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THE HISTORY OF COMPETITIVE AIKIDO
A STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RANDORI METHOD

by Fumiaki Shishida

Competitive aikido began 32 years ago at the First All Nippon College Competitive Aikido Tournament in 1970. Since then, four international tournaments have been held: the first in 1989 and the fourth in October 2001. Competitive aikido is becoming popular slowly, but steadily. Yet, the world of aikido seems to be dominated by several groups that practice only *kata* and have no intention of competing. This is unique in the history of Japanese martial arts (kyudo, kendo, judo, naginata, etc.), which simultaneously train for competition and practice. The world of aikido is still critical about harmonizing tradition with the concept of competitive sport as adopted by the other martial arts. To this extent, it may be difficult to predict the growth of competitive aikido. If, however, one considers the entertainment aspect of competitive sports, which fueled the appeal of these competitive martial arts, and couples this with the natural desire (unnatural otherwise) of trainees to test their aikido fighting skills, then one can project the rapid expansion of competitive aikido.

The object of this article is to shed light on the evolution of competitive aikido, a form that will influence the world of martial arts in the twenty-first century. I particularly want to trace through the ideas and actions of Kenji Tomiki (1900-1979), the originator of competitive aikido, and the process of development from the very first concepts regarding competition through the formation of the 17 basic techniques for randori-aikido that constitute the basis of today's system of tournament aikido. This study will include developments up to the first match, which took place in 1962. I especially want to take up the following two unsolved issues: 1. The relationship between *judo taiso*, a regular exercise course Tomiki taught at Waseda University after 1952, and the germination of the plan for competitive aikido. 2. The relationship between the two aikido randori methods, both fundamental to competitive aikido, but one consisting of the 15 *basic waza* techniques and the other of the 17 *kata of randori* techniques which were established later. I want to review the historical facts relating to these two points.

There has been no serious research into the history of competitive aikido. Possible sources of prior research are my own: *Thirty-Year Historical Study of the Aikido Club*, *The Spirit of Competitive Aikido*, and *History of the Aikido Club*. Of these, the first and third are sort histories of the Aikido Club of Waseda University, the birthplace of competitive aikido. The *History of the Aikido Club* is a little longer and comparatively better researched, but it is still within the realm of a short history. In *The Spirit of Competitive Aikido*, I examined the proper way for conducting competitions by focusing on the transitions or rules of randori matches, but I did not consider the earliest meets. This article constitutes the first in-depth examination of this topic.

My main sources are: the writings of Kenji Tomiki after 1950 and the *Aikido Club Magazine* (first published in 1961) by the Waseda University Aikido Club. I also interviewed many alumni of the Waseda University Aikido Club and students of the former Kenkoku University in Manchuria.

1. The Germination of the Plan to Develop Competitive Aikido.

Kenji Tomiki went to Manchuria in 1936 and taught aikibudo and the theory or concepts underlying all Japanese martial arts at Kenkoku University from 1938 until the defeat of Japan in 1945. One of the members of the first graduating class of the university, Mr. Dodo, who eagerly continued his practice aikibudo for 6 years, starting in 1938, before the war, said the following (in our telephone conversation of 8/27/1996): "I was of the opinion that Tomiki Sensei was considering developing aikido into a match format. We used to practice randori (exercise with an opponent who resists you), and I felt we would eventually go in the same direction as judo."

From the time he was a young student, Tomiki viewed aikido through Jigoro Kano's judo theory, so it inevitable that he would think in terms of developing a competitive structure for aikido. Moreover, Kenkoku University had already established conditions that nurtured his view of this matter. By this I mean that the university's first three-year curriculum included, under the name "aikibudo", aikido as one the three (kendo and judo were the other two) required traditional budo training courses. This gave Tomiki the opportunity to consider the transformation of aikido into a competitive sport. With aikido ranked on a par with traditional kendo and judo at the elite Kenkoku University of Manchuria, Tomiki was forced to think about the theory and the actual method of instruction when he was given a leadership role in aikido instruction. This necessity was amplified by the personality of his teacher Morihei Ueshiba, who was praised as the founder of aikido after the war.

