

# The Mita Campus

calamus gladio fortior

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## Keio U. Stops Strike With Condition

On October 12, the public hearing attended by President Nagasawa, the deans of every department and students was held at the Room No. 518 on Mita campus around 2:00 p.m.

At first the student of All-Campus Students Self Government Association pointed out that there were defects in the content of the declining declaration and said that the school authorities should take clear attitude toward the funds of U.S. Military induced to Keio University. And they requested the school authorities to cancel the declining declaration and announce the refusal declaration.

Secondary, S-G. students said that there were deficiencies in the process of announcing the declining declaration. They pointed out that every professors did not participated in discussing the declining declaration.

Thirdly, S-G. students requested the authorities to reflect that they stuck to the defective declining declaration for the past three months.

Lastly, S-G. students demanded them to re-examine the four conditions that we had mentioned on the special issue of October.

To the above 4 questions, the president and the school authorities did not clearly reply. So, after the consultations between the school authorities and the students of S-G. Association, they decided to have a public hearings again on Oct. 17 and to answer those questions in the public hearing.

In the end of the public hearing, the students who seated ahead with uniforms rushed up the platform and clashed with the students of S-G.A. So the room went into confusion.

Since then the public hearing has not yet held because of

such fact that Murakawa of S-G.A. who executed chairman of S-G.A. as proxy was injured by some students who were against strike, etc.

On Oct. 18, the mass meeting of students was held in front of the South Building on Mita campus. More than 6,000 students attended it. The topics of it were the problem of the induction of U.S. Army Funds to Keio University and strike on Hiyoshi campus, Yokohama and at Literature and Economics Depts. on Mita campus.

This meeting was stormy from start to last. And no conclusion was arrived.

Since then many mass meetings of students and teach-ins was held on Mita and Hiyoshi campuses, but decisive conclusion has not settled.

On Oct. 23, two students who were against strike were injured by the Students of Zengakuto (that is near Shagakudo, Socialist Students League, in principle and that is different from All-Campus Students S-G.A. in assertions) on Hiyoshi campus.

On Oct. 28, school of Law Dept. began after 115 days absence on Hiyoshi campus.

On November 2, the mass meeting of students was held on Hiyoshi campus. In the meeting plans were proposed each by All-Campus Student S-G.A., the group insisting mutual talk instead of strike, Zengakuto and S-G.A. of Medical Dept. on Hiyoshi campus. After second vote, the proposal of All-Campus Students S-G.A. was accepted. The content of it was as follows: We cease the strike on Hiyoshi campus but at the same time, we make every effort to let the school authorities declare the refusal declaration of U.S. Army funds.

## Anti-War Action Day Marked: The Crime of Riot Applied



On Oct. 21, Zengakuren students had Anti-War Movements. At Shinjuku Station, anti-Yoyogi (anti-J.C.P.) faction students invaded the station compound destroying iron walls and clashed with the riot police. (left) Meanwhile, the pro-Yoyogi faction students held a meeting at Rekisen Park and demonstrated to the building of Ministry of Education. (right)

On October 21, the International Anti-War United Action Day, each group of the anti-Japan Communist Zengakuren students clashed with the riot police at Shinjuku Station and 450 students and other were arrested around the station. Rioting charge was applied at 0:15 a.m. on October 22, after 15 years interval.

Over 10,000 students, labourers, general citizens and the mob gathered at a plaza on the east entrance of the station about 6 p.m., though the meeting and the demonstrations had been all disapproved by the Metropolitan Public Safety Commission. At 6:35, an unusually tense atmosphere mentally passed through the crowd. The Yamate and Chuo Lines of the Japanese Railway near Shinjuku Station was forced to cancel train services, caused over 1,000 Chukaku (middle core faction) Zengakuren students marching along the tracks of the two lines toward Shinjuku Station from Yoyogi Station. Around 8:30 p.m. about one or two thousand students who had assembled at the plaza broke through a sheet iron fence and jumped onto the tracks and began to throw stone missiles against the riot police that had been on the alert on the platform. Police fired tear gas to disperse the stu-

