

Course No. 3507/3508

**Contemporary
Japanese Culture
and Society**

Lecture No. 7

Social control

Part 2

社会管理その2

In the last lecture...

**We discussed theories
of social control as
applied to Japanese
society.**

Now, let's apply some critical analysis.

さあ、管理社会論を分析・批評できるか、見てみよう。

**Social control theory 6:
Yoshio Sugimoto 杉本
良夫(1997)**

**“Friendly
Authoritarianism”
(Chapter 10 of *An
Introduction to
Japanese
Society*).**



Soft Control 「ソフト管理」系

“Japanese society has various forms of regimentation that are designed to standardize the thought patterns and attitudes of the Japanese and make them toe the line in everyday life.”

「日本の社会には色々の統制仕組みがあって、その目標は日本人の考え方や態度を標準化させて、日常生活で習慣を守るようにすることである。」(ギル訳)

“While these pressures exist in any society, in Japan they constitute a general pattern which one might call friendly authoritarianism.”

「こういうプレッシャーはどここの社会にでも存在するけど、日本においては総合的なパターンになっていて、そのパターンを「親しい権威主義」とでも呼べるでしょう。」

“It is authoritarian to the extent that it encourages each member of society to internalize and share the value system which regards control and regimentation as natural, and to accept the instructions and orders of people in superordinate positions without questioning.”

「権威主義というのは、管理・統制が自然として見なす価値観を社会の各構成員に内面化させて、その構成員が上司の指導や命令を問わずに受け入れるようにさせようとするというところにある。」(杉本245頁)

Sugimoto: Friendly authoritarianism p.257 / 284

	Type of Control	
Sphere of control	① Mutual Surveillance	② Visible & tangible power
Law	Family register, resident cards	Koban (police box)
Community	Neighborhood associations	Police household checks
Business	TQC movement	Long hours, unpaid overtime
Education	<i>Han</i> groups	Corporal punishment, home visits

Sugimoto: friendly authoritarianism

	Type of Control	
Sphere of control	③ Manipulative ambiguity	④ Moralizing & Mind correctness
Law	Constitution, police cells	<i>Shimatsusho</i> (apology letters)
Community	Gift-giving practices	Sanction of <i>seken</i> 世間
Business	Unaccounted expenses; <i>dango</i>	Company songs, company mottoes
Education	Textbook authorization	Classroom cleaning; military attention

杉本257頁(97年)284頁(03年)、和訳byギル)

	管理の種類			
管理の分野	①小集団の相互観察	②見える、実態的な権力	③曖昧さの操作	④説教と「心の正しさ」
法律	戸籍、住民票	交番	憲法など	始末書
地域社会	町内会、自治会	巡回連絡	贈与・贈り物	世間
企業	QCサークル	サービス残業	接待、談合	社歌、社訓
教育	班制度	体罰、家庭訪問	教科書公認制	教室掃除、気をつけ

Net result:

***A docile, easy to
control
population.***

Meigaku students:

Does it bother you if you are expected to stand up and sing the national anthem (*Kimigayo* 君が代) at some event? Do you know the words of *Kimigayo*?

Would you salute the Japanese flag (*Hinomaru*)?

UC Students:

Does it bother you if you are expected to stand up and sing the US national anthem at some event?

Would you salute the Stars and Stripes?

Meigaku students:

Does it bother you what the moral community (*seken* 世間) thinks?

How important is *jōshiki* (常識; ‘commonsense’ or ‘respectability’) to you?

Do you feel Japan is a strictly controlled society?

UC Students:

Does it bother you what people around you think of you?

How important is it to you to be 'respectable'?

Do you feel America is a strictly controlled society?

Challenging control theory

Although Sugimoto and the other control theorists are often persuasive, they must be read critically.

管理社会論を鵜呑みしてはいけない。

***What happens if people
break the rules?***

**さて．．．ルールを破る人
たちはどうなる？**

「出る杭は打たれる」

“Deru kui wa utareru.”

**“The nail that sticks out gets
hammered down.”**

**Maybe the most quoted
Japanese proverb of all.**

But I think it is fair to say that the nail that sticks out is not always hammered in. *Often it is simply left to rust in the wood.*

「出る杭」は必ずしも「打たれる」と限らない。

Enforcement 管理の実施

Country	Pop per cop 1990
Japan	556
UK	384
US	379
Italy	288
France	268

1991 National Police Agency White Paper

**Prisoners
per 10,000
pop.**

**The US... land
of the free?
Or hard control
society?**

Country	Prisoners
US	701
Russia	611
S. Africa	400
UK	139
China	117
Germany	98
France	93
Vietnam	71
Japan	53
Bangladesh	45
India	29

What social behavior is illegal?

In many US states:

Vagrancy (being street homeless)

Loitering (hanging around on the street)

Public drunkenness

Drinking alcohol in a public space

None of the above are criminal offences in Japan.

Homeless people in Japan and the U.S.

James Spradley, *You Owe Yourself a Drunk* (1970). A classic account of homeless tramps in the Seattle area.

One case: a man arrested 114 times in 11 years, and imprisoned 58 times, mostly 30 days or 60 days for public drinking.

His sentences totaled 8 years.

Spradley calls this:

"a life sentence by installments" (Spradley, p. 195)

一人の浮浪者は酩酊などで11年間で114回逮捕されて、58回投獄された。1回は30日間や60日間だったが、全部合わせると、懲役8年間という計算である。

「月賦払いの無期懲役」

Hasn't changed much...

In my own fieldwork with homeless men in Japan and the US, I have found that one of the biggest differences is that the American ones are very frequently arrested, mostly for behavior which is not even against the law in Japan.

現在でも米国のホームレスは頻繁に逮捕

Me and my apple リンゴ事件

I got on the LA subway at MacArthur Park. The train was standing by the platform with the doors open. I took an apple out of my pocket and bit into it. Two guards, *armed with sub-machine guns*, stepped into the carriage and said: *No eating on the subway. Put down the apple.*

I put down the apple.

Now look at Japanese trains...

People are eating riceballs and sandwiches, drinking soft drinks or even beer or sake, and the worst punishment they get is a reproving glance from an old ojiisan or obaasan.

Much more relaxing. Much more tolerant!

日本における電車のルールは、アメリカほど厳しくない！

Soft control?

So Japan doesn't look like a 'hard control society'... as Rokuro Hidaka said, it's not 1984.

OK... is it a 'soft control society'? Does the educational and media brainwashing work so well that you don't need lots of police and prisons? Is it more like 'Brave New World'?

本郷台駅前、「自転車置き場じゃないところ」



Not necessarily.

‘Bicycles may not be parked here.’

新宿中央公園、テント
住まいではなからユリル

警告

新宿中央公園内にテント等を設置する行為は禁止されています。

もし設置した場合、予告なく撤去してある
可能性があります。また、撤去費用は自己負担
となります。ご了承ください。

東京都公園局 新宿中央公園

***Warning: Tent dwellings
may not be erected here.***

Japan has many laws that are not enforced

Consider bicycles for instance. Cyclists riding two abreast is illegal (20,000 yen fine)... ringing your bell to warn a pedestrian to get out of the way is illegal (20,000 yen fine)... going over a zebra crossing on a bicycle (50,000 yen fine, or up to 3 months in prison)... *most people have no idea these laws even exist.*

守って
快適!