Ueshiba came to the university once or twice a year as an advisor for the traditional budo classes. One of the first graduates of Kenkoku University had the following impression of Ueshiba's instructions: "Ueshiba Sensei's techniques seemed to be magic. I thought the teacher was the one who was going to fall, but when he grasped my arm the same way others did without any ill effect, I was in pain all the way down to the tips of my feet and I could not move." It is unclear whether the "teacher" was Tomiki or Ueshiba but Tomiki performed similar ukemi when Ueshiba demonstrated an instruction in front of the third graduating class. Since Ueshiba let Tomiki (who was judo 6th dan at the time) strike at him with a real sword (probably a bokken), then defeated him very easily, many students of the judo club, who aimed single-mindedly to win, or students of the kendo club, who aimed at grand, dignified kendo, felt out of tune with budo techniques that might destroy the meaning of their training from the foundation. (On the other hand, there might have been some who "were moved".) Tomiki revered Ueshiba as a master of jujutsu. Between a master and a pupil in those days, of course, the pupil could not oppose the master's methods of instruction. It was the pupil's given duty to assist the master in his instruction and to accept his role of performing cooperative ukemi. Ueshiba's embu was different from the orderly, formal ones of Japanese Kendo kata or Koshiki-no-kata, and was in continual free flowing form. Moreover, since Ueshiba never explained that it was an application of kata, it was unavoidable that there were some that resented his performance as questionable even when they experienced Ueshiba's own masterly waza technique.

Tomiki must have sensed the invisible distrust not only among the students but also among the instructors. Generally speaking, instructors who want to popularize a new sport need to provide in their instructions more explanations, stress the beneficial values, and design very clear methods to achieve their objectives as compared to those instructors teaching already existing sports. Therefore, the problem noted above amplified the difficulties. To overcome this, Tomiki employed his talent in judo, his quietly humble personality, and widely cultured background and saved aikibudo from misconceptions. A former student of Kenkoku University, Mr. Seiichi Saito, remembered and said, "It was possible because it was Mr. Tomiki. In class, he often compared aikido to sumo, kendo, and judo. (1/26/2000 telephone conversation). This is an indication that many students trusted Tomiki. This probably was the only way he could dispel prejudice and impart a proper understanding of aikibudo to the bright students of Kenkoku University.

In this period, Tomiki was preoccupied with the problem of how to classify and organize Ueshiba's numerous excellent techniques into an instructional system. Tomiki was incapable of destroying the traditional relationship between master and pupil by selfishly manipulating a distorting his teacher's cherished principles of aikibudo, or by giving presumptuous advice. Therefore, he kept the problem of forming a workable methodology buried deep in his mind. When did Tomiki start moving toward developing a competitive format for aikido?

Sometime in the postwar period, Tomiki wrote, "I started to research the modernization of aikido after I received the aikido 8th dan in February of 1940." It was probably after the official registration of Tomiki's 8th dan. The aforementioned Mr. Dodo entered the first year of the advanced curriculum after 1941, and Tomiki must have been thinking about competitive aikido by then, at the latest. But, considering Tomiki's cautious personality and the difficulties of the method, these might have only been stray thoughts. It must have been a dilemma to decide on randori matches as a form. During a bare-hands match, as in judo, if one comes close enough for the opponent to grab the neckband or sleeve, one will be thrown by a judo technique. If the opponents keep their distance, then there will be no contest. There was another problem: interest in sitting techniques or techniques against weapons might be lost by developing aikido into a competitive sport. He may have doubted that aikido could be popularized by introducing competition. The process of developing aikido into a competitive sport was not easy.

It seems that around the early part of 1958, Tomiki started in earnest to investigate how to develop aikido into a competitive sport with the conscious decision to exclude randori techniques. This was triggered when Tomiki decided to set up an aikido club at Waseda University, where he was teaching, and submitted a request to its department of physical education. The council of the physical education department countered with severe criticism that there was no competitive aikido in existence. At this stage, of course, Tomiki was practicing only kata exercises in the same manner Morihei Ueshiba's school was coaching aikido, and he did not have any definitive plan for developing aikido into a competitive sport. However, at a meeting of the council, he explained the history, significance, and future of aikido, and when he promised competitive aikido, he was allowed to start an aikido club. This marked the beginning of the "experimental stage". He recorded in 1969: "With the devoted cooperation of club members, through 10 years of trials and errors, we have almost succeeded."