dents, but were forced back, because of heavy showers of stone. Students and other mobs threw stones at a train and petrolum good train at the platform and did considerable damage to window panes of the train and so on. Students occupied on all the platform and tracks. About 11:30 p.m., five or six spectators overturn the microbus of M.P.D. sideways and set fire to it at a square on the central entrance of the station. The bus was burnt fiercely with huge explosions of gasoline. In these circumstances the defence of police was powerless and the police had no means with which to disperse the students. About this time, it was difficult to distinguish a crowd or mob from Zengakuren students, and some mob did set fire and throw stones against riot police. Some

About 11:40 p.m. benches on the platform and buildings were set fire and this aggravated the situations. M. P. D. attached importance to these situations and at last applied the riot charge at 0:15 a.m. on October 23, and begun to arrest the crowds. About 12:00 p.m. on the 22nd, however, most Zengakuren students disappeared from the station leaving a few students and crowd only in front of the station.

The demonstration of the day was planned to protest against the U.S. aircraft bombing on North Vietnam which had begun three years ago, and to halt transport of U.S. military jet fuel tank train for U.S. base at Tachikawa via Yamate and Chuo Lines at Shinjuku Station. But the tank traffic service had stopped on the day.

The characteristic of the demonstration was the great number of irresponsible spectators. It was an sight at the spot where debate and demonstration of citizens contrasted clearly with the speech and behavior of the mob. Meanwhile, about 1,300 Students of Shagakudo (Socialist Student League), and of Bereiren (The Japan Peace for Vietnam Committee) gathered at Sendagaya out of Chuo Univ., staged a demonstration along the street around Aoyama and thronged to the Defence Agency via Meiji Park. On the previous day, about 9 p.m. 26 Students of Shagakudo entered into the 1st building of the Defence Agency at Akasaka, but they are all arrested flagrante delicto of invasion a building and breaking facilities by 40 riot polices.

Around 5 p.m. the students arrived at the Defence Agency, threw pieces of paving stones of which they had cracked on

## Pres. Johnson Orders a Halt To N-V Bombing

On Oct. 31, President Johnson Thursday night order a total halt to the bombing of North Vietnam and said the Saigon Government and the National Liberation Front would be brought into broadened and "intensive" peace talks in Paris on Wednesday.

President Johnson said in his Text of Announcement, "... Last Sunday evenings and throughout Monday, we began to get confirmation of the essential understanding that we had been seeking with the North Vietnamese on the critical issue between us for some time... I have reached this decision on the basis of the development in the Paris talk...

I know that your prayers are joined with mine—and with those of all humanity—that the action I announced tonight will be a major step toward a firm and an honorable peace in Southeast Asia. It can... I shall do everything in my power to move us toward the peace that the new President—as well as this President and I believe, every other Americans—so deeply and urgently desires..."

their way to the Defence Agency, broke a side gate, and several students rushed in through the gate. The students threw a smoke candle, and went on throwing stones, but about an hour later, the riot police began to arrest, (the student arrested were 193), and drove the students out of the gate. About 10 p.m. 400 students of Shagakudo and the workers of Anti-War Youth Committee thronged to the Defence Agency again, broke the north wall and tried to enter the court, but the riot police fired a tear-gas and drove away the students of Shagakudo and the workers of Anti-War Youth Committee who held a summary meeting in front of the subway Hiroo station, broke up around 12 p.m.

About 2,500 Kakumaru Zengakuren (Revolutionary Marxist group) and Front students held a anti-war mass meeting at Tokyo University and headed for the Diet by subway, and on the way they shattered window panes of Kojimachi Police box.

After some 2,000 Hanteigaku-lyo (anti-American imperialists Students Council) students appeared near the Diet about 8:30 p.m., about 300 students clashed with the riot police at the Front gate of the Diet. In this clash, 60 persons including students were arrested.