自転車のルール

自転車も「車両」です。
道路交通法を守りましょう。

- 自転車
安全利用
5則
- 1 自転車は、車道の左側、歩道は歩道
 - 2 歩道は左側を通行
 - 3 歩道は歩行者優先、歩道横断歩道は歩行者優先
 - 4 安全ヘルメット着用
 - 5 安全運転の心がけ



How often
do you see
a *real*
cyclist
wearing a
helmet?

Bicycles are not allowed to be ridden on the pavement/sidewalk, yet many people do, and it is often quite dangerous.

And they never ring their bells!

**Most Japanese people break the
rules every single day...**

**Sometimes the
police encourage
them to!**

**White lines clearly
assume people are
cycling on the
pavement, which is
dangerous, and
illegal.**





**But if you
ride
correctly,
on the road
– you get
no white
lines to
guide you.**



ce devise rules on
mption that
do break them!

Using anthropology to escape a speeding fine in Britain



スピード違反の言い訳(?)

I have no excuse, although I suppose were I to look for mitigating circumstances I might mention the fact that *mostly I drive in Japan, where they do not use speed cameras, where the speed limits are set at extremely low levels, and where just about everybody breaks the limit quite casually all the time.* I guess I learned bad habits in Japan and failed to adjust to the very different road culture that now prevails in Britain.

The grey zone

The blind eye... 見てみないふり

What do all these unenforced
rules mean?

Students?

Is it a case of 'manipulation of ambiguity' (Sugimoto, Friendly Authoritarianism #3)?

Or is it just a mess?

Very loose control? 緩い管理?

What about the case in 2004 of the politicians who had to quit because they forgot to make their pension payments?

Some had been forgetting for 20 years... and no-one had sent them a reminder!

Loose control... no control?

Bureaucrats who lost a million people's public pension records? (2006 scandal)

The local health official who used his boss's seal (inkan / hanko) to withdraw 1 billion yen from the bank and blow it on powerboat racing? (2008 scandal)

**国民年金記録紛失... 茨城県の10億円横領
& 競艇スキャンダル... 本当に管理されているのか？！**

Inkan vs. Signature

印鑑とサイン、どう違う??

- The personal seal (*inkan* or *hanko*) is a crucial cultural artefact.
- There are some important differences between a seal and a signature.

Students, can you name any?



Inkan vs. signature

1. It's very easy to lose an inkan... it's not easy to lose your hand.
2. If someone else puts my signature on a document, that is definitely forgery 偽造. After all, it isn't my signature. But if someone else takes my inkan and puts it on a document that might be forgery, or it might not be... after all is IS my inkan. I *might* have given him permission to use it.

Happens all the time

Every person of any importance will have several inkans. At least one will be kept by their secretaries at the office. That means they can legally “sign” documents for him in his absence. (Very convenient.) But what if they do it without his knowledge (just a routine document, the secretary knows its OK).

... but sometimes it isn't OK.

Implications...

- 1. The secretary can commit the boss to some deal without him knowing it, accidentally or not.**
- 2. The secretary can take the rap for the boss by claiming it was they, not the boss, who put the boss's seal on the document... whether or not that was the case.**

印鑑は曖昧さを作り出す機械

... so the inkan is a device that generates moral ambiguity. It creates grey zones. In that sense it fits Nihonjinron theory perfectly (ambiguity, vagueness, avoiding the black and white of the chess board).

But does it fit control theory?

「曖昧さ」は日本人論用語の定番
ですが、「管理社会論」に適用す
るのは大丈夫？

Four key characteristics of Japanese internalized control 日本の内面支配メカニズムの4特徴

1. Vagueness in drawing moral boundaries

①物事のあいまい化

Akira Kurihara 栗原彬

③ Manipulation of ambiguity 曖昧さの操作

“Ambiguity ... enables those in positions of authority to interpret various situations at their discretion.” (p. 278)

Yoshio Sugimoto

To me, ambiguity looks like a weak link in control theory. Yes, it can allow bosses and politicians to manipulate folk... but it can also lead to confusion, chaos and crime... things not usually seen as features of a control society.

Classroom control?

Lacking in strictness according to Momoko (my daughter). Han system not much used.



The case of little Taro

- **“Jugyo sankan” 授業参観 class observation**
- **A little boy with no self-discipline. The teacher let him run around shouting**
- **The parents seemed to approve...**
- **Or did they?**

New key word:

学級崩壊

Gakkyu Hokai

Lit. 'Class collapse.' When a teacher totally loses control and a class has to be disbanded.

Robert Yoder

Juvenile Delinquency in Japan
(TransPacific Press, 2006)

**An interesting study of some very
wild high school students who do
not obey the rules.**

***(Bob used to teach here at Meigaku.
He will guest on Nov 22)***

Control by whom?

An interesting point in our survey of control theorists was the wide range of opinions as to *where the center of social control is located* – the government; the bureaucracy; big corporations; the education system; American global domination... social convention (*seken*)...



Him perhaps?

**Do you think the emperor
controls Japan?**

Is *he* the supremo?

Fujio Mitarai, boss of Canon Corp and chairman of Keidanren, the top employers' association

御手洗 富士夫
(日本経済団体
連合会会長)



*... his name means
“toilet” by the way...*



**Succeeded in
2010 by
Hiromasa
Yonekura,
chair of
Sumitomo
Chemical**

**Do you think Keidanren
controls Japan?**

The LDP? 自民党?