What was the actual process they had to go through?

2. The Process That Led to Competitive Aikido and Judo Taiso

a. Motivation and Basic Idea.

Tomiki's research was interrupted by the Japanese defeat in war in August 1945, the collapse of the Japanese State of Manchukuo, the closure of Kenkoku University, and by his own detention in Siberia by the Soviet Union. Tomiki was freed and came home to Japan in November 1948, but with the defeat, the Japanese educational philosophy and system were altered and traditional budo arts were banned from the educational world. Later he was hired by his alma mater, Waseda University, made a comeback to the judo world as shihan of the judo club, and returned at once to his thoughts about rebuilding aikido. Two years after his return to Japan, he published two articles on the way aikido ought to be. In the first, printed in the August 1950 issue of the official bulletin of Aikikai (an incorporated foundation), he compared the technical aspects of judo and aikido and presented his views for unifying Jigoro Kano's judo and Morihei Ueshiba's aikido under the principles of judo since the two basically shared the same original technical foundations. Tomiki explained his motives and the basic method for tackling aikido as follows: "Shortly after I started to train under the tutelage of Mr. Ueshiba, as I remember, a then colleague, the late Isamu Takeshita (a former Navy Admiral) related to me a remark Mr. Kano made while observing Mr. Ueshiba's training exercises: 'To me, this is the ideal exceptional judo.' This remark of Mr. Kano remained deeply impressed in my memory and has influenced my research. In other words, I understood Mr. Kano's remark to mean that the development of the 'principles of judo' will evolve around the same axis as all the techniques presented by Mr. Ueshiba, except for the 'techniques of randori'."

While a student (1924-1927), as an officer of the Tokyo Students' Judo Alliance Organization, Tomiki associated with Kano closely and was influenced by his ideas. He was greatly moved to know that Kano valued Ueshiba's techniques and methods very highly, as he himself did. This heightened all the more his interests in Ueshiba's unique budo techniques.

Japan was under U.S. occupation around 1950, and as stated before, traditional budo arts were banned from school education. Tomiki pressed forward in his basic direction: "In my opinion, there are two ways to keep the significance of these traditional Japanese martial arts alive in the world of this new generation. One means is competition, which is perfected in judo's 'Techniques of Randori'. The other way is to develop a physical exercise program by systematizing the existing guide for exercises of 'kata' on more scientific and medical bases. Mr. Kano has designed one, but it is not so satisfactory as the methods of competition devised in the 'Techniques of Randori'.

I have learned a lot on this point by observing Mr. Ueshiba's progress in aikido) techniques. But this master's ethereal, delicate progress is absolutely forbidding for us to follow. It is very difficult to grasp even a tiny portion of it. Because of my long-cherished desire to make aikido easier for anyone to learn, I have devoted myself to this study of combining the techniques demonstrated by Mr. Ueshiba with the scientific principles and instructional methods taught by Mr. Kano."

Here, Tomiki gives us the three basic points of his understanding:

- a. Judo is a sport in which one practices randori techniques in a competitive manner.
- b. Aikido is practiced through 'kata'.
- c. "Judo taiso" is an instructional method made up of a practice guide of aikido katas plus a basic academic program.

I do not see any progress toward the development of competitive aikido in these three points. It is recorded that this remark was accompanied by demonstrations, but the details are unclear. To grasp the details, his small pamphlet entitled *Guide to the Techniques of Aiki* (1950) is helpful. In the chart describing the system, the basic movements, 10 basic techniques, natural posture exercises, and exercises to break an opponent's balance are described. Among these, the natural-posture exercises developed into individual exercises whereas the breaking-an-opponent's-balance exercises developed into mutual exercises (exercises with an opponent.) e basic techniques later became the 'kata of randori' of 'aiki randori methods' (aikido competition). Before we look into the development of the 'aiki randori methods', let's look at judo taiso.

