The Positioning and Ideology of the Hokkaido University Struggle
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The Hokkaido University Struggle occurred in the latter half of the 1960s amidst the outbreak of the post-war struggle for democracy, the anti-Vietnam War movement, the various conflicts that erupted in universities, and the frequent confrontations and skirmishes between party factions. This thesis aims to elucidate the universality, the individuality, and the distinctiveness of the Hokkaido University Struggle through an in-depth analysis focused on the copious quantities of flyers distributed on the campus and documents pertaining to the University President of that time, while tracking reports published in student newspapers, as well as the feelings expressed by students and staff members.

The Hokkaido University Struggle appeared to be behind the times, but in the post-war democratization of universities, this university played a pioneering role by presenting a nationwide reform plan of the university system in 1947. The 1950 protest against W.C. Eells involving the university is also well known. The movement for the democratization of universities is retrospectively seen as a glorious episode of “reform” even in the midst of the Hokkaido University Struggle in the late 1960s. However, in conditions similar to other universities, the anti-war movement, the autonomy of student dormitories, and military research became problematic. As an aspect of the democratization of universities and the focus on the resolution of the numerous university conflicts that had picked up speed from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s, the office of the “University President of Reform” was instituted in 1967. After the establishment of this post, the Hokkaido University Struggle took the following three-pronged form: 1. The “University President of Reform” led the path to the democratization of universities supported by the students associations and the teachers’ union; 2. This move was opposed by the proponents of the dissolution of universities, headed by Class Anti-War Coalitions, All-Campus Joint Struggle League, and the New Left that criticized democratization and questioned the very existence of universities; 3. “Rebel” teachers were positioned to extensively reform universities from within through the university liberation movement, among other endeavors.

The Hokkaido University Struggle peaked not in 1968 but in 1969, with the actors who participated in the three above mentioned ways locked in fierce confrontations and with complex structures also being conceived within each division. Unyielding revolutionary ideas and the inclination for violence could be observed in the proponents of democratization; anti-Marxist tendencies and romanticism
became visible in the anti-war lobby; and the principles of defeatism and resignation took hold of the rebel teachers.

The Hokkaido University Struggle could not evolve fully within the political circumstances of the 1960s and the 1970s in terms of the lineage of the post-war democratization and the popularization of universities. Historically, the university as an entity was confined to the function of acting as an immense intellectual authority within the local community. Thus, it could not take the shape of an independent unit of social change.

Key words: The Hokkaido University Struggle, Democratization of Universities, University President of Reform, Class Anti-War Coalitions, All-Campus Joint Struggle League