterman suggested that GIs should return to their bases and disengage from the unjust war legally. In early June 1970, the PCS office was established in the Tokyo Beheiren office (Cortright, 1975, p. 78; Dassōhei Tsūshin #11, p. 12; Motono, 1998, p. 147-152). Peterman took over the name, 'Rodger Hobbit,' from Eakes (Motono, 1998, p. 152). Motono (2016) expressed

that having PCS was really a blessing, and that they were saved by Peterman” (Personal interview). Like Eakes, Peterman played a great brokerage role. Fujieda, who had been struggling with GI language when interacting with various deserters, recalled Sid Peterman as an invaluable help.

Our understanding (before his arrival) was simplistic. An American soldier who escaped from the base was a deserter. We had no idea about a term like AWOL (Absence Without Leave) or Conscientious Objection (CO)...So, when Sid (Peterman) appeared, I was delighted. It was like a ray of sun in the dark. My suffering finally came to an end. He immediately started to work hard assisting GIs to claim their legal rights, to apply for legal discharge. I gave him a nickname, “Rasputin.” (Fujieda, 1998, pp.161-166).

Sid Peterman, aka Rasputin, also participated in a “synod,” a clergy meeting, in which a deserter-candidate would speak with clergy who could determine if he could be qualified as a conscientious objector rather than desert (Ms. Z, 2016, personal interview). If the clergy believed that CO was the best option for a GI, they held the synod. Beheiren and JATEC activists learned a lot of practical knowledge about the American military system from American activists (Dassōhei Tsūshin #10, 1970, pp. 2-7). They were transnational brokers. American activists had also gained knowledge and skills through their antiwar activism in the US. Like Beheiren, they had once encouraged GIs to desert, but they had come to realize that counseling and assisting them to obtain a legal discharge was the most effective strategy, because that was what GIs wanted the most, and that was also what the American military-authorities hated the most (Dassōhei Tsūshin #11, 1970, pp. 4-5). Between July and August 1970, Beheiren further expanded the availability of GI counseling services around all the US bases in Japan. This event, called the “Vietnam Summer in Japan” was a collaboration with PCS, the Black Panthers, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Asian American Committee, and the Concerned Asian Scholars Committee (Dassōhei Tsūshin #11, 1970, p. 4).

Like the coffeehouses, PCS thrived despite the harassment, and by 1971, they employed 40 full time staff at 11 offices in the West Coast and Asia including San Francisco, Oakland, Monterey, Los Angeles, San Diego, Tacoma, Tokyo and Iwakuni in Japan, Koza in Okinawa, Queson City in Philippines, and Kowloon in Hong Kong (Cortright, 1975, p. 78). By 1972, additional PCS offices were open in Balibago, Angel City, and Olongapo City in the Philippines, Misawa and Yokota in Japan, and Honolulu. (Onishi, 2013, p. 160).

PCS created a strong network of activists and traveled across Japan. “Break up the American military system. Stop the war machine!” became the new catch-phrase for the cover page of the *Dassōhei Tsūshin* (Deserters News). With this new catchy slogan, Beheiren’s young activists came to the fore of the activities. “Break up the American military system. Stop the war machine!” provoked the US military authorities but the new slogan perfectly fits the mood of the time. Some of them even moved near the US bases, delivering GI newspapers and fliers, holding rallies and demonstrations, as well as doing ‘antiwar broadcasting’ around the bases. Antiwar broadcasting, as they called it, aimed to talk directly to American GIs over the fence using hand-microphones, tape recorders and loud speakers. Antiwar broadcasting, invented by young Beheiren activists was particularly effective at bases such as Asaka, Neguishi, Sasebo, Iwakuni, Numazu, Yokosuka, Yokota, and Misawa. By this time, after spending years in Beheiren, those young activists were comfortable interacting with American GIs and activists. They immersed themselves in transpacific activism. The shift was clear. In the deserter-assisting phase, everyone needed to act carefully. It was, after all, underground operation. Now, that phase was over, and the young activists acted freely and openly.

GI Uprising in Occupied Okinawa

As American activists were heading to occupied Okinawa, Beheiren's newsletters increasingly reported the situation in Okinawa. Ever since the Battle of Okinawa from April 1945, the US Forces has been the dominant and authoritative presence in Okinawa. In 1950, the occupation government changed its name to the United States Civil Administration of the Ryūkyūs (USCAR), and started to seize people's property, taking over Japanese military bases and expanding them into massive US military bases all over the main island of Okinawa, which is smaller than the island of Oahu in the state of Hawai'i. Since then, the US bases in Okinawa have been vital for America's wars, and Okinawans have been forced to cohabit with the US bases, closed to their homes.

On February 5, 1968, right after the Tet Offensive began, eighteen B-52 bombers had been moved to Okinawa from Guam and immediately began bombing Vietnam from Okinawa, which was 300 kilometers closer to Saigon than was Guam (Havens, 1987, p. 153). During the Vietnam War, these US bases in occupied Okinawa served as strong points to achieve strategic missions in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Admiral US Grant Sharp, commander of Pacific forces, put it plainly, "without Okinawa we couldn't continue fighting the Vietnam War (Havens, 1987, p. 85).

Race relations in the US forces in Okinawa were complex. There definitely was racial tension not only between whites and blacks but also between whites and Okinawans (Miyagijima in Beheiren Nyūsu #63, December 1, 1970, p. 3). As the racial tension escalated in early 1970, small scale riots occurred frequently (Takamine, 1984, pp. 213-214). Black GIs became even more war-weary and sympathetic to Okinawan people because of the horrific situation in Vietnam and learning about the black power movement in the US. With the rise of the black

power movement, black GIs in Okinawa formed various organized groups such as Bushmaster, Black Hawk, Son of Malcom X, Maw Maw, Afro American Society, Peoples Foundation, and Zulu (Takamine, 1984, p. 208). Beheiren's newsletters reported an increase of racism in Okinawa between the late 1960s and early 1970s.

- Most of us think whites are the lowest...If we ever attack them, it will not be done where Okinawans are, but it will be in the base (Dassōhei Tsūshin #4, 1969, p. 6-7).
- To all brothers and sisters in Okinawa. Your fight (against US oppression) is our fight. Your enemy is our enemy...I have to warn you. American racism and the military system deceives and threatens GIs...I want you to be careful (JATEC Tsūshin #2, 1971, p. 16).

Black GIs saw the struggles and sufferings of Okinawans as if they were their own sufferings. After all, this was only a few years after the Civil Rights Bill was enacted in 1964. Black GIs appeared to see how Okinawans were unfairly treated by both US and Japanese authorities, which was the harsh reality of colonized Okinawa. For black GIs in occupied Okinawa, the liberation of Okinawa was linked to the liberation of blacks and the Third World, as well as the liberation of working-class GIs, both whites and blacks, from the repressive military (Onishi, 2013, p. 163). For the local Okinawans, things were not that simple. GIs came and lived in American-controlled base towns in a foreign nation. Local Okinawans are forced to live in these America-made base towns, to which Japanese authorities had consented without the consent of local residents. Their rights were ignored.

Koza: Epitome of Occupied Okinawa

Wherever there is a US base, there is a GI town. During the Korean War and the Vietnam War, Koza (now, Okinawa City) was the epitome of a GI town. Takamine Tomokazu, born and raised in Naha, Okinawa, who was a reporter for the *Ryūkyū Shinpō* from 1970-1973, described Koza as a lawless zone with hundreds of bars, shops and sex industries for US military personnel

coming from and going to Vietnam and coming to Okinawa for R & R. All kinds of American culture of the 1960s—things like coke and bourbon from the PX, marijuana, heroin, opium, jazz, soul, prostitutes, and racism—were brought into Koza, where the blocks in the area were divided into “white town” for white GIs and “black town” for black GIs (Takamine, 1987, pp. 201-202).

Starting with Kadena Air Force Base, the largest hub airbase in the Pacific that dominates Koza, along with many other camps and facilities in the area, Koza was America’s power center in the Asia-Pacific region. At night, the town became an international district with not only American military servicemen but also Indians, Chinese, Taiwanese, Koreans, Filipinos, Malaysians, Vietnamese, Brazilian, Peruvians, British, Canadians, and Portuguese who were trying to make money from the abundant US dollars in Koza (Takamine, 1987, p. 24). Because Koza was the hub for the operation of the battlefields in Vietnam, the atmosphere was more intense than at other US bases. GIs coming in and out of the oppressive military culture in Vietnam were often angry at the military hierarchy and racism. It was a volatile environment. Disputes and fights, small or big, were a daily occurrence (Takamine, 1987).

This was problematic because Koza was not exclusively for American military personnel. It was the hometown for local Okinawan residents who were forced to cohabit with a fundamentally different culture—the culture of the US military, not just American culture. Worse yet, this invasive power dominated the local norms and residents. While Beheiren’s newsletters reported the common sentiments that black GIs felt toward the local Okinawans, Takamine pointed out that there was also racism against blacks among Okinawan people, as well as reverse discrimination toward Okinawans by black GIs. Okinawans still felt empathy with the black GI movement that demanded an end to racism and improvement of their status, but the fact

was that those black GIs were part of the US military machine that oppressed Okinawan people (Takamine, 1984, p. 216).

The first substantial report on Okinawa by Beheiren was on black power in fall 1969. It reported that among 10,000 black GIs in Okinawa, 6,000 were supporters of the Black Panthers, and that *Soul on Ice* by Eldridge Cleaver and the writings of Malcom X were widely read (Tōma, 1969, p. 6-7). In Koza, there was a group called “Bushmaster,” a group formed by a black Marine who was influenced by black power movement in the US. Bushmaster worked to improve the social standing of black, educated themselves, cleaning up the black blocks of the town, helped white GIs in trouble with blacks, and white GIs started to align with them by late 1960s (Tōma, 1969, p. 7; Takamine, 1984, p. 204).

The 1970 Koza Riot

Under these circumstances, the Koza Riot was inevitable. The major riot occurred on December 20, 1970. The local people spontaneously displayed their anger against the US forces, and the disturbance spread quickly on the streets of Koza. Thousands of angry Okinawan crowds threw stones at their targets, and the MPs’ cars and civilian cars with American yellow license plates were turned over and burned. The MPs fired into the air to threaten the crowd, but this invited a larger mob of angry onlookers who reacted to the sound of the gun shots. Local residents joined in the scene, and kept overturning the yellow plate cars wherever they found them and setting them on fire. Nearby hotel employees helped them while waitresses were clapping their hands (Takamine, 1984, pp. 50-54). It lasted for 6 hours. The mayor of Koza articulated the incident as “It could not be contained by water because it was a fire within people” (Takamine, 1984, p. 68). Interestingly, a group of black GIs from the Kadena Air Force

Base issued a dramatic appeal to express their solidarity with local people's defiance against the US occupation authority (Onishi, 2013, p. 163).

The Koza riot by local people was a great shock to the US servicemen because they had been taught that Okinawans were courteous, that people were obedient and were favorable to US domination of Okinawa, and that there had been demonstrations and rallies but no violence (Takamine, 1984, p. 69). The US military authority retaliated by declaring Koza off-limits to prevent military personnel from going to the area. This hit many local shops in Koza before Christmas (Takamine, 1984, pp. 81-82). Declaring an area off-limits to military personnel is one of the tactics that the US Forces have used as it would hit the local economy that depends on the US bases. The 1970 Koza Riot certainly displayed the perception gap and reality between the occupied and the occupiers.

American Activists in and out of Okinawa and Japan

Reversion of Okinawa to Japanese control was the central issue of the 1970 ANPO treaty discussion. Before the 1970 Koza Riot, in late 1969, when reversion talks between prime minister Sato and president Nixon were heated, almost every issue of Beheiren's newsletter had pages on Okinawa. American activists traveled back and forth between Japan and occupied Okinawa, and they brought the information back to Japan. Therefore, information regarding the GI movement in Okinawa was mostly brought by American activists and GIs. Not everyone was happy about the talk of the reversion of Okinawa. Those opposed to the reversion of Okinawa argued that the uncertain prospect of the indefinite term of the presence of the US bases meant permanent colonization of Okinawa. For them, Okinawa reversion that kept the US bases did not make sense. It was around this time that American activists such as Jan Eakes and Dianne Durst

(Annie), Sid Peterman, Barbara Bye, Peter MacInnes, and Eric Seitz came to Japan. As their number increased, re-entering Japan eventually became challenging for them, even if they had a valid visa to work or study in Japan, because Japanese immigration intimidated them tactically and tried to refuse their entry. Most of the American activists I mentioned experienced problems upon re-entering Japan because of their political activism in Japan while on a tourist visa. The first such victim of immigration problems that *Beheiren Nyūsu* reported was Douglas Lummis, who formed *Gaikokujin Beheiren* (Foreigner Beheiren). After coming back from Okinawa, he was refused re-entry at Kagoshima because he had been black listed. A former Marine, and a graduate student from UC Berkeley at the time, Lummis had a valid visa for research.

At the Immigration office, they gave a call to Tokyo...and they certainly found my name on the black list. They asked me things like, “Have you ever been to a demonstration?” “Are you engaging in political activities?” “Do you know Oda Makoto?” They were so condescending...It was clear that the order was from Tokyo (Beheiren Nyūsu #61, 1970, p. 8).

Lummis was confined in a hotel but immediately filed an objection to the Ministry of Justice.

Beheiren staged protests, and he was allowed to re-enter four days later. Lummis has been living in Japan since then.

In the case of Barbara Bye, her confinement in a hotel room took a lot longer. Bye, who was inspired by Oda Makoto’s talk at the Vietnam Moratorium Day at D.C. in November 1969, came to Japan for what Onishi (2009) calls transnational ‘nonwhite coalition-building.’ It was ironic that in the counterculture era, ‘nonwhite’ efforts were mostly initiate by whites. Bye arrived in Japan on a multiple entry tourist visa on July 2, 1970. After spending several weeks in Iwakuni and Hiroshima, she went to Okinawa, but upon returning to Japan, she was refused re-entry by Immigration at Haneda Airport, on the grounds that she was not a ‘bona fide’ tourist, and was confined in an airport hotel for almost 100 days, (Beheiren Nyūsu #65, 1971, p. 7; Oka,

1970; Takamine, 1987, p. 143). This was the occasion when Ms. Z was asked by JATEC to come to the airport hotel.

When a ‘Quaker activist’ was stopped in Haneda Airport on arrival and was detained in a hotel room, I was called to come to assist her as they needed a female attendant (Ms. Z, 2016, personal interview).

I later asked Ms. Z if the ‘Quaker activist’ she was referring to was Barbara Bye, and she confirmed it.

That’s right. It was Barbara. I didn’t know where she came from. Around the time, our common understanding (in JATEC) was “Not knowing is better” in case something happened. So, I didn’t hear in detail...I was just asked to come to the hotel room as they needed a female specific support. I think she was planning to go to the Friends World College in Hiroshima. I just stayed with her...she was a very quiet person (Ms. Z, personal communication, 2017).

Despite her multiple-entry visa remaining valid, the Tokyo District Court ruled that, after 120 days altogether in Japan, she should have achieved her purpose as a ‘tourist’ (Oka, 1970). After losing the legal battle, which was assisted by Beheiren, Bye eventually decided to return to occupied Okinawa. There, she helped found the Freedom Family, a gathering space in Koza for antiwar GIs (Takamine, 1984, p. 35). Meanwhile, despite the complicit Japanese immigration system, Jan Eakes and Dianne (Annie) Durst continued to connect civilian antiwar groups to antiwar GIs. Since Eakes was a political exile as a draft dodger, Annie was more public in Okinawa (Beheiren Nyūsu #66, March 1, 1971, p. 5; Takamine, 1987, p. 135). Eakes had been all over—Okinawa, Japan, Hong Kong, Taipei, fighting against American Imperialism. Nixon issued an arrest warrant for Eakes when he was studying sculpture in Kyoto (Beheiren Nyūsu #66, March 1, 1971, p. 5). Eakes always asserted that they, Americans of the Woodstock generation like him, would do their American revolution, and that Japanese would do their own Japanese revolution (Kujiraoka, 1971, p. 5). As a young person coming from counterculture,

Eakes stressed that what they needed was a change of awareness. The US already had invalidated his passport, and Eakes and Annie left Japan quietly after they had exhausted all the options for staying in Asia. In his thank you letter to Beheiren, Eakes (1971) explained that Japan was the last safe haven in 'free Asia' for him, where their activity for weakening the American military system was becoming effective. In his last days in Japan, Eakes was increasingly critical of Japan's ability and willingness to obey whatever America asked for, as well as Japan's immigration system. He recognized that after leaving Japan, he would not be able to return to Nixon and Sato's 'free Asia.'

To my brothers and sisters in Japan, I want to tell you what Che Guevara once told American activists who visited Cuba, "I understand how hard it is to live in the oppressive state. Yet, I envy that you have opportunity to fight this monster." Activities that we did in 'free Asia,' particularly in Japan, changed the concept of world revolution from an intellectual concept to daily realities. We will keep what we learned in Japan wherever we go, and continue our fight against the US military...May, 1971, Annie and Jan (Eakes,1971, p. 7).

"Revolution" was a living word during the Vietnam War. Talking about revolution was not Beheiren style because most Beheiren activists had no illusions of revolution. But these American young activists frequently used the word, 'revolution,' just as the Japanese New Left students did. On the other hand, Peter MacInnes, who was born in China, spoke Japanese, and was then a student at Princeton University, was also sent to Okinawa by PCS. A down-to-earth hippie type who was widely accepted by local Okinawans, MacInnes founded the "Antiwar GI Strike Center" in Koza, and provided living and legal counseling to GIs (Takamine, 1987, p. 140). Because of his low-key approach, he earned the trust of GIs, and even black activists frequently visited his office (Takamine, 1987, p. 141). Meanwhile, Eric Seitz, despite having a five-year visa, also had trouble coming back from occupied Okinawa to Tokyo by boat when the immigration official did not let him in.

I made a mistake...I didn't even think about that, I came in by boat, back to Tokyo harbor, and an immigration guy came in with pile of documents on the deck of the boat and interviewed everyone on the boat. He had a little book, and he went through the book. My name was in the book, he was not supposed to let me in. They had already made a decision that if I were to leave Japan, they wouldn't let me in again. Japanese were acting at the request of US military, of Marine Corp. So he went through the book but he got confused with my first name and last name, and I got in. Ten days later, this man visited me at my house in Fussa, saying, "Mr. Seitz, you need to leave." I asked, "Why?" "Well, I was not supposed to let you in, I'll be in lots of trouble. I'm responsible for you. So if you don't leave, I will lose my job." I told him, "Well, I'm not leaving." He came back 3 or 4 times and begging me to leave, because he'd be in trouble...We just needed to be more careful. After that, I did not leave again. I had a multiple entry visa that was good for 5 years, but they were going to kick me out (Seitz, 2016, personal interview).

I asked him if he would be kicked out because of the US military pressure?

Exactly! They always deny that, but there is a relationship that dictates, you know...[Japanese citizen are not obligated to follow American military], but that doesn't mean they won't. They retaliated against Jane Fonda too. They went to Okinawa...I don't know how they planned the trip, but they went to the Philippines, and they got their visas, and they came back and had trouble getting back in (Seitz, 2016, personal interview).

It is apparent that most American activists who had connection with Beheiren were on the black list, just like Oda Makoto and Tsurumi Shunsuke were with US immigration. Japanese immigration must have had busy times from 1969 to the early 1970s dealing with the passionate and committed American activists. Overcoming the challenges at the immigration point shows that activism beyond state and ideology is not easy but not impossible.

Messages from GIs in the US Bases in Japan (1967–1973)

I have shown some voices from deserters and GIs who were in the US bases in Japan during the Vietnam War. What I have introduced so far were not the only voices that Beheiren directly heard and recorded. It started with the first deserter Kim Don Hee, whom Beheiren tried to help. His appeal was published in the *Beheiren Nyūsu* in April 1967. Following that, Beheiren published letters, statements, appeals and opinions written by American deserters, active-duty GIs, returned GIs (who returned to the base after attempting to desert), supporters, veterans, and

a few military officers in their three newsletters. Voices from deserters and GIs in the newsletters increased after the Intrepid Four. Right after the Intrepid Four entered Sweden, *Beheiren Nyūsu* published an active-GI's message that asked them about the Intrepid Four.

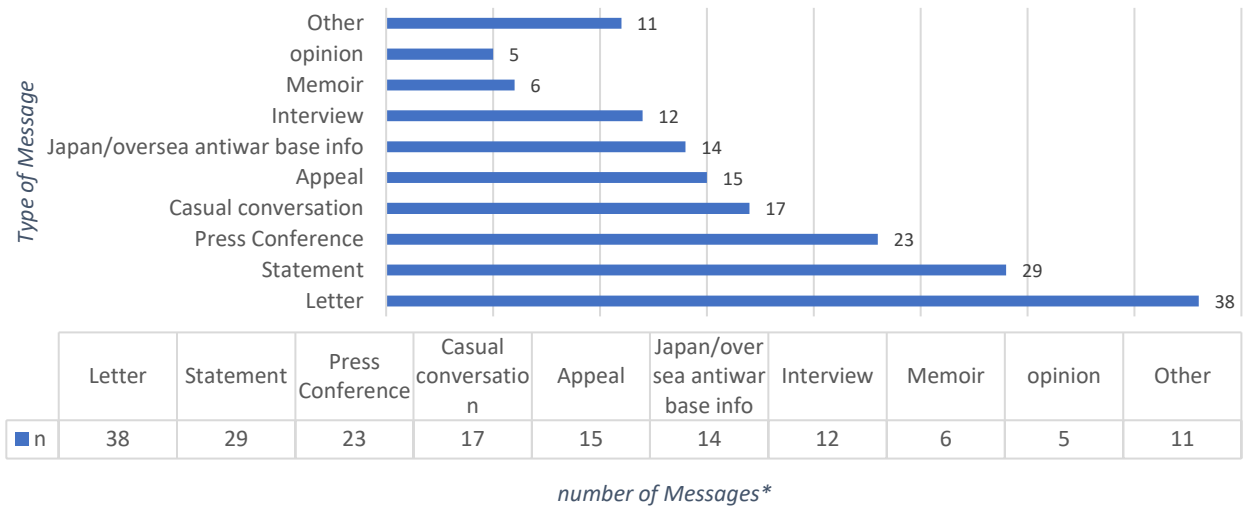
They say that the Intrepid Four guys are happy. Is that true? Isn't it communist propaganda? If you are journalists, tell me the truth (*Beheiren Nyūsu* #29, 1968, p.1).

There were a total of 157 such messages made by 113 US military individuals published in the *Beheiren Nyūsu*, Issue 19-91 (1967 – 1973), *Dassōhei Tsūshin*, Issue 1-16 (1969 – 1971), and *JATEC Tsūshin*, Issue 1-6 (1971-1972). The total number of messages and the number of message senders who wrote or communicated with *Beheiren* differ because some individuals wrote up to three messages. To see the overall trend that they expressed over the years, I put each message into Microsoft ACCESS, and conducted qualitative content analysis.

Message Senders

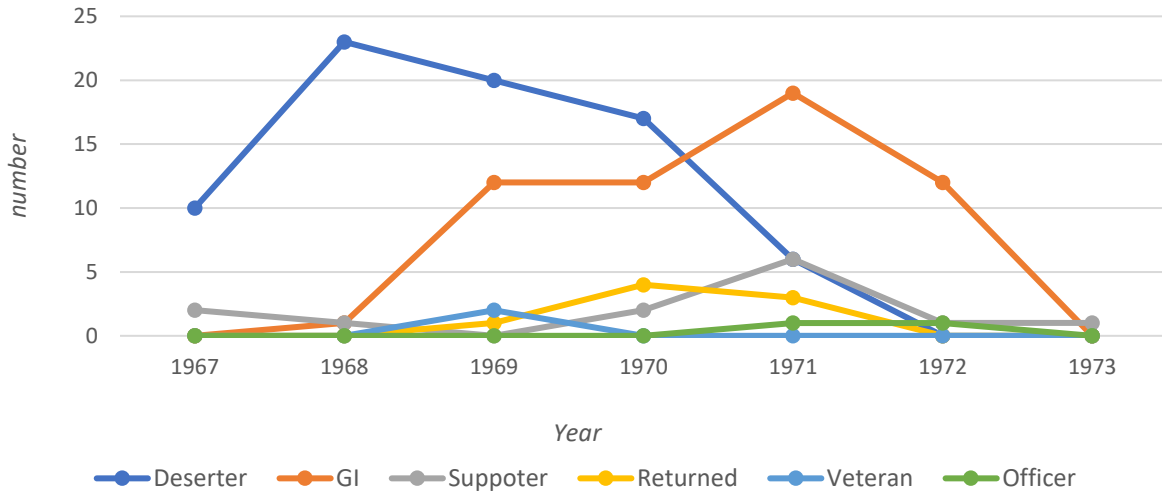
Almost half the messages (49%) published in *Beheiren's* newsletters were by deserters, and 36% were from active-duty GIs. Figure 8.1 shows that the most common forms of messages were letters and statements. Letters included those that deserters sent to their families or friends in the US while they were sheltered in Japan. Later, when *Beheiren* began interacting with active-duty GIs, messages from casual conversations and interviews with them were published as well. Also, as clearly shown in Figure 8.2, messages from deserters peaked in 1968, and messages from active-duty GIs peaked in 1971, which exactly indicated the transformation of *Beheiren* as their activities shifted from helping deserters to helping active-duty GIs around 1970.