b. Theory of Judo Taiso

Starting in 1952, at Waseda University, judo taiso was implemented as regular education course. In 1954 Tomiki put together *Judo Taiso*, what he called "a practice handbook". According to this book, judo taiso is defined as "Basic principles of a technical system of striking techniques and joint techniques, using judo principles, forged to

a thing that can be expressed as the great rhythm of power.” (p. 6 of Foreword, written by Shishida), or “Something expressed as physical exercises formed by organizing and structuring the striking techniques and joint techniques of aiki jujitsu through the about viewpoint” (p. 18). The “striking techniques and joint techniques” mentioned here are found in the system of judo techniques established by Jigoro Kano, and the “striking techniques and joint techniques of aiki jujitsu” are nothing more than the techniques of aikido. In other words, Tomiki thought of judo and aikido as the same thing theoretically and technically; judo taiso was nothing more than the set of physical exercises derived from the synthesis of the two.

In 1957, Tomiki refined *Judo Taiso* even more and published it. Below are the tables of contents (which differ slightly), but the basic ideas and contents are no dissimilar:

*1954 edition —

1. Outline
2. Principles of Judo (principles of natural posture, principles of breaking an opponent’s balance, principles of ju (or nullifying an opponent’s attack))
3. Judo Taiso (individual exercises (exercises of natural posture), mutual exercises (exercises of breaking posture))
4. Exposition of the Techniques of Aiki According to the Principles of Judo (exposition on striking techniques, exposition on joint techniques).

*1957 edition —

1. New Budo Arts Education,
2. Techniques of Judo and techniques of Aikido,
3. Educational Significance of the Techniques of Aiki,
4. Judo Taiso as the National Physical Education Program
5. Principles of Judo
6. Judo Taiso.

In the third chapter of the 1957 edition, Tomiki addressed the following two issues regarding the viability of aiki techniques in a school physical education program (p. 14): i) What reason can we find to place striking techniques and joint techniques that have been excluded from judo competitions as functioning components of a school physical education program? and ii) How can we practice excellent striking techniques and joint techniques unless we apply them in competition?

After explaining the significance of these techniques in (I), Tomiki gives his answer to (ii) in Chapter 4’s title, which is judo taiso as the national physical education program. He was striving to create a theory to place an organized structure of aikido techniques in school physical education. He looked for the way in the formality of physical exercises. He stated, “In the ancient style of jujitsu, movements of punching, striking kicking, throwing, pinning, choking, and locking joints were not differentiated but integrated in perfect harmony. “Competitive judo came to be by organizing those skills to fit into physical education by developing them into physical exercises. So, I thought of developing the “techniques of aiki” into physical exercises because we could not use this method to transform it into a competitive sport” (p. #14).

On the other hand, he also thought of finding a place for aikido in school physical education by strictly adhering to kata as separate from physical exercises. Even in this book, he stated, “Since by their nature, striking techniques and joint techniques do not fit in with the methods of ‘randori’, we must get to the bottom (of these techniques) by pursuing ‘kata’” (p. #22), explaining the significance of practicing techniques of aiki by kata. It is difficult to obtain any improvement in the techniques of aiki by practicing only kata, as one would by practicing judo by randori. “Therefore, by extracting the essence of the structure and organizing the techniques in the requisite style for physical education for easier repetitive practice, judo taiso was born” (p. #23). Both were meant to contribute to the improvement of the techniques of aiki by functioning in a mutually complementary way. At the end of the book, there is a summary chart of judo taiso, (Chart 1) but is actually composed of two parts: the first is judo taiso; the second is aikido as physical education. The latter is made up of striking techniques (nage) and joint techniques (osae), and this signifies completely kata-oriented aikido.

As seen above, after the war Tomiki devoted his energy to instructing judo taiso, and by Spring of 1957 had not yet found the direction to develop aikido as competition. It had obviously become a very difficult problem for him to solve when he was confronted by a member at the council meeting of the Physical Education Department of Waseda University in January or February of the following year on the point that aikido had not been developed into a competition. He intended to solve this problem by expanding aikido as kata. Let’s examine this process next.

3. Original Plan of Aiki Randori Methods

a. The 15 Basic Kata Techniques and the 17 Randori no Kata (Kata of Randori) Techniques

In 1960, at the Japan Physical Education Academic Conference, in his presentation of “The Systematic Practice Methods of Aikido According to the Waseda Style”, Tomiki reported the following: “I have established a practice system that enables participants to do ‘randori’ even while keeping the posture of ‘rikaku’ but does not allow partners to get hold of each other because it restricts the many aikido techniques to 15 basic techniques [striking techniques and joint techniques].”