In Osaka 93 persons including Zengakuren students were arrested in the anti-war movement. On Midosuji Street about 1,000 students clashed with the riot police, and many were injured in the battle. Around 7:30 p.m. about 10,000 demonstrators and crowd filled Midosuji Street and traffic services were all suspended. Police, however put the situation under control around on October 22.

## Nihon University Still in Confusion

On Sept. 30. The All-Campus Joint Struggle Committee forced the school authorities to recognize the collective bargaining on Oct. 30 to confirm the immediate resignation of the board of 16 directors.

Premier Sato took a serious view of the collective bargaining of Nihon University and said at a Cabinet Conference on Oct. 1, that it deviated from common sense. He said, "The troubles of universities cannot still be dealt with as far as a educational administration. We should solve them from the point of view of the whole field of administration."

On Oct. 3 the protest meeting, at which about 5000 students attended, was held against the cancellation of the promise of collective bargaining at Nihon University Hall at Ryogoku, Tokyo, at 4 p.m. After the meeting, they demonstrated from Nihon University Hall to Ryogoku Station.

On Oct. 9, the board of directors was held, and the resolution of the resignation of the board of directors was announced. On the same day, the All Campus held the meeting, demanding "the resignation of the

board of directors" and so on, which 1300 students presented in front of the first building of the Economics Department at Kanda, Tokyo.

On Oct. 14, about 3 a.m. the students of both pro-strike and anti-strike students threw stones each other, while both of them threw the flaming bottle each other.

It is not decided when the board of trustees, which would decide when new directors elected, will be held. The board of deans decided to rear the board of directors as having resigned, tached carefully the answers which the board of directors got from the All-Campus Joint Struggle Committee and tried to resolve the affairs.

But, concerning the talking between the department authorities and students, the board of professors of department confuse the collective bargaining.

But it is said that the All-Campus Joint Struggle Committee thinks the flexible policy of beginning the lessons within the barricade will avoid serious problems, remaining two years in the same class and the postponement of graduation.

Confusing Tokyo University Yomiuri Shimbu reporter. who was reporting the university's medical faculty dispute last August 29 when he was beaten up.

About this arrest, Kazuo Okochi, president of Tokyo University, protested the arrest of Miyoshi, claiming that, "it was against the will of university authorities." He expressed the hope that the police would adhere to the customary rule of heeding the will of university authorities in such cases.

On Oct. 15, Anti-Japan Communist Party students and young medical investigators closed the Ueda medical laboratory. By this closure, many investigations were forced to stop

and medical treatment for patients or inpatients was severely interfered.

On Oct. 29, President Kazuo Okochi was believed likely to resign shortly. This speculation was based on the widening gap in opinion between him and other faculty members.

But he intended to announce a new settling proposition. This proposition was composed of the reflection of the entry of the riot police, formal admission the union of young doctors and resignation of Pres. Okochi, former Dean of Medical faculty Toyokawa, former chief of Todai Hospital Ueda, and university's committee member Ohta.

## Tokyo Univ. Dispute Escalates

# International Anti-War Action on Oct. 21

International Anti-war United Action Day on Oct. 21, many groups raised actions at various places. Considering the meaning of this day, we mention how peoples, who participate in this movement, united with other anti-war groups of the world. Now, we must recognize the importance of this day, and raise the movement against Vietnam war.

North Vietnam bombing began in February 1965. In 1966 it became gradually violent, and the limitation of it was extended to Hanoi and Haiphong. At that time, the situation of Japan towards the Vietnam War was delicate. The Japanese Government advocated peace to the world but actually had to support the intention of the United States in Asia. Under the conditions, Sohyo (the general council of trade unions of

Japan) suggested the Anti Vietnam War Movement to appeal to world peoples, that Japanese truly wanted World Peace and opposed the Vietnam War. This movement was named "the International Anti-war United Action Day", and appealed to labourers and citizens in the world.