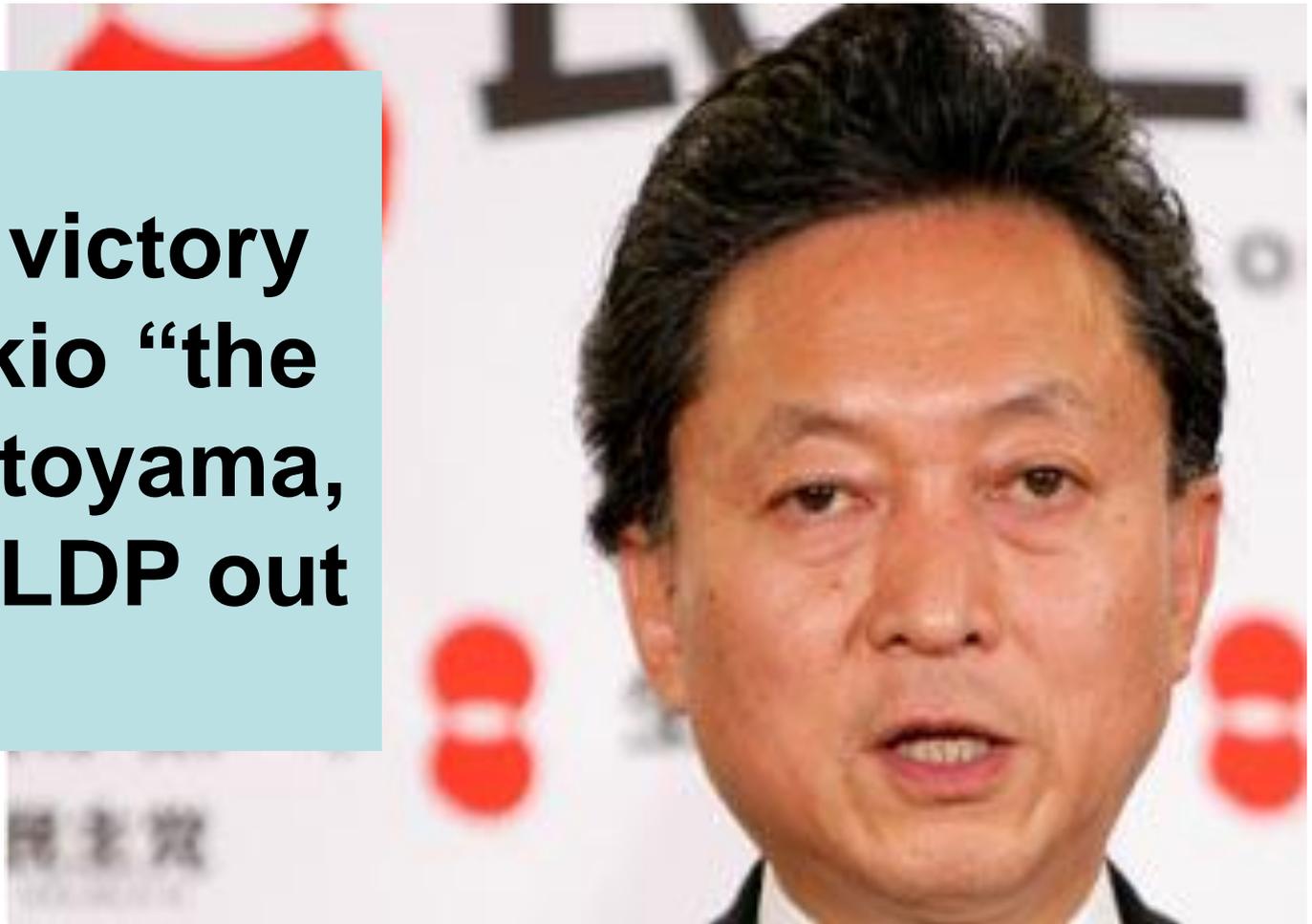


The conservative political establishment

From 1955 to 2009, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP; Jiminto 自民党) almost continuously monopolized political power in Japan. On the face of it that makes the LDP a strong candidate to be viewed as the center of social control in this country.

Not any more! 2009, birth of 2-party system

DPJ wins landslide victory under Yukio “the Alien” Hatoyama, dumping LDP out of power



From lead to cloud

Until quite recently, politics in Japan felt like a big slab of lead: heavy, grey and immoveable.

Now it feels like a fluffy cloud, so light and insubstantial that anyone with a bit of charisma and a strong political will could come along and give it a shove to left or right.

**Do you think the prime minister
controls Japan?**

This guy?



**Shinzo Abe, Yasuo Fukada,
Taro Aso, Yukio Hatoyama,
Naoto Kan, Yasuhiko
Noda...six prime ministers in
six years! (2006~12)**

**Opinion poll for October 2012
shows support for Noda cabinet
at 18%.**

Weak control?

MOF? 財務省?

MEXT? 文科省?



**Do bureaucrats (官僚) control
Japan?**

Tarnished bureaucrats

汚れた官僚

Once, the Japanese bureaucracy was seen as all-mighty. But they have been tarnished by endless cases of corruption and incompetence, so that few people respect them particularly these days.

Fallen businessmen

Since the collapse of the bubble economy, businesses have had to be bailed out with public money... banks especially. In 2008-9, even Toyota Motor made a loss, its first in 59 years. So corporate Japan does not look invincible. Also... the interlocking shareholdings cited by Saburo Shinohara [theory #5] are being broken up.

... none convince.

There is no political power center comparable to the US presidency... partly because of the UK-style parliamentary system, but also because Japan has not generated strong political leaders for a long time. Nakasone and Koizumi are the only ones in the last 25 years.

There is no “Big Brother”

... only lots of squabbling little brothers, none of whom seems particularly powerful or reliable.

That is, arguably, worse.

Macro-political factors

Because the collapse of Japan's bubble economy was the economic equivalent of the Fall of the Berlin Wall.

1. Berlin Wall falls: Nov 9, 1989

2. Nikkei hits peak: Dec 29, 1989

(1) Collapse of communism, triumph of capitalism

(2) Collapse of corporatist capitalism, triumph of free-market capitalism

Deregulation, wider range of share ownership, more willingness to let firms go bankrupt... became virtues in the 1990s, and Japanese-style corporatism came to be seen as a problem rather than a key to success. Less job security... hence also less worker loyalty,

The U.S. economic collapse of 2008 and subsequent struggle has thrown that logic into question.

Turning to foreigners

**Carlos Ghosn, boss
of Nissan since
1999, now boss of
Renault too.
Brazilian/Lebanese,
he went from zero
to hero...**



Your job's "gohn"

He defied Japanese business etiquette, cut thousands of jobs, shut five domestic plants, and auctioned off prized assets such as Nissan's aerospace unit. Became Public Enemy No. 1 to Japanese traditionalists. However, in one year, Nissan's net profit climbed to \$2.7 billion from a loss of \$6.1 billion in the previous year.