He fulfilled his promise made at the council meeting 3 years after starting the Waseda University Aikido Club. Then, 2 years later, in December 1962, in the Waseda University Aikido Club publication he wrote, “During this year, my research advanced from ‘randori’ [practice] to ‘competition’ and I announced it at the Waseda Sai Festival.” On the other hand, he also stated, “The completion of ‘aikido randori methods’ is very difficult. I hope all you club members will forge ahead from here with greater effort, remembering that we have many unsolved problems, and the amount of our training has been small.” As shown in this remark, he understood that there were many unsolved matters, but as far as the training system, from randori to competitive matches, was concerned, there was considerable development during the Showa 40’s (1965-): competitions evolved from bare-hand randori (bare-hand to bare-hand fighting form) to tanto randori (bare-hand against weapon [soft dagger] fighting form). Now I will examine the training methods used up to the first tournament at the Waseda Sai Festival in 1962 and the development of Tomiki’s thoughts during this period.

In his *Guide to the Techniques of Aiki* of 1950, Tomiki divided the instructional system for the techniques of aiki into smaller headings: a. Basic Motion (posture, movements, breaking an opponent’s balance, dodging method, method to sweep off an opponent), b. Basic Techniques (10 techniques), c. Exercises of Natural Posture (stepping exercises, stretching exercises, turning exercises, exercises for joints), d. Exercises to break an opponent’s balance. Of these items, a, c, and d were reorganized in the *Judo Taiso* editions after 1954 as Basic Motions (a), Individual Exercises (c), and Mutual Exercises (d). Item b was similarly placed in the 1954 edition of *Judo Taiso* and in *Aikido Nyumon [Aikido Primer]* (1957) as the 15 techniques of Basic Kata (Chart 1). The 15 Basic Techniques, as seen above in the Academic Conference report, were similarly established.

The current aiki Randori no Kata has 17 techniques. Hideo Oba, Tomiki’s best disciple, made the following statement in the July 1961 issue of the *Aikido Club Magazine*: “The 17 techniques of the randori no kata have been established by Tomiki Shihan”. Mr. Atsushi Fujihara, who entered the university in 1959 and was a junior in 1961, stated that he recalled practicing 15 techniques of kata but that these were later revised and additions were made to create the 17 techniques of kata, although he could not remember the exact date (2/16/01 fax and telephone conversation). Mr. Kenji Uno, who became a member of the Aikido Club around the spring of 1961, remarked that in May of that year, at the new members’ training camp, there were 17 techniques of Randori no Kata (2/17/01 telephone conversation). This all leads to the assumption that, at the latest, by May of 1961, the 17 techniques of Randori no Kata had been devised and were established and being instructed.

When I examine the situation prior to this in Chart 1, between 1950 and the 1954 edition of *Judo Taiso*, I can see that the way to adopt wrist techniques had been formulated, and the 15 techniques of aiki which were established were maintained through the 1957 edition of this text and up to the time of the Physical Education Academic Conference’s reports. I assume that in the spring of the following year, additions and corrections brought the number up to 17 techniques.

According to Mr. Teruo Fujiwara, who entered the university in April of 1954 and graduated in the spring of 1958, during his student days the techniques were quite fluid. According to the notes taken when he was a student, out of the 8 tekubi-waza, only 6 of them, 4 techniques of kote-hineri and 2 techniques of kote-gaeshi, were actually practiced and learned as kata. A total of 13 techniques were practiced, including 3 atemi-waza and 4 hiji-waza. I interpret this as follows: Observing that the 8 techniques of tekubi-waza, which represent ways to grab an opponent by one hand, were formed by organizing related actions, as the happened, into one kata, and that the 4 techniques of kote-gaeshi, the gyakute-doris by right hand and left hand, and the junte-doris by right hand and left hand, should properly be grouped together, I surmise that actually only 2 wrist techniques, kote-gaeshi and tenkai-kote-hineri, originally existed out of the 17 techniques of today’s Randori no Kata. Since throughout Tomiki’s writing from 1954 he consistently referred to 15 techniques, in Tomiki’s mind, the basic techniques consisted of 15 techniques. Mr. Tamiyuki Okahara, a 1961 graduate (2/14/01 telephone conversation), Mr. Takao Tsurumi, a 1962 graduate (2/17/01 telephone conversation), and the aforementioned Mr. Atsushi Fujihira, a 1963 graduate, and many other then-club members stated that they practiced ‘Basic Kata’ repeatedly, but their memories are not precise as to the number of techniques. Mr. Tamiyuki Okahara said that after Mr. Teruo Fujiwara graduated, he practiced chudan-ate and ushiro-ate with younger members (though they then called it ‘ushiro-otoshi’, he said), and he also practiced, among the hiji-waza, waki-gatame. Chart 1 clearly shows that