This year, in response to the appeal, labourers in the world held meetings or staged demonstrations in Hungary, Poland, India, and England. In Japan, So-

hyo (the general council of trade union of Japan) went on strike and Zengakuren held meeting in various places. Next year 1967 the North Vietnam bombing escalated and this Anti-war movement spread out in the world in proportion to the escalation of American bombing. Specially in the United States, this appeal called forth a big response and in April a Great Anti-North Vietnam War movement was carried out in New York and San Fran-

cisco. It is said that the number of the participants was 30000 or 500000. In July the Sohyo's Appeal was settled as "the International Anti-war United Action Day for American citizen wanting world peace" in the world peace council held in Stockholm."

On October 21st antiwar movements were developed in Washington, London, Paris, Spain, West Berlin, Amsterdam etc. In Japan, this year the general council of trade union of Japan added these slogans, that is "the Return of Okinawa and Bonin Island" and went on strike. Various groups of Zengakuren held meeting in various places. From that year, Zengakuren added October 21st Anti-war Action Day to their schedule and their actions had become violent.

In the world, students of everywhere rioted a little. As a part of the Anti-war Movement schedule, Zengakuren raised the first Haneda Struggle to prevent P.M. Sato's visit to South Vietnam. And in that clash H. Yamazaki (Kyoto University-freshman 19) was killed. This year 1968, their action reached the peak and Shinjuku Station, one of the most important one in Tokyo, was placed in the situation of chaos. As we related the historical facts about "International Anti-war United Action Day, it is evident that the movement needs to try to unite with International Anti-war movements. And as this day does not relate to the meeting of the Mourning of Mr. Yamazaki, who died at Haneda Struggle on October 8 last year. We cannot demonstrate on International Anti-war Day in the



Zengakuren Students staged demonstrations on East public square of Shinjuku station, and rabble and citizens gathered around them, on Oct. 21.

## Criticism from Two Sides

We interviewed a professor and a student of Keio University, and inquired about their opinions of the demonstration for "International Anti-war United Action Day" on October 21. Both of them are members of the political department. The latter's opinion represents the theory of Shagakudo Sect. (Socialist Student League) which controls the student council of political department now, and which attacked the Defence Agency on October 21. What difference is seen between the opinions of the person criticized and the person concerned, however they have opportunities to talk with each other at lectures? Of course, these are certain opinions in the political department and never explain those of all.

Professor: We Japanese, who have a glorious peace constitution and have experienced the fear of the nuclear bomb, must declare the necessity for the world peace and ban the bombing of North Vietnam, towards the suspension of Vietnam War.

I recognize the significance of demonstration carried out on "International Anti-war United Action Day" for these reasons mentioned above, we are inclined to evaluate students' demonstrations as right or wrong only through their surface actions. However, we have to notice what makes them act so ardently and violently.

Considering that our government is helping the U.S. killing people in North Vietnam and that our policies lack independence, it is natural that such violent demonstration may occur. The only way left for us to express the opposition to the government policy is violent demonstration. It seems absurd for the general public to dash into

the Defence Agency or demonstrate around Shinjuku. But the cause of such violent activities is rooted in today's government. It is the government authority that should take responsibility and be reconsidered.

I admit the justification of their purposes and it should be evaluated highly, though I should not think their ways are clever. Students should take ways welcomed by the general public. And I fear whether they are controlled by a man who manages them from behind, observing their activities become stronger. Such movements seem to have some connections with the rightist organization supported by the regime.

I wonder if students are managed by a secret agency? If these activities are rehearsals for demonstrations against 70's Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, it is not wise to reduce their members now. I wish them to notice the necessity of gradual progress in the movement and act with sufficient thought.

Student: Our main slogans of the October 21st Campaign are as follows:

1. Suspension of the Vietnam War (Immediate target). Destruction of the Japanese Imperialism as well as the American one, and act of the latter's aggression to South East Asia.
2. To help the North Vietnamese Revolution.
3. To make the U.S. Army withdraw from the bases in Okinawa.
4. Destruction of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty.