Figure 8.1. *Type of Message*



*total not 157 because 13 statements were released at the press conferences

Figure 8.2. *Message Senders 1967-1973*

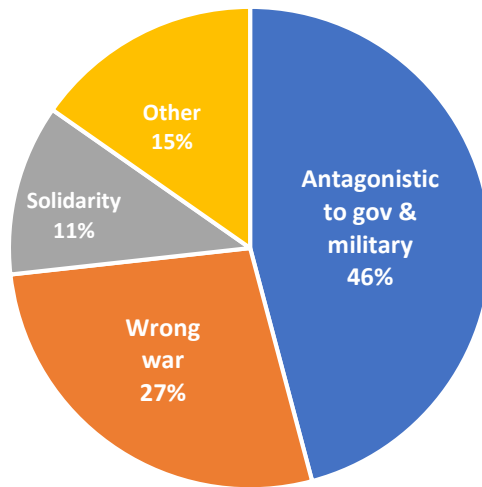


Thus, while messages from deserters decreased, those from GIs increased. Likewise, messages from returnees mostly occurred between 1969 and 1972, which was around the time when transpacific activism began, more American counselors, lawyers and activists came to assist GIs with legal options, and most deserter-candidates returned to their respective bases to be legally discharged.

Key Messages from GIs

Three key themes emerged from those messages from GIs: 1) Antagonistic feelings and attitudes against the government or/and military and 2) the strong feeling of “Vietnam War is wrong,” followed by 3) Solidarity, as Figure 8.3 indicates.

Figure 8.3. *Themes of Messages*



Hostility against the US authorities. In their voices, antagonistic feelings of, hostility against the US government or/and military authorities was the first and the most identified theme. Almost half of the messages (46%) expressed hostile feelings against authorities or their

superiors. This was particularly notable after 1969. Among such messages, almost 40% expressed criticism aimed at US government and military authorities and US foreign policies, as well as criticism against Johnson or Nixon. Willingness to disobey and sympathy toward the Vietnamese people were also expressed. There were also sympathetic feelings toward Okinawan people. Frustration about racism in military were also expressed in criticizing authorities.

- (Deserter) I decided to desert the Navy because I'm forced to support Johnson's policies that aim at hostility, cruelty, and destroying human beings anywhere I'm sent...I don't care if people call me a coward, traitor, communist, or a bloody idiot....(Beheiren Nyūsu #33, 1968).
- (Deserter) We had parties when we got good food, and we invited North Vietnamese soldiers. They are brave people. One time, the US commander came on patrol, but I told him those were the nearby villagers. We only shoot them if we would be killed otherwise, but no one tries to kill them (Dassōhei Tsūshin #2, 1969, p. 11).
- (Deserter) In Vietnam, I realized that wrong ideas were imposed on me....The US government occupies Vietnam and destroys the country for its own interests....The US military does not respect the Vietnamese people. They use chemical weapons, and kill humans, livestock and crops, and remain unruffled. The military forfeited my dignity as a human being and changed me into a killing machine. I started to feel ashamed that I have such a homeland. I left the military because I needed time and a new environment to crystalize the change that happened to me. (Dassōhei Tsūshin #16, 1971, 2-3).
- (Active-duty GI) There are so many problems in the service lately, and the brig is always full. My friend punched an officer the other day, and he was lucky to go to court martial. There is a rush for court martials, and it is common to wait 6 months (Dassōhei Tsūshin #1, 1969, p. 4).
- (Active-duty GI) Most of us think whites are number 10. If we ever attack them, it will not be done where Okinawans are, but in the base (Dassōhei Tsūshin #4, 1969, pp. 6-7).
- (Active-duty GI) To all the brothers and sisters in Okinawa. Your fight (against US oppression) is our fight. Your enemy is our enemy. I have to warn you. American racism and the military system deceives and threatens GIs...I want you to be careful (JATEC Tsūshin #2, 1971, p. 16).
- (Active-duty GI) Ever since I joined the Marine Corps, I have been anti-military. Now, I am also anti-American (Dassōhei Tsūshin #14, 1970, pp. 6-7).
- (Returned) If the US military were not in Okinawa and in Asia, those crimes in Okinawa and the Vietnam would not have occurred. If I were in Okinawa and ordered to use tear-gas against Japanese people, I would refuse, and throw it against the pigs who ordered it instead (Beheiren Nyūsu #64, 1971, p.2).

Wrong war. Second, more than a quarter (27%) of them expressed their conviction of the Vietnam War as a wrong, unjust, and criminal war. Some of them compared it to the Nazis and Hitler. They preferred going to jail rather than participating in the wrong war.

- 123(Deserter) Americans are the most corrupt human beings I can think of...They keep killing innocent people in Vietnam...It is more malicious than what the Nazis did...I have to tell the world the truth...this criminal war should be stopped right now (Beheiren Nyūsu #33, 1968, p. 2).
- (Deserter) American military uses the same strategy that Hitler used. Why didn't the previous war end this kind of criminal act? I hope this is the last one (Beheiren Nyūsu #39, 1968, p. 2).
- (Deserter) This shameless war continues. A freakish and blind fear of communism, along with political and commercial interest was revealed. (Dassōhei Tsūshin #2, 1969, p. 5).
- (Deserter) If I were asked to choose between going back to Vietnam, or going to jail, I will go to jail. No hesitation about it (Dassōhei Tsūshin #11, 1970, 6-7).
- (Deserter) The Vietnam War is wrong! If we don't protest now, we will have to forever hold ourselves accountable for murder and destruction. It is our responsibility to end this war (Dassōhei Tsūshin #8, 1970, pp. 2-3).
- (Deserter) The Vietnam War is an invasion. We are violating the Geneva Convention. The My Lai massacre is a daily occurrence...(Dassōhei Tsūshin #7, 1970, pp. 6-7).
- (Active-duty GI) Despite knowing that so many Vietnamese people are being killed, America continues bombing over there. This is murder. I can't participate in murder. (JATEC Tsūshin #2, May 1971).
- (Active-duty GI) We want to clearly express opposition against the senseless genocide that the American military is perpetrating on the Vietnamese people...we cannot justify this war in Southeast Asia (Beheiren Nyūsu #79, 1972, pp. 6-7).

Solidarity. "Solidarity" was expressed by 11% of GIs. They encouraged others to stand up.

- (Active-duty GI) We stand together with the slogan, "Down with the superiors!" We, in Misawa (Airbase in northeast Japan), are planning to unite all the GIs. When we succeed, several heads will certainly lie on the floor. (Dassōhei Tsūshin #9, March 1970).
- (Active-GI) Solidarity to stop the war. The only way to end the war is solidarity. Capitalists are our enemy. They don't care about others' lives (Dassōhei Tsūshin #16, January 1971).

Other. Other themes varied. It included confusion about the situation, seeking legal options, anxiety, feeling sympathetic to Vietnamese people, saying "No" is harder, "I'm not afraid," and "I'm criminal." Some GIs expressed the desire to seek Conscientious Objection (CO) and come back to join in the antiwar movement if CO were granted.

- (Active-GI before his death) All the people die in pieces. Dad, no one is left now. (Father replied. "I regret that I didn't suggest that he desert, but I couldn't. When my son came home in January, he told me, "I don't want to go back to Vietnam, I will go AWOL if I get back alive" (Dassōhei Tsūshin #2, 1969, P. 3).
- (Returned) It's been one and a half year since I left the base...I am writing this letter because I decided to return to the base. But please don't think I gave up the fight opposing the war...the situation in America and the military are changing, and I learned that the Conscientious Objector

status may be granted if I apply...then I can freely join in the antiwar movement...I don't think it will be easy, but I decided to do this because I can fight more freely if granted the CO than I just waiting to be arrested (Dassōhei Tsūshin #13, 1970, pp. 8-9).

Trends over the years. Among the most frequently identified three themes, two of them—hostility against the government or/and military and wrong war—combined, accounted for 73% of all the messages from GIs. These results clearly show that American soldiers in US bases in Japan during the Vietnam War exhibited war-weariness. Table 8.3 and Figure 8.4 show that GIs in the US bases in Japan expressed the antagonistic feelings against the government and military from early on, and that tendency increased after 1969.

Table 8.3. *Number of Themes in Messages 1967-1973*

	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	total
Anti-government/military	6	9	13	18	19	6	1	72
Wrong war	4	9	9	8	7	6	0	43
Solidarity	1	3	5	3	5	1	0	18
Other	1	4	8	6	4	1	0	24
Total	12	25	35	35	35	14	1	157

Figure 8.4. *Themes of Messages 1967-1973*

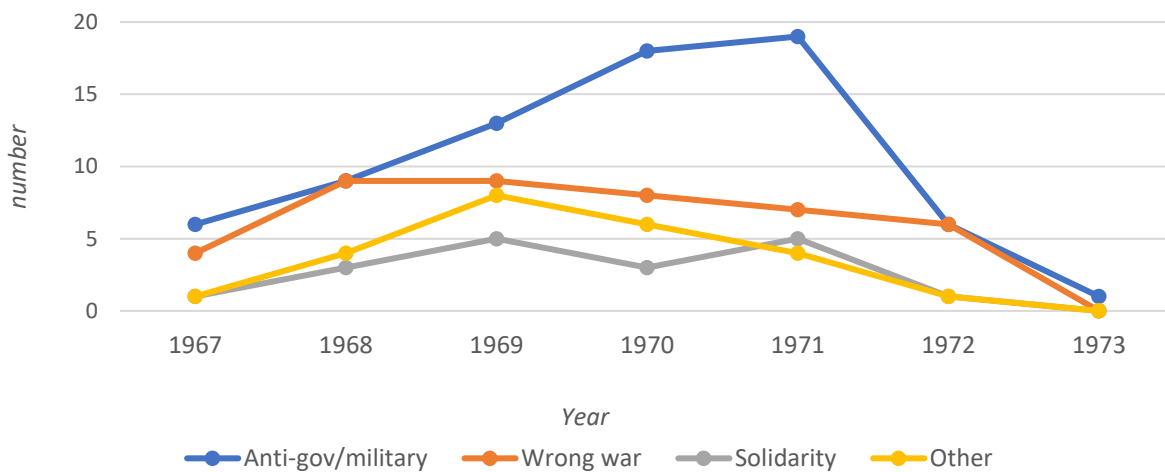
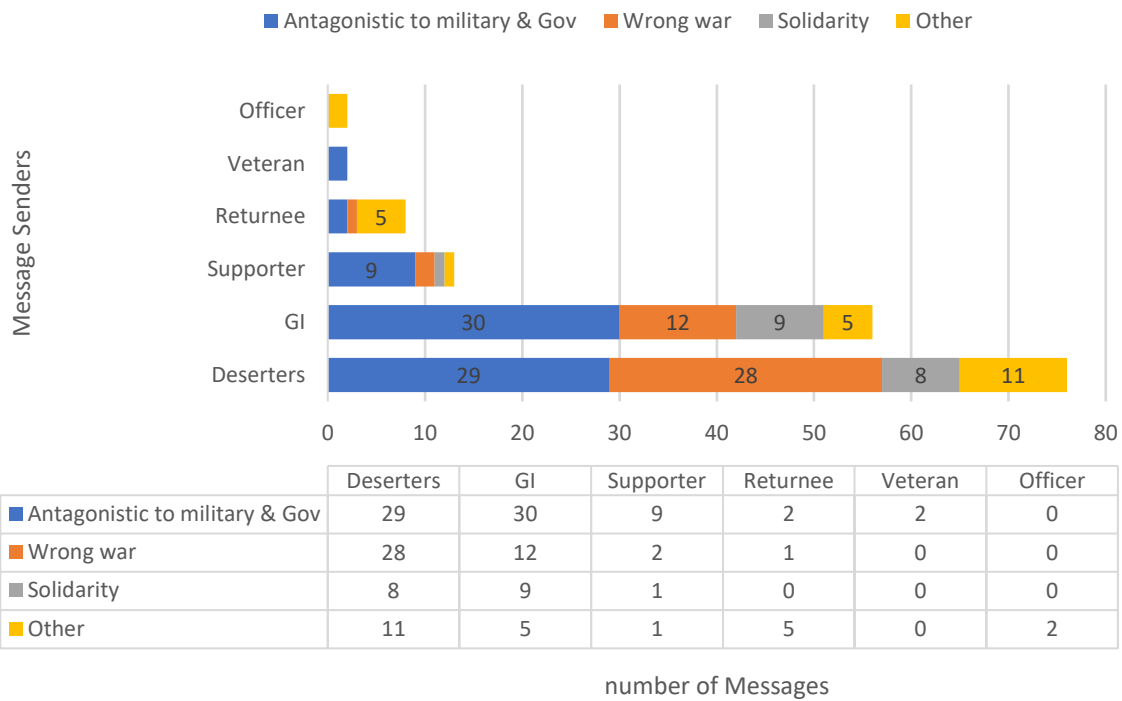


Figure 8.4 shows that “wrong war” messages peaked in 1968 when Beheiren faced the emergence of deserters, and antagonistic feelings against the US government and military peaked in 1971 after Beheiren shifted its strategy. The results also suggest that 1970-1971 was the most active period of the GI movement in the US bases in Japan. Table 4 shows the trend of the themes in the messages from the same period.

Further, Figure 8.5 shows that while deserters expressed “antagonistic to government and military” and “war is wrong” messages equally, active GIs, supporters and veterans proportionally sent more antagonistic messages directed to the government and military authorities.

Figure 8.5. *Senders & Themes*



Returned GIs sent more messages fitting of the ‘other’ category because most of their messages were the reasons they returned to their bases, which was to seek legal options. Two messages by US military officers also fell into “other” because their messages were to discourage the active-duty GIs from going to the Hobbit.

In sum, messages from GIs increased after the Intrepid Four emerged. As the war intensified and frequent transportation of GIs between Vietnam and Japan increased, direct interactions between Beheiren/JATEC and American deserter-candidates and GIs also increased. As a result, GI messages and voices increasingly appeared in the newsletters, especially between 1969 and 1971. More than 70% of such messages were published in this period.

Further, although Okinawa was a territory under American occupation and was not part of Japan for most of the time that Beheiren was active, I included voices from GIs in Okinawa in this analysis as Beheiren was active in Okinawa and some Beheiren activists and American activists heard their comments in Okinawa and published them in the newsletters. As Okinawa was used as a geographically convenient place for the US forces throughout the Vietnam War, the experiences that people in Okinawa had to endure were significant. Tension was boiling in Okinawa around 1970.

Conclusion

This chapter shows another major transformation of the movement. Around 1970, Beheiren entered a new phase when the idea of getting the deserters out of Japan had to come to an end. Muro Kenji, one of the core young Beheiren activists and editor of *Beheiren Nyūsu* expressed his feeling on this transformation. “Beheiren is at a big turning point. This has been said many times. But this time, it’s really real” (Muro, 1971, p. 8). For the Beheiren and JATEC

activists who had been struggling with increasingly becoming difficult task of sending American deserters to a third country along with repression from the nexus of Japanese and American authorities, including the intelligence, shifting to support antiwar GIs within the US bases made the most sense. The timely arrivals of American activists contributed to the success of this shift. They brought new information, technical knowledge and practical skills, which the Beheiren activists were not familiar with. Transnational brokers provide domestic activists with access to resources, information, and legitimacy (Tarrow, 2005, p. 199). American activists who came to this phase were agents of brokerage, and they greatly contributed to change and continuity of the movement.

The young activists thrived with this transformation, but what Whittier called “cohort replacement” did not occur in Beheiren. Although the younger activists’ activities and interactions with American activists contributed to the new direction, older activists continued to be influential and fully supported whatever the younger activists did. In Beheiren, the older cohort did not lose power and were not replaced by younger ones as Whittier suggested happened in the women’s movement. This is a good example that analyzing Beheiren from the point of “power” is a waste of time.

With the newly created slogan, “Break up the American military system. Stop the war machine!” along with the interaction with American GIs and activists, young Beheiren activists seemed to visualize what they could do, and they put all their energy into transpacific activism. To adapt to this change, *Dassōhei [deserter] Tsūshin* changed its title to *JATEC Tsūshin* with a subtitle “Beigun kaitai no tame no jikokuhyo [Timetable for disbandment of the American military system].” A quite bombastic catchword, but this subtitle unequivocally indicated the new direction of the movement. *JATEC Tsūshin* explained that the Vietnam War had turned into

a real swamp; soldiers were repeatedly being sent to Vietnam from Iwakuni and Okinawa; Japan was integrated into the Nixon doctrine; more and more antiwar GIs were standing up; thus, we should work with them (JATEC Tsūshin #1, 1971, pp. 2-4). These globalized phenomena were fully displayed in Iwakuni, which is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 8

IWAKUNI: CENTER OF THE GI RESISTANCE 1970-1973

Authorities called such events “disturbances” and “riots.”
Ordinary people called them doing justice (Charles Tilly)

A major transformation occurs when ordinarily docile masses become defiant (Piven & Cloward)



Photo 8.1. On the Kintai Bridge, Spring 1970 (Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki)

In the early 1970s, Iwakuni, a little-known town located in southwest Japan, was the center of the GI movement in the Asia-Pacific region, if not in the world. The commitment that antiwar GIs, young Beheiren activists and American civic activists poured into this base town was unprecedented. They produced an influential GI newspaper and a GI coffeehouse. This chapter shows various events that took place in Iwakuni between 1970 and 1972. They display transpacific activism, followed by severe repression from authorities of the US and Japan. Despite repression, transpacific resistance thrived.

Marine Corps Air Station Iwakuni

Of all the US bases in Japan during the Vietnam War, the Marine Corps Air Station Iwakuni (MCAS Iwakuni) stood out for the scale of GI rebellion. Iwakuni is a small town, located in Yamaguchi prefecture, less than a one-hour train ride from Hiroshima. The MCAS Iwakuni is one of the largest US Marine Corps bases in the Asia-Pacific region.



Photo 8.2. MCAS Iwakuni Main Gate. (October 1, 2016 by Shiratori)



Photo 8.3. Red "Warning" sign on fence, MCAS Iwakuni. (October 1, 2016 by Shiratori)

Many big red and white signs in English and Japanese are posted all around the fence. Beyond the fence is the United States of America, in Japan. The key phrase in the red board sign to understand the US-Japan relations is “Punishable by Japanese Law” for unauthorized entry. Despite the fact that the US base has dominated the whole Nishiki river delta in Iwakuni since 1945 and controls every aspect of the property, it claims that violation will be punished by Japanese law due to the Japan-US Joint Security Treaty (ANPO).



Photos. 8.4. Signpost and variety of warning signs all around the fence, MCAS Iwakuni. (October 1, 2016 by Shiratori)

Like Okinawa, the structural situation in Iwakuni has been basically the same for over 70 years. According to the former young Beheiren activists who gave me a tour around the base, Barack Obama, the first sitting US president who made a visit to Hiroshima on May 2016, flew to Hiroshima from the MCAS Iwakuni.

Transpacific Activism in Early 1970s Iwakuni

By the end of 1969, because of the escalating situation in Vietnam, the number of troops in Iwakuni doubled. As the overcrowded living condition and treatment of GIs worsened, military brigades were over capacity. There was Iwakuni Beheiren in this base town, but it was a 'lone' Beheiren, run by one person. Therefore, Beheiren activists from Kyoto, Hiroshima, and Fukuoka, worked closely with Iwakuni Beheiren. When the GI movement gained momentum, GIs in Iwakuni became very active. Beheiren, especially its student activists, saw potential in Iwakuni because of many GI related incidents. Fearing further escalation, Pentagon sent a few more officials to Japan to investigate and repress the increasing GI resistance in Iwakuni (Beheiren Nyūsu #55, 1970, p. 3). According to Seitz, Iwakuni was the center of GI turmoil.

Of all the places in Asia, Iwakuni was by far the hottest. There were great things happening in the Philippines because it was such a volatile place, but as far as the numbers of military people who got involved with 'things,' there was nothing like Iwakuni. They were very articulate and very open. Iwakuni was actually one of the most insurgent bases in the world. It was the place. There were very tightly organized black GIs in Iwakuni, and all of us were constantly watched and harassed by Japanese Security Police. But I fully enjoyed working with Beheiren folks (Seitz, personal interview, 2016).

Cortright (1975) also pointed out that the MCAS Iwakuni possessed one of the most consistently successful GI organizations in Asia, and that while GI resistance appeared at other Army and Marine Corps bases in the Pacific, it was never as extensive as at Iwakuni (pp. 104-105). In 1970, amid the intensifying situation, Brig. General Johnson was sent to the MACS

Iwakuni as the new base commander. Upon arrival in Japan, he was greeted by the surge of protest against Sato's visit to Washington D.C. to discuss Vietnam War cooperation (Beheiren Nyūsu #55, 1970, p. 3). Acknowledging racism at the MCAS Iwakuni, General Johnson tried to solve the problems with more repression. What this new commander was afraid of was the fact that the active GI group in Iwakuni consisted of antiwar blacks and whites, who had started publishing 'underground papers' (Beheiren Nyūsu #55, 1970, p. 3). Antiwar GIs in Iwakuni, mostly members of the American Servicemen's Union (ASU), started publishing *Semper Fi* in January 1970. "Semper Fi" is the motto of the Marine Corps, and it means "always faithful."

The primary cause of the uprising was racism. White officers kept calling black GIs "nigger." *Semper Fi*, the well-known GI paper in Iwakuni, sarcastically defined the n-word as "the lowest creature on earth and can be either White or Black. Rarely used by Blacks because it's the foulest 6 letters in English" (*Semper Fi*, May 1, 1970, p. 1).

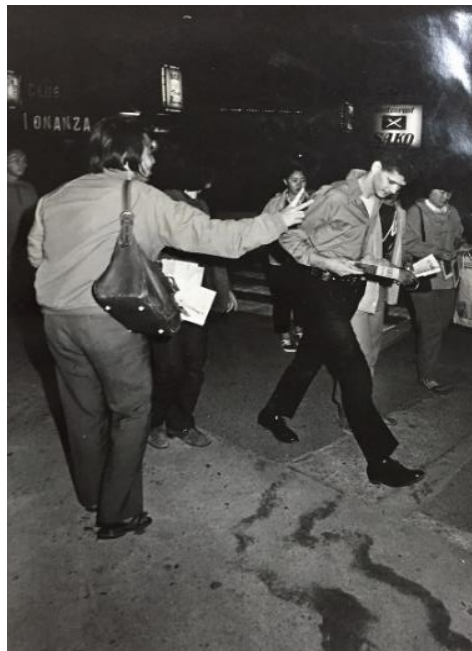


Photo 8.5. Handing literatures out on the street in Iwakuni. Early 1970.
(Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki)



Photo 8.6. Demonstration. Main street in Iwakuni, May 3, 1971. (Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki).



Photo 8.7. Residents watching the marchers. Main street in Iwakuni, May 3, 1971. (Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki).

Semper Fi was the product of collaboration between Iwakuni GIs and Beheiren activists from Iwakuni and Hiroshima. GIs in Iwakuni wrote stories, Iwakuni Beheiren received the drafts, and sent them to Chris Cowley, a volunteer staff person at the World Friendship Center in Hiroshima who typed up the draft. Then Hiroshima Beheiren printed them and brought the

newspapers to Iwakuni. Later on, the paper was typed and printed in Iwakuni (Kihara, 2011, p. 3; Nakagawa, 2009, p. 14). *Semper Fi* was handed out to GIs around the bar area near the base, along with other literature.



Photos 8.8. At the Kintai bridge, Iwakuni, early 1971. (Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki)

Beheiren students frequently visited Iwakuni and passed out the ‘*Fi*’ to GIs on the street. *Semper Fi* staff endured repeated harassment, repression, and arrest that often resulted in immediate repatriation to the US. The *Semper Fi* staff responded to the harassment by increasing the number of pages (Beheiren Nyūsu #58, 1970, p. 4). The paper gained more and more readers and supporters. They had full support from the Beheiren students from Kyoto and Hiroshima, who had become involved in Beheiren through assisting deserters in the previous phase. The *Semper Fi* staff reported cases of harassment and repatriation whenever they occurred.

On Thursday, 23 April, Bob Dorton, formerly of H & HS, left Iwakuni for Camp Pendleton, California. Brother Bob was kicked out of MCAS by the brass for his part in the 12 April Peace Gathering at Kintai; he had been given less than 36 hours to check out and send home all his gear. Anyone growing weary of his role in the American military occupation of Japan and wishing to

return home might take a hint from this episode and join the struggle. Just pack your bags first (Semper Fi, May 1, 1970, p. 3).

Kintai is a well-known wooden arch bridge built in 1673, which is one of the three most famous bridges in Japan and a tourist destination. Young Beheiren and GIs often got together on the Kintai riverbank. Despite the efforts of the MPs, antiwar GIs were thriving in Iwakuni.

Beginning in 1970, Beheiren students from Kyoto, Hiroshima, and Fukuoka, started demonstrations to the perimeter of the base and made antiwar broadcasts, calling over the chain-link fence, “GI, join us!” “We are on your side!” “Keep solidarity!” These friendly calls are a dramatic change of attitude from that of the immediate postwar period when Japanese called out to American GIs, “Yankee go home!” In early 1970s, when Beheiren students called out, “Don’t kill in Vietnam,” some GIs responded to them, “Kill! Kill! Kill!” (Nakagawa, 2009, p. 63).



Photo 8.9. Lively exchange over the fence at the North Gate. Iwakuni, May 3, 1971. (Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki).