waki-gatame was a technique not mentioned in Tomiki's writings until 1960. It seems that there probably was no emphasis on the memorization of the number of techniques as 15 techniques, as Mr. Fujiwara stated that various techniques were studied and developed "fluidly", with the 15 techniques as the core. Further, Hideo Oba's statement in the second issue of the *Aikido Club Magazine* (December 1962), "Sensei worked without rest on his ideas to establish the 15 techniques of Basic Kata, the 17 techniques of Randori no Kata, and also the Kata of Ura-waza" demonstrates that the working foundation was undoubtedly the 15 techniques.

Now, when I examine the sources related to Chart 1, I feel that Tomiki was using "basic technique" and "basic kata" interchangeably. I suppose it was because he thought that basic technique was practiced as kata, and when the principle of the process was established, it became defined as kata. The reason he expressed the 15 basic kata, which must have been established by 1958, as basic technique in the records of the 1960 Academic Conference Presentation could be that he interpreted the content of basic kata as basic technique. Late in his life, in 1978, Tomiki published the booklet *About Aikido Competition*, in which he listed the basic 19 techniques as separate from the 17 Randori no Kata techniques. From 1967, tanto-randori was getting popular, replacing toshu-randori. To avoid misinterpretation of partial randori with respect to the complete method of randori techniques, he seemed to indicate that the Basic Technique/Waza (Kata) for bare hands, which is the basis for tanto-randori, had many more moves to be practiced.

b. Reality of Randori Training and Issues of Randori Competition

So far, we have looked at the process of establishing the 17 Randori no Kata techniques up to 1961. Now, how was the actual training being conducted? I would like to start with the testimony of Mr. Teruo Fujiwara on the reality of training at Waseda University before the Aikido Club was established in 1958.

"Upon witnessing a training session for kakari-geiko, Sensei advised, 'You must not practice so halfheartedly. You must execute a technique to the point where you have completed the motion of extending your hand fully.' Also, he said something to the effect, 'Each of you probably does not feel that you have worked out unless you sweated a lot and felt exhausted. When practicing the mutual exercises of judo taiso, do them earnestly, regardless of how much you sweat.' Sensei gave us similar advice over and over again. In other words, Sensei demanded from us relentless practice of kata rather than mock randori in order to gain true competence. Of course, [our founding captain] [Yasuyuki] Suzuki practiced just like that when Tomiki Sensei was around, but unfortunately, the students did not follow up". (From a draft of a 2/3/01 telephone conversation with 2/4, 2/6 supplemental inquiries, revised by Mr. Fujiwara himself).

We may consider the Mutual Exercises of Judo Taiso, which Tomiki recommended, the same as the practice of "Basic Kata". But club members did not seem to follow his recommendation, and they put rather more emphasis on training in kakari-geiko. This training method was continuous repetitions of uke attacking tori, with tori executing a technique. This kind of practice was intended for students to master the techniques by repetition and at the same time, by continuing it until they became utterly exhausted, to strengthen their mental power. But Tomiki did not like it when it was done by momentum. He believed in strictly adhering to kata.