Our activities on October 21st are rehearsals for 1970, and our purposes are attained through our activities. We grasp the significance of that day from

the wide viewpoint. We are trying to form the International Anti-War Unity with the cooperation of our fellow in West Germany and France etc. It was quite natural to have demonstrate at the Defence Agency, thinking over our theory that we attack the central part of the strategy in the government.

Our future development towards 1970 are the construction of the Anti-war Youth Committee, Area Anti-war Committee and the Fifth International Group. We do not think that general people accept us so easily, but believe only our theory to be right. Other sects have no theory to justify their activities.

We consider all the problem to the political level, therefore our theory might be understood to have no relation or unity with proletariat. We cannot expect mass participation with us, as far as we do not change our theory.

## COMMENT

## Campus-Struggle as a Step to Social Progress

One recognizes the huge gap between reality and ideality, observing himself and his society as well as trying to live seriously. At that very moment the reformational consciousness of his life springs from the bottom of his heart in himself. This is the first step to the social reformation for himself. Many campus struggles led by students everywhere exist as not only actions to win the peace but anti-theses against the contradictions of his society.

(By K. Hagiwara)

Many kinds of the campus struggles have been arising in various parts of the country, for example, Tokyo University, the origin was the Intern System conflict of Medical Dept., Keio University, that was the induction of U.S. Army Fund, Nihon University, that was the embezzlement of 2,000 million yen, etc. Furthermore, it is a world-wide fact. As the campus struggles raise new many questions, it is magnified and protracted. Though the special circumstances of each school must not be ignored, the factor in common exists on the viewpoint of the idea of a university. That is a wrong posture of school authority, that is a political thought in which they must break down only the student movement. It goes without saying that the logic of force exists, which cannot touch the essence of the problem. If they know the strength of the concentration of students' consciousness, they begin to put the responsibility on to each other, and they do not strive for the true solution of the problem. On the side of the students, the indifferent part exists, besides the professorate has been clinging to an old tradition, namely the ivory tower. The professorate remains only in ruins. Professors exist only for form's sake.

Namely, they do not recognize their own as educational stand, and close attention to only their studies; what is more, they say that a university exists as a place of study and education. There exists a lack of unity in the posture in a university.

There exists a more serious factor from the viewpoint of society. The government and the industrious world have strong connections with universities, exert many actual pressures on universities and have their consistent posture which co-operate for university to control the action of students. The campus struggles have an aspect which raises a problem to the actual movement of maintaining the present institution, as the Association of National Universities and the League of Private University.

The wrong method of treatment by mass-communication has a consistent posture which brings up public figures only as one who is only interested in the campus struggle. Now the problem of universities exists as those of not only universities but the society which approves of the existence of the universities. Not only the indifferent students but also everyone in society must reconsider their attitudes which are led by their

independent judgements. Nevertheless, mass-communication pick up the phenomenon of an affair sensationally, for example, they eagerly implanting the collective bargaining as an image of force, they consistently appeal to people that all students' action is wrong in maelstrom of the campus struggle. What is worse, they manage successfully to distort the fact.

Without being deceived by these movements, people must consider in earnest what is the truth of the struggle and how to correct falsity because each person is a member of society. At Keio University, it's fact that scientist are making use of a U.S. Army Funds, which has many possibilities to cooperate with the war of the U.S. Army. If it is a true cooperation, everyone in Japan who approves of the existence of Keio University has been acting in the war indirectly, and the problem is concerned with not only persons of Keio University but Japanese all round. No one can shut their eyes to the fact, if he consider that the murderer in Vietnam is himself.

Before they regard the campus struggle with only contempt as persons concerned with the government or newspaper, they must reconsider what students think and what students act.