The following description from *Semper Fi* shows that organized groups had already been established in Iwakuni by GIs, American activists, Beheiren, and community actors. It is noteworthy, especially in today's US military climate, American politics and culture, that these comments were written by active-duty GIs.

The Iwakuni brass, alarmed over the increasing contact between GIs and "subversive" Japanese students, secured all liberty during the 19 April demonstration in Iwakuni protesting the WAR and US imperialism. The brass and the local authorities, by means of scare propaganda and ridiculously stringent security measures (2000 riot cops, "volunteer" reactionary platoons, etc), attempted to create the impression that the demonstrators were all wild, commie revolutionaries bent on burning the town and overrunning the base. Gen. Johnson even carried the charade to the point of climbing into his helicopter and going aloft to direct the "battle." As things turned out, however, those thirsting for blood were disappointed, as there was little trouble...For newcomers to Japan; here are some tips on demonstration-watching. First, the demonstrators, despite brass propaganda, will not harm you. The worst thing they'll do is flash you a peace sign. Secondly, the overwhelming majority of the demonstrators are not "anti-Americans"; they are anti-US government. Spiro Agnew fans may find this idea hard to grasp, but these people do not dislike individual Americans. They realize that we ourselves are merely the unwilling tools of a corrupt, imperialistic system (Semper Fi, May 1, 1970, p. 2).

Activism in Iwakuni in the early 1970s was filled with youthful energy. As music had always been a vital medium for young GIs and young Beheiren activists, they often held rock concerts on the Kintai riverbank, which they called "Love-ins." Dozens of GIs and local youth participated. GI newspapers were also distributed on such occasions. What the US military authorities were most nervous about—the intimate interaction between GIs, blacks and whites, and Japanese citizens and American activists—were occurring before their eyes. They strengthened their harassment and repression of GIs, especially black GIs and those who were publishing the *Semper Fi*.

Lately, the brass have become disturbed because young Blacks and young Whites have stopped attending the Human Relations Counsels...The Human Relations Counsels are a farce. They have accomplished nothing, not even tokenism...The brass do not want that because Black and White will unite and the pigs will lose their power (Semper Fi, May 1, 1970, p. 2).



Photos 8.10. Getting together. Spring 1971. (Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki).

Nevertheless, the bar areas for American GIs around Iwakuni were clearly separated by race as in Koza, Okinawa. Black GIs did not go to the main entertainment block near the base (Nakagawa, 2009, p. 22). It is therefore significant that antiwar GIs stopped separating themselves from the black or white frame, and worked together, along with Asian activists. Beheiren had been reporting the escalating racial tension and incidents in the MCAS Iwakuni through the newsletters and media, as well as occasional press conferences. Therefore, GIs were

aware that some Japanese citizens knew about the racism in the US bases, and how badly black GIs were treated (Beheiren Nyūsu #55, 1970, p. 3). Because of these collective efforts, *Semper Fi* reached a wider audience, and not only increased its number of pages, but changed from being issued monthly to bi-weekly (Dassōhei Tsūshin #10, 1970, pp. 8-9; Dassōhei Tsūshin #11, 1970, p. 8). Around that time, it was reported that there was a succession of publications of underground newspapers in many other US bases across Japan (Beheiren Nyū #55, 1970, p. 3).

News on GI revolt, especially from Iwakuni, started to appear in various Japanese media, and one TV program even broadcasted a documentary on GI activism in Iwakuni in which one of the American Servicemen's Union (ASU) members who had applied for conscientious objector status spoke about their movement in Iwakuni (Dassōhei Tsūshin #12, 1970, p.6). *Semper Fi* continued to report the arrival of new troops to an already overcrowded base. Tension in the overcrowded brig in Iwakuni was getting higher and higher as they imposed new senseless rules—GI inmates were prohibited to talk each other and forced to do the same task over and over. The amount of the coverage on Iwakuni in Beheiren's newsletters showed the significance of the GI uprising. They described the situation of the brig in the MCAS Iwakuni as a "powder keg." Black GIs were more often confined for trivial matters such as wearing necklaces. Many of them were confined without trial and treated inhumanely. Antiwar GIs never knew when they would be sent back home, to jail, or to Vietnam. The military authorities seem to have tried everything that would trigger more insurgency.

The 1970 Fourth of July Riot and the Iwakuni 13

It was an incident just waiting to happen. On July 4, 1970, a riot broke out in the brig. It was triggered by the brig guard's harassment of a group of black inmates who cheerfully went to

play basketball after returning from doing manual labor. Because they were so cheerful, the chief guard ordered that they needed to be checked in the clinic to see if they were drunk, and forcefully searched their rooms—they were not even given dinner—on the Fourth of July (Dassōhei Tsūshin #14, 1970, pp. 8-9). That sparked a revolt. Both black and white GIs who had been confined in the brig joined in the uproar. They already had pent-up anger and frustration because of the inhumane treatment, unjust confinement, and utter racism in the brig. It was a spontaneous rebellion. Although they did not harm anybody, they destroyed the dining room, broke into a hangar, armed themselves, and occupied the brig for 16 hours until the next morning (Dassōhei Tsūshin #14, 1970, pp. 8-9; Nakagawa, 2009, p. 32). Black GIs and white GIs joined in the cause, believing this was the only way left for them to send the message to authorities that the conditions in the brig had to be changed. It started with a small thing but ended big enough to be labeled as a ‘riot.’

The Iwakuni riot became national news, which was a nightmare for the US military authorities. Those GIs who allegedly led the riot were called the “Iwakuni 13,” and were arrested and court-martialed. This incident threw the whole Iwakuni base into panic. A flier titled “Iwakuni 13’s Struggle” described how those GIs caught were treated, and how the collaboration with off-base activists made it to major media (See Appendix C). This flier indicates the impact of the transpacific activism between GIs and civic activists.

On the 4th of July, 1970, the prisoners of the MCAS Brig responded to the continual harassment and violations of brig rules and US constitutional rights by brig personnel by taking control of the brig for American Independence Day. The brass regained control of the brig the next day and picked out 13 men that they considered to be the leaders. The brass considered the men dangerous. They chained them to the floor of the plane when 8 of them were flown to Yokosuka and generally kept them in segregation. Originally, the brass wanted to charge them with riot, conspiracy to riot...with maximum possible sentences ranging up to 40 years. The brass did not respond at all to the complaints about brig personnel or conditions, but only attempted to institute absolute strong man control.

The prisoners felt that their action in taking the brig was the only way they could bring the conditions to the attention of higher brass and the people on the outside. Most of these prisoners were only in pretrial confinement... To this day supporters of the Iwakuni 13, Japanese and American alike, feel these 13 men were put in the brig for political, not legal, reasons and were courageous to take action that were necessary to awaken the people to the brutal and lawless actions and conditions of the Iwakuni Brig... The "riot" of the Iwakuni 13 and their trials became international news because of the involvement of American and Japanese civilians, including lawyers and newspapermen. There were stories about the 13 carried across Japan and even in the New York Times (Flier, "Iwakuni 13's Struggle," reprinted by Tomita, 2016).

Usually, 'inconvenient' GIs were almost immediately repatriated to other bases or sent back to Vietnam. In the case of the Iwakuni 13, they faced court-martial. They were chained by their ankles and had to lie on the floor of the helicopter. Unfortunately for the authorities, one of the Iwakuni 13 was 19-year-old Pfc. Noam Ewing, whom JATEC had sheltered for a couple of months not too long before this incident. Ewing, who had enlisted when he was 17, deserted in early April 1970, but decided to fight within the base and returned to Iwakuni in late May. Despite returning to the base, Ewing was somehow asleep in a friend's apartment when the US Army Criminal Investigation Command (USACIDC, or CID) came in to arrest him on June 12, 1970. That was why Ewing was in the brig when the riot took place, and he participated in solidarity (Oka, 1970; Nakagawa, 2009, pp. 29-30).

On the day of the riot, by sheer chance, Oda Makoto and Yoshikawa Yūichi were in Iwakuni to give lectures. Learning what had happened, Oda and Yoshikawa showed up at the base the next morning, and they managed to get into the brig (Nakagawa, 2009, p. 32). Apparently, by allowing these well-known visitors to get into the brig, the MCAS Iwakuni authorities chose to avoid further trouble with more negative media coverage. They knew that those two influential figures could maximize the incident by holding a press conference. Beheiren got involved in the Iwakuni 13 case by fully supporting Ewing legally. JATEC believed that the result of Ewing's separate trial on charges of desertion and inciting a riot would

greatly influence on the overall court-martials of the Iwakuni 13. With the help of Jan Eakes, Annie and Barbara Bye, JATEC prepared the legal team to defend Ewing.

The first court-martial attended by Japanese civilians. Ono Nobuyuki was a 28-year-old lawyer when Jan Eakes contacted him to defend Ewing. Ono went to Iwakuni from Kyoto to see Ewing and confirmed at the Iwakuni Police Station that on June 12, the CID entered the room in a civilian apartment ‘through a window’ where Ewing was asleep and arrested him. However, arresting a GI off-base was illegal under the US-Japan Status of Forces Agreement (Ono, 1998, pp. 181-182). The first court-martial trial session for Ewing was held on November 12, 1970 with Japanese press reporters present. Ewing’s defense counsel consisted of a young civilian lawyer, Mark Amsterdam, legal assistant Carol Amsterdam, Ono Nobuyuki, as well as Japanese witnesses including Tsurumi Shunsuke and the housewife who had sheltered Ewing. The team argued that the court-martial was illegal because Ewing’s arrest was a violation of the US-Japan Security Treaty (ANPO) (Dassōhei Tsūshin #15, 1970, p. 2; Nakagawa, 2009, pp.41-42; Oka, 1970; Ono, 1998, pp. 180-182). Japanese and GI supporters of Ewing jammed the court room, the largest audience ever for a MCAS court-martial (Iwakuni 13’s Struggle flier). Some Beheiren activists from Tokyo and elsewhere, including Tsurumi Yoshiyuki, were also allowed to be in the court room. This also became national news. Before entering the court room, Tsurumi Shunsuke advised Ono on English, “English, spoken at Harvard, is spoken slowly,” and this advice gave Ono peace of mind (Ono, 1998, p. 178).

Taking the witness stand, the Japanese housewife who sheltered Ewing for three weeks testified that Ewing had behaved well at her home, and that she did not think she did something that special. Tsurumi Shunsuke also testified that the Japanese constitution renounces war, and

that it was a natural duty for Japanese who lived under this constitution to help Ewing (Dassōhei Tsūshin #15, 1970, p. 2; Nakagawa, 2009, pp. 49-51). They both testified that Ewing was loved by the people he met in the Beheiren communities. Nakagawa reported what Tsurumi stressed.

“According to major surveys, 80% of Japanese opposed the Vietnam War. Therefore, ordinary Japanese are willing to help soldiers who left the military because of opposition to the Vietnam War, like Noam Ewing...As long as America has military bases in Japan, you should know that there are many Japanese who think this way. Today, I came to tell you this” (Tsurumi as quoted in Nakagawa, 2009, p. 53).

Ewing stood up before the court and stated that stated.

Any person living under such conditions would have reacted in the same way...The only reason people like me were put on restriction was to keep up from seeing what went on there...There are things that caused me to act in the past and will continue to cause me to act in the future (Iwakuni 13's Struggle flier). (See Appendix C, p.4).

Ewing expressed that the military hierarchy degraded the quality of human beings, it took his clothes off, and used him as just a tool against the Vietnamese (Nakagawa, 2009, p. 54). He was sentenced to nine months with a bad conduct discharge. Although his veteran's benefits were forfeited with the bad conduct discharge, Ewing's sentence was a lot lighter than the maximum of 40 years for his case. Ono (1998), who became the first Japanese lawyer who participated in a court-martial on a US base to defend an American GI, pointed out that Ewing's behaviors were totally legal and justifiable in Japan, and that his only mistake was to become an enlistee, thinking there must be some justice in the Vietnam War (pp. 179-180). Ono reflected on the day and Tsurumi's efforts at civic activism.

I was allowed to enter the MCAS only because I had a title as lawyer. It went well thanks to Tsurumi Shunsuke. He was the scenario writer for that day. I acted according to his scenario. Tsurumi always said “Justice will fail,” and used media...he was really an activist...After all, Tsurumi was the one who brought people like Oda Makoto and Yoshikawa Yūichi into the group, by just making one call. He also brought all the prominent scholars in Japan including Maruyama Masao into the group...During my career, there were times I was recruited and asked to work in Tokyo. On these occasions, I consulted Tsurumi, and he would say, “You will just be used as a rag (if you go to Tokyo).” We (Beheiren) used mass media a lot, and there are some (former

activists) who went to work in mass-media. They are the products of Beheiren, I think (Ono, personal interview, 2016).

The other Iwakuni 13 GIs received bad conduct discharge or worse, dishonorable discharge, but with relatively shorter sentences than expected. This was most likely because of the growing interest and media coverage of the GI uprising in Iwakuni, Japan, where most people were strongly against the war. Who would have imagined that a Japanese lawyer would defend American antiwar GIs in court-martials in the US base, along with an American civilian lawyer? And there were also Japanese witnesses and audience. It was inconvenient to the US military authorities. Facing the transpacific antiwar networks, the US military authorities did not want to draw more attention by giving them harsher sentences that would have certainly invited more rebellion and media coverage. Did the military authorities see the global connectivity?



Photos 8.11. Lecture by Tsusumi Shunsuke at the Iwakuni Labor Hall. May 3, 1971.
(Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki).

While tension in Iwakuni further intensified after the Fourth of July riot, this incident strengthened the solidarity of the Iwakuni GIs that in turn promoted more black power, and more organized resistance. Three of the Iwakuni 13 also sent letters to Beheiren after they were transferred to Okinawa, Vietnam, and South Carolina, updating their resistance efforts in their new posts (Dassōhei Tsūshin #14, 1970, p. 8). Despite the repression, hundreds of GIs frequently got together for discussion on the base. Their demands reflected the influence of the counterculture, including freedom of hair style, beard, clothes; facility improvements; revision of regulations; and opposition against the oppressive officers (Dassōhei Tsūshin #15, 1970, p. 3-4). These GIs determined that they would no longer accept the unacceptable conditions and treatment. Moreover, Beheiren reported that it was not uncommon to encounter antiwar MPs by this time (JATEC Tsūshin #2, p. 9).

Stop the Phantom! Kite Flying

Iwakuni became the center of GI resistance when the US started the bombing campaign in North Vietnam again in November 1970. As Beheiren students in Kyoto Hiroshima, and Fukuoka who were making frequent trips to Iwakuni learned more about the intense situation in the base, they got more involved in the base town community. They planned a “Kite-Flying” event for May 5, 1971, which is Children’s Day, a national holiday in Japan. Flying kites was a tradition on Children’s Day, praying for children’s growth. The purpose of young Beheiren, however, was to stop the fighter planes like Phantom or A-6 Intruder leaving Iwakuni for Vietnam, hoping that kites could stop the Phantom just as bird strikes could stop airplanes. On May 5, 1971, around 50-60 of them flew lots of handmade kites and balloons at a dike along the Imazugawa river by the runway of the Marine Corps base, watched by 80 policemen.



Photo 8.12. About 30 activists making kites with bamboo and paper.
Early May 3-4, 1971. (Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki).



Photo 8.13. Kite flying on Children's Day by the MCAS Iwakuni. May 5, 1971. (Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki).

One police officer pleaded with Tsurumi to stop the youth because it would be a problem if it caused the downing of American fighter planes. Carrying a copy of the *Roppō Zensho* (a standard compendium of all the six Japanese legal codes), Tsurumi Shunsuke told the police,

there was no law to prohibiting kite-flying (Beheiren Nyūsu, #68, June 1, 1971, p. 4; Nakagawa, 2009, p. 66).

The US military authorities initially just watched the kites as the Phantoms kept departing. Soon, the intervals between departures got longer, and eventually they stopped flying for a couple of hours (Beheiren Nyūsu #68, 1971, p. 4; Nakagawa, 2009, p. 67). Nakagawa Roppei who was flying a kite noticed the police started to move.

The fighter plane was not departing. Phantom stopped flying! Kites were floating over the sky. It was like something out of a comic book, but it came true. The duralumin body of the fighter plane was shining, and kites, made of bamboo and paper, were swaying. One police officer was talking with some plain-clothes police with a walkie-talkie. The other end of the walkie-talkie must have been Iwakuni Police Station and the US military headquarters (Nakagawa, 2009, p. 68). Soon, police forced the kites down, except one that was flying high from a boat on the river. Kai Fusayoshi, a photographer, who was then a student at Doshisha University, cut the string as Japanese police and US military boats were approaching his boat.



Photos 8.14. Stop the Phantom! Kite flying by the MCAS Iwakuni May 5, 1971 (Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki).



Photo 8.15. Police boat approaching people's boat. Imazugawa River by the MCAS Iwakuni. May 5, 1971 (Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki).

Two months later, the US military in Indonesia issued an order to ban kite-flying around all the airports (Nakagawa, 2009, p. 70). This kite-flying event is still remembered as one of the many hilarious events that Beheiren did. Oda Makoto (2011) wrote a novel, *Tako wo ageru* [flying kites] based on this event in 1978. After spending time engaging in various activities and witnessing many happenings in Iwakuni, Nakagawa Roppei, then a student from the Doshisha University Beheiren, had learned what life in a base town meant. He was convinced that Iwakuni needed a GI coffeehouse, the kind of project that his fellow student Suzuki Masaho had experimented with for three days at the school festival. A few more students from Kyoto and Fukuoka joined in the coffeehouse project. During the making of the coffeehouse in fall 1971, two more events were going on simultaneously in Iwakuni—news of nuclear weapons on the base and the Free the Army (FTA) show tour.

Nuclear Weapons in Iwakuni?

Beheiren's newsletters had been reporting rumors of the existence of nuclear weapons in Iwakuni base. Turmoil in Iwakuni further grew when the national morning newspapers on November 17, 1971 headlined, "Nuclear weapons in Iwakuni base?" This bombshell revelation was dropped by Narazaki Yanosuke, a member of the House of Representative from the Japan Socialist Party (JSP), at a meeting of the 67th Diet Okinawa Reversion Agreement Special Committee. Narazaki reported that he had obtained evidence that the US military had stored nuclear weapons at the Iwakuni base and he made inquiries on that matter (JATEC Tsūshin #5, 1971, pp. 2-3; Kokkai Hakusho [White paper], 1971; Nakagawa, 2009, pp.84-86).

Keeping nuclear weapons in Japan was an outright violation against Japan's three-part non-nuclear policy—not to make, not to possess, not to allow entry of nuclear weapons to Japan. On top of that, Iwakuni is less than one-hour driving distance from Hiroshima. This news enraged the nuclear-sensitive postwar Japanese citizens and hit the governments of both Japan and the US. Almost all the newspapers and foreign press agencies reported the development for days. At the same time, it was no surprise for Japanese citizens who had general suspicion toward the US military bases, that the US was storing nuclear weapons on US bases in Japan. If it were true, the US authorities had simply ignored Japan's non-nuclear policy at their convenience.

Nakagawa and other students who had already moved to Iwakuni to prepare for the coffeehouse, went to the base to gather information directly from GIs (Kakegawa, 1998, p. 174; Nakagawa, 2009, p. 84-86). They then made the fliers headlined, "The rumor was true! There are nuclear weapons in Iwakuni base" and delivered them to people in Iwakuni (Nakagawa, 2009, p. 84). Likewise, Takahashi Taketomo came to interview GIs, and had them show where the

nuclear weapons were stored on the base (Kakegawa, 1998, p. 174). Iwakuni GIs knew. The place that the GIs pointed to was exactly where *JATEC Tsūshin* (1971) had indicated on map (pp. 8-9). The site was painted red but within a day after the revelation, the paint color was changed to yellow (Nakagawa, 2009. P. 85), which further fueled suspicion. After all, this revelation was possible because of the tight network that had been established between the young Beheiren activists and active-duty GIs who were engaging seriously in transpacific activism.

This inconvenient news was a real nightmare for the US military authorities. Immediately after Narazaki made his inquiry at the Diet, four GIs involved in publishing *Semper Fi* disappeared. Three of them had been indicted for participating in one of the demonstrations that had been going on in Iwakuni, and one of them for wearing a necklace with a cross while participating in a demonstration during working hours. In his appeal in the *Beheiren Nyūsu*, Eric Seitz articulated why the arrest of four GIs was unjust, how the Iwakuni MCAS was the worst base in the world, and how he and Ono immediately took action to prepare for the court-martial to defend the four *Semper Fi* staff (*Beheiren Nyūsu* #74, 1971, p. 4). However, the court-martial for the four did not happen because, fearing to make the same mistake as the Ewing trial that spread in the media, the military authorities sent the four back to the US early in the morning before the scheduled press conference by Ono and Tsurumi Shunsuke (*JATEC Tsūshin* #5, 1971, p. 3). Seitz found out that they had been arrested and sent to the Marine Barracks at Treasure Island in San Francisco Bay, and Camp Pendleton in spite of their not being related to the nuclear news (*JATEC Tsūshin* #5, 1971, p. 3). Using the news about nuclear weapons on the base, the military officials took the opportunity to get rid of activist GIs. Seitz had further insights on the bombshell news of nuclear weapons. He revealed that he might have been involved unknowingly with the news.

I worked mostly in Fussa and Iwakuni. When I was in Iwakuni in May 1971, I went to see a guy in the brig. Nobody else went to see him. Then, one of the guys gave me a diagram written on a napkin. I didn't know what it was. He didn't tell me what it was. He said "give this to the boys, and they'll know what to do with this" so I was like, OK...I didn't ask questions. When I came back to Iwakuni (from Fussa) in November, all of the sudden, it was in the newspaper. All over! It appeared on the front page. When I looked at that, I was like, "Oh, oh... I remember this!" Nobody tied it to me. I was worried, but nobody tied it to me. It went through three, four people before it went to the people who published that...so I don't know who they were, I don't want to know, and I didn't want to know at the time. The US denied it, everyone denied it, flat denial that there was nuclear material out there, so there was no question that it was very controversial. I don't know if it was true or not, but I don't see any reason it was not true (Seitz, 2016, personal interview).

According to Seitz, the news on nuclear weapons in Iwakuni was controversial within Beheiren as well. The reason was typical of Beheiren. It was because of the involvement of the JSP, and some people in Beheiren were very unhappy about it. The criticism was that it was done through a political party. Beheiren was a movement run by independent individuals and they had been trying their best at keeping distance from any political party or organizations in a very politically active period of Japan. Therefore, it is understandable that some of them were disturbed with the process in which the information was delivered and announced by a political party.

The most pointed revelation of this nuclear news came decades later from Jane Fonda who went to Japan for the FTA show a few weeks after the release of this news. In her biographical book, she casually unveiled what she had heard directly from GIs in Iwakuni back then.

One very important thing happened while the tour was in Japan. We filmed an interview with several men at Iwakuni Marine Base who told us that despite the agreement between Japan and the United States following World War II that stipulated nuclear weapons were never again to be brought onto the island, they themselves were moving nuclear weapons around the bases, "all in secret, all illegal." They asked us to demand that a search be conducted to uncover the truth. We got nowhere (Fonda, 2005, p. 275).

The Free the Army (FTA) show team came to Japan when the Diet was still in chaos and the public was angry. Fonda grasped the situation.

Up to this day, nuclear weapons in the US bases is an issue in Japan. There have been talks on “secret agreement” of nuclear weapons between Japan and the US during the time of the Vietnam War. This 1971 news of nuclear weapons in Iwakuni indicates that, no matter how hard the authorities tried to hide it, a secret agreement could not be kept secret, especially when “global imaginary” is shared by transnational actors. Then, on June 20, 2018, right before I was finishing this dissertation, the Department of State disclosed over 500-page documents of US foreign policy on Japan between 1969 and 1972, which had been kept classified in the National Archives (Jiji Tsūshin, June 22, 2018; Mainichi Shimbun, June 22, 2018; Tosa & Ito, 2018). This news broke in Japan because the long-denied but suspected secret agreement about bringing the nuclear weapons to Okinawa did exist. It was agreed and signed secretly by Sato and Nixon during the US-Japan summit held in November 19, 1969 (Jiji Tsūshin, June 22, 2018; Mainichi Shimbun, June 22, 2018; Tosa & Ito, 2018). Not surprisingly, Henry Kissinger appeared to play a decisive role in demanding the agreement.



Photo 8.16. One day in Iwakuni, early 1970s. (Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki).

Free the Army (FTA) Show

As the busy year of 1971 was coming to a close, and the coffeehouse was still under construction, Iwakuni came to life with the welcome news that the “Free the Army” (FTA) show was coming to Iwakuni as part of its Asia-Pacific tour. The show in Iwakuni was scheduled in December 1971, with twenty tour members, included Michael Alaimo, Len Chandler Jr., Pamela Donegan, Jane Fonda, Dick Gregory, Rita Martinson, Donald Sutherland, James Matson Jr., Yale Zimmerman, and Francine Parker (Semper Fi #2-17, 1971, p. 11). The FTA, a satirical play about the Vietnam War and the military, started in spring 1970 in support of the GI movement. The name “Free the Army” and its abbreviation FTA were a play on the GI expression “F--- the Army.” It was performed at a few military bases in the US before it came to the Asia-Pacific region. According to Seitz, the FTA group initially wanted to go to Vietnam, but they couldn’t go, so they contacted the Pacific Counseling Services (PCS), and decided to come to the Philippines, Japan, and Okinawa instead. The FTA was performed in several US base towns: Yokota, Yokosuka, Koza (in Okinawa), Iwakuni, and Misawa for GIs. It was also performed for general audiences in Kyoto and Tokyo.