Training consisting mainly of kakari-geiko started to change in 1958, when Mr. Fujiwara graduated and the Aikido Club was permitted to form. Mr. Fujio Morimoto, a former captain who graduated in 1960, wrote; "When we became seniors [1959], the methods of randori were adopted earnestly, which had been our long-cherished dream. It took 3 or 4 years before we saw those types of methods of randori being accepted. Now, even though the methods of randori are not perfect, it has become the characteristic of Waseda University Aikido." This tells us that from 1959, the earnest competitive methods of randori (competition in which participants fight bare-hand to bare-hand atemi-waza and kansetsu-waza) were put into practice. As if to corroborate this, a 1961 alumnus, Mr. Seiji Tanaka, wrote, "The training methods were changed 3 years before from kakari-geiko to the present one, which is centered around randori originated by Tomiki Sensei". He suggests randori-like practice came into existence at the time of the creation of the club in 1958. However, Mr. Tanaka qualified this by saying "The Aikido rules must be universally applied", for he considers ambiguity in the rules of randori to be an issue.

Thus the Waseda University Aikido Club went through a judo taiso and kakari geiko period (1952-1957), a kakari-geiko and randori period (1958-1960), the establishment of the 17 techniques of Randori no Kata in the spring 1961, and on November 25, 1962, held the first randori competition. We could say the randori period had arrived. On the day of the Waseda Sai Festival, the First Aikido Competition, Red vs. White, took place as an intramural competition. That is what I am referring to. Hideo Oba praised the students by saying, "That many of the 15 matches ended with scores of 5 to 4 can be ascribed to how much club members' skills had improved." But the alumni's criticism was unsparing. The difficulty of bringing down opponents by atemi-waza, the effectiveness of the kansetsu-waza was only as good as waki-gatame, prolonged displays of disgraceful situations caused by too close a distance between opponents, evidence of effective techniques not covered by the 17 basic techniques, and other numerous problems were pointed out. As competitions became more common and expanded to intercollegiate competitions, these problems became more obvious, and efforts to overcome them continued.

4. The Origin of the Randori no Kata

Finally, I want to contemplate on the origin of the 17 techniques of the Randori no Kata relative to the 15 techniques of Basic Kata. There is no writing by Tomiki on this subject, and so far we have almost no reliable eyewitness accounts. In my view, given below, Tomiki devised ways to combine the techniques of aikido with Kodokan judo's randori and kata techniques to compile its central core.

a. The 5 Techniques of Atemi-waza

As we can see from Chart 1 of the 1954 edition [of Judo Taiso], when Tomiki reinterpreted nage-waza as atemi-waza, he incorporated shomen-ate, and in 1961, when he established the Randori no Kata, he incorporated gedan-ate and ushiro-ate. Shomen-ate was adapted from the riiai (the logically fitting body movement leading to an opponent's vulnerable point right after the execution of a technique) of mune-oshi, which was the first technique in the fifth kata of Kodokan judo; ushiro-ate was from the riiai of ruokuhi of Koshiki no Kata; gedan-ate probably came from the riiai of nuki-do which is used against shomen-uchikomi in kendo. Further, aigamae-ate and gyakugamae-ate, which were classified as nage-waza at the 1950 stage, were techniques adapted from aikido's irimi-nage.

Tomiki published an article entitled "New Interpretation and Training Methods for Judo's Koshiki no Kata" in the December 1957 issue of Taiiku-gaku Kenkyu [Physical Education Science Research], in which he stated, "I organized and formed basic training by utilizing a total of 10 techniques, 7 techniques (tai, ryokuhi, mizu-nagashi, hiki-otoshi, kodaore, tani-otoshi, saka-otoshi) that belonged to the tachi-waza in the 21 techniques of the Koshiki no Kata, and 3 techniques first, second, and fourth) that belonged to the 5 techniques of tachi-waza in the Itsutsu no Kata [or, Five Katas]. It seems that the research on ancient budo techniques and swordsmanship, which had been widened and advanced since before the war, resonated with the past experience of judo and aikido, giving birth to the techniques of randori. He made another similar study later in his life, and reported it in a November 1974 article entitled "Training Methods of Koshiki no Kata as the Starting Point of Judo." In it, he selected, tai, tetsu-tori, kodaore, uchikudaki, and ryokuhi as the starting point for atemi-waza, and 3 techniques, mizuguruma, mizunagashi, and hikitoshi, as the starting point for kansetsu-waza.