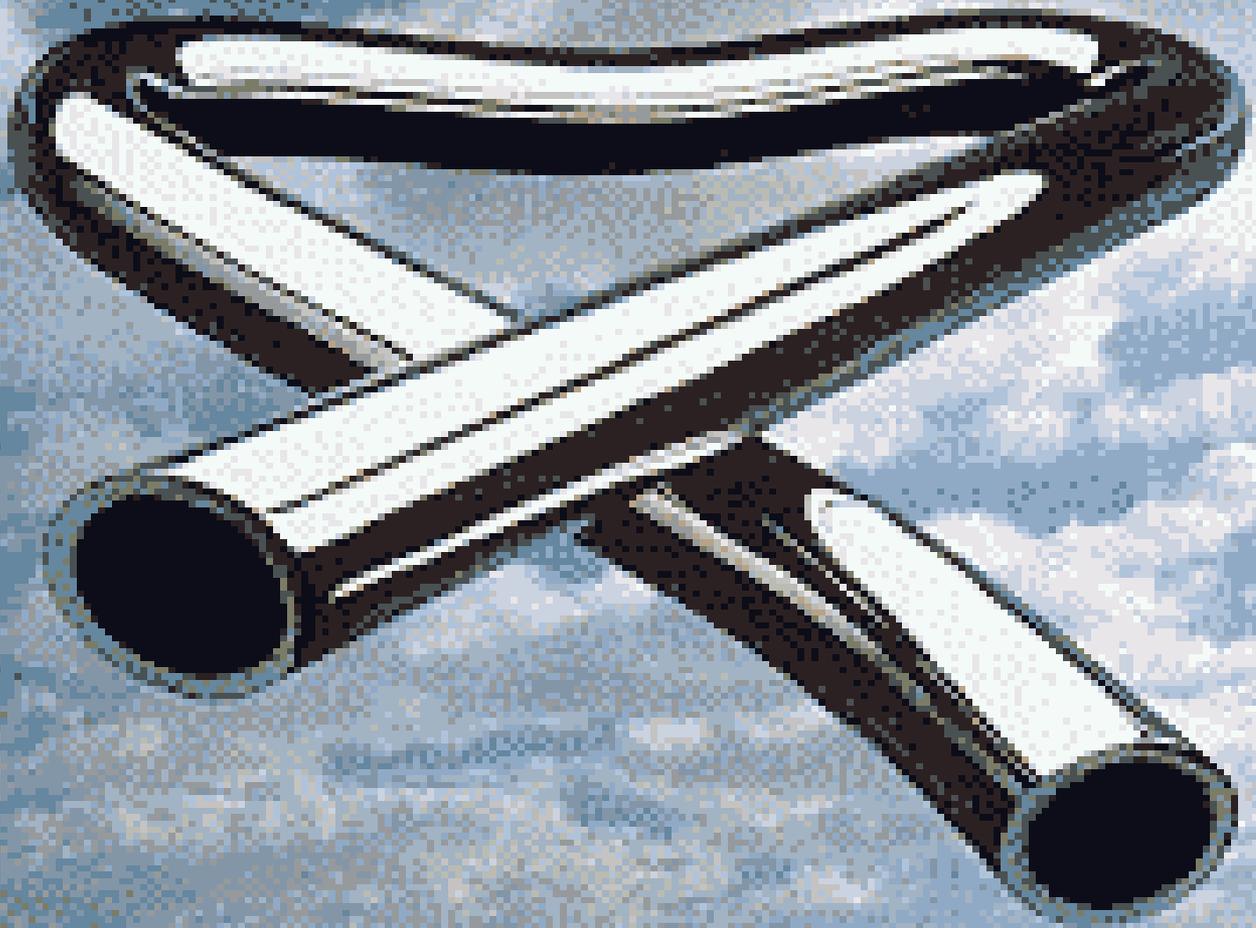
In-fighting

The LDP and DPJ are split between factions based mainly on personal loyalty rather than political principle;

The bureaucracy is engaged in turf warfare over budgets between ministries and within ministries;

Politicians have increasingly battled with bureaucracy, e.g. Koizumi's post office privatization, the struggle to rein in special corporations (kodan 公団etc.)

空っぽな三角？



*which has left the “iron triangle”
looking kind of rusty and hollow.*

**The late
Chalmers
Johnson**
チャルマーズ
ジョンソン



『日本：誰が
治める？』
開発国家の
邁進
(まいしん)
チャルマーズ
ジョンソン著

Japan:
Who Governs?

The Rise of the
Developmental State



Chalmers Johnson

THE ENIGMA OF JAPANESE POWER

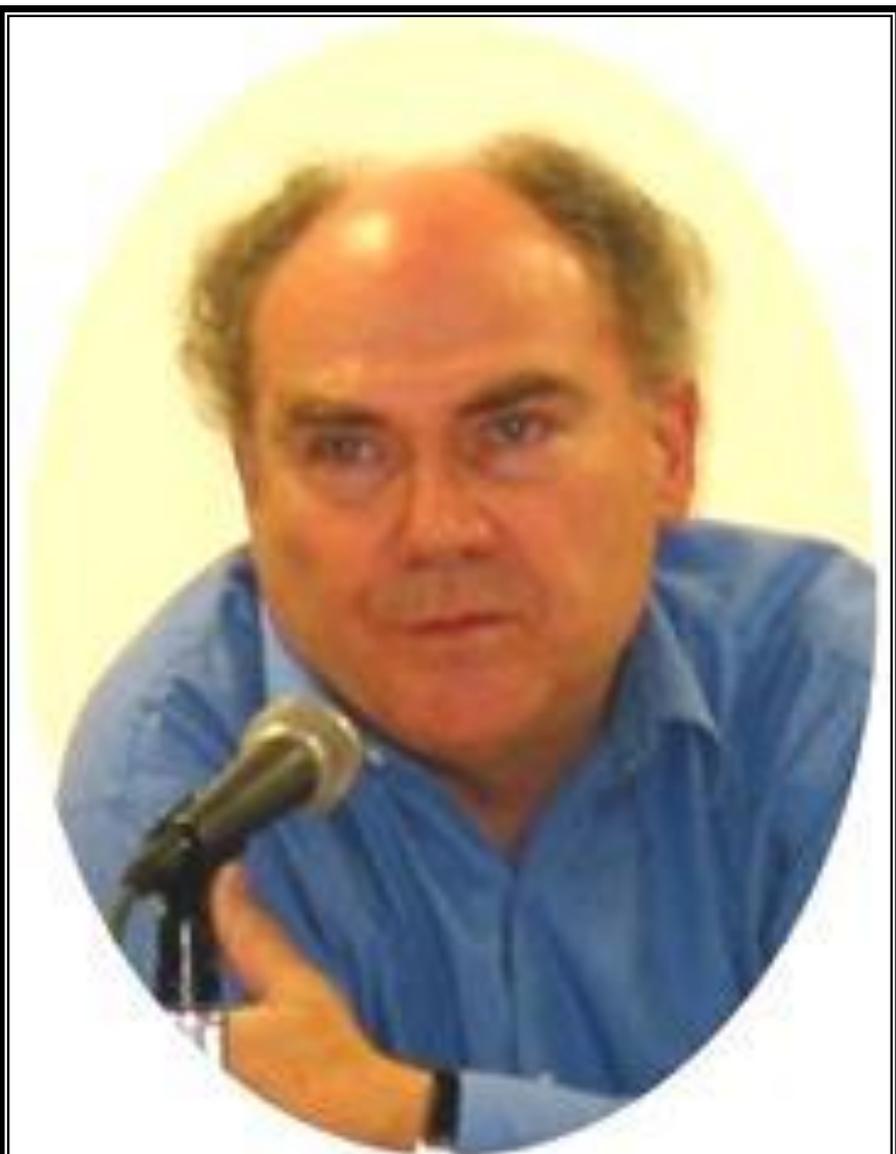


THE ENIGMA OF JAPANESE POWER: A HISTORY OF
THE JAPANESE EMPIRE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Karel van Wolferen