Jane Fonda is coming to Iwakuni! This was big news in small town Iwakuni. Beheiren helped to coordinate the logistics of the show—from finding the venue to preparing thousands of chairs (Nakagawa, 2009, p. 83). Seitz, who lived in the second floor above of future coffeehouse at the time, and accompanied the FTA tour, reflected on the show in Japan as a highly political event implemented by political activists in a very political time. This was also an opportunity for Seitz to get a glimpse of organizational skills of Beheiren.

First of all, it was a heightened political time where people were very emotionally and politically committed to what they were doing. So, the depth of those commitments was translated into a lot of really hard work by people. Long meetings, long discussions...really good efforts to organize people. I saw the most significant aspects of Beheiren when they put on this tour for Jane Fonda and Don Sutherland. There were concerts organized in Tokyo and Kyoto, and I just was amazed at the number of young people who came out to help to put those on, because it was an enormous effort. There were thousands and thousands of people who came to concerts in Tokyo and in Kyoto...it was primarily for a Japanese audience and I was astounded by the way those were well organized. To put it together, took enormous amount of talents and commitments and efforts to do that. That was a side of the organization (Beheiren) that I hadn't seen before in my day-to-day kind of work because I primarily worked at the coffeehouses and around the bases. So I was very impressed by everything I saw and I think a lot of it had to do with dedication, and the period of time. An enormous amount of it had to do with the quality of leadership (Seitz, 2016, personal interview).

Meanwhile, the FTA crew made the same mistakes many American activists did. They scheduled to have the shows in Okinawa between the shows in Japan. Upon re-entering Japan from Okinawa, the crew was denied re-entry at Haneda Airport. They were told they could not perform shows in Japan on a tourist visa. They were then confined in a hotel room just like their predecessor activists. Hearing that the FTA crew was confined at the airport, Iwakuni activists and the members of the Semper Fi immediately collected petitions from GIs and sent them to the hotel via telegram (Nakagawa, 2009, p. 95). The Japanese government eventually gave in because of the pressure from Beheiren and protest from Jane Fonda (Beheiren Nyūsu #77, 1971, p. 4). Seitz recalled.

They first came here to Hawaii, then from here to the Philippines, and did two shows in the Philippine, then to Japan. They made a big mistake. They left Japan before they finished and went to Okinawa. When they came back to Japan, they had difficulties in getting in. But they got in (Seitz, 2016, personal interview).

The immigration points at Japan's airports around that time exhibited a simple example of how the US-Japan Security Treaty and the Japan-US Status of Forces Agreements would affect ordinary people in the imbalanced power structure between Japan and the US in which Japanese government needed to be compliant with US intentions. While US servicemen could

freely enter and leave Japan without a passport at anytime, American activists faced problems entering Japan despite having the proper visa. While Barbara Bye had to leave Japan after 100 days confined in a hotel despite the Beheiren's pressure and even legal challenge, the FTA crew was allowed to re-enter after a few hours. Apparently, the FTA situation was quickly resolved because they were high profile Americans. Both the Japanese and the US authorities did not want to further promote antiwar sentiments by making spectacle in the news of refusing entry to Hollywood movie stars whose play was already controversial. In Iwakuni and everywhere else, GIs flooded to see the FTA show. According to Seitz, however, the visiting crew understandably did not want the GIs to do anything political because they were paranoid that if something happened, they would be kicked out. In the end, the FTA tour in Japan was a great success, especially the performance in Iwakuni where the impact of the event on GIs and activists was great. Seitz revealed the interactions between the FTA crew, GIs and activists.

When they did the show in Kyoto (at Doshisha University), three or four guys from Iwakuni base, which was by far the most active place, came up to tell the crew they had been passing around petition in Iwakuni and they wanted to read the petition publicly at the show in Iwakuni. Initially, Fonda and Don (Donald Sutherland), two leaders said, "No, we can't do that." They didn't want the GIs to actually do anything politically overt in connection with their show because if something happened, they would be kicked out. They didn't want the GIs themselves actively involved in the shows. So we had this big struggle with them, about how important it would be for the Iwakuni GIs to do it. Eventually they agreed. So at the end of the show in Iwakuni, two guys jumped up to the stage, read the petition, to the thunderous audience, and the place was packed. Jane told me later it was the highlight of their experience because, there, very politically active people in a foreign country were really sticking their necks out...And those guys were gone next week. That was the last time we saw them. They were gone. But Jane was very impressed, the result was all this political turmoil... It wasn't that simple. So, in the film version of the show, some editing was done. If you see the movie, you see at the beginning scene with discussion with GIs in Philippines, but it was actually in Iwakuni, so they spiced it into the Philippine. But you have to know the people to be able to say that...So when I watched the film, "Hey, that's Iwakuni!" That was in our house! (Seitz, 2016, personal interview).

The two GIs who went up to the stage and read the petition were discharged and sent back to the US. Not only GIs, but the FTA show also disappeared quickly. The film version of

the FTA show was released in Washington, D.C. on July 14, 1972, distributed by American International (Fonda, 2005, p. 275). However, comments on the back of the DVD, “*FTA: The show the Pentagon couldn’t stop,*” produced in 2008 states that the showing lasted only a week.

Available for the first time since it mysteriously disappeared in 1972 ‘after only one week’ in theaters, this raucous film is a riveting slice of the Vietnam antiwar movement (Docuramafilms, 2008).

This was further indication of how nervous the US military authorities were about the FTA show. According to Fonda (2005), they did twenty-one performances during this Asia-Pacific tour that started in Hawai‘i, for an estimated sixty-four thousand soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen despite the fact that it was made extremely difficult for the servicemen to attend (p. 275). Ken Cloke, a pioneer in the field of mediation and conflict resolution, then an antiwar attorney, updated Fonda of his post-FTA episode in Japan.

Ken Cloke told me that when he’d gone to the Philippines and Japan to visit coffeehouses right after FTA had been there, bootlegged audiotapes of the show were “selling like hotcakes” among soldiers and were even circulated in Vietnam...also, attendance at the coffeehouses increased dramatically following our tour (Fonda, 2005, p. 275).

Despite banned from military bases worldwide, the success of the FTA show in Japan was achieved by transpacific activism by the PCS, Beheiren, American activists, American GIs, and local communities. The show linked up Iwakuni GIs and the community at large. Coordinating the FTA show further strengthened their network. After the show, a student activist from Kyoto, who also accompanied the FTA tour for a week, pointed out that the FTA tour in Asia was an extension of the struggles that American activists had so far fought against their own imperial state in occupied Okinawa and Japan. (Beheiren Nyūsu #77, 1972, p. 4). He also pointed out that, however, many activists started to come to Japan to stay around the US bases,

but those activists were ‘so far’ all whites (Beheiren Nyūsu #77, 1972, p. 4). It was true. In early 1970s, young American activists who were able to come to Asia were likely limited to whites. It was a harsh reality when compared to many black GIs who had no choice about being sent to Vietnam.



Photo 8.17. At the residence of Motono & Sakamoto. Left (Tsumumi Yoshiyuki, Motonos’ son, Eric Seitz (next to Tsumumi), Yoshikawa Yūichi (next to Seitz), Motono & Sakamoto (in the back) with young Beheiren. 1971 or 1972. (Courtesy of Sakamoto Yoshie).

GI Coffeehouse Hobbit

It was 1968 when Suzuki Masaho heard about the UFO, the first antiwar GI coffeehouse. In Japan, the first GI coffeehouse “Owl” was opened near Misawa Air Force Base in Aomori, at the northern tip of the main island of Japan in July 1970. One month before the FTA show, Nakagawa and Tomita from Kyoto, Washino and two more students from Fukuoka, moved to Iwakuni to open the second coffeehouse. For these Beheiren students, who had been back and forth between Kyoto and Iwakuni since 1970, making a coffeehouse in Iwakuni seemed to be a

natural extension of their activism. They had been witnessing what was going on in a small base town that held a huge US Marine Corp base. Young Beheiren students rented a house that used to be a clinic, and remodeled it by themselves throughout the fall and winter of 1971. Beheiren's adult activists from Tokyo, Kyoto, Hiroshima and Fukuoka, helped them financially and physically. They did most of the interior and exterior work by hand. The lampshades were made from empty cans, which contributed to creating a counterculture atmosphere. They made a little library, which was an integral component of GI coffeehouse. Local churches were also supportive of the Beheiren students. In the evening, they kept going out to pass out the fliers and *Semper Fi*. Profits from the FTA show was also used for the coffeehouse project. *Semper Fi* had already reported in its October 1971 issue that the GI coffeehouse would be opened in Iwakuni and asked readers to support it.

In the near future GIs stationed here at Iwakuni will have available to them a GI Coffeehouse. It will be maintained and staffed by *Semper Fi* supporters. Donations cards are being distributed to help cover expenses. Buy one and help get the Coffeehouse started. Power to the people!!! (Semper Fi #2-14, 1971, p. 11).

Semper Fi announced it more than four months before the actual opening. This indicates two things. GIs were looking forward to having an alternative space off-base, and the *Semper Fi* editors had a close relationship with the Beheiren students. Thus, from its planning phase, GIs donated for '*Fi*' generously on their payday, and members of *Semper Fi* frequently stopped by the construction site to help the carpentry work and delivered the students the latest information from the base, such as who was sent to brig and who was sent back to the US, and why (Nakagawa, 2009, pp. 105-110). Beheiren students and GIs collectively decided to call the coffeehouse the "Hobbit," a name suggested by a GI. The PCS activists talked about the Hobbit by J.R.R. Tolkien. Plus, "Roger Hobbit" had been the codename of the PCS counselor.

It should be noted that, influential figures of Japan's counterculture communities of the time, mainly from Kyoto, were deeply involved with the creation of the Hobbit, including Nakao Hajime, Kai Yoshifusa, Kitazawa Tsunehiko, Katagiri Yuzuru, and Okabayashi Nobuyasu. These names frequently popped up during my interviews with Washino and Tomita, the Beheiren students who ran the Hobbit. "Nakao Hajime was like an epitome of counterculture," said Washino (2016, personal interview). According to Washino, Nakao, an environmental sociologist who later became a professor and the president at the Kyoto Seika University, was the master carpenter of the Hobbit. Student Beheiren activists were so impressed with Nakao who would make everything from tables to speakers by himself. "To me, it was like, wow...there were people like him in the world. That, I think, led to the direction of our coffeehouse movement" (Washino, 2016, personal interview).

One of the days during the finishing work for the Hobbit, they learned that the US had started the record-breaking bombing campaign in South Vietnam after the Tet cease-fire ended. The two youngest Beheiren students from Fukuoka rushed out to the base to learn more about it. These two students were very good at getting information from GIs, and they were also good at identifying the types of US fighter planes leaving for Vietnam (Nakagawa, 2009 p. 122). Despite the Japan-US Agreement that no plane should fly from Japan directly to Vietnam, planes were flying to Vietnam. By checking the departing planes, students could tell the scale of the bombing. They observed the base and sky and counted the plane departures for hours. In one occasion, they got information about a place in North Vietnam where prisoners of war (POW) would be held, and that a plane from Iwakuni went there in support of an operation to free prisoners, but when the plane arrived at the place in North Vietnam, no one was there. Seitz recalled.

It was our impression that they were gone because the information was leaked from Iwakuni. I was not involved directly with that, but I was quite convinced that that was ‘our people’ who were involved in that as well. We were all very happy about that. They were so furious. Because they flew from Iwakuni based upon the belief that they were safe and there would have been no opportunity for anybody outside to know. But the mission details somehow were leaked, and they were gotten back, and I think I kind of have an idea how the information got to Vietnam. The boys were looking for things that were important, they took themselves very seriously, and they found it! (Seitz, 2016, personal interview).

Washino also recalled that these two youngest students would go to the base, watching the fighter planes at the end of the runway all day long. Accompanying them sometimes, Washino was so bored waiting for them finish their observation. These two youngest students, whom Japanese media came to rely on, appeared to contribute columns regularly to *Semper Fi*. Tomita stressed.

In a sense, there was a division of labor at the Hobbit. The two youngest students, one of them was a minor, were kind of in charge of keeping eyes on the US military base and its activities. They were very bright. They were good at finding what was going on inside the base. They had some network in the base as well. They investigated, made reports, and disseminated the summary to the press. Because their information was so accurate, they were even trusted by the media. Press reporters came to hear from them. They were working hard on their mission, and we didn’t need to complain about it (Tomita, 2016, personal interview).

This sounds very Beheiren. Besides the two quirky rules, another common unwritten agreement of the Beheiren movement is “Do what you want to do, and don’t complain about what others do.” The Beheiren movement was fundamentally based on individuals. Each individual did what they wanted to do, nobody interfered, and everyone respected the individual choice. This was easy to say and hard to do around the time when New Left student activists were killing each other due to slight ideological differences.

When the opening day of the Hobbit neared, *Semper Fi* announced the name of the coffeehouse right before the opening. It describes what GIs expected from the GI coffeehouse.

This coffeehouse is for us, the G.I.s, so that we have a place to unwind and relax, to escape the stress of military hassles for a few hours. It also provides a chance to meet and understand the

Japanese people and their culture. A friendship that's not a monetary exchange with a "sweet cream lady"... This coffeehouse is for us and our needs—the normal realm of food, drinks, and music, there will be ample opportunity to rap with other people from the base... There will be free literature and a lending library. A lawyer from the National Lawyers Guild and a trained civilian counsellor are available if you have any legal questions or hassles or just want to rap about something. Both are very knowledgeable in military matters and donate their services to G.I.s. Movies will soon be available, as well as a book store to supplement the library. The coffeehouse will be what you make it. Come on out the next time you're looking for something to do, somewhere to go, or someone to talk to (Semper Fi #3-3, 1972, p. 16).

This shows that GIs in Iwakuni around the time were eager to educate themselves in an environment where they felt safe and supported. "A lawyer from the National Lawyers Guild" in this announcement was Seitz, who represented GIs at hundreds of court-martials in Asia. I asked Seitz why he decided to come to Japan. He said they first went to Paris as they were initially going to Vietnam from there. Everything was smooth initially in terms of applying for a visa to Vietnam in Paris, but when they returned to get the visa they were supposed to get, they were refused. Seitz thinks that they made a mistake by meeting a North Vietnamese person the day before. That was why they changed the destination to Japan. As the National Executive Director of the National Lawyers Guild, he had organized legal support work and projects in conjunction with the "Chicago 7" conspiracy trial, coordinated legal representation for the Black Panther Party and other organizations, assisted in the establishment of regional NLG offices which provided legal defense for demonstrators and political activists, set up the NLG Military Law Office, and produced two NLG conventions in Washington, D.C. (1970) and Boulder, Colorado (1971). He reflected how his career started.

I started (services for military personnel) because when I was at law school (at UC Berkeley), my first year, my draft board wanted to draft me into the military, so they sent me a draft notice and a big battle occurred. I eventually got them to back off. As a consequence of that experience I became expert in the draft. That started about 1966, and did about 1000 draft cases and won every case...but eventually made a transition and we made a very political policy decision...let other people do draft cases, and we started to just do military. Because that was where real resistance was taking place...NLG encouraged us to train lawyers to work with coffeehouses and projects,

so we happened to do it in the US for maybe two years before I went to Asia (Seitz, 2016, personal interview).

As one of Hawai'i's civil rights lawyers, who also has expertise in criminal defense and military/veterans law, Seitz still enthusiastically defends military personnel. In fact, he was the attorney who represented Lt. Ehren Watada, the first Iraq war officer who refused to deploy to Iraq in 2006. Watada believed that because the war was illegal, he did not want his troop to commit war crimes. It was big news in the antiwar community in Hawai'i. I was following the development, attended a mock trial at the Law School in the University of Hawai'i, and that was how I got to know his name. I was surprised to see the name, Eric Seitz, written in Japanese in the *Beheiren Nyūsu* decade later. Like many former Beheiren activists, Seitz still works with the spirit of a civic activist.

Opening of the Hobbit during the United Red Army Incidents

In February 1972, Nakagawa, Tomita and Washino had finished training how to make good coffee in a nearby coffeeshop. They were ready for the opening of the GI coffeehouse. People in Japan were, however, glued to the TV around that time, the entire nation was experiencing a great shock because of the *Asama Sansō Siege* incident by the United Red Army (*Rengō Sekigun*) that has still traumatized Japan to this day. Because this event greatly affected the Hobbit and Beheiren as a whole, I will briefly introduce the drama.

On February 19, 1972, six days before the opening of the Hobbit, a radical group called the United Red Army, took a housewife hostage and holed up in a company's resort lodge in mountainous Karuizawa in Nagano prefecture. The group had formed the previous year from

remnants of the United Red Army Faction and the underground wing of a Maoist group called Keihin Ampo Kyōtō, and merged group had gone into the mountains to avoid the police in the fall of 1971. Ten persons who were with the United Red Army had already been put on the nationwide wanted list, and their wanted posters were displayed in all the train stations and police boxes (Steinhoff, 1991b, pp. 199-200). The United Red Army members used stolen guns against the police during the standoff, which was very rare in Japan. The police did not storm into the lodge for days for fear of harming the hostage. Rescuing the hostage alive was the top priority in Japan. Standoff continued, and people were glued to the TV for days.

The *Hobbit* opened in Iwakuni during this ongoing standoff on February 25, 1972. Nakagawa (2009), the first student-owner of the *Hobbit*, noted the Asama Sansō Siege in his diary, “Looks like there are live broadcasts on the United Red Army, but we don’t have TV at the *Hobbit*” (p. 124). Older Beheiren activists had been worried about the potential effect of the United Red Army drama on the young Beheiren activists who were about to open the *Hobbit*, because they knew that police were good at starting harassment with the most vulnerable aspect of a group once they decided to destroy them (Nakagawa, 2009, p. 133). Therefore, two adult Beheiren activists from Kyoto visited the *Hobbit* on the second day of the opening just to check how the younger activists were doing. Other adult activists also took turns visiting the *Hobbit* to make sure things were fine.

During my interviews with the former Beheiren activists who were the same age cohort as the New Left students, they all mentioned this United Red Army incident. I could see the lasting impact of the United Red Army incident on them. Tomita and Washino stressed, “Indeed, the *otona* (the adults) were really really worried about us, really seriously.” According to Washino, the concerns of Tsurumi and other adults’ had grounds because young Beheiren

activists like Washino, Tomita, and Nakagawa, especially those from Kyoto/Osaka area like them, had lots of acquaintances among the New Left student groups who had controlled their schools' student-run organizations. The Red Army Faction (*Sekigunha*) was strong at both Kyoto University and Doshisha University, as well as several other schools in the region.

New Left students had been engaging in *uchigeba* (infighting) throughout the 1960s, but it intensified between 1969 and early 1970s as violent killing among them made headlines. The development of the New Left factions was too complex for the public to follow, and no one knew what was really going on with them. Steinhoff (2013) articulated that while many students withdrew from activism after the 1969 University of Tokyo conflict, increased police pressure further radicalized small groups that then went underground (p. 152). Two such groups with different orientation merged to form the United Red Army out of convenience (Steinhoff, 2013, p. 153). Revolutionary Left (the underground wing of Keihin Ampo Kyōtō) had stolen guns and ammunition from a gun shop, while the Red Army Faction had money from a series of robberies of banks and post offices.

Indeed, Japan witnessed chaotic murders among the New Left students over and over in early 1970s. They were literally at war killing each other. That was when Nakagawa, Tomita, and Washino entered the university, just a couple of years later than Sekiya and Yoshioka. Therefore, Beheiren adults' worries were quite reasonable. Parents who had college age children around the time naturally worried about the impact of the highly ideological and violent New Left students on their children. Nakagawa (2009) related an episode with his mother that reflected the common reaction of the ordinary citizen. His mother gave him money to go to the barber shop and buy a new set of clothes because, "You'll be taken for a Red Army member if you have dirty appearance" (p. 139). Washino reflected, "We were dangerously close to them

(the violent New Left students).” Born in 1949 and 1950, Nakagawa, Tomita, and Washino, were among the youngest micro-cohort of the young Beheiren activists, and they felt that if they were a couple of years older, they might have gotten involved with the Red Army. “Who knows?” said Washino. Tsurumi Shunsuke had been worried all along, but especially after this sensational incident. Washino recalled.

Because we opened the Hobbit during the United Red Army’s Asama Villa incident, adults were very worried about us. There were five of us, living together in the Hobbit. Adults were seriously worried and made sure that the five of us would not kill each other...Tsurumi often invited us to come to Kyoto to have dinner together. He told us, “*If you are tired of running the Hobbit, you can quit, and there’s no problem quitting. Don’t worry about what to do with the Hobbit. You don’t need to worry what would happen to the Hobbit if you quit, OK?*” Tsurumi was really worried about our social environment (Washino, personal interview, 2016).

Despite the adults’ worries, the Hobbit attracted the local community. Antiwar GIs and local youth stopped by the Hobbit, decorated by empty can lampshades and playing music of the time. Just as the UFO quickly became popular among high school students and dissident college students in Fort Jackson, South Carolina, the Hobbit became the center of counterculture in the base town of Iwakuni. Like the GI coffeehouses in the US, Hobbit offered simple food and soft drink, but no alcohol was served. The *Semper Fi* reported the opening of the Hobbit with a map.

On the 25th of February the Hobbit had its grand opening. The atmosphere was beautiful, Japanese and GIs rapping over cups of coffee and cocoa, listening to the music of famous American and Japanese artists. Every room was filled; people browsing through the library, as well as a rap room filled with guys talking with the two lawyers, who are here. The tables were filled in the main room, people eating curry rice, spaghetti, and BLTs, getting it on to John Coltrane. If you haven’t been there, you better check it out, because you’ll be missing something that was created for and by you. If you don’t go, you’ll be ripped off a very personal friend. YOU!! (Semper Fi #3-4, 1972, p. 1).

This description shows that the Hobbit contained everything that was needed in the GI coffeehouse—music, library, and counseling service, and people they can talk with—characteristics of the antiwar GI coffeehouse that Gardner identified. The *Semper Fi* reported on

the Hobbit in the next issue as well. It indicated that the Hobbit was becoming an oasis in a gloomy base town.

A small little coffeehouse, free to the public...it is operated by people who believe in freedom of the peoples. One small place of freedom in an oppressed city...The GIs of Iwakuni are oppressed to the fullest...The coffeehouse gives you a chance at life. It is very inspirational with its rap room, library, and the coffeehouse itself. There is music for everyone (Semper Fi #3-5, 1972, p. 3).

Seitz, who lived in the second floor of the Hobbit, described what it was like inside the coffeeshop.

I lived there. They were opening the Hobbit when I was in Iwakuni. I had my own room upstairs. That was very good experience. It was a very nice place too. Very popular with a lot of younger Japanese in the community. People were out on the street every day, distributing literature and talking to them. Inside the Hobbit, we had a nice little library. There were a lot of books that I remember from the black liberation movement, so Eldridge Cleaver, Malcolm X, W.E.B. du Bois. There were a whole lot of things pretty much just for black people because black soldiers couldn't get anything. A lot of that was there. We of course had newspapers and periodicals from the antiwar movement. We had music from the 60s that was popular with young military people. It was very nice. We would sit and talk with people about what they were reading and what was going on...They were angry. Good situation politically. They were drawn to me because I had ties to all those black radical groups I had previously been involved with. I had a lot to talk about with them. Very wonderful relationships (Seitz, 2016, personal interview).

GIs liked the little library because they could access the literature that was not available in the base. GIs also could benefit from talking with PCS counselors and lawyers. Likewise, music was an essential and integral part of the Hobbit. It was music that played an important role for the young Beheiren activists when communicating with American deserters and GIs. In fact, Yoshioka stressed that when he stayed with deserters, they talked a lot about music, like “that was the only thing we could talk about” (Yoshioka, 2016, personal interview).

According to Tomita (2017), Bob Dylan was a solid No. 1, but they did not put so much emphasis on traditional folk songs, and played a good mix of rock, jazz, and Japanese rock music. Tomita's recollection reflects the music scene of the early 1970s.

For the Beatles, *Abby Road*, *White Album*, *Sergeant Pepper*, were often played. For the Rolling Stones, there were many that we played, but I liked *Let It Bleed*. John Lennon's *Imagine* was also a regular. Santana, Pink Floyd, Cream, Led Zeppelin, Jimi Hendrix, Doors were also frequently played. Others also played often were the Who, Janis Joplin, Neil Young, CSNY, Carol King, King Crimson, Stevie Wonder, Jefferson Airplane, Deep Purple, Traffic, Simon and Garfunkel, Paul Butterfield, and James Taylor...GIs brought Joni Mitchel, Moody Blues, Jethro Tull, Yes, and Woodstock! Also, CCR and Leon Russell too. Some of us liked jazz, so John Coltrane, Miles Davis, Billie Holiday, Weather Report, Bill Evans, Thelonious Monk, were frequently played as well. As for Japanese musicians, Asakawa Maki, Happy End, Okabayashi Nobuyasu, Endo Kenji were frequently played (Tomita, 2017, Personal communication).

These are exquisite selections of music that have lasted well beyond the 1960s and the 1970s. In a small rural base town of Iwakuni, spending time off-base, listening to such music, speaking freely, exchanging and getting information, spending time in a cozy library, even receiving legal consulting services must have been a transformative experience for GIs and local youth.



Photo 8.18. Christmas Gig at the Hobbit. Tomita (left), American lawyer (middle), bassist from Hiroshima (right). December 25, 1972. (Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki).