Beginning with the improvement of life itself, the magnification of campus struggle expose the revealed evil to the people. It exists as anti-theses not only to persons who are satisfied with their life which is brimful of contradictions, but the present institution. Their action has been raising many problems, being led by their independent judgement as a person who thinks. Mistaken common ideas must be rejected. The posture making efforts to form society into best shape must not be lost, recognizing the fact that each person should shoulder the responsibility of a fortunate society. It is the first step towards participation in society as a man to act and seek for the step from his own life to society.

From this viewpoint of the responsibilities to society, no one must assume the attitude of an outlooker to the campus struggles. Not to act may be one action type, but it must be reconsidered how much its contribution exists to the progress of the society. Conversely not to act must abstract it. People ought to act on each independent judgement as a man with the obligation of the progress with the society.

Unless the students improve the circumstances of their life, who on the earth improves it?



# Down with Illusional Peace by US, USSR N-Monopoly

On July 1, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which is very important and concerned with nuclear disarmament, was signed at Washington, Moscow and London. However, this treaty is so unequal to the 'have-not' nations that countries but the U.S., the U.S.S.R. and the United Kingdom delayed signing.

Meanwhile, both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are busy developing their nuclear technique, contrary to the principle of nuclear disarmament. Moreover, they give pressure to the 'have-not' nations at the conference of those nations to maintain their nuclear monopoly.

We, the Mita Campus consider what action should be taken for nuclear disarmament.

## 'Destructive Co-operation' Has Command of Disarmament

After World War II, U.S.S.R. the real sense of the word. France was still having nuclear proposal of all-out disarmament including the nuclear weapons, and U.S. proposal classifying nuclear weapons apart from general ones to go step by step to disarmament were opposed violently by each other. The U.S.S.R. increased her nuclear attack ability through progress in ICBM techniques, and she holds almost the same nuclear power as the U.S. The situation has arisen where the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have securely established their influence in the world by nuclear power which entirely surpassed other countries. Arriving at such a point the two countries found the common interest in keeping the present structure. The cooperative action for nuclear disarmament has now arisen.

In the 1960's the first time that such cooperative action for nuclear disarmament appeared distinctly, was in the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty at Moscow in 1963. This treaty is epoch-making in the nuclear disarmament treaty in the world after the appearance of nuclear weapons. And at the same time, it is noticeable to clarify the later attitude of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. toward nuclear disarmament. To be more-specific, the attitude of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. consists of the following two points.

(a) To avoid as much as possible meaningless nuclear-exploitation from the military point of view, and as for nuclear exploitation in this section, not to consume uselessly as much as the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. can contain and to regulate all things by force of treaty.

(b) To maintain politically and respectively the structure of world domination of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. by nuclear disarmament measures which seem to the non-profitable to this structure.

At the time of the conclusion of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the nuclear exploitation technique of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. had hardly warranted nuclear air test. (On the exploitation of nuclear missile especially ABM, only underground nuclear explosion test is sufficient. The super large-sized H-bomb test like 50 megatons or 100 megatons in the air is useless militarily.) This fact is fit for the purpose of (a). And in the case that the 'have-not' nations begin nuclear development, the nuclear air tests are by all means necessary. But if the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty is adhered to, nuclear air test cannot be conducted. This fact is fit for the purpose of (b).

At that time, the 'have' nations except the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. were only the United Kingdom and France. The U.K. depended greatly upon the nuclear technique aid of the U.S., so she was not a perfectly independent 'have' nation in

the real sense of the word. France was still having nuclear growing pains.