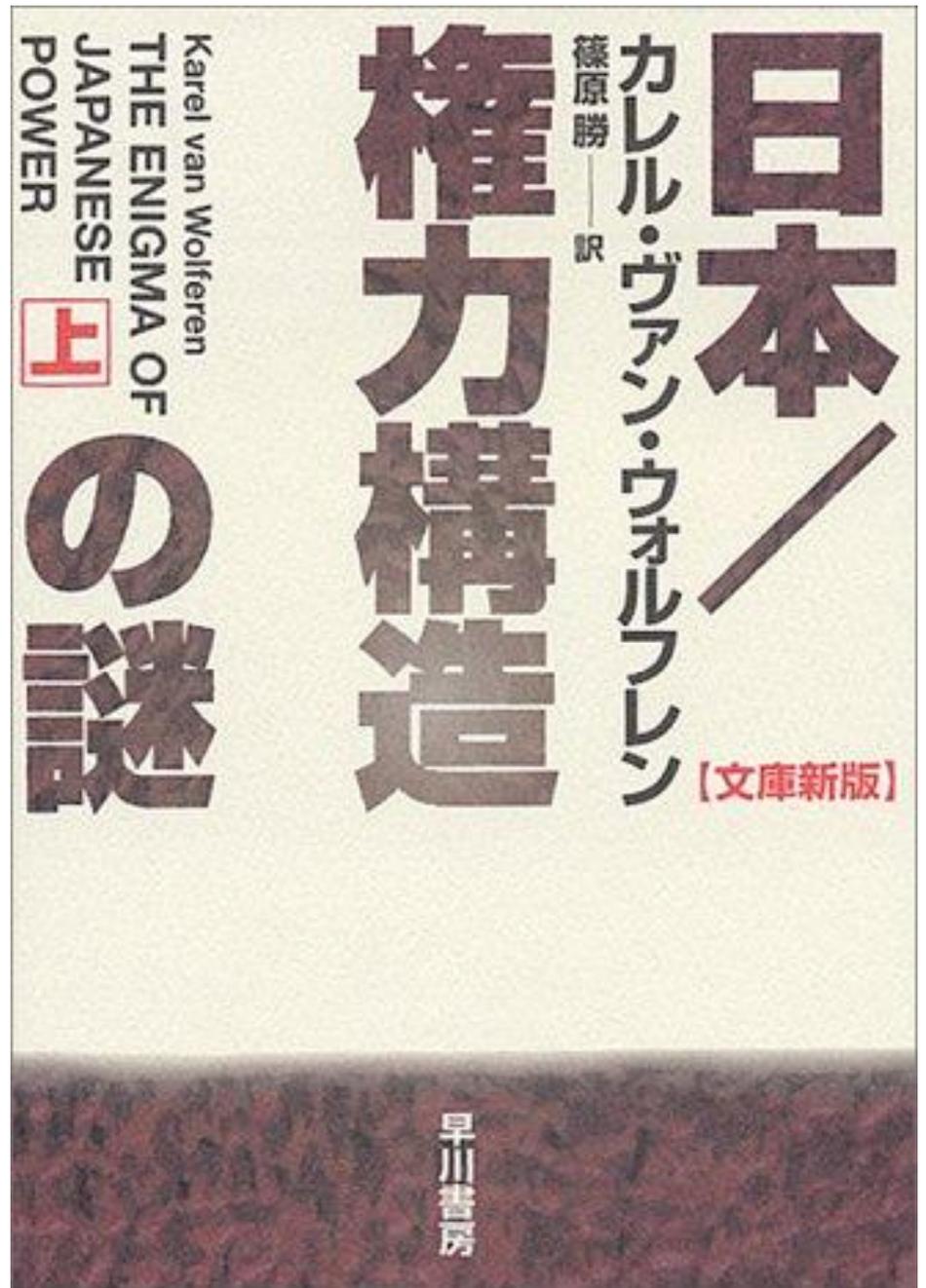
"The most readable and comprehensive report volume of Japan to appear... A
ground study that encompasses Japanese political, economic and social life...
Highly recommended for all of our libraries." —Library Journal

San Francisco Chronicle



Karel van Wolferen

日本語版 (篠原勝訳)



Van Wolferen:

- **‘Each of the three corners of the “iron triangle” (government, bureaucracy, industry) shows surprising strength at some times and surprising weakness at others... there is no dominant center.’**

But maybe I'm missing the point

If we read Orwell's *1984* carefully, we find that probably "Big Brother" does not exist even in that book. He's never seen in person, no-one knows his real name, some people think he may have died many years ago. His name and image are used by "the Party" as a symbol to instil respect and fear.

Control from bottom up?

Alan Miller, Satoshi Kanazawa

Order by Accident

**The Origins and
Consequences of Conformity
in Japan**

Westview Press: 2000

Case studies:

**Crisis management and
Deviancy**

CRISIS MANAGEMENT

If Japan were a smoothly functioning control society, we might expect a well-organized response when a crisis occurs – as they often do in this land of earthquakes, volcanoes, typhoons, floods and landslides.

.... In fact the government and bureaucrats mess it up every time.

JAL jumbo crash 1985

In 1985, a JAL flight 123 was on its way from Tokyo to Osaka crashed into the mountains on the Gunma/Nagano borders. 500 people were killed; four survived. Many more survived the crash, but died overnight of wounds and exposure, as it took the Self Defense Forces 12 hours to reach the crash site.

Why so slow?

- 1. The leadership decided it would be impossible to climb up the thickly forested mountain at night. In fact, several journalists did just that, and reached the crash scene before the SDF rescue party.**
- 2. They also decided it was impossible to reach the site from the air, as they did not have helicopters with search-lights.**

Foolish pride

Both the US military and the Tokyo Fire Department had such helicopters and offered to lend them. The requests were turned down – because of institutional pride.

The US could have landed marines at the site within an hour, but they the government told them to leave it to the SDF.

Kobe earthquake 1995

Again the US military offered to help and were turned down. Kobe was part of Hyogo prefecture, controlled by Socialists, fiercely anti-American, and unwilling to change its stance because of a major earthquake. 3,500 died.

2011 Fukushima nuclear disaster

Destroyed the reputation of a giant corporation, Tokyo Electric Power. It also seriously damaged the reputation of the bureaucrats and politicians in charge of energy policy, and forced the resignation of prime minister Naoto Kan.

Withholding vital information

The government had access to detailed radiation maps via its Early Warning System called SPEEDI*. It sat on that data for 2 weeks, while many people in Fukushima evacuated to areas with higher levels of radiation than the place they were leaving.

*** System for Prediction of Environment Emergency Dose Information**

Too slow with SPEEDI

The national government did not publish the SPEEDI data until March 23, 12 days after the disaster, a disastrous delay in view of the fact that one of the most dangerous isotopes released in the disaster was Iodine-131, which has a half-life of eight days.

It later emerged that the data *had* been shared from 14 March onward with the US military, and also from 12 March with the Fukushima prefectural office, which sat on it for a couple of weeks and then deleted five days' worth of the data. Indeed, it was only one day after the US Department of Energy starting publishing the SPEEDI data at its own website that MEXT started publishing the data in Japanese.

... clearly then, the way the group operates (in this case, government, SDF) does not fit into a bigger pattern of a well-controlled society.

Rather, powerful attachment to one group can lead to indifference to other groups, sometime with fatal consequences.