On February 28, 1972, the fourth day of the Hobbit's opening, the police in Karuizawa finally acted to end the standoff of the *Asama Sansō* (Asama Villa), using a wrecking ball and

water cannons. This final day of the siege was watched live by over 90% of the television viewing audience in a marathon live broadcast lasting 10 hours and 40 minutes (Steinhoff, 2013, p. 153). This high number of viewers demonstrated the amount of attention that the Japanese public paid to this drama. While the hostage was safe, two police officers and one bystander had been shot to death by the United Red Army during the siege. It did not end there, and the real nightmare began weeks later when police revealed that fourteen members had been killed in a deadly internal purge. The details were so horrendous, the whole society recoiled, which in turn allowed the society to shut the door on that contentious period as an aberration (Steinhoff, 2013, pp. 154-157). This incident remains very traumatic up to this day, and the term, “Rengō Sekigun (United Red Army)” is still used in Japan to describe something dreadfully violent or totally abnormal, or dangerous people. No one wanted to talk about it in public, let alone study it (Steinhoff, 2013, p. 158). This became a career-killing subject for academics.

Under this gloomy social environment, Beheiren chose Iwakuni as the place to hold its annual national meeting to support the newly born Hobbit and encourage the young activists. On March 19-20, 1972, within a month after the Hobbit was open, Beheiren activists across the nation headed to Iwakuni. Their annual meeting was a big event because that was the only occasion to meet other activists and to find out who was in the movement. However, Washino reflected that because of the daily media coverage on the revelations of the United Red Army purge, everybody (who attended the annual meeting) was so gloomy. He said that the United Red Army purge really affected everyone, enormously (Washino, 2016, personal interview). *Semper Fi* also reported about this “National Beheiren Meeting” during which three topics—the Vietnam War, the United Red Army purge, the reversion of Okinawa—were discussed. *Semper Fi* explained about the United Red Army to American GIs, who knew nothing about them, and

stated their position on this matter. They described the United Red Army as Japan's super-radical party.

Over 100 people attended from all over Japan. The Conference concluded with a demonstration to the base...Another great problem for us was the so-called purge of its members by the "United Red Army," Japan's super-radical party. Red Army was begun in 1969 after the defeat of the student struggle against Japan's "self-defense" forces. After a nation-wide search the United Red Army hid in the mountains. It was here that the so-called purge occurred. Although we do not support the shocking incident that took place, we disagree with the Right-wing reaction to the incident. The police have controlled the news of the incident so that they have received front-page coverage for many days in the Japanese newspapers. All over Japan there is a call for the dismissal of many of liberal educators and journalists...we decided that we must do what we can to combat these repressive measures. Although we would like to see a "peaceful" Japan, we don't think that it should be a peace of 'fear' (Semper Fi #3-6, 1972, pp. 3-4).

This was written by American GIs who were stationed in Iwakuni. They seemed to have studied about the incident and some history of Japan's New Left movement, although they confused the student struggle as being "against Japan's self-defenses," which in fact it was mostly waged against police—both riot police and security police. This piece shows that through interacting with the Hobbit staff and local communities, GIs in Iwakuni were paying attention to the world outside their base, their protected territory. This was another benefit of the grassroots transpacific activism.

The Hobbit Staff

Eric Gardner was the master planner of the GI coffeehouse movement who had a thorough vision of the project. His vision included the quality of the staff. Gardner believed that a counterculture coffeehouse, staffed by young civilian radicals, could provide a gateway to a more concentrated antiwar activism on the part of soldiers (Parsons, 2017, p. 18). The Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (MOBE) also pointed out the desired qualification of the coffeehouse staff as not those of political activists but those who are warm,

friendly, open, and are willing to listen so that soldiers feel at home and unthreatened in the coffeehouse (Parsons, 2017, p. 25).



Photos 8.19. Hobbit in Iwakuni. Nakagawa Roppei (1950-2013), right with hat. Summer 1972. (Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki).

Reading the book about the Hobbit, written by the late Nakagawa, the first manager of the Hobbit, and spending some time with Tomita and Washino in 2016 and 2017, I saw these characteristics within them that Gardner and the Mobe identified. According to Seitz, the Hobbit ‘kids’ were good at making GIs comfortable.

They were not so ideological to frighten American soldiers, which sometimes happens in antiwar movements with strong ideology. All they did was to talk about things and read things. We were criticized for being too general but one of the things we deliberately tried to do was try to get a sense of the country where they were stationed, as previously they were told not to relate to locals, not talk, be very aloof...dangerous, they don’t like you here...etc. Having GIs get some understanding that there were a lot of people in Japan who don’t like the military, and there was history that developed it. That’s why it was important for them to meet some Japanese people to get the sense that they were people like them, a much broader spectrum, what’s going on in the world (Seitz, 2016, personal interview).

This recollection shows how the US military during the Vietnam War was not only promoting anti-communism by instilling fear against communism into GIs, which was the

absolute “No” in the US, but also fear of ‘different’ people and culture where they would be stationed. It was much easier and safer for the military authority to isolate GIs from the local communities. The Hobbit staff, along with American civic activists simply broke through that nonsense.

Tomita, born in 1949, started to get involved with Beheiren, through Suzuki Masaho, who held the three-day UFO coffeehouse at the school festival in 1969. They were both students at Doshisha University in Kyoto. According to Tomita, nobody talked about deserters at the time despite people around him were helping them. On the other hand, Washino, from Fukuoka, Kyushu, which is the south westernmost island of Japan’s mainland, started to get involved with Beheiren after an American fighter bomber Phantom crashed into the computer center under construction at Kyushu University in June 1968. It was a shocking experience for Washino.

In my senior year at high school, I knew I should oppose the war, but didn’t know how. When I met the Beheiren people, they told me, “If you want it, just do it.” I was like “Can I?” Then the Phantom crash happened. It was the Phantom either going to or coming back from Vietnam. That created an uproar in Fukuoka. They started the monthly demonstration group on every 10th of the month and they met Beheiren along the way. Looking at that, I thought, “Oh...here they are. Why don’t I join them?” Around the time, there were study groups with the cram-school students. I was bored and suggested that we get out into the street. We timidly joined the demonstration. Then, they welcomed us! Something was liberated within me. Tomita was already a student, I was a cram school student...I’m the last generation (of being able to fully engage in Beheiren). But there were plenty of high school students. They came to the Hobbit (Washino, 2016, personal interview).

This story shows that Beheiren was not the only anti-Vietnam War group. Beheiren students who started the Hobbit, including Tomita and Washino, were antiwar students, but not necessarily New Left radicals like their fellow students who were armed with helmets and fighting poles. Both Washino and Tomita had classmates who belonged to the New Left groups. While they were ‘scared’ of those armed New Left students, they also engaged in antiwar

activism. In the politically heated environment of the late 1960s and early 1970s Japan, students were naturally radicalized in varying degrees, and doing nothing probably was the harder choice.

In fact, the energy of activism had impact even on the customers of the Hobbit. Iwase Jōko, now an author of children's literature with many awards, is a native of Iwakuni, and was a regular customer of the Hobbit. She recalled that at first, "Everyone in the Hobbit seemed to be unapproachable." But soon, the Hobbit staff gave her an opportunity to think over her small town Iwakuni and what the US military base did to the town. Eventually it changed her life.

I went to the Hobbit when I was young. It gave me an opportunity, for the first time, to think what the US military base was doing in this small town. The US base used to be called "Kōkū-tai (Japanese flying corps during the WWII)." In early 1970s, Oda Makoto came to Iwakuni for lectures and demonstrations, and I learned that Iwakuni was deeply involved in the Vietnam War...then the Hobbit came after that. Those people (pointing to Tomita and Washino) told me, "We'll do things our way. If you have doubts about it, do it your way"...I thought, "That's right! It's my life! I should think by myself and do what I want in my way...I'll do that too!" There were so many cultural events at the Hobbit, and there were poets and writers. It was interesting, very interesting! I met many 'big' people there who didn't make us feel they were 'big' (Iwase, 2016, personal interview).

Iwase was at the time working in Iwakuni City office, and she was a 'follower' of the lone Iwakuni Beheiren. Tsurumi Shunsuke introduced Iwase to a writer of children's literature who was also teaching at a University in Kyoto. Iwase then started to sit in his class and learned a lot from him. Therefore, Iwase attributes her career to the Hobbit.

My life as a writer of children's literature started at the Hobbit. In that sense, although I didn't get so involved with the antiwar activism, I was influenced by the Hobbit" (Iwase, 2016, personal interview).

Iwase's first book, *Asa ha dandan miete kuru* [Beginning to see the dawn] (1977), is a tribute to the Hobbit. Iwase's reflection shows that the culture of the Hobbit was supportive. Seitz described the Hobbit's working environment as follows.

Everybody was reading and having long talks about what we were doing, and what we should be doing, and they do self-criticism, and they were really really fabulous people to work with. They had camaraderie, commitment, everything was just phenomenal. I just can't imagine a better working situation, for me particularly wonderful. Young kids were working, and these older Japanese people...just incredible people in their own right, and I was just so impressed by their wisdom. It was phenomenal. For me it was just one of the most amazing experiences in my life. Yep! It was great! They worked on principle, they were very straightforward, and they were very mature (Seitz, 2016, personal interview).



Photo 9.20. Tomita (with hat) in the Hobbit. (Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki).



Photo 9.21. Washino, watching the demonstration by the Hobbit. Summer 1973 (Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki).

Eric Gardner envisioned the role of coffeehouse staff as essentially supporting and nurturing antiwar sentiment among GIs, offering them a safe environment and organizational skills to foster the development of their own political activities, as that will eventually connect the antiwar movement with the antiwar GIs (Parsons, 2017, pp. 19-23). His vision came true, and it was an unwelcome development to the authorities. Not surprisingly, the GI coffeehouse created intense concern among the US military authorities and government officials because they were an undeniable threat to the military hierarchy (Parsons, 2017, p. 65). Situated as the very bottom of the US military hierarchy, Japanese government followed whatever the US military wanted them to do, including repressing Japanese citizens, who were inconvenient for the US

military. Getting involved with the GI coffeehouse and underground GI newspaper was risky not only for the active-duty GIs, but for civilian activists as well. The Hobbit-related activists constantly faced harassment and intimidation from authorities, which had been the case in the GI coffeehouses in the US.

Repression

The Hobbit was opened when its counterparts in the US had mostly shut down because of the concerted efforts of military authorities and the local communities to repress them. Not surprisingly, the emergence of the antiwar coffeehouse in a small base town of Iwakuni also attracted Japanese security police and the US military authorities as well. Because the Hobbit was located in Japan, which was supposed to be a sovereign state, the ways the US military harassed the Hobbit were not as direct and violent as in the US. It was mainly done by Japanese police who were obviously cooperating with the US military officials. Even before the opening of the Hobbit, Nakagawa was threatened by local public security police officers, “We’ll make sure that you cannot live in this town!” (Nakagawa, 2009, p. 114).

For the Japanese police who had demonstrated their willingness and ability to repress the University of Tokyo conflict and the New Left student movement, Beheiren was perceived as not extremely radical, but Left enough to keep eyes on. As the Hobbit was a student-run coffeeshop that worked with the ‘radical’ American activists, the public security police must have paid special attention to anything Hobbit. Ms. Z believed that the Hobbit and its staff were watched all along, as when she sent a box of home-made cookies to the Hobbit, it was delivered there opened (Ms. Z, 2016, personal interview). Seitz also detailed his experience of repressive authorities.

I was threatened several times. At one point in Iwakuni, I was walking some place and we had security precautions, but at one point, I was walking, and a car chased me off the road and tried to hit me, so that was kind of scary. We were constantly stopped by the Japanese police. Constantly. It was like a regular game where they would watch us, they would follow us, so we would wave to them, and we were smart. Sometimes they'd get embarrassed, so they would stop. One time we went from Iwakuni to Hiroshima, and we changed trains, and they got furious because they thought we were taking steps to evade them. Then they stopped us and threw us up against a wall while they questioned us and asked for our ID (Seitz, 2016, personal interview).

Semper Fi in 1972 also reported how the US military authorities intimidated lawyers who would represent antiwar GIs.

Brother OXOX was refused the right to be represented by a qualified lawyer, Mr. Ono, who had been practicing at Iwakuni, his civilian lawyer, Eric Seitz and Sander Harp, were harassed...but at the end, WE WON (*Semper Fi* #3-5, 1972, p. 2).

Seitz confirmed what *Semper Fi* described as the US military's treatment of antiwar GIs.

I did lots of cases and trials. If GIs got involved politically with us, one day, they were just gone. Sent to Okinawa, more often sent back to the US...They wanted to get rid of them, they just picked the one and they'd be gone. The military were very worried about the impact of these people, especially if they were articulate, if they were respected by other people. They didn't want them to stay. So, the best way if you want to get away in Iwakuni was to get involved with us, and that's what happened. There was constant turnover, people writing the newspaper (*Semper Fi*)...as soon as we found out they were caught, they were gone. There were some who wanted to stay because they enjoyed what was going on, but many of them hated the Marine Corps at that point. So that was the way to get out. Many people came to us, we filed application to be discharged, as CO or something else, everybody got out at one time or another. Because if they were involved with us, the Marine Corps didn't want them. The Navy people came to us too. The Navy operated medical facilities there (Seitz, 2016, personal interview).

The US military police stepped up and started harassing not only their GIs but Japanese civilians, which was unacceptable to many Japanese. When a few Hobbit staff was caught by the MPs, they contributed their experience in *Semper Fi*.

On March 3. We were caught by MP's when we got into base for Brother Hunt's Court Martial, and were taken to PMO. They asked us our name, address, the date of birth, and they took a picture of our face forcibly....Now we could know, by way of experience that a part of military pigs greed (great)...It is an everyday experience for GIs that the lie, discrimination, disagreeableness, oppression, such is tyranny of military...We should disclose to the people, it is our support toward GI's fight against military. We continue to attend Court Martials to support our brothers in their struggle. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE! (*Semper Fi* #3-5, 1972, p. 12).

One of the common tactics that the US military authorities used to arrest GIs was taking them in for ‘possession of marijuana,’ staged by MPs or the Japanese police. They would ‘find’ marijuana in GIs belongings so that they could arrest GIs, but the real purpose was to ask them questions about their relationship with *Semper Fi* and the American Servicemen’s Union (Beheiren Nyūsu #60, 1970, p. 2; Dassōhei Tsūshin #13, 1970, p.2). In fact, two ASU members were arrested in the train from Iwakuni to Hiroshima by Japanese police based on a made-up story (Beheiren Nyūsu #60, 1970, p. 2). Therefore, according to Seitz, one thing they were extremely careful about, and had ‘very very strong rules’ about was the use of marijuana or drugs, not because they had objections to smoking marijuana but because it was the way to trap people and harass them.

In fact when I was in Iwakuni, where one of the young guys was handing out the literature and he had a backpack and one of the people across the street saw somebody walk up and put something in his backpack that turned out to be marijuana. So, there were efforts to try to plant things and to harass us, and we were all very worried about that. We were constantly vigilant, so we wouldn’t give them ammunition. When they wanted to attack us for politics, then that was fine because that would create public controversy. But we didn’t give them excuses to do other things (Seitz, 2016, personal interview).

On June 4, 1972, just over three months after its opening, the Hobbit was raided by 23 Japanese policemen for alleged violation of the Firearm and Sword Control Law (Nakagawa, 1998, p. 166). The law, which started since 1910, basically prohibits possessing the guns and swords. In a country where only few people possess guns, the Hobbit staff had no idea what was going on. The police were trying to search for a non-existent ‘gun’ but what they were actually looking for around the house was materials related to the military base, GI movement, personal diaries and letters (Beheiren Nyūsu #81, 1972, p. 2). Nothing was found.

This was a far-fetched made-up story by several regional police. It started when a former New Left student was arrested in Hiroshima, and it was alleged that he had delivered a gun from

the US base to the Red Army. Four days before on May 30, 1972, the Lod Airport massacre in Tel Aviv, Israel by Japan Red Army, had occurred, and the police tried to allege that the Hobbit was the center of connecting the Japan Red Army, PCS, even the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). Hiroshima and Iwakuni police claimed that Okamoto Kōzō, the surviving member of the Lod Airport attack team, confessed that he had been trained in Japan using arms from the US military (Nakagawa, 2009, p. 169). These were all false. The whole development was a bolt from the blue for the Hobbit staff. Nothing was found in the house search. Apparently, police used the arrest of a New Left student, and took advantage of the Lod Airport massacre for their convenience.

This artless made-up search showed that police were waiting for the right moment to repress the Hobbit. Although it was all false, damage, which was the purpose of the police, was already done, because the stories were spread through the media. Beheiren's adults, including Tsurumi Shunsuke and Ono Nobuyuki came from Kyoto to protest at the Iwakuni police station and held a press conference. The neighborhood community supported the Hobbit by printing home-made leaflets.

Amid the unreasonable house search, we sensed the ominous monster called 'power.' As long as we are alone, we are powerless against it. In that sense, the *raison d'être* of the "Hobbit" in our town Iwakuni is big. If the "Hobbit," the symbol of peace, was crushed, it is a shame for the citizens of Iwakuni. Let's all of us support the "Hobbit" (Nakagawa, 2009, p. 174).

This kind of community support was something that the GI coffeehouse projects in the US had rarely experienced. Because of the community support, the Hobbit moved on. But this was just a beginning of the repression. Soon after this police search, on June 22, an envelope was hand-delivered by the US Army Criminal Investigation Command (CID) to the Hobbit to inform them that the US Marine Corp formally ordered the Hobbit off-limits to GIs. The directive,

issued by Colonel H.L. Van Campen, officially declared the Hobbit “off-limits” because “the Hobbit is harmful to the wellbeing of GIs, and the safety of the base and the United States” (Beheiren Nyūsu #81, 1972, p. 2; Nakagawa, 2009, p. 177). This is exactly what happened to the coffeehouses in the US. The Shelter Half coffeehouse in Tacoma, Washington was the first GI coffeehouse project declared officially “Off limits” by military authorities (Parsons, 2017, p. 76).



Photos 8.22. Protesting Off-limits order of the Hobbit. 1972. (Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki).

Throughout its existence in Columbia, UFO was aggressively investigated by all levels of state, local, and federal government, and was eventually shut down for fire hazards and other ‘violations’ (Parsons, 2017, pp. 80-81). Off-limits orders were employed at many coffeehouses across the US. But this order was issued in Japan, and the press had been reporting on events in Iwakuni. The US military behavior angered the communities.

Beheiren Nyūsu rightly pointed out that the US military authority felt threatened by the presence of the transpacific networking of the Hobbit, PCS, and Beheiren. The Hobbit staff were aware of that. In fighting authorities, the Hobbit sued the Iwakuni police and the Hiroshima

police for defamation, obstruction of business, and abuse of power (Beheiren Nyūsu #81, 1972, p. 2). Nakagawa, as the representative of the Hobbit, along with nine GIs, also filed a lawsuit against Col. Van Campen in the Federal Court of the United States in Washington D.C. (Beheiren Nyūsu #81, 1972, p. 2; Nakagawa, 2009, p. 181). They also fought up to the high court in Hiroshima until they lost in May 1980 (Nakagawa, 2009, p. 274).



Photo 8.23. Keep protesting Off-limits. Nakagawa (right), American lawyer (middle) Washino (left). Summer 1972. (Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki).



Photo 8.24. Tsurumi (middle) held press conference at the Hobbit. June 24, 1972. (Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki).

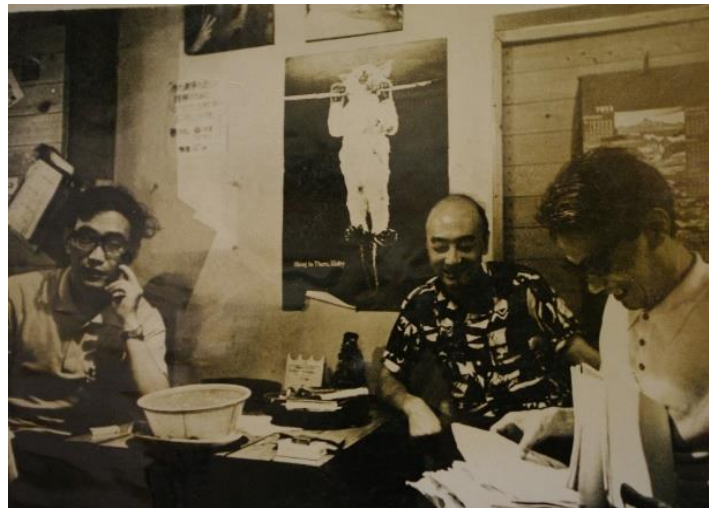


Photo 8.25. Preparing for the trials. Yoshikawa Yūichi (middle) came from Tokyo. Ishizaki Akitetsu (right) came from Fukuoka. (Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki).

This incident confirmed for Nakagawa that the state will never lose because it is the 'state' (Nakagawa, 2009, p. 274). It was totally OK for the US military authority to obstruct the business run by Japanese civilians in Japan by issuing off-limits while there is no reciprocal possibility. The Japanese police even systematically intimidated the customers of the Hobbit after the search. They wanted to make sure that people do not go to the Hobbit. Washino recalled.

The United Red Army effect was so overwhelmingly heavy on all of us...and we opened the coffeehouse on 2/25, and we tried our best to operate the project. Then the police search that alleged that we delivered guns to the Red Army through the US base. At the same time, the US military issued the Hobbit off-limits...after that, GI stopped coming. Japanese people also didn't come. We learned that there was harassment in their workplaces, and inquiries were made to their homes and schools. So although they wanted to come to the Hobbit, it was a bit scary...it was understandable for them to wonder if what police and news reported about the gun smuggling was true...so the number of customers dropped drastically. In the movement, when things go well, we can just move forward, going outward, but when it was becoming hard to just keep running, we would be in low spirits, and then would be at odds with other staff who live together...that was Beheiren's adults' biggest concern... So they frequently came to the Hobbit, just to chat about nothing in particular, and telling us "Don't worry." I think they wanted to make sure that we would not kill each other (Washino. 2016, personal interview).

Washino's narrative may sound exaggerated, but in the context of the early 1970s Japan when the armed New Left students were engaging in killing each other, Beheiren's adults' concern for the Hobbit staff, who were also students, was understandable. Washino pointed out.

Our project, the Hobbit, was different from other Beheiren projects. In most Beheiren activities, you can participate when you can, and you can quit anytime...but we had to be physically in the coffeeshop every day to operate it, and to support the GI movement...so we couldn't just quit (Washino. 2016, personal interview).

This is an important element of why Beheiren's adults were particularly worried about them. The Beheiren movement was based on individual freedom. The older Beheiren activists knew well, by their experiences, about the danger of group dynamics. The Hobbit staff lived together in the Hobbit and were responsible for operating the coffeehouse daily, unlike other

Beheiren activists who could choose when and what activities to take part in. When nonviolence was their principle, violent incidents should never happen in the Beheiren movement. Out of concern, older Beheiren activists took turns visiting the Hobbit to make sure that there was no sign of antagonism among the staff, and that they didn't kill each other.

Despite all the false and negative media reports, it was fortunate that the neighboring community in Iwakuni was mostly sympathetic and supportive of the Hobbit. One local customer contributed a comment in the newsletter questioning the state authority's overpowering the Hobbit's efforts for 'peace.'

What do you think of the roar of the ten jets flying over our head in the evening? We have been accustomed to the noise...but thanks to the Hobbit, I started to pay more attention to the noise...It's been my pleasure to have the Hobbit in town that provides us reasonably priced food, but more than anything, because of their efforts for peace, my desire for peace welled up in me...before, I had a hazy feeling. It is unacceptable to oppress the desire for peace as if it were unreasonable. Media, which is supposed to be neutral, is spreading the wrong news...How the state power suppresses the will of civilian, whose rights are protected by the Constitution? We need the Hobbit with no interference by the state power. I believe that we can see the true Peace through the Hobbit (Beheiren News, Special Issue, 1972, pp. 27-28).

This was written by an ordinary citizen of Iwakuni, who probably had unsettled feeling toward the US base in her town but was not quite sure what it was. The actions taken by the Japanese police and the US military authorities made her realize the position that her hometown stood in the world. Unlike the cases of coffeehouses in the US, where coffeehouse and its staff were harassed by authorities and the hostile neighbors, the Hobbit was relatively supported by the Iwakuni community. This reflects the fact that the US bases in the US are generally supported by the community as opposed to the US bases abroad where they are not always supported by the local communities. For ordinary citizens of Japan, there was no reason to support the US military authorities in such an unpopular war but there were plenty of reasons to support the projects that opposed that particular war.

The fact that Col. Van Campen in the MCAS Iwakuni ordered the Hobbit off-limits showed that the existence of the Hobbit, a small private business, in its ‘territory’ annoyed them unequivocally. Just as the war against the small country of Vietnam was assisted by the Japanese government, repression against the Hobbit by the US military was assisted by Japanese authorities. This was the indisputable nature and pattern of Japan-US relations, as well as the nature of ‘individual vs. state.’ It posed a big question on Japan’s sovereignty—a long-held question since the US occupation and the 1960 ANPO protest—to all who were involved in the movement and the base town community. It is ironic that while American and Japanese activists worked tirelessly to end the senseless war in solidarity, American and Japanese authorities also worked hard in liaison to oppress people who opposed their questionable foreign policies.