This two basic attitude succeeded after the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. When France and Communist China began to develop actively nuclear weapons from 1964, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. started the movement to stop the spread of nuclear weapons, fearing a world wide spread of nuclear weapons, caused by the fact that nuclear weapons' development of Communist China and France would prevent the exclusive possession of nuclear weapons by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

In this treaty, there is the problem of the inequality between the 'have' nations and the 'have-not' nations about the security problem and peaceful uses of nuclear power of 'have-not' nations, but the most important problem is that this treaty puts no restrictions on the nuclear weapons of the 'have' nations and only restricts the spread of nuclear weapons to the 'have-not' nations, believing that the spread of nuclear weapons considerably increases the danger of the nuclear war. (Only in the preface, the 'have' nations expressed the sincerity for the nuclear disarmament.) Namely, this treaty builds up disparity between the 'have' nations and the 'have-not' nations but it produces no effect on the nuclear weapons of the 'have'

nations. From this viewpoint the fact that this treaty, having an important purpose to stop the fearful spread of nuclear weapons, was intended to be fulfilled for the (b) purpose of both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to keep the exclusive possession of nuclear weapons in the heads of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., cannot be denied.

On July 1, the Premier Kosygin made a proposal of nine items containing the stop of the use and production of nuclear weapons with the retrenchment of nuclear weapons' holding, and the restriction and retrenchment of nuclear missiles as the next nuclear disarmament after the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty at the conference of the signature of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty at Moscow. On the same day, LBJ, the President of the U.S. accepting Kosygin's talk at the conference of the signing of the same treaty, announced that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are preparing to start negotiations on nuclear missiles very soon. The Geneva Nuclear Disarmament Conference reopened after four months absence.

On June 16, the U.S.S.R. proposed Kosygin's nine items as the subject for official discussion, and on August 15, the two president countries of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. offered four new subjects based on the Ko-

## Helpless Smaller Nations

The conference of 'have-not' nations held recently has shown a fatal inconsistency in the problems such as the disarmament of nuclear weapons, security and peaceful uses of nuclear power. We need to undertake research into how the smaller nations are acting using this conference as one example.

The world today is under the umbrella of nuclear weapons of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., other smaller nations are therefore greatly influenced by their policies. Their security is also largely influenced by its inner or outer elements. Under these complicated circumstances, the common foundation for all the smaller nations to deal with the nuclear problems should be as follows: each nation's security naturally differs, so the solution common to every nation is unreasonable. But through nuclear disarmament, they possibly proceed their road to their security. It is the most efficient way now. And, for example, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty is discussed now. The fundamental idea of this treaty is good but the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. which are great nations having nuclear weapons are evidently compelling the other nations to their own advantage. It is true in the peaceful uses as well as in the problems of security. Smaller nations are only feeling impatient

at these selfish actions of the big 'have' nations. Resolutions unfavorable to the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. are always emasculated and they exercise their veto power in the U.N.

But it does not mean that small powers are powerless to the big powers. This fact can be found in the resolution for nuclear disarmament, which is proposed by West Germany and is recognized by the 'have-not' nations at the conference in Geneva. This resolution can be divided into three items. One of them is that any nation must not use any weapon to solve international complications. The other is that any nation must estimate the sovereignty and must not intervene. This item is based upon the U.N. Charter. And the another is that, if one country is invaded by some country, the invaded country can use weapons for its defence, or by the resolution of U.N. Security Conference. The third item is added by the pressure of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. So this resolution is rather vague. But we will be able to estimate the first and the second items. The pressure of West Germany, Japan and so on, who can have nuclear weapons, can produce a good effect on the disarmament and security problem. Nowadays, it is important for the smaller nations to act inconspicuously like this.

## Game of 'Dangerous Toys'

Although the danger of year, when viewed from the point of the quantity of measure of nuclear weapons, such as the game of "dangerous toys" ICBM, ballistic missiles discharged from submarines, strategic bombing airplanes, ICBM and MRBM. It is plain when seen from her adoption of "the elastic counter-attack strategy" trend is based on the "Flexible Counter Strategy" by August, when on the point of negotiations with the U.S.S.R. Head. That is to secure the second attack ability of nuclear weapons, it is proper to allocate much of the budget to general war potential.