“Solidaristic Theory of Social Order”

“Japanese social groups unintentionally produce a high level of social order in their attempt to increase their own group solidarity.” “Social order at the societal level is the unintended by-product of the groups’ attempts to control their members’ behavior in order to reach their own idiosyncratic goals, and of the resultant conformity of members to group norms.” (p.13)

2. Deviant groups

These same control systems can also be turned to deviant ends – gambling, crime etc.

Consider yakuza

Well organized, highly disciplined, but hostile to civil society.

Yakuza



**Traditional (?)
Japanese
gangsters... the
word derives from
ya-ku-za (8-9-3), the
worst hand of cards
you get in a certain
gambling game –
hence ‘worthless’ or
‘loser’....**

“Chinpira”: Shades, cigs, fans...



... and that slightly insolent expression

Deeply hierarchical...

Strictly controlled...

Deeply anti-social.

Lighting the boss' cigarette



... it's a hierarchical world for yakuza.

Civic campaign against yakuza: the “3 No” movement



1.No fear

2. No paying

3.No using

More discretion with names...



WAS: “Otabe Gang”... IS: “Otabe General Industries”

Bosozoku (Bikers)





The look.

The gear...



Girls do it
too...



Nationalism?
Or just
another
fashion
statement?



Battling riot police in Hiroshima





YOUNG PEOPLE RACING TEAM
小次郎



全狂連
JOKER'S ROUTO 20 GOST
ZERO

WHITE KNUCKLE
JAPAN CAR CLUB

Yokohama
EHO

天門沙昆
AUTO SPORT CAR CLUB

BLACK SWASTIKA EMPEROR

神風閣連合
THE BAY
KAWASAKI
SHIBUYA
MITSUBISHI
SUZUKI
HONDA
DAIWA

DUO ENT
東京

GROUP ZERO 忍

FLYING TOKYO
ICBM

神風連合

関東連合
東京
埼玉
千葉
神奈川

Powered by
SESUS ROAD
Co.Ltd.

NUMBER 1

東京 五反田
狂気 暴走族

関東連合

MAD SPECIAL

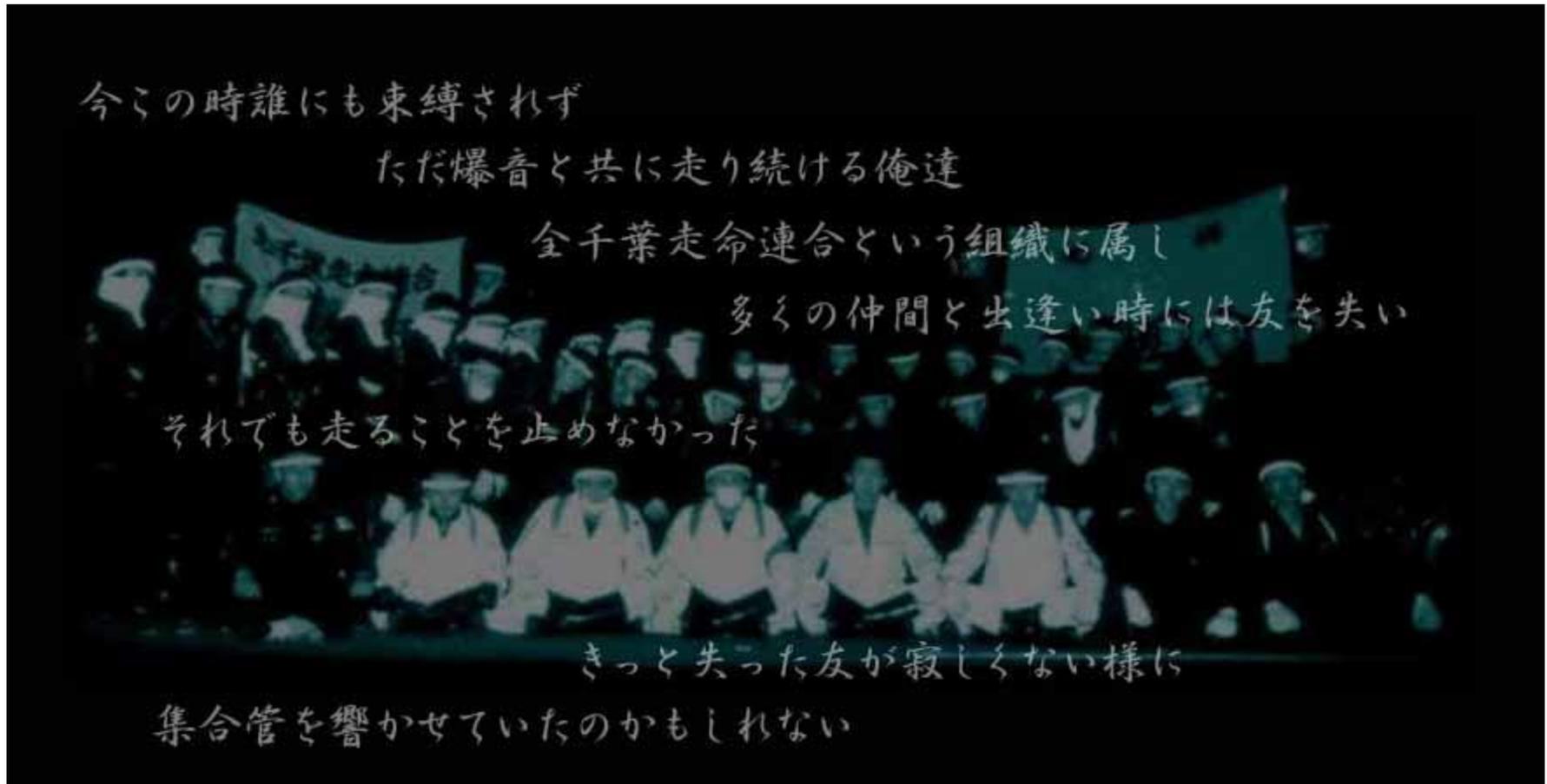
鑪

関西連合

BLIZZARD



That very “Japanese” (?) combination: anti-authority, rebellious, sticking it to the bourgeoisie...