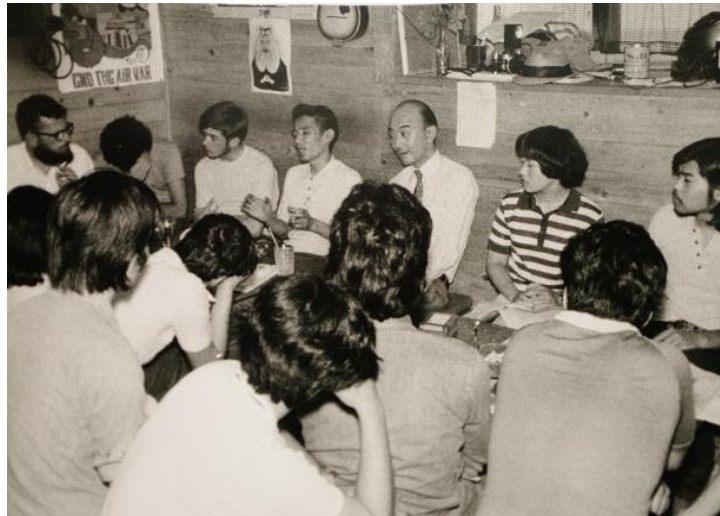


Photo 8.26. During the Dream Week of the Hobbit. Yoshikawa Yūichi in the center. July 2, 1972.
(Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki).

To improve the situation after the repression, Tsurumi Shunsuke launched a series of lectures in the Hobbit. The “Dream week of the Hobbit” was held the week of July 2-9, 1972.

Yoshikawa Yūichi, Nakao Hajime, Kasahara Yoshimitsu, Hashimoto Mineo, Okabayashi Nobuyasu, Ozawa Ryōko, and Oda Makoto took turns visiting the Hobbit to speak (Beheiren News, Special Issue, 1972, p. 8; Nakagawa, 2009, pp. 178-179). By sending this lineup of diverse and influential speakers to Iwakuni, Beheiren sent the clear message to the whole base town community that Beheiren took the off-limits matter seriously and that they would not be silenced.

Overall, the overreaction of the US military showed that the GI coffeehouse was effective. Otherwise, how was it possible for a small coffeehouse like the Hobbit to be a threat to the ‘wellbeing of GIs, the safety of the base, and the United States’ when the reality was that it was the US military ‘stationed’ in Japan who threatened the citizen of Japan. In his affidavit, Nakagawa clearly stated that the coffeehouse was legitimate, at the same time implying the illegitimacy of questionable process, or no process, of declaring it off-limits (See Appendix D). It also shows the obvious cooperation of the Japanese authorities.

5. The Hobbit is licensed by Iwakuni City to operate and is in no way violating any city, prefectural, or national laws in its operation.

6. That the Hobbit has in the past attracted large numbers of American servicemen, largely because of the fact that the Hobbit features posters and programs, all of which are legal under both American and Japanese law, which opposed America’s involvement in Vietnam.

7. That the first notice that the Hobbit was “off-limits” was when a Japanese man came to the Hobbit at about 11:00 AM on 22 June 1972 and delivered a letter signed by H.L. Van Campen advising that the Hobbit was “off-limits.” This was the first time anyone had advised your affiant that the Hobbit was no in conformity with any base regulation or order or anything of the sort.

8. Your affiant is still not advised why the action placing the Hobbit “off-limits” was taken.

9. The action of the Station Commander, H.L. Van Campen, is arbitrary, unreasonable, capricious, and unexplained. Further, it seriously affects your affiants right to carry on business in Iwakuni City. Also, it interferes with your affiants ability to communicate with American servicemen and discuss the war in Vietnam.

10. There exists no “cogent reason, and none has been communicated to your affiant, for the action taken by Van Campen. Further, there has been no procedure set out by Van Campen for a redress of his action.

Further, the quick reaction by American GIs against the off-limits order is noteworthy. They were angry and openly expressed their frustration in their unique satirical way. The 12 statements in the copy of the affidavit by sergeant James Schmok, witnessed by Lana F. Karp and Nakagawa, displayed the unreasonableness of making the Hobbit off-limits just to silence all involved. Here are some of the statements in the affidavit, which contained elements of the Hobbit and GIs that would certainly have bothered the authorities. (See Appendix D).

2. That he believes that the Hobbit Coffeehouse is one of the few places in Iwakuni where a GI can go and relax, enjoy pleasant music in a pleasant atmosphere, and not have to worry about being bothered by drunks, bar girls, or MPs.

4. The Hobbit has plentiful information and literature and thus, a person can learn about the other side of important issues instead of what the newspapers state or what we are told by our “superiors.”

5. Since he has been at Iwakuni he has met many GIs that come to the Hobbit. They are the kind of people who think for themselves and come to their own conclusions. Because of this, they may have conflict with the military way of life. These persons are not willing to let 3 or 4 years of their lives go by, sitting back and letting the Marine Corps do their thinking and making all their decisions.

6. Because of the above and ideas that are held by many of the GIs that come to the Hobbit, we, including myself, are involved in printing the paper, *Semper Fi*, which is put together at the Hobbit.

7. Through the *Semper Fi*, we try to reach many GIs on base who are not sure what to believe and present to these persons the “other side.”

8. There have never been any acts of violence at the Hobbit, nor use of drugs or alcohol.

9. Your affiant believes that the action of placing the Hobbit off limits will be irreparable harm if allowed to continue and cost the management damages in excess of \$10,000.

For the US military authorities who were uncomfortable with the emergence of independent thinkers from its rank-and-file GIs, such an affidavit by a Sergeant was regarded as defiant, which was the point. The affidavit reconfirmed the close relationship between GIs and the Hobbit. The *Semper Fi*, published after the off-limits, spelled out on the cover page, “We sincerely dedicate this issue to Colonel Heil L Van Campen, commanding *officer*, *MCAS Iwakuni*. *For all of the good work he’s done lately, we tip our hats*” (*Semper Fi* #3-12, 1972, p.

1). The issue reported extensively on the off-limits order. The *Semper Fi* kept its satire throughout its publication history and did not miss an opportunity to mock the authorities. By

this time, *Semper Fi* had a column called “Lifer of the month,” and on this issue, the honor was given to the ‘well-known figure,’ Colonel Heil L Van Campen, and was written in all capitals.

Flash!!! Super pig has done it again! HE HAS DECLARED THE HOBBIT “OFF LIMITS.” HE SAYS THE HOBBIT “DELETERIOUSLY AFFECTS THE WELFARE OF SUCH PERSONNEL” (US!). I GUESS WE MUST BE DOING SOMETHING RIGHT TO SCARE A BIG BRAVE MAN LIKE COLONEL VAN. AND PROVOKE HIM TO THIS ACTION WITHOUT ANY INVESTIGATION OR LEGAL GROUNDS. CONTRARY TO WHAT HE MAY THINK, HIS ACTION WILL NOT STOP THE GI MOVEMENT, WILL NOT STOP THE SEMPER FI, AND WILL NOT STOP US, THE PEOPLE, FROM FIGHTING TO END OPPRESSION AND RACISM AT IWAKUNI (*Semper Fi* #3-12, 1972, p. 7).

In the same issue, they even threw in announcement of a picnic on the Kintai bridge to celebrate the Fourth of July ‘Brig Riot’ that had occurred two years earlier. The tone is utmost cheerful. This certainly would have made the military officials further upset.

Hey kids!! When’s the last time you went to a real down home picnic?? Well, opportunity is knocking the same group of degenerates that brings you your *Semper Fi*, plus our Japanese friends, are putting on a picnic to celebrate the brig riot of 2 years ago on July 4th. Look for a red and blue flag at Kintai – that’s where we’ll be. Come on down to Kintai and enjoy yourself for a change. Remember, that’s Kintai on July 4th, between 1:00 and 6:00 pm. See you there. Celebrate the 1970 Brig Riot – Bring guitars, food, and drink...(*Semper Fi* #3-12, 1972, p. 16).

This clearly shows that by this late phase of the Vietnam War, GIs were already so sick of the war, and many of them appeared to be in “whatever’ mood. Acting in such a way in the hierarchical military system would have been unthinkable when the war started, and even today. *Semper Fi* continued to write about Col. Van Campen and the Hobbit, as well as Beheiren, in the several issues after the off-limits order. Even seven months later in 1973, they put the illustration of the Hobbit on its cover page, and repeatedly complained about the off-limits order.

In June of 72, under the command of Col. Van Campen, the Hobbit was placed off-limits. He said that “such activity had a significant adverse effect upon the welfare and morale or personnel of this command and tenant units” and “that continued relationships between the US Service personnel and Japanese National member of leftist Beheiren organization would adversely affect the relations between the government of Japan and the US” (plus a whole array of other superfluous bullshit). The “adverse effects” it was talking about was the counseling of GIs about their rights by civilian PCS and NLG counselors and lawyers, as well as the fact that the GI’s

used the Hobbit as a center for the publication of the *Semper Fi*. The off-limits order was illegal in that no investigation was held and no legal grounds were presented as reason for the issuance of the order. The order was a breach of the First and Sixth Amendments in that it was an attempt to stop our freedom of assembly and speech. And it was also an attempt to stop GI's from obtaining legal counsel of their choice...(Semper Fi #4-3, 1973, p. 1).

It is interesting that Col. Van Campen described the Hobbit staff as 'Japanese National member of leftist Beheiren organization.' It is unclear what Col. Van Campen meant by saying 'Japanese National (capitol N) member'; whether or not he meant that Beheiren people were Japanese nationals, or he thought there were national members. The *Semper Fi* repeatedly wrote about what Beheiren was, so GIs knew that there was no such a thing as "national member" of Beheiren, not alone, that Beheiren was a 'leftist organization.' This alone was enough for GIs and Beheiren to discredit Col. Van Campen's claim. It suggested that the Colonel knew nothing, or cared, of what was going on in Japan. As Seitz said, the US military authority does not like 'their' GIs befriended by the 'local' people. The US military creates a small 'United States' wherever their bases are, and they live an American way of life in their gated communities. Thus, the US bases are essentially 'America," not 'other' country. This kind of living arrangement inevitably creates the mental frame of 'us' and 'them.' They want their GIs' contacts with 'them' to be as minimum as possible. It was not the nuclear threat from another country but was transnational civic activism in a larger sense that threatened the US military even for a moment.

Later, it was revealed that the US military authority in Iwakuni were spreading the false rumor about the Hobbit when it was not even open. They labeled the coming Hobbit as 'communists' and described, "the Hobbit people were red, communists who are pursuing world revolution" (Beheiren News, Special Issue, 1972, pp. 8-9). It appears that they did not know that

there was a perception gap between the US and Japan toward the term, 'communist.' The term 'communist,' was a taboo word in America where anticommunist education was successfully enforced (up to this day), and the communist party is illegal, but labeling the Hobbit as communist was laughable in Japan where the term did not automatically stir allergic reaction like in the US. While the US government kept its out-of-date but convenient mentality of McCarthyism, Japan had the members of the Communist Party in the Diet, and people were not as intolerant toward communism compared to the US. It was even more interesting that the very next day after the MCAS Iwakuni issued the off-limits order to the Hobbit, they opened their own coffeehouse within the base, but GIs were working hard to get their rights back to go to the Hobbit. They collected the petition, and appealed to the US Congress (Beheiren News, Special Issue, 1972, p. 10). In addition, it was also reported that Col. Van Campen was sent to California soon after (Beheiren News, Special Issue, 1972, p. 10).

Meanwhile, Hobbit staff and young Beheiren from Kyoto and elsewhere kept coming to Iwakuni to support the Hobbit and GIs. The Photo 8.27 below is at the waiting room for the court-martial for a 19 years old GI who was arrested for violating the off-limits by coming to the Hobbit. Despite the repressive circumstances, the Hobbit staff and fellow activists kept their relaxed demeanor. On the Hobbit off-limits order, Yoshikawa Yūichi simply pointed out that the Hobbit had been the target, from Day One, if not before that, and it was not surprising that the 'off-limits project' was well orchestrated by the authorities of Japan and the US.

The US military authorities just did what they have been doing since 1945, with the cooperation of Japanese government who has been obeying the US all these years (Beheiren News, Special Issue, 1972, p. 17).



Photo 8.27. In support of GI in the waiting room outside a court-martial. Tomita (3rd from left), Suzuki Masaho (4th from left), Nakagawa (2nd from right), American student (right). September 26, 1972. (Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki).

“Iwakuni is a sad town,” said Iwase, who continues to live in Iwakuni.

Iwakuni is a sad town. Having this big base...there’s big government subsidy...it’s a town that relies on the base. Facilities for the US military, hundreds of houses for the US military...Japanese government pays for all of those. Same as Okinawa. I share the same feeling that people in Okinawa feel. I wonder why I live in such a sad town...there’s nothing pleasant here. What I see when I open the window is American military runway...Ospreys (American multi-mission tiltrotor aircraft) come so frequently...it’s awful...money is moving around, and people stopped ‘thinking,’ and do not think about issues related to the base. It’s really a sad town...Japan is an occupied nation of America, and that’s the reality of people in Iwakuni (Iwase, 2016, personal interview).

When I visited in 2016, Iwase informed me of the current and ongoing issues in Iwakuni.

Little has changed except there were now no transpacific activists there. Tomita agreed with Iwase, especially on money issues in Iwakuni. Money is the central issue on individual vs. state narrative in Okinawa as well. Despite the enormous repression by authorities of both Japan and the US, Hobbit was not shut down like the coffeehouses in the US. Nakagawa decided to go back

to school in Kyoto in summer 1973. Washino did the same in 1974. Tomita, originally from Hokkaidō, continued to run the Hobbit until January 1976, and still lives in Iwakuni.

Conclusion

Compared to Okinawa, Iwakuni is a little-known town located in southwest Japan. If you step into this rustic town surrounded by lotus root field, you would rather feel surreal encountering the uniformed American servicemen walking on the narrow streets. In hotel lobbies and little coffeeshops, the impact of the presence of the US military forces will come unnoticed. But this small town Iwakuni became the center of the GI movement in Asia-Pacific, if not in the world, during the Vietnam War. I presented Iwakuni as my ending chapter because this was the symbolic place where the GI movement and transpacific activism flourished at the end of the Beheiren movement toward the end of the Vietnam War. It was the young people who actively took over the movement that was started by adults. Generational shift was smoothly carried out at the height of global counterculture, without cohort replacement but with change and continuity. The commitment that young Beheiren activists, American GIs and activists poured into this small town was unprecedented. The 1970 Fourth of July and Iwakuni 13, flying kites to stop the Phantom, revelation of the existence of nuclear weapons on the US military base, the FTA show and the GI coffeehouse Hobbit—None of these event that made waves was possible without transnational frame of mind, or global imaginary, and action.

The Hobbit was probably the longest-lived antiwar coffeehouse during the Vietnam War. *Semper Fi* also continued publishing until June 1978, and it was likewise the longest-lived underground GI newspaper among those started during the Vietnam War. It is hilarious in today's sense, that these two projects, a small coffeehouse Hobbit and the *Semper Fi*, run by

active-duty GIs and civic activists in Iwakuni, became threat to the US military authorities. In fact, *JATEC Tsūshin* published the excerpts from the 1970 Symington Report for five consecutive issues. The report is a 2,500 pages documents from the hearings headed by a special Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad, chaired by Sen. Stuart Symington in 1969-1970, in which hundreds of pages were devoted to Japan-Okinawa and US-Japan relations. It is no surprise that issues on Iwakuni and Beheiren were discussed in the report. This alone indicated the magnitude of the insurgency at Iwakuni in Yamaguchi, the home prefecture of Japan's ultra-conservative political family: Kishi Nobusuke, the prime minister at the time of the 1960 ANPO protests and Kishi's brother Satō Eisaku, the prime minister during the Vietnam War. Abe Shinzō, the current prime minister is the grandchild of Kishi Nobusuke and nephew of Satō Eisaku.

As a single-issue movement aimed at "Peace in Vietnam," it was agreed upon from the beginning, that when the Vietnam War was over, Beheiren would dissolve. Each Beheiren group in each region dissolved on their own as the talk of the Paris Peace Accords progressed. For example, Kyoto Beheiren dissolved on April 30, 1973 (Iinuma, 1973, p. 6). Tokyo Beheiren dissolved on January 26, 1974 by holding a rally at Kyōritsu Hall (Tsurumi, 1974, 1974, p. 3). Oda Makoto did not attend this last big rally as he was still travelling abroad. Oda instead sent a letter that summarized the Beheiren movement, using the Buddhist term, *Shujō* (living things). *Shujō* sought wisdom together, and it grew to people power (Oda, 1974, p. 1). Tsurumi Shunsuke gave a suggestive remark in the last rally, "For the past nine years, I think I aged physically, but this was the movement that kept me from aging mentally" (Beheiren Nyūsu #101, March 1, 1974, p. 4). Beheiren dissolved organically just as it had started.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS

On April 30, 1975 at 11:30AM, Saigon was finally freed. The red and blue with gold star flag of the National Liberation Front is waving at the President's residence in Saigon. The Vietnamese people won. American Imperialists, the most atrocious in history, whose military and economy are the strongest on earth, kept killing Vietnamese people with their newest weapons. The Vietnamese people continued fighting toward the huge elephant like an ant and won. We wholeheartedly celebrate their victory. However, we should not be allowed to be pleased with it. History is moving on in this very moment. We should not forget the new era and the big duties we still need to achieve. On reflection, seven years have passed since we started a fund-raising campaign "Peace Boat to Vietnam" in Shinjuku station on December 31, 1967. Since then, so many things have happened. We held demonstrations, sit-ins, hunger strikes, assembly, teach-ins and many more. It was the Vietnamese people's indomitable fights that had always encouraged us. Our slogan "Peace in Vietnam!" came true. The Vietnamese people earned it. Shinjuku Beheiren will dissolve in June. Our movement, of course, will not end by this dissolution. We will keep walking to liberate ourselves to follow the liberation of the Vietnamese people. (Furuya Yoshiko, Shinjuku Beheiren, 1975).

When the power of Love overcomes the Love of power,
Then the world will know Peace (Jimi Hendrix)

It was 20 years after the unconditional surrender of Imperial Japan, 13 years after the end of the US occupation of Japan, that Beheiren was launched. It was not too long ago that Imperial Japan had invaded and colonized neighboring countries and engaged in reckless war that killed so many people and forced unspeakable sufferings in the Asia-Pacific region, which consequently resulted in massive bombings across Japan, including the Atomic-bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. When the memory of war, terror of ceaseless bombings and burnt corpses in the rubble was still fresh and vivid, who would listen to those who rushed, pushed

forward, and supported the war? The anarchic state of the immediate postwar Japan, where ordinary people were sick of anything ‘...ism,’ allowed a handful of young activist intellectuals, who did not support the war, to come out. The general public was eager to create or join in their preferred group activities and educated themselves. The immediate postwar Japan was a valuable time for ordinary people to develop the basis for the coming 1960s. When the 1960 ANPO protests broke out, the Science of Thought and the Voiceless Voices stood out as pioneers of loose civic activism that anyone could join, which eventually led to the emergence of Beheiren. People who joined in Beheiren quickly formed their space and began exercising their newly acquired freedom and democracy through demonstrations and publications.

Reflecting the theoretical framework, the political process model helped me explain the formation, development and transformation of Beheiren. First, America’s bombing campaign in North Vietnam offered activist intellectuals a political opportunity in a contentious period of postwar US-Japan relations. They deliberately designed Beheiren as a single-issue, loose, and horizontal movement, based on individuals, whose sole purpose was bringing peace in Vietnam. Second, the emergence of Beheiren was possible because of pre-existing networks such as the Voiceless Voices and the Science of Thought. Third, there was strong shared feeling of “No more war and no more killing” in postwar Japan that led ordinary people to the state of “cognitive liberation,” and to actively join in the cause that Beheiren posed. Those ordinary citizens did not want to affiliate with any political party but were eager to voice their opposition to the war. Beheiren was a timely movement that fit their needs. For them, the Vietnam War that the Kishi government fully supported was not just ‘America’s war.’ Omnipresence of the US bases in Japan enabled the continuation of the war. After all, anxiety and aspiration coexisted

alongside the newly introduced concept of “democracy” in post-imperial Japan. Overall, the political process model helped to see the Beheiren movement as continuous transformation.

Another important theory was nonviolent direct action, brought by Howard Zinn and Ralph Featherstone, who were active participants in the US civil rights movement. The spirit of civil disobedience permeated throughout the Beheiren activities. Understanding the concept of civil disobedience helped them whenever they faced repression from the Japanese police or American military authorities. At the same time, Japan’s Peace Constitution was also utilized as a tool to justify helping American deserters and GIs who refused to kill and be killed.

Meanwhile, Whittier’s generational model of continuity and change that pays attention to generational cohorts was a helpful conceptual tool to understand the role difference between Beheiren’s adults and the youth. The core activist cohort who were born in the 1930s remained skeptical toward power, and that persists throughout their lives, as generational model suggests. Their commitment to the continuity of the movement was significant as well. Generational model also suggests that the time period when activists started participating in the movement affects their collective identities. This was particularly relevant among the young micro-cohort of Beheiren, the young students of the time, who were born between 1947 and 1950. This political generation constructed subtly different identities according to the year they started college during the years of the radical New Left student movements. In the transitional phase from the deserters to GI movement, these micro-cohorts became the driving force in supporting the GI movement that contributed to transform Beheiren. In early 1970s, “cohort replacement” was also observed but not in the way Whittier suggested in her study of the US women’s movement. In Beheiren’s case, the older cohorts remained devoted to bringing peace in Vietnam, and contributed to the continuity of the movement. They fully supported the younger cohorts in many different ways,

rather than being replaced. The younger cohorts could initiate and invent various new activities because of the endless support from the older cohorts. Respect was reciprocal.

This study also used Sidney Tarrow's concept of rooted cosmopolitans. What is "rooted" in his conception is that, as cosmopolitans move physically and cognitively outside their origins, they continue to be linked to place, to the social networks that inhabit that space, and to the resources, experiences, and opportunities that place provides them with (Tarrow, 2005, p. 42). They are domestic-based activists moving outward to form a spectrum of "rooted cosmopolitans" who engage in regular transnational practices (Tarrow, 2005, p. 35). This description characterizes the main actors of Beheiren, but certainly not everyone involved with Beheiren was a rooted cosmopolitan. Nevertheless, virtually everyone who interacted with Beheiren, whatever the circumstances, was touched by their involvement in transnational activism. American young soldiers who had been sent to Vietnam and then Japan, deserters who were moved to third countries who had to re-establish their lives in a foreign country, Japanese people who sheltered those deserters, the young Beheiren students who worked with deserters and GIs, and American activists who worked with Beheiren, all had globalized experiences by interactions with people from another country and another culture.

Although the term "globalization" was not around when Beheiren was active, the processes and experiences that they went through show that they were constantly enmeshed in globalized processes. Steger (2013), noting that there still exists no scholarly consensus on what kinds of social processes constitute the essence of globalization, his short definition of globalization may help further understand their experiences.

Globalization refers to the expansion and intensification of social relations and consciousness across world-time and world-space (Steger, 2013, p.15).

American deserters, GIs, and Beheiren activists did not necessarily seek out globalization, or choose it, but they were engaged in transnational interactions wherever they encountered people from another country. They were not rooted cosmopolitans, but they were globalized by circumstances and by working closely with Beheiren's rooted cosmopolitans. They might have not realized it but they experienced global phenomena. Some of them might have become rooted cosmopolitans later in life as a result of their experiences in Beheiren, as opposed to the adults who were already rooted cosmopolitans and brought that to Beheiren. Tarrow (2005) also points out that if globalization consists of increased flows of trade, finance, and people across borders, such internationalization provides an opportunity structure within which transnational activism can emerge (p. 8).

In this dissertation, I attempted to paint the holistic picture of Beheiren by looking at its historical background, the thought behind the movement, its operational style and its variety of activities. However, it did not take me long to agree with the former activists—it was impossible to grasp the whole picture of the Beheiren movement. Yet, three things emerged through my attempt: 1) 'loose' transnational network, 2) maintaining keen eyes on the issues of "individual versus state" by being skeptical of power, and 3) most importantly, these two elements seem to contribute to continuity of transnational civic activism, as is evident from the former activists' post Beheiren years. This study found that the former activists have been 'quietly' continuing transnational civic activism to this day and contributing to Japan's civil society by initiating alternative life styles, publishing, and holding public lectures. In conclusion, I will discuss these three elements. These findings could at least shed light on what Beheiren was about.

Loose Transnational Civic Network

McAdam (1982) asserts the importance of the presence of recognized leaders who can be called upon to lend their prestige and organizing skills to the incipient movement (p. 47). From early on, being rooted cosmopolitans, central actors of Beheiren displayed the willingness and capacity of going transnational. They recognized the global impact of America's war in Asia amidst the Cold War. Oda Makoto, who already had a clear view of "war" through his childhood experience, viewed the Vietnam War in broader perspective. He was one of the first few Japanese intellectuals who publicly called out Japan as an aggressor in WWII and then in the Vietnam War. Oda became a controversial but insightful figure, because after the Atomic-bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, many people in Japan felt they were victims rather than aggressors of the war. Tsurumi Shunsuke's decision to recruit Oda Makoto as a leader of Beheiren was thus also insightful. Among Beheiren's three-head leadership that Seitz called 'phenomenal,' the Tsurumi family and Oda's networks across the globe contributed significantly throughout the movement, and shaped the public image of Beheiren. Oda kept traveling always as an individual with no strings attached and expanded his networks. In *Wareware no Oda Makoto* [Our Oda Makoto] (2013), a memorial book published after his death in 2007, prominent figures from all over the world contributed, including Kim Dae Jung, Noam Chomsky, Jan Myrdal, Martin Bernal, and Donald Keene, who translated Oda's *Gyokusai* [The Breaking Jewel]. Chomsky expressed that Oda's death was not only a tremendous loss for people who had known him for a long time, but a tremendous loss for the entire world (Chomsky, 2013, p. 41). Howard Zinn, a long-time friend of Oda and Beheiren, described his history with Beheiren since the 1966 lecture tour in Japan, celebrated Oda's never-ending work for world peace (Zinn, 2013, p. 42-43).