In April the U.S. has carried out the biggest underground nuclear explosion test, since the beginning of this year, to test the effect of the ABM (Anti-Ballistic Missile) and in August, when on the point of negotiations with the U.S.S.R. Head, also succeeded in the MIRV test. As this MIRV is nicknamed "the nuclear shotgun", it increases the effect per one ICBM (Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile). Mounted on Minuteman Missile which is said to be greatly inferior to ICBM of the U.S.S.R., it diminishes the effect of the U.S.S.R. ABM.

To counter those U.S. movement the U.S.S.R. is now exploiting FOBS with the satellite, Cosmos and in future it develops as far as MOBS.

With the pursuit of the U.S.S.R., the nuclear superiority of the U.S. (three times of the U.S.S.R.) is shaken. Moreover the U.S.S.R. will catch up to the U.S. by the end of this

To face these situation the feeling of danger in the U.S. is thriving on the strategic balance between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. and now is going to be dominant. In other words, the assertion of the 'hawk', that the nuclear potential of the U.S. should be always superior to that of the U.S.S.R. is going to overwhelm McNamara's idea. Thus, being always thrilled by the opposite back-shade, both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. fall into the situation that they are driven by "dangerous toys" to continue playing a vicious game towards destruction.

## Establish Third Powers Against U.S., U.S.S.R.

As mentioned above, both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are trying desperately to maintain the nuclear-monopoly system. The disarmament proposals of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. such as the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the negotiation to restrict the ABM are paralleled with 'the mad inertia' (as Mr. McNamara exquisitely pointed out). Those proposals are nothing but a deceptive pose to force an unbelievable judgement, 'the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. seek peace' on the world. Moreover, of late, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are intervening broadly through the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the international conferences such as the U.N. and the conference of the 'have-not' nations. Thus both are struggling to maintain their nuclear monopoly. It is plain that those maneuver is based on their recognition of the multipolar situation. Concerned with the Czechoslovakia affair, a symbolic phenomenon, the faithlessness of the U.S. toward the U.S.S.R. had been raised. However, the U.S. had continued North-bombing in Vietnam taking no notice of the international opinion. Can we believe such the U.S.? Here the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. make undue haste. That is, both cannot think of the international politics involving the multipolar phenomenon, but think only of destroying that.

Those foreign policies based on the anachronistic political beliefs of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are barriers to the nuclear disarmament. They grasp the nuclear disarmament not as a part of the perfect disarmament involving the general weapons, but

only as the negotiation to restrict the ABM. That created only the terror of radioactivity. Judging from this point of view, we cannot allow the U.N. maneuver and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty to maintain such a nuclear monopoly system.

In fact, as can be seen from their pressure on the conference of the 'have-not' nations, the small powers are bound firmly hand and foot with the standpoint to take preference of the national interest closely connected with the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Therefore, the efforts of nuclear disarmament until today has been limited. That is, small powers develop economically and socially and raise public opinion under those conditions. The nuclear monopoly system, above-mentioned, created 'the destructive co-existence'. So it is plain that the nuclear disarmament problem cannot be solved mentally but through the policies of the small powers.

Concretely, potential nuclear-weapon states (e.g. Japan, West Germany and Israel) should establish a third powers. So long as the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have intended to pursue "peaceful co-existence" to contain Communist China, as other many problems of international politics, we can firstly point out Communist China. The meaning that Communist China became the nuclear weapon state countering the power politics or principle of major powers by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

In other respects it is said that there is a revolutionary thought, "People change the history in Communist China, in-

stead of nuclear weapons." They must deny not only the domestic power politics in a true revolutionary sense of world. In this meaning, as concerns Communist China fresh from being nuclear weapon states, there is a room for hope to over-all disarmament by positively inviting Communist China into the international society of the potential nuclear-weapon states, neutral powers, smaller nations. Namely it needs politic influential tie-up of the third powers not to make Communist China fall in the principle of power omnipotence. So long as we absolutely stand against nuclear weapons and nuclear armament of any nations, first of all Japan must recover diplomatic relations with Communist China.

To invite Communist China into the international society is the duty of Japan. Japan should mention that she