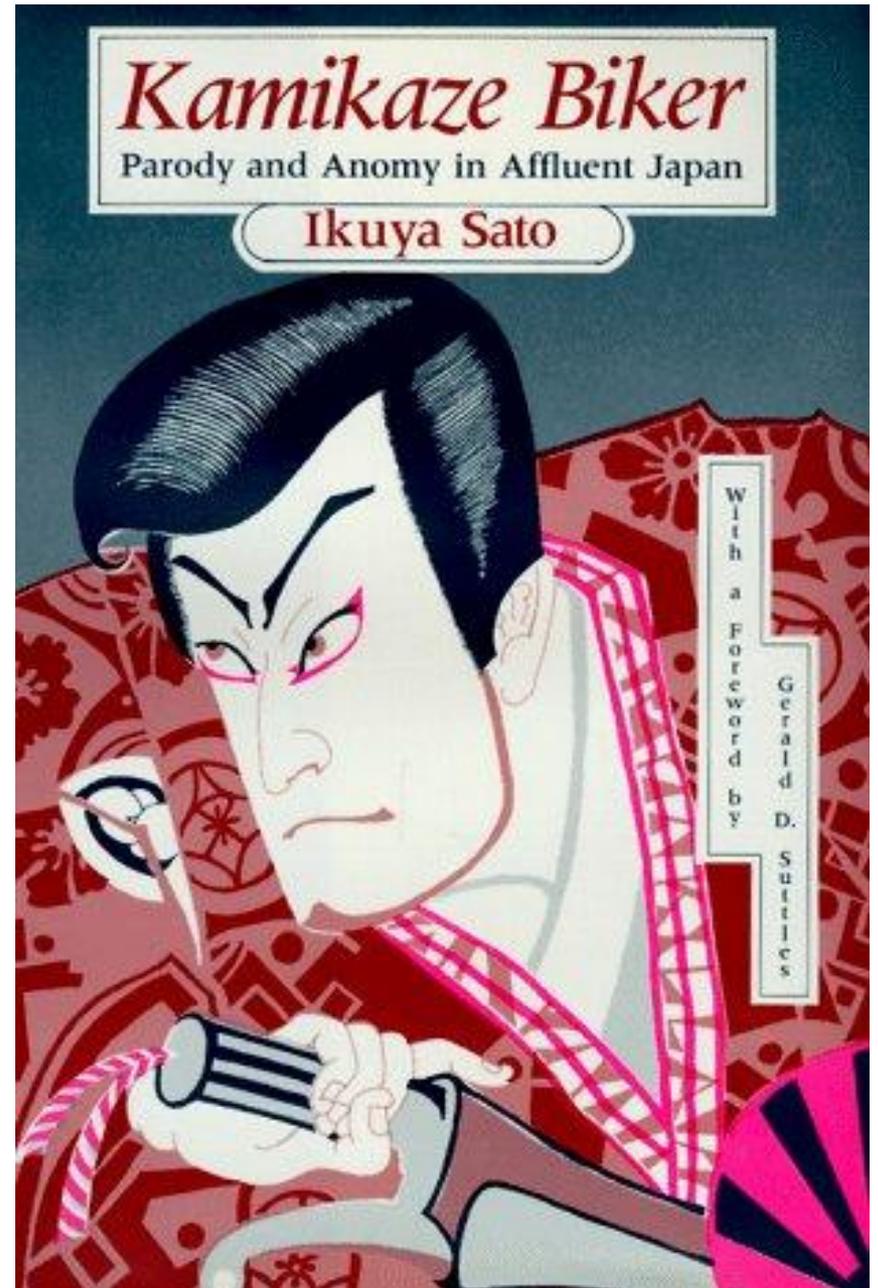
... yet just as strictly organized and hierarchical as mainstream society... if not more so.

... and when they graduate they become terribly nostalgic...

... and organize old boys' reunions etc. Needless to say, the stickers and uniforms etc. are very collectible...



Read all about
them in Ikuya
Sato's 1991
offering from
Chicago UP



Uyoku 右翼 Far-rightists



A long tradition: posters from 1929 and 1931.

浅沼稻次郎暗殺



自由民主党

日本社会党

民主社会党 西尾末広氏

浅沼次郎氏

The Assassination of Inejiro Asanuma

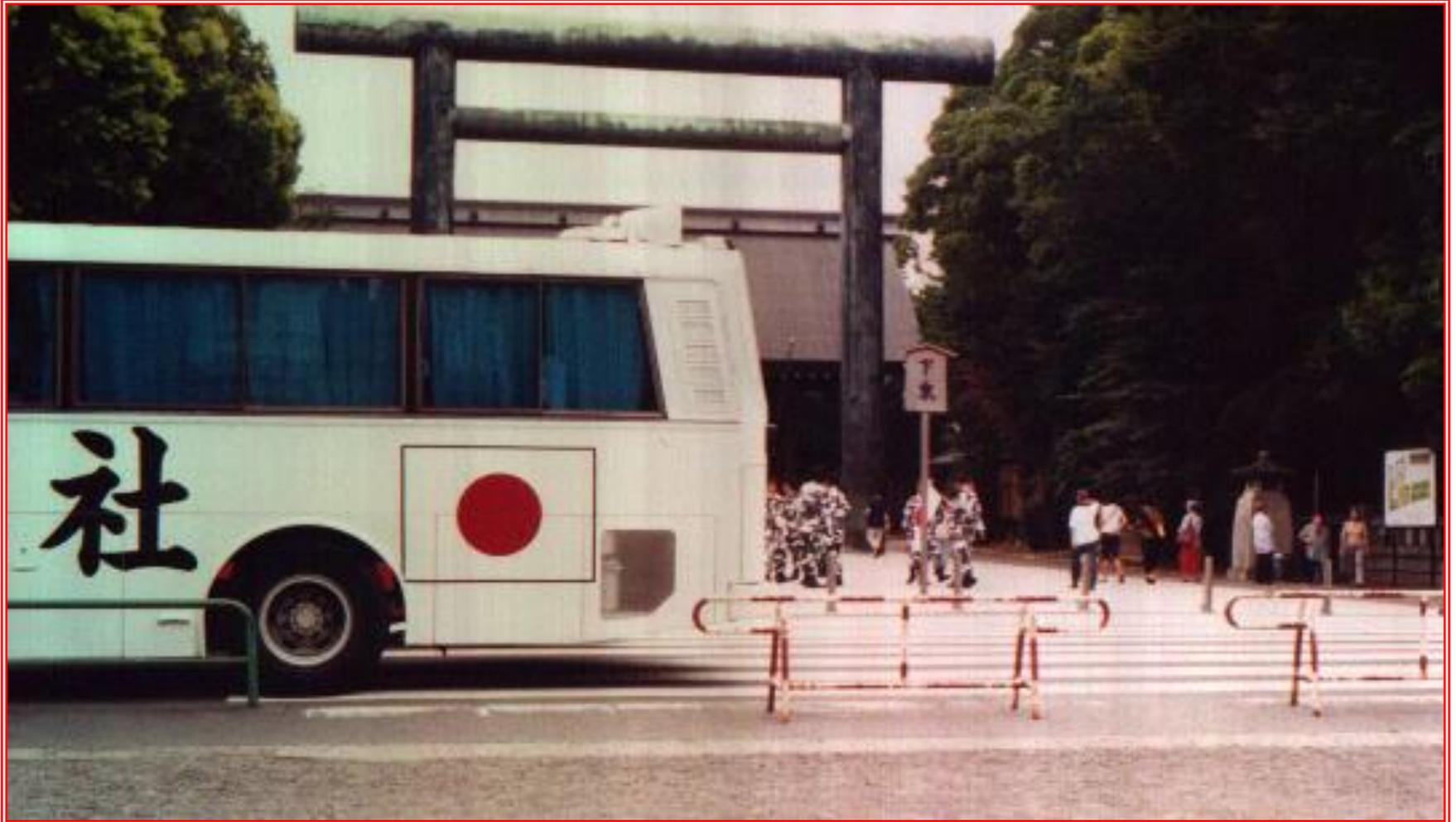
Asanuma, then leader of the Japan Socialist Party, was stabbed to death by a 17-year-old rightist youth, Otoya Yamaguchi, in 1960, in a shocking incident televised live. Since then, however, the far right has not murdered any leading political figures.