During the early phase of the movement, Beheiren stirred up public interest by inviting international actors such as Zinn, David Dellinger, Jean-Paul Sartre, Thích Nhất Hạnh, and groups like SNCC and the Black Panther Party to hold conferences and lectures in Japan. They bought ads in *The New York Times* and *Washington Post* to express their opposition to the Vietnam War at a time when news about Japan was rarely seen in American newspapers. While those participants in the early phase were internationally well-known figures, it was when American deserters emerged, that transnational grassroots interactions began. Helping deserters get to safety and freedom in Sweden was possible because of the depth and breadth of existing networks and cooperation from the Soviet Union. Transnational underground operations conducted by JATEC were possible because of the assistance from transnational underground groups in Europe. These groups and JATEC had a common aim, and borders simply made no sense to them. Transformation of consciousness within a significantly aggrieved group of people, which McAdam called “cognitive liberation,” occurred. They were cautious but were not afraid of going underground and going to jail. These were acts of civil disobedience. Altogether, Beheiren successfully freed nineteen American deserters to Sweden and France as a result of loose transnational civic networks, and the support and willpower of countless citizens of the world. Later on, American active-duty antiwar GIs entered into this mix, which was significant. American young military servicemen who were in an absolute hierarchy took risks by acting as individuals, not as rank-and-file members in the military system. All of these people went through transformative processes through transnational networks. In other words, people who had contacts with Beheiren were affected by globalizing experiences.

Skeptical of Power: Individual versus State

Antiwar movement is, ultimately, resistance against the state. Another important element that emerged in this study was the ideological and financial independence of Beheiren. Despite the volume of media coverage, Beheiren people kept a low-key demeanor. Throughout the movement, they kept their distance from power, and diligently posed fundamental questions, individually and collectively, about the roles of the individual versus the state behaviors whenever the authorities tried to oppress individuals. They acted as if doing so was their social responsibility as intellectuals. This originated from their conscious observation of power through entities such as state, government, military, emperor, as well as Japan's past behaviors of imperialism, colonialism, and war. Key activists' distrust of authority was particularly conscience-driven, based on their accumulated experiences and observation of the consequences of irresponsible military authorities of Imperial Japan. To pursue their cause, maintaining financial independence was critical. They worked hard to keep the movement independent, free from any baggage. Interestingly, this attitude by the activist intellectuals appeared to have attracted ordinary citizens in 1960s Japan, who were equally skeptical of authorities. They had no illusions about either power or revolution, but positioning themselves as individuals, free from power. The first leaflet written by Oda Mokoto, used for the first Beheiren demonstration in 1965 that started with "We are ordinary citizens," therefore fit in their spirits.

We are ordinary citizens. Ordinary citizen means, office workers, elementary school teachers, newspaper reporters, florists, people who write novels, and boys learning English. That is, it's you who is reading this leaflet. All that we want to say is "Peace in Vietnam!" (Beheiren Nyūsu #1, 1965, p. 1).

There was neither aggressiveness or pretentiousness in this flier. In this simple flier, Oda framed people as 'ordinary citizens' when 'citizen' was not yet a familiar term in Japan. Yet, it

displayed a symbolic message of newly born Beheiren as a civic movement in which any ‘individual’ who wanted peace in Vietnam could join. Oda’s “ordinary citizens” in the context of the antiwar movement meant an opposition to the ‘state’ authorities—both the US that started reckless bombings and Japan that fully supported the behavior of the US. In fact, in the first page of the first issue of the *Beheiren Nyūsu*, which started six months after the first demonstration, they explained what citizens would do.

As, literally a group of ordinary citizens, we do not suppress the opinions of the minority in the name of the majority. Rather, we will bring out the full potential of each individual’s ideas. In rallies and demonstrations, we talked and agreed on what should be done and what has been done. Eventually, we made friends, opponents, and groups. One after another, groups that wish for peace in Vietnam have emerged or are about to emerge everywhere (Beheiren Nyūsu #1, 1965, p. 1).

Because of how Beheiren was designed to operate, debate on top-down or bottom-up, which is an issue often brought up in organizations, made no sense in the Beheiren movement. Leaders would just say, “I will do this and that. What would you do?” In a movement where no one assigns tasks or asks for tasks to be assigned, mistakes happened, but there was no blaming. Fallibility was commonly shared as part of Beheiren style. This fallibilistic approach probably prevented young Beheiren activists from the infighting that New Left students endured. At the same time, Beheiren activists were skeptical citizens. A fallibilistic approach within the movement while remaining skeptical towards power required a balancing act but when American deserters emerged, this approach helped them to manage the situation and stay in control.

American deserters stirred emotions and reflections of war among the core activists who were born in the 1930s. Their childhood experiences clearly had a lasting impact on their adult life. It was Japan’s Imperial military state that produced this anti-establishment generation of Japan. They knew too well that war affected all lives forever, and that it was the result of poor

decisions made by those in power. That was exactly how the Beheiren activists were able to connect with American deserters. Beheiren people were able to acknowledge that each deserter had independently made a courageous decision to leave the military system, where killing was honored but refusing to kill was considered a crime. For the Beheiren activists who agreed with Tsurumi's view, "We live under a Peace Constitution" and Oda's theory of victim=victimizer, it was a natural thing to help American deserters and antiwar GIs who refused to kill and be killed. American GIs were victims in relation to the state (the US) and thus victimizers in relation to the enemy (Vietnamese people). This was the same mechanism that soldiers of Imperial Japan had been through. They did not want the American people to repeat the same mistake that Japan had made not too long before. In their view, protesting an unjust war, and assisting deserters who refused to kill and be killed was simply something that anybody would have done. They did not think they did anything special. This was one of the most astonishing revelations I found about them. The question that I had, "Why did countless ordinary citizens actively risk themselves by participating in the Beheiren movement?" therefore was the wrong question. For them, with their war memories still vivid, not acting against the state that was engaging in massive killing was the riskier choice.

It is ironic that their distrust of and disinterest in power in turn gave them a certain power in connecting with the underground tradition in Europe. It is thus no surprise that they quietly helped develop Japan's counterculture and passed this on to the next generation, particularly those born between 1947 and 1950 like Sekiya, Yoshioka, Suzuki, Tomita and Washino—a very specific generation who experienced turmoil on campus in the global sixties. Although they did not directly experience the war, they did witness the consequences of war growing up in the postwar recovery. As Whittier's (1997) theory of micro-cohorts in social movements suggests,

these two successive generations of activists shared a passion against unjust wars, supported each other and built lasting civic networks by maintaining their skepticism of power.

Continuity of Transnational Civic Activism

The last element is that the first two elements—loose transnational civic networks and being skeptical of power—seem to have worked for them to continue engaging in civic activism, whether it is local, regional, national, or transnational, long after the dissolution of Beheiren. Through this study, I found that many former activists continue their involvement in civic activism to this day. Meeting with them and witnessing the interactions among them gave me opportunities to find that they maintain the basic style and spirit of Beheiren with agility and curiosity.

For example, it is well known that Oda Makoto and Tsurumi Shunsuke were two of the nine original members who founded the Article 9 Association [*Kyūjō no kai*] in 2004 during the Iraq War (Iida, 2017). Tsurumi was the one who kept utilizing the idea of this Peace Constitution during his Beheiren years. The purpose of the Association is to strive to shine the light of Article 9 upon this turbulent world in order to join hands with the peace-seeking citizens of the world (Kyūjō no kai, 2004). Article 9 also clearly spelled out that the right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized. This pronouncement is like the continuation of Beheiren. They re-emphasized the importance of this constitution in the beginning of the 21st century amidst the Iraq War. Other founders including Ōe Kensaburō, Sawachi Hisae, Katō Shūichi, and Inoue Hisashi were authors who worked with Beheiren at certain points during the war in Vietnam. Oda was also involved in establishing a law to support the victims of the 1995 Great Hanshin Earthquake (Hirano, 2015). Today, revising the Japanese constitution, including Article 9 in

particular, has risen to the forefront with an unprecedented scale and intensity (Iida, 2017, p. 2). The role of the Article 9 Association is even greater under the current prime minister, Abe Shinzō, who is one of the most enthusiastic proponents of the revision. They intend for Japan to follow the US and change into a “war-waging country” (Iida, 2017, p. 2).

Meanwhile, some of the former activists founded civic associations. Mutō Ichiyō, who started the English magazine *AMPO* in 1969, helped found the Pacific Asia Resource Center (PARC) in 1973, a non-profit organization committed to international social and economic justice. The PARC has been working with various movements in Japan and facilitates the development of solidarity with people struggling in the Asia-Pacific region (PARC, 2008).

In 1982, PARC started the Pacific Asia Resource Center Freedom School, which is an alternative school with diverse courses that included learning about people’s lives and social movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as the realities of the global economy, development, and environment (PARC, 2008). Further, Mutō also founded People’s Plan Study Group in 1998 to search for an alternative world by keeping a critical eye on current societies from the people’s point of view, and by connecting people around the world (People’s Plan Study Group, 2018). They also publish a journal called People’s Plan. This is like an extension of *Beheiren*. Mutō, born in 1931, was as lively and energetic in 2017 as he was 50 years ago.

In 1987, *Shimin no iken 30 no kai* [Association of Citizens’ opinion 30] was initiated by Oda Makoto and his fellow citizens. The idea came up while they were discussing how to realize a democratic society that is nonviolent and non-militaristic. The discussions resulted in publishing a bi-monthly journal in 1991, which is on its 167th issue as of April 2018. They continue to use the “*Korosuna* [Do not kill]” logo aiming at changing Japan, from a country controlled by the powerful to a country where people can live peacefully, safely, equally, and

healthily (Shimin no iken, 2011). Yamamoto Yoshitaka, the promoter of the “10.8 Yamazaki Hiroaki Project” in honor of Yamazaki’s death at the 1967 First Haneda Incident, contributed to the journal for the 50th anniversary of Yamazaki’s death. Yamamoto (2017) updated that the project built a tombstone in *Fukusenji* temple near Haneda Airport in June 2017, and that they also held an exhibition in Vietnam, “The Peace Movement in Japan Supporting Vietnam during Wartime (1954-1975) and the Friendship between Viet Nam and Japan,” in collaboration with the War Remnants Museum in Ho Chi Minh City (Yamazaki Project, 2017). Yamamoto spoke at the opening ceremony, “The exhibition is aimed at demonstrating the history of the anti-Vietnam War movement in Japan to visitors to the museum from around the world” (Viet Nam News, 2017).

Sekiya also continues to be a civic activist. In 2014, he connected with a Korean draft dodger group. The Korean group independently found out about Beheiren and JATEC through their study. According to Sekiya, it came like a new discovery.

Having been in Beheiren, I knew that South Korea had a draft system and they participated in the Vietnam War. Because of that, we had deserters like Kim Dong Hee and Kim Jin Suh. But because I had never taken the standpoint of the South Korean people, it came like a new discovery when I was first contacted by the Korean draft dodgers (2018, personal communication).

The Korean draft group eventually invited Sekiya to Seoul to speak about his experience in Beheiren and JATEC. Sekiya expressed his support to the Korean group.

It’s been more than 40 years since we performed direct action against the state policy. That may attract young peace activists in Korea and Japan. I will be happy if our experience could be of any help for Korean activists who are taking part in this movement in a very hard situation” (Sekiya, 2014 in Yoojin Lee, Hankyoreh newspaper, on September 29, 2014).

Just like Takahashi and Motono, a generation before him, Sekiya has an exceptionally calm and relaxed demeanor. In fact, relaxed demeanor was a commonality with every former

activist I have met, including those whom I did not interview. People who would imagine those activists who engaged in underground operations to be someone tough-looking will be surprised to find them to be calm, bright and soft-spoken. Their demeanor must have made the nervous young American deserters feel at ease. In fact, some deserters kept in touch with Beheiren. There were even a few reunions with the former deserters in Japan decades later while the three-head leaders were still alive. They invited Terry Whitmore in 1993, 25 years after his desertion, and Melvin in 1997, which was 29 years after his arrest on the way to board the boat in Hokkaidō, Japan. Kurusu was also invited in June 2001. There were also activists who visited the deserters. Sakamoto had a few reunions in Sweden and the US while on business trips. According to Sakamoto, however, contacts with former deserters were basically disconnected after 9/11, an attack on the US soil in 2001. Then, came the big reunion in October 2017. It was a milestone year for the former Beheiren activists because they could celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Intrepid Four with Craig Anderson, one of the Intrepid Four.

Reunion: The 50th Anniversary of the Intrepid Four

One day in 2016, Takahashi Taketomo received a surprising email from Craig Anderson. Anderson read the *Japan Times* article “Anti-Vietnam War ‘Beheiren’ activism remembered 50 years on,” published on May 19, 2015. Takahashi’s photo was in the article. Learning that Takahashi was the director of the *Wadatsumi Kai* (Memorial society of students who died in war), Anderson contacted Takahashi via *Wadatsumi Kai*, and updated his life with Takahashi and Yoshioka Shinobu (Hirata, 2017, p. 36). Then, for the first time in 50 years, Anderson disclosed his life story in *The New York Times* on December 22, 2016. Dr. Hirata Masaki from Nagoya City University, who read *The New York Times’* article, obtained Anderson’s email

address from Takahashi and contacted him. From this point, things developed quickly.

In August 2017, *Shimin no Iken* published Anderson's essay, "*Betonamu wo koete. Moto dassōhei karano messēji [Beyond Vietnam. Message from a former deserter]*" (Anderson, 2017, pp. 17-19). In the same issue, they called for donations to invite Anderson to Japan for the fiftieth anniversary of the Intrepid Four (The Intrepid Four Committee, 2017, p. 19). Within two months, in October 2017, the lecture tour titled "*The 50th Anniversary of the Intrepid Four: 'No War' by Craig Anderson, the Patriotic Deserter*" was held in Kyoto, Tokyo, and Okinawa. This quick course of development displayed that the Beheiren network was alive and at its best. It reminded people of Beheiren's ability to put things into action.

The lecture tour was coordinated by the Research Center for Cooperative Civil Societies at Rikkyo University, Nagoya City University, Saitama University, Waseda University, and Veterans for Peace Japan. David Cortright sent the following message, which was read at the beginning of the Tokyo event.

Greetings and best wishes to fellow students of peace as you gather at Rikkyo University for this important event with Craig Anderson on resistance to Vietnam War within the U.S. military. Like many other members of the military in those years, Craig Anderson refused to participate in an unjust war against the people of Vietnam. It is important to remember this important chapter in the history of the antiwar movement and to rededicate ourselves to the struggle for peace.

Each lecture started with the documentary film, "The Intrepid Four," the one that Beheiren filmed in November 1967 before sending the Intrepid Four off to the Soviet Union. Anderson informed us that among the Intrepid Four, one has passed away, and none of the remaining three live in the US. (For this dissertation, I decided not to disclose where they now live. One day, some of them may disclose it themselves). All the four Japanese who appeared in the film have passed away: Kaikō Takeshi in 1989; Oda Makoto in 2007; Tsurumi Shunsuke in 2015; and just when I was finishing this dissertation, the last remaining one, Hidaka Rokurō

passed away on June 7, 2018. He was 101 years old. Describing Hidaka as an “activist scholar,” all the major newspapers in Japan devoted the page for his civic activism and contribution to civil society. Words from former Beheiren activists like Yoshioka Shinobu, Ebisaka Takeshi, and Konaka Yōtarō were in the newspapers.

In Anderson’s talk in Tokyo, he first talked about three individual who greatly influenced him around the time he deserted—Martin Luther King Jr., Cassius Clay, and Gandhi. He told us that when he was getting ready on board the US military aircraft Intrepid heading to the Gulf of Tonkin in early April 1967, he heard King’s speech “*Beyond Vietnam: A Time to Break Silence*,” and then at the end of the same month, Cassius Clay declared that he would refuse the draft. It reminded the audience that Martin Luther King Jr. and the principle of nonviolence were influential in the US during the 1960s. After all, it was the assassination of King that ultimately led Terry Whitmore to desert.

In Vietnam, Anderson thought it was strange that the Vietnamese did not bomb them back when Americans dropped the bombs from the ship. But then he realized that the Vietnamese did not have a Navy or Air Force as the Americans did. One day, when Anderson’s crew dropped napalm in the ocean for training purposes, the sea was burning for a ‘long long’ time. Anderson asked himself, “What would happen when it drops on humans like me and my family?” That image haunted him. Late on, when the ship stopped at Yokosuka, Japan on October 21, 1967, Anderson heard that massive protests were going on in the US. That was the March on Washington. The next day, Anderson and three more sailors made the decision to desert. They got rid of their uniforms and walked away. “Anxiety came after,” he revealed.

We had no idea what Japanese people would receive us, and we had no money. We faced the reality...Do we go to jail? We had to talk to someone (Anderson, lecture, October 28, 2017, Tokyo).

Anderson decided to talk to a young man who was engaged in talking with police and people on the street. “And, he was wearing a bandana! That was Kenji!” said Anderson. Around that time, it was not uncommon in Japan to see students speaking on a busy street corner while police watched them, but Anderson revealed that it was the bandana Kenji was wearing on his head that prompted him to approach Kenji. “Kenji” was one of the names he has remembered for the past 50 years. I had been wondering for a long time, “Why did the Intrepid Four first approach this particular student, Yamada Kenji?” so the mystery was solved. It was his bandana. Yamada Kenji, who had passed away in 2007, was the University of Tokyo student who first contacted Beheiren. Anderson recalled.

Kenji spoke some English. He was a good guy. When I talked to him, he told us, “Come with me.” Not like two hours later or tomorrow. His room was small. But Kenji didn’t know what to do with us. He first contacted a professor, and he got shocked to be told “don’t get involved.” Kenji was not Beheiren but he had a Beheiren friend, so he contacted him and set up a meeting. We were nervous. We didn’t know what to expect (Anderson, lecture, October 28, 2017, Tokyo).

While Kenji was trustable, the four deserters had no idea about Beheiren. But when they met Beheiren, they felt comfortable because “They were actively against war.” Anderson then revealed that Beheiren called Howard Zinn, and then Zinn convinced Beheiren, “We were legitimate.” Anderson used the term “down-to-earth” to describe Beheiren people.

We had just graduated from high school...there was a huge difference between us and Beheiren people, who had already been successful adults, but they were down-to-earth, and they didn’t care about our differences...the important thing was heart. They came down to our level. Beheiren were connected people who actually cared, and we had to trust people...But Beheiren also didn’t know what to do. They repeated long meetings. Eventually, they told us that we had very few options. Going to Cuba or North Korea...then next, they came up with the idea of the Russian ship. That was a scary proposition. But on the other hand, we could go to Western Europe. We had to do it (Anderson, lecture, October 28, 2017, Tokyo).

Anderson knew that their destiny was in the hands of Japanese people. He felt that after only 20 years from the end of WWII, “There were people in Japan who could understand us.” He

revealed that Beheiren ‘forced’ him to write a joint statement, and he did. (See Appendix A). We now know that while the individual statements of the Intrepid Four were written solely by each of them, the joint statement was written by Anderson. In the joint statement, he decided to use the term ‘patriotic deserter’ because it “smashed into the stereotypes” associated with the term deserter, like coward and traitor. Anderson recalled the day they boarded the Baikal.

We were driven to Yokohama port, and after that, it was up to us. Russia didn’t do anything on this plan. After all the visitors walked off, we blended in other passengers. We stood on deck and waved as everyone did. When the ship departed, we had to tell who we were. First, we talked to the steward, then the steward talked to the captain. The captain was a perfect Russian with beard. He didn’t say anything except “I’ll contact Moscow.” In Moscow, we were told, “We accepted you.” That was it. We stayed there for 6 weeks before we arrived in Sweden. Sweden’s position was not 100% clear. They didn’t want to have trouble with the US. But with the condition, “You cannot keep criticizing the US government,” they gave us permission to live there (Anderson, lecture, October 28, 2017, Tokyo).

The Intrepid Four settled in Sweden. Anderson returned to the US via Canada in 1971 when the US political environment and public opinions completely shifted against the war. When an FBI agent approached him in 1972, he knew what it was about. He was sentenced to five years in prison. So, Anderson wrote Senator Ted Kennedy a letter, stressing that the US had never declared the war. By that time, many in Congress also did not like what was happening, and they initiated a congressional investigation. As a result, his sentence was reduced to nine months with a bad conduct discharge.

Although Anderson talked about these past experiences, he spent the majority of time on what concerns him most about the current and future world. Now 70 years old, Anderson stressed “When your government is wrong, you have to stand up.” Worried about the forgetfulness of human beings, he asserted that war was nothing but organized mass murder, and that his current fear was that we were heading to war. He worried that the whole world was

militarized along with the powerful media by which people are controlled. He was particularly worried about Japan's remilitarization.

When Americans had no impact on America, why would Japanese people? Government does what they want to do, not what people want (Anderson, lecture, October 23, 2017, Kyoto).

Government does what they want to do, not what people want—What a similar conclusion that Takahashi and Motono and other Beheiren activists who were born in the 1930s reached. Anderson was straightforward throughout the lectures in Kyoto and Tokyo. Anderson, a former sailor from the USS carrier *Intrepid*, was one of the first deserters that Beheiren sent to the Soviet Union. They were also the first sailors who deserted from the Navy (Cortright, 1975, p. 107). Unlike other deserters who could contact Beheiren after the famed *Intrepid Four*, these first four sailors had to act on their own. The young Anderson, who had just graduated from high school, participated in the Vietnam War that led him to desert in 1967. He interacted with Beheiren in Japan and Beheiren had him travel to the Soviet Union, a country that American people were taught was where evil lived. Admit the Cold War, Soviets welcomed the American deserters and treated them very well, and the Soviets helped them to move to Sweden. Anderson returned to the US in 1971 and he had tough time in the US. He started to write books under a pen-name, and later moved to another third country. Exactly 50 years after he deserted, he visited Japan. This is the half-century of transnational processes that the young American sailor went through. Life after desertion is tough for any deserter, but I could see that his life made him a transnational activist, and maybe one of the rooted cosmopolitans. He took quite a different life course than American sailors usually take.

In just a 10-days lecture tour in Tokyo, Kyoto, and Okinawa, there was one place that Anderson wanted to visit again. It was Nara, the ancient city near Kyoto. I introduced the

interaction between Gary Snyder and two deserters in Chapter 5. Asked by Tsurumi Shunsuke to take care of two deserters, Snyder took the two of the Intrepid Four to see Tōdai-ji temple, the biggest wooden temple in the world, and had the reluctant young Americans eat the sea cucumber. Fifty years later, Anderson wanted to go back to Nara. In anxious days in hide in Japan, with no clear future ahead, Nara must have left some strong cultural impression to young Anderson. Gary Snyder, a seasoned American poet from the beat generation living in Kyoto in 1960s, might have effectively showed young Anderson the process of encountering and accepting different culture, which prepared him to move forward for the coming trip to the Soviet Union.

At the end of the event in Tokyo, a group of Korean draft dodgers who had been in jail for refusing the draft also spoke about their experiences. They had come to meet Anderson. The Korean activists said that they modeled their actions after Beheiren and JATEC, and that they received energy from the former Beheiren activists and were seeking solidarity. Overall, the events displayed that Beheiren maintained its transnational civic networks, and that they kept posing questions regarding the individual versus the state in public—two elements that emerged in this study that led to the continuity of transnational civic activism.

Epilogue

I have touched upon some examples of continuing transnational civic activism by former Beheiren activists and some of the latest developments. Because of their sustained networks, I could meet a dozen of the former activists. It was then just as I was about to finish writing this dissertation that one of the Intrepid Four came out and the fiftieth anniversary of the Intrepid Four happened. Because of their continuing solidarity, I was given a rare opportunity for

participant observation. Clearly, there was still a high degree of genuine communication among the former activists. They seem to get together occasionally. Sekiya attributed Beheiren's continuing network to a certain sense of achievement at the time they ended Beheiren by comparing them with the New Left student movements run by his own generation.

I think it depends, but basically, each of us in Beheiren ended up with some sense of achievement, more or less. In the case of the New Left student movements, they ended up with chaotic infighting and so on...they don't even want to remember it now. But in Beheiren's case, there is this shared recognition of "well, there were many happenings and there were setbacks and failures, but we somehow managed to go through it, didn't we?" So, we still get together every once a while, and of course we talk about our past, but we also share what each of us is up to. Each of us continues to do something on a reduced scale (Sekiya, 2016, personal interview).

Having some "sense of achievement" makes sense because, unlike New Left students who were pursuing revolution, the sole purpose of Beheiren was to bring peace in Vietnam. In pursuing peace in Vietnam, what they saw behind deserters and GIs was the US military. Behind the US military, they saw Japanese government. That means that Beheiren was fighting against the enormous power of US military, and inevitably, Japanese government. Then, who would not feel sense of achievement when they saw the tank that carried the National Liberation Front flag driving through the main gate of the presidential palace of the US-backed South Vietnam in Saigon on April 30, 1975?