b. The 5 Techniques of Hiji-waza

One technique, called wakigatame, which Mr. Okahara said he used to practice, was added to the hiji-waza. I assume that oshi-taoshi and hiki-taoshi were adopted from the basic techniques of aikido (1 kyo and 5 kyo). Ude-gaeshi and ude-hineri are pigeonholed as relationally mutated techniques of oshi-taoshi and hiki-taoshi respectively, but I think they came out of studying the Koshiki no Kata of aikido and judo.

c. The 4 Techniques of Tekubi-waza

The 8 techniques of tekubi-waza are the result of Tomiki's classifying and arranging of some of the techniques of aikido. These 8, taken from the Basic Techniques, were organized, unified, and reduced to 4 techniques. Each technique of kote-hineri and kote-gaeshi was taken in as a pair, front and back, in order to enable them to mutate relationally. Two techniques of tentai-waza, which belonged to the tekubi-waza in the 10 Basic Techniques of 1950, were added to them.

d. The 3 Techniques of Uki-waza

Then, mae-otoshi, sumi-otoshi, and hiki-otoshi were added as new techniques of uki-waza. Sumi-otoshi was judo's ushiro sumi-otoshi, the technique Kyuzo Mifune, 10th dan, was good at. Hiki-otoshi was judo's maesumi-otoshi, the technique Keishichi Ishiguro, 9th dan, was good at. The riiai of this technique can be found in judo's uki-otoshi and in hiki-otoshi of the Koshiki no Kata. Each one is called an air throw and is a difficult technique. Mae-otoshi is a technique with which you can make your opponent lose his balance by raising him to float in the air as you fan your arm (under his body) putting pressure on your elbow. It

seems to be the technique generally called kokyu-nage in aikido and it is used against an opponent who thrusts a stick at you.

5. Summary

The answers to the issues posed at the beginning can now be summarized as follows:

a. About the genesis of aikido competition

Tomiki probably was already thinking about developing competitive aikido after the official registration of his 8th dan (1940) and at the latest in 1941, but because of the difficulties involved, it only seemed to be a faint hope.

b. About the relationship between Judo Taiso, which was a regular curriculum exercise course that Tomiki taught at Waseda University in the postwar period, after 1952, and planning for aikido competition.

Judo taiso in an instructional training method, which was formed by extracting the essence of the structure of aiki techniques, then organizing it in accordance with academic physical education theory for easier repetitive practice. 1958, Tomiki's understanding on this was that in judo one practiced randori techniques in a competitive format, but in aikido, on practiced in accordance with kata methods. Judo taiso was a new instructional method for aikido, which was proposed on top of kata, and later became a part of the basic practice of randori aikido techniques. After the war, Tomiki dedicated all his energy to the instruction of judo taiso, but before the creation of the Waseda University Aikido Club in 1958, he had not yet found the direction for the development of competition aikido.

c. About the relationship between the 15 Basic Techniques in the methods of aikido randori, which is the system for aikido competition, and the 17 techniques in the Randori no Kata

i. The 15 Basic Techniques, which were announced officially for the first time in the 1954 edition of Judo Taiso, became the fulcrum for study of various techniques in a fluid manner at the Waseda University Aikido Club. The character of the Basic Kata was maintained from the 1957 edition of this publication until the 1960 Physical Education Academic Conference report material. I surmise that by May of the next year, additions and corrections were made and the 17 techniques of the Randori no Kata were conceived and established. The 17 techniques of the Randori no Kata were formed by presuming randori matches, introducing 3 new techniques of uki-waza and 1 technique of hiji-waza, and re-organizing the 8 techniques of tekubi-waza into just 4 techniques. Tomiki researched and structured these techniques to conform with the techniques of aikido, but used the framework of the randori and kata techniques of Kodokan judo.

ii. In reality, since the creation of the Waseda University Aikido Club, its practice routines placed more emphasis on kakari-geiko than on the repetition of the basic kata of aikido. From 1959, the full-scale methods of aikido randori (bare-handed competition in atemi-waza and kansetsu-waza) were put into practice. However, after the establishment of the Randori no Kata, numerous problems remained to be solved before aikido could be presented as a new competitive martial art that would operate at the tournament level.