More groups, fewer members

Year	No. of groups	No. of members
1965	550	120,000
1993	1,450	22,000
2003	1,530	15,600

Police statistics 警察関係調べ

Yasukuni Shrine... Mecca for nationalists





**Denouncing
the peace
ceremonies
at Hiroshima
and the US-
imposed
“Peace
Constitution”
平和憲法反対
運動**

Demanding the return of the Northern Territories from Russia...



A major issue for the right



Criticizing the Koreans in their own language...



... in the territorial dispute over Dokdo / Takeshima island.

Far Leftists



The good old days... battling the riot police over the Vietnam war in the '70s

A Chukakuha-kei Zengakuren demo outside the Defense Agency against sending a C-130 transport plane to Cambodia, July 1997



Trying to stop an SDF tank exercise that used live ammo



... a dangerous business.

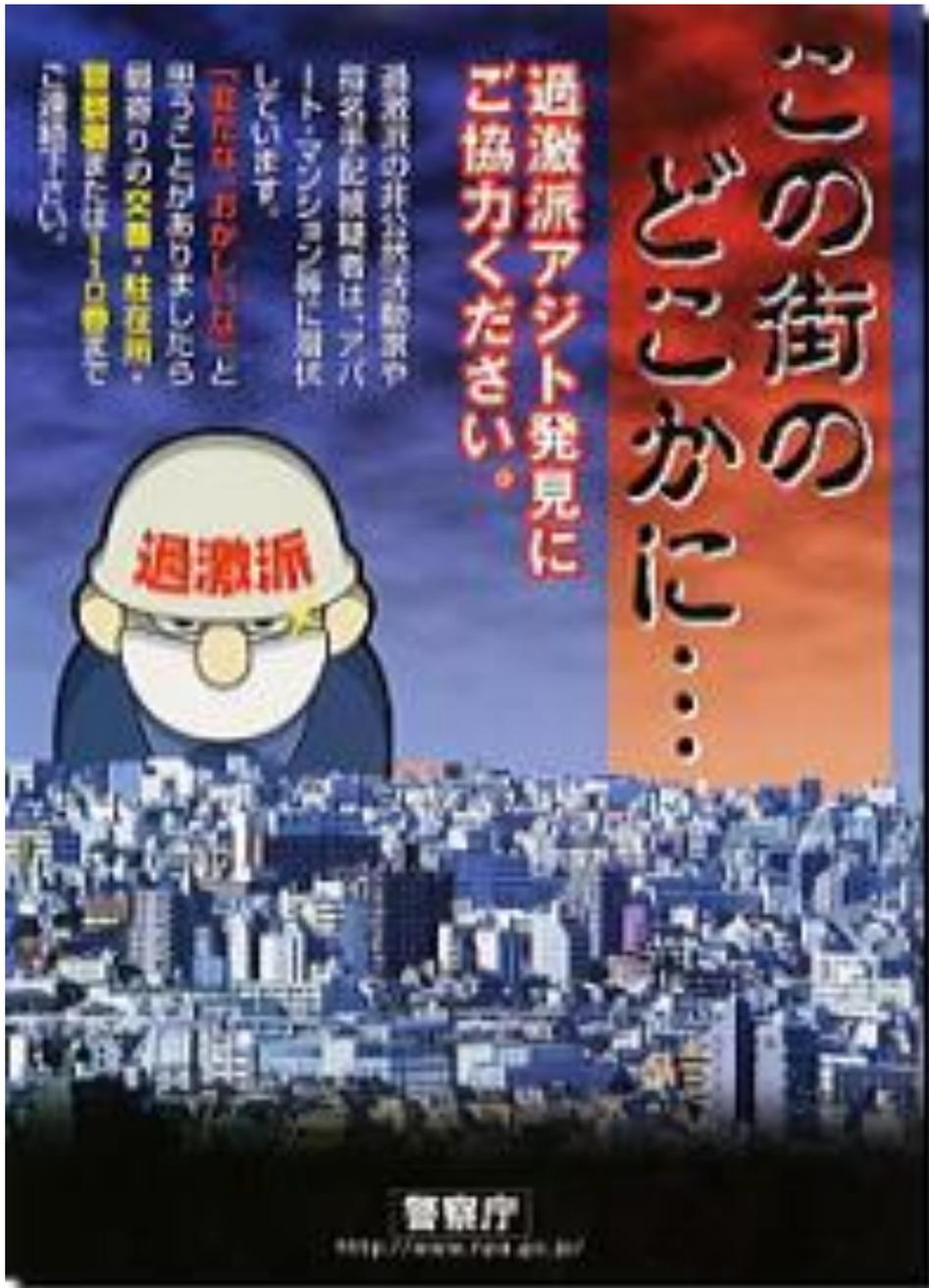
Anti-airport demo at Sanrizuka, July 1997



Siege warfare at Sanrizuka



Police poster asking citizens to inform on leftists





Wanted for
murder:
Osaka
Masa'aki of
the
Chukakuha



Wanted for
breaking
and
entering:
Onoda
Masaru of
Kakumaru-
ha

Aftermath of carbomb attack... on fellow leftist





Asama Sanso, 1975

Somewhat ironically...

These far-left factions have been so busy killing each other over differences regarding the finer points of Marxist/Maoist/Trotskyist ideology that they have never actually got round to assassinating any, err, capitalists, members of the ruling class etc. And they've never even tried to attack the Emperor...



On January 2, 1969, Okuzaki used a catapult to fire a pachinko ball at Emperor Hirohito while Hirohito was addressing the crowd from the balcony of the Imperial Palace

**. . . But this guy has. He's a car battery salesman called Kenzo Okuzaki.
奥崎謙三**

... he missed.

But after that Hirohito always addressed the crowd from behind a pane of bullet-proof glass.

Okuzaki did a year in prison for the offence... one of several spells behind bars.

The film of Okuzaki's one-man crusade for post-war justice, *Yuki Yukite Shingun* (The Emperor's Naked Army Marches On), directed by Kazuo Hara, won stacks of prizes at film festivals in 1987.





A classic
of cine
verite

快哉
科舉

August 20, 1997: Okuzaki leaves jail (again)



神軍平等兵・奥崎謙三、遂に凱旋

主演：奥崎謙三

神様の 愛い奴

決定版



「ゆきゆきで、神軍」の衝撃再び

2003: Aged 83, he stars in “God’s Love Slave,” a very eccentric and pornographic documentary

The late Kenzo Okuzaki

He died at the age of 85 in Kobe, June 16, 2005.

Kenzo Okuzaki...

**... proof positive that the
nail which sticks out
sometimes stays
sticking out....**

... right to the bitter end.

Questions:

Is Japan a control society?

日本、管理社会

If so, who controls it?

ならば、だれが管理する？

亮