Sekiya's reflection indicates that being a Beheiren/JATEC activist in the upheaval of the global sixties was like staying calm in a storm. Closely observing how their fellow students trying to pursue world revolution while engaging in infighting because of slight ideological differences, young Beheiren students instead engaged in transnational civic activism. Washino described Beheiren's continuing network as "because it was Beheiren." He attributed it to characteristics unique to Beheiren.

In Beheiren, what was important was action, not ideology. We didn't care about ideology much. Another thing was that, if someone suggested something, that person would start what he suggested. And, if I agreed with him, I'd act with him. That way of activism became the basis of how I live my life. In other words, being active in the Beheiren movement meant that we were recognized as an individual human being. I think that's how I think why we continue to keep our friendship with former fellow activists (Washino, 2017, personal communication).

This is insightful. It is true that Beheiren was less ideological compared to other extremely ideological movements aiming for world revolution. This, however, does not mean there were no ideological people in Beheiren. Some key figures, including Yoshikawa Yūichi, had a strong ideological background. They just did not bring their ideology into Beheiren very much. Tsurumi Shunsuke later joked about it.

The Soviet Union, the mecca of 'error-less' theories and beliefs collapsed... I acknowledge Oda Makoto because despite having many tutors like Yoshikawa Yūichi and being taught very attentively for years, Oda did not become a Marxist. He had the tremendous capacity to resist. He remained in the position that valued spontaneity (Tsurumi, 1994, pp. 47-48).

This study was possible because of various kind of primary materials that Beheiren left us, as well as newer publications by former activists and their willingness to share their experiences with me through interviews. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, there are limited studies on Beheiren, especially in English. Yet, I owe much to scholars such as David Cortright and Thomas Havens who were the first ones to refer to Beheiren in English in 1975 and 1987 respectively. While their narratives successfully conveyed the turbulent ambience of the era, narratives of the transnational aspects of the movement was limited because these works were published long before the transnational underground activities were revealed by former Beheiren activists. I hope this dissertation contributes to add knowledge to the study of Beheiren.

In fall 2017, an exhibition titled "1968," was held at the National Museum of Japanese History. Beheiren was one of the major parts of the exhibition. In the center of a big glass show

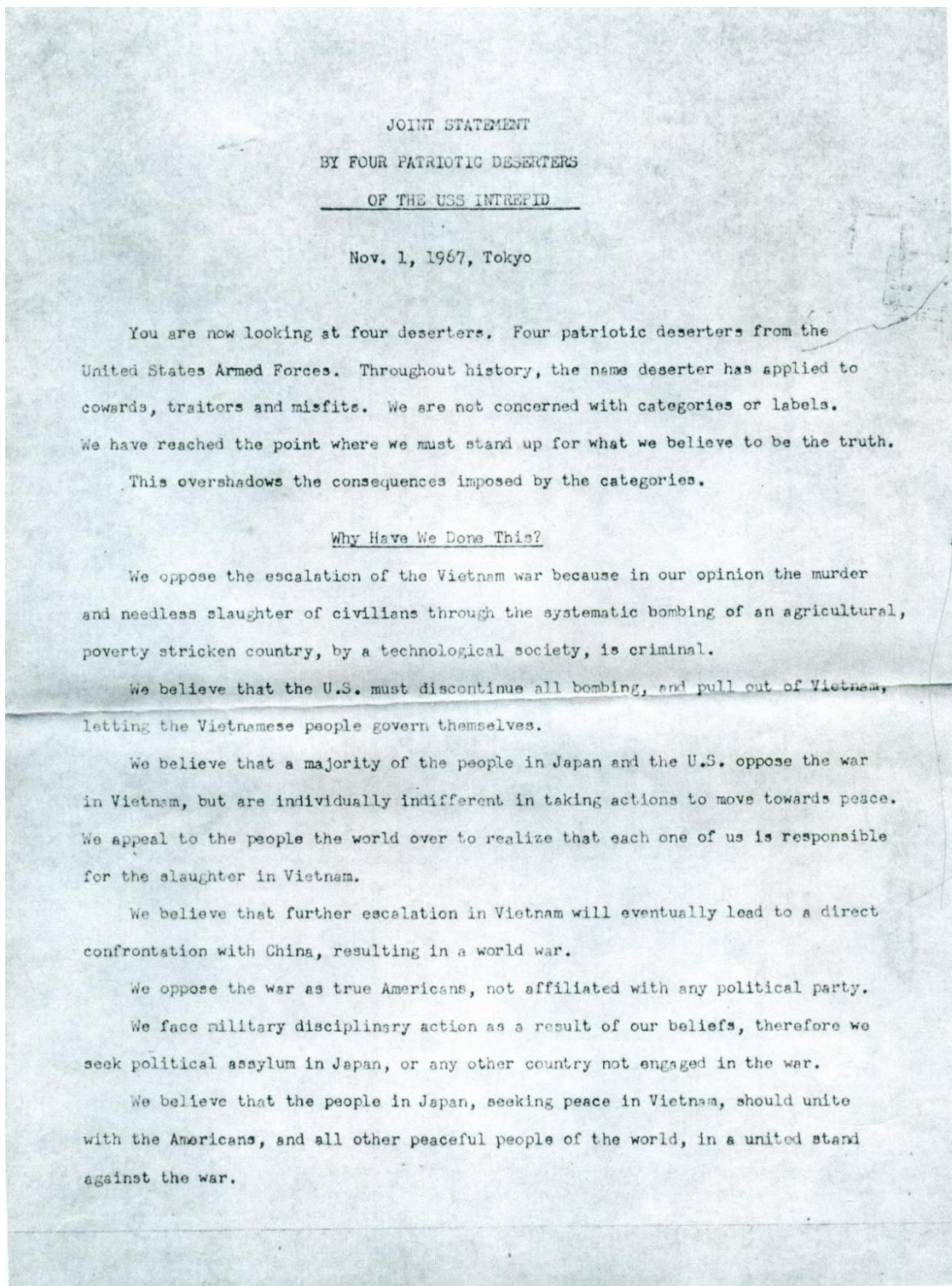
case, a symbolic big yellow banner of calligraphy, “Peace in Vietnam! Fukuoka Beheiren” was displayed. It showed that Beheiren literally became history. Yet, according to Washino, who lent the banner for this exhibition, Fukuoka Beheiren has not officially been dissolved, and he still uses this banner occasionally. He has gone to anti-Iraq War demonstrations carrying this historic yellow banner.

History is ongoing, and that past and present can create a preferred future. I have long been wondering about the importance of evaluating the movements from the viewpoint of success or failure as social movement scholars often do. Is success or failure that important in social movements? As I argued in the initial chapters, the fact that ordinary people spontaneously stood up against the enormous power itself would be meaningful in the long runs. It could be an encouraging reminder for the future generations when such times arise regardless of success or failure. Participating in transnational activism will especially have a lasting impact on participants’ later lives as Beheiren activists indicated.

The processes of the transformational development in the Beheiren movement shows transnationalism as a global phenomenon, or Steger’s global imaginary—people’s growing consciousness of global connectivity—played an important role. Embodying the liberation from Imperial Japan, Beheiren activists were unarmed rebels, but were armed with intellectual independence and low-key demeanors. Beheiren’s spirit could go beyond time, space, culture and ideologies. With their transnational civic networks and keen eye on power that is manifested in this study, domestically rooted Beheiren participants connected with people transnationally through their activities. They remained firm in their belief that the future would support the rights of the individual to refuse to kill and be killed in the name of any state—This is Beheiren.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: The Intrepid Four Joint Statement (Courtesy of Sekiya Shigeru)



We oppose the militaristic impression the U.S. is forcing on the world. Through military occupation and economic domination, the U.S. controls many small countries.

We oppose American military forces in Vietnam, but not Americans. With only seven per cent of the world's population and control of one third the world's wealth, Americans should make a humanitarian stand rather than a military stand.

We believe that all military expenses should be cut. The money now spent for the war effort, should be rechanneled into health, education and welfare, throughout the world.

It is our fervent hope that our actions will move you, wherever you are, whoever you are, to do whatever you can to bring peace to Vietnam.

To conclude, we think that we have made it clear that our decision to publicize our action in deserting from the military has been made in the hope that other Americans, particularly those in military, the people of Japan and of all countries can be spurred into action to work towards stopping this war.

We appeal to all of you wherever you may be to take action in whatever way you can to bring peace to the troubled country of Vietnam. Let all of us unite together and work for peace.

John Michael Barilla
Richard D. Baily
Michael Anthony Lindner
Craig William Anderson

John Michael Barilla
Richard D. Baily
Michael A. Lindner
Craig W. Anderson

Appendix B: Message from Dr. Earnest Young (Courtesy of Sekiya Shigeru)

A message from Ernest P. Young of the United States.

As a person in profound and conscientious opposition to my government in the war it is waging in Vietnam, I welcome the bravery and integrity of John Michael Barilla, Richard D. Bailey, Michael A. Lindner, and Craig W. Anderson. They have declared by their word and deed that they will not be used by their Government, no matter in how small a way, to assist in the perpetuation of the war nor in the killing of Vietnamese. They deserve the support of all who would seek an end to the intervention of American military force in Vietnamese affairs.

I had the opportunity of speaking for several hours alone with these four young men, after they had made their decision not to return to military service. Several facts stood out: that they had reached their decision on their own, without pressure from any individual or group; that they all strongly rejected the use of ~~the~~ violence against foreign peoples, from whom they felt no conceivable threat, and were particularly disgusted by the war against Vietnam; that the ordinary irritations and frustrations of military life, which in themselves were annoying but usually bearable, became unbearable when it was realized that they were being endured for no good purpose, or rather for an evil purpose; that they were clearly aware of the ~~local danger to themselves arising from the course of action on which they had embarked but were determined to face these dangers and the consequences, without turning their backs on their conscientious positions.~~ ^(the possibility of) They also anticipated a fundamental misunderstanding of their action on the part of the military and civil authorities of the ^{should it arise} United States, on the part of much of the mass media, many of their countrymen, and even of their families. They were ready to endure this misunderstanding but felt that they must persevere in their action. Their moral sense left them no option.

The action of these four is an inspiring demonstration of the resilience and independence latent in the young people of America. Although not deeply concerned with the moral issues involved in violence and war when they enlisted in the navy, and surrounded in the navy by an atmosphere, as they described it, of propaganda supporting American action in Vietnam, their moral responses matured and sharpened during their naval experience. They developed strong and specific opposition to the war in Vietnam while actually engaged in aircraft carrier duty in the Tonkin Gulf. We have seen in the past decades how an authoritarian or even totalitarian environment in

certain countries has not prevented the autonomous development of youthful rejection of deceit and arbitrary violence by governmental authority. These young men demonstrate that the ~~xxx~~ same unmasking can be accomplished by ordinary American youth in the confining context of military life.

I urge people everywhere who are concerned for the peace of the world to listen to the voices of these men. They have decisively and fatefully turned their backs on participation in the war in Vietnam. They cannot be sure of their future, except that it will be difficult. They had the choice of revoking their decision, seeking pardon, and probably returning to active duty in the Vietnam war area until their tours were completed. They have instead chosen to remain outside the United States and the reach of its authority, in the hope that eventually they may give their efforts to the peace movement. Those of us concerned with the struggle for peace should offer our encouragement to these men in the courageous stand they have taken. By doing this, we once more declare our demand: the American intervention in Vietnam must stop!



Appendix C: Iwakuni 13's Struggle (Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki)

IWAKUNI 13's STRUGGLE

- I. IWAKUNI MARINE PARTICIPATES IN TOKYO SYMPATHY RALLY FOR OKINAWAN PEOPLES' STRUGGLE AND DEMONSTRATION TO PROTEST BRIG CONDITIONS AT IWAKUNI MARINE AIR STATION
- II. PVT. WEDDEL'S STATEMENT TO THE PRESS
- III. THE STORY OF THE IWAKUNI 13
- IV. IWAKUNI MILITARY INJUSTICE: THE COURT-MARTIAL OF PFC NORM EWING

The militarists of modern America may well earn their niche in history's hall of delusion. If they cling to the fantasy that the burgeoning GI movement and the GI underground press are merely a result of the Vietnam war and will disappear when the war is over, they are missing a central truth.

The underground press has struck a responsive chord in GIs not just because it attacks the war and the establishment but because it gives courageous voice to the complaints American citizen-soldiers have always had about the military caste system. They are the same complaints the protesters' fathers once had and wished they could do something about.

--Former GI, Robert S. Rivkin

IWAKUNI MARINE PARTICIPATES IN TOKYO DEMONSTRATION RALLY

On December 24, Marine Pvt. Clyde E. Weddel, III, one of the Iwakuni 13, held a press-conference in Tokyo at which he made known his opposition to U.S. policy in Asia, gave his support of the Okinawan peoples' struggle against the U.S. occupation, and informed the public about the real situation at the Iwakuni (Marine Air Station) brig--from which he had split a little over a week ago.

Following the press-conference, Weddel and members of Beheiren (Japan Peace for Vietnam Committee) went to Tokyo's Shiba Park. There they staged a demonstration rally: They protested U.S. policy in Okinawa. They protested the conditions at the Iwakuni brig. Following the demonstration rally, they made a demonstration march, with Weddel in the lead, past the American Embassy and to Tokyo's Hibya Park. At Hibya Park they held a post-demonstration rally.

Toward the end of the rally, six Japanese police confronted Weddel and arrested him. The police roughly grabbed him around the throat, twisted his arms, and grabbed his belt. At this Weddel shouted "Right On! Right On!" The police continued to rough him up. Then the Japanese supporters of Clyde, in a move of real solidarity, jumped in to protect him. The riot police rushed in. They arrested some of the Japanese supporters of Weddel....And then the police handed Weddel over to U.S. military police.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 2)

WEDDEL'S STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

(This was passed out during the press-conference and the demonstration)

I have made a move against the war in Vietnam and the way the United States government is operated. The reason for this is that in the last three years I have seen hate, discontent, and the propoganda of the United States. During this time I had thought and looked at everything for the better. Now I feel I am saying what is right for me. I am not trying to change the world, but only saying what I stand for. As a soldier in the service, seeing what I have seen, I am choosing the road of peace. It seems that I have lost a lot of freedoms as an American. There is always the feeling of whether or not they have ever been there at all.

On July 4, 1970, I made my first real move for what I wanted. At that point, I had been confined for a period of five months. I felt my life was wasted in the military, because of the men that I had seen come back from Vietnam. When a man, after fighting for his country, asks himself what he is doing fighting in Vietnam and can't answer, something is wrong. Someone has missed a point somewhere. I myself am an uneducated person and I am trying to better myself. What really makes the whole scene bad is that I must listen to another uneducated person give orders who is usually an alcoholic. I don't believe that the American people really know what they are relying on as far as military leaders. These leaders always have alcohol on their breath and are so smart they have the American people fooled.

On July 4, 1970, I made a move against this type of life. Again these so-called leaders took over. As a result it turned out as a riot. The military has hidden the true facts of the riot from the outside world. I am going to try and explain what caused this riot. There was a mental block between prisoners and brig personnel at the brig. The duty personnel had never been trained for their job. The duty personnel treated some of the prisoners as play things. I had seen and experienced such things as the following:

1. Duty personnel handling food with their hands.
2. Cold chow
3. Request mast was a waste of time
4. Representatives from a man's unit were not available
5. Untrained people
6. Poor health conditions
7. Very poor counseling
8. Too many people in a small area
9. Recreation got to be rare
10. A punishment would be given out and would last for months
11. A doctor's help was hard to get
12. So many medicines were restricted that people went untreated
13. Duty personnel would lie for each other and make it hard for some individuals
14. Poor educational and vocational aids
15. A constant harassment of cleaning ten to twenty times a day

The list of things that was just given are some of the reasons for the riot.

Now I am UA from my unit trying to let this be known to the public. I don't believe that the truth has ever been let out about the riot. That is why I am doing this and writing this now.

I would like to apologize to the Japanese people for the situation in Okinawa. I want you to know that we are not all this way. The inexperience of these GIs is something that is hard to explain, and the

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 3)

fear that the brass has put in them causes this.

I am not for having troops in the Far East, or Asian countries. If there were no troops here in the Far East, such things as the outbreaks in Okinawa would never take place.

Now as a "Peace-Lover" I am asking you for your support in future peaceful demonstrations and peace talks to help the world.

Love Clyde E. Weddel, (USMC)

ANY MAN CAN KILL? BUT YOU MUST BE SPECIAL TO MAKE PEACE

THE STORY OF THE IWAKUNI 13 (From December 22 issue of IN THE BELLY OF THE MONSTER)

On the 4th of July, 1970, the prisoners of the MCAS Brig responded to the continual harassment and violations of brig rules and US constitutional rights by brig personnel by taking control of the brig for American Independence Day. The brass regained control of the brig the next day and picked out 13 men that they considered to be the leaders.

The brass considered the men dangerous. They chained them to the floor of the plane when 8 of them were flown to Yokosuka and generally kept them in segregation. Originally the brass wanted to charge them with riot, conspiracy to riot, etc., with maximum possible sentences ranging up to 40 years. The brass did not respond at all to the complaints about brig personnel or conditions, but only attempted to institute absolute strong man control.

The prisoners felt that their action in taking the brig was the only way they could bring the conditions to the attention of higher brass and the people on the outside. Most of these prisoners were only in pre-trial confinement. Some of those who were moved to Yokosuka were given trustee positions and base liberty.

The brass felt that this was a planned riot.

The prisoners say it was a spontaneous response to a long series of oppressive and discriminatory incidents.

To this day the brass feel that these 13 men are mutinous soldiers who have no respect for authority and that the brig prisoners should accept any brig conditions as part of the punishment for doing whatever caused them to be in the brig in the first place.

The brig prisoners thought the law said they were innocent until proven guilty and most of them were still awaiting court-martial.

The brass want the heaviest sentences possible to deter other prisoners from responding to continued oppression.

To this day supporters of the Iwakuni 13, Japanese and American alike, feel these 13 men were put in the brig for political, not legal, reasons and were courageous to take action that were necessary to awaken the people to the brutal and lawless actions and conditions of the Iwakuni Brig. The Iwakuni 13 supporters want these men freed and in fact and reward for their actions and feel no sentence will keep this generation of Americans from demanding equality before the law and rights of the Constitution.

The "riot" of the Iwakuni 13 and their trials became international news because of the involvement of American and Japanese civilians, including lawyers and newspapermen. There were stories about the 13 carried across Japan and even in the New York Times.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 4)

In the last several weeks the prisoners in MCAS brig have smuggled out various writings that were printed and passed out on the streets. These writings indicate that the prisoners' position is that they will continue the struggle against the unjust and oppressive conditions.

IWAKUNI MILITARY INJUSTICE: THE COURT-MARTIAL OF PFC NORM EWING

On December 9, Pfc Norm Ewing, one of the Iwakuni 13, was sentenced by an Iwakuni court-martial board, after many weeks of court proceedings, to nine months in prison and a bad conduct discharge.

Norm, a Vietnam veteran turned off by the barbarism of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, registered his dissent by going AWOL in Japan on April 4. He found refuge with sympathetic Japanese civilians who share Norm's anti-Vietnam war feelings.

On June 11, he was illegally arrested by U.S. military police in Iwakuni--a violation of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty; it doesn't give U.S. military police the power to make the arrests off base. Norm was then confined to the Iwakuni brig, charged with desertion.

While in the brig, on July 4, it was reported, Ewing and thirteen other brothers demonstrated against the oppressive conditions there. Following this, the brass subjected the marines to cruel punishment, in violation of all human rights: The brothers were flown to Yokosuka handcuffed and chained spread-eagle to the deck of the aircraft.

It was on November 13, 1970 that Norm's court-martial began at Iwakuni. The brass charged him with "desertion and inciting a riot." During the opening day session, Ewing's defense counsel--Japanese lawyer Nobuyuki Ono, American civilian lawyer Mark Amsterdam, a Marine Corps lawyer, and legal assistants Carol Amsterdam and Jan Eakes--charged that the court-martial was illegal because Norm's arrest was indeed a violation of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. Of course the presiding officer overruled this, since in the eyes of the brass justice was not the issue.

During the proceedings, Japanese and GI supporters of Norm jammed the court room, the largest court-room audiences ever to attend a MCAS court-martial. Japanese took the witness stand in defense of Ewing with whom they share feelings of opposition to U.S. military injustice and U.S. aggression.

Reflecting of the brig conditions at Iwakuni, Norm stood up before the court and said: "Any person living under such conditions would have reacted in the same way." Reflecting on his experiences in Vietnam, Norm said: "The only reason people like me were put on restriction was to keep us from seeing what went on there."

And then in closing he said: "These are things that caused me to act in the past and will continue to cause me to act in the future."

SUPPORT THE IWAKUNI 13 STRUGGLE!

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

Appendix D: Affidavit during the Hobbit Struggle (Courtesy of Tomita Hiroaki)

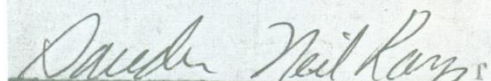
AFFIDAVIT

FUMIO NAKAGAWA, Being first duly sworn on oath, deposes and says the following:

1. That he is a citizen of Japan and a resident of Iwakuni City, Yamaguchi Prefecture, Japan, and presently lives at 2-39, 2-chome, Imazu-cho, Iwakuni, Japan.
2. That he was born on February 5, 1950 in Niigata City, Niigata Prefecture, Japan.
3. That he is the householder at the above address and the leasee of the premises known as the Hobbit.
4. The Hobbit is a coffeehouse which caters to American servicemen and Japanese persons. The Hobbit serves only soft drinks, tea, coffee, and some food, but does not serve any alcoholic beverages whatsoever.
5. The Hobbit is licensed by the Iwakuni City to operate and is in noway violating any city, prefectural, or national laws in its operation.
6. That the Hobbit has in the past attracted large numbers of American servicemen, largely because of the fact that the Hobbit features posters and programs, all of which are legal under both American and Japanese law, which are opposed to America's involvement in Vietnam.
7. That the first notice that the Hobbit was "off limits" was when a Japanese man came to the Hobbit at about 11:00 A.M. on 22 June 1972 and delivered a letter signed by H.L. Van Campen advising that the Hobbit was "off limits". This was the first time anyone had advised your affiant that the Hobbit was not in conformity with any base regulation or order or anything of the sort.
8. Your affiant is still not advised why the action placing the Hobbit "off limits" was taken.
9. The action of the Station Commander, H.L. Van Campen, is arbitrary, unreasonable, capricious, and unexplained. Further, it seriously affects your affiant's right to carry on business in Iwakuni City. Also, it interferes with your affiant's ability to communicate with American servicemen and discuss the war in Viet Nam.
10. There exists no "cogent" reason, and none has been communicated to your affiant, for the action taken by Van Campen. Further, there has been no procedure set out by Van Campen for a redress of his action.

中川文男 Fumio Nakagawa
Fumio Nakagawa

Subscribed and sworn to before me
this 22 day of June, 1972.


Notary Public. My commission
is permanent.

AFFIDAVIT

JAMES SCHMOK, being first duly sworn on oath, deposes and says the following:

1. That he is a sergeant in the United States Marine Corps presently stationed at the Marine Corps Air Station, Iwakuni, Japan.
2. That he believes that the Hobbit Coffeehouse is one of the few places in Iwakuni where a G.I. can go and relax, enjoy pleasant music in a pleasant atmosphere, and not have to worry about being bothered by drunks, bar girls, or M.P.s
3. That he believes that the Hobbit is a good place to meet with other G.I.s and talk about the war in Viet Nam and world events.
4. The Hobbit has plentiful information and literature and thus, a person can learn about the other side of important issues instead of what the newspapers state or what we are told by our "superiors."
5. Since he has been at Iwakuni he has met many G.I.s that come to the Hobbit. They are the kind of people who think for themselves and come to their own conclusions. Because of this, many have a conflict with the military way of life. These persons are not willing to let 3 or 4 years of their lives go by, sitting back and letting the Marine Corps do their thinking and making all their decisions.
6. Because of the above and ideas that are held by ~~many~~ many of the G.I.s that come to the Hobbit, we, including myself, are involved in printing the paper, the Semper Fi, which is put together at the Hobbit.
7. Through the Semper Fi we try to reach many G.I.s on base who are not sure what to believe and present to these persons the "other side."
8. There has never been any acts of violence at the Hobbit, nor use of drugs or alcohol.
9. Your affiant believes that the placing of the Hobbit "off limits" is an attempt to stifle the Semper Fi and legal dissent at Iwakuni.
10. Your affiant believes that the action of placing the Hobbit off limits will be irreparable harm if allowed to continue and cost the management damages in excess of \$10,000.
11. Your affiant is concerned about the future of the Hobbit since he enjoys coming to it. Further, your affiant believes that there exists no legal reason, or any reason at all, for the Hobbit to be placed off limits other than the wishes of the base commander to silence to Semper Fi and all legal dissent to the war in Viet Nam.
12. Your affiant's welfare has not been harmed nor does he believe any others welfare has been harmed by the existence of the Hobbit, nor does he believe that there is any danger to anyone's security by the existence of the Hobbit, and allowing American Servicemen to enter.

Witnessed:

Lana F. Karp

Lana F. Karp

James E. Schmok
James Schmok, SGT., USMC

中川文男 Fumio Nakagawa
Fumio Nakagawa

Subscribed and sworn to before me
this 22nd day of June, 1972.

Anders Neil Karp
Notary Public.

My commission is permanent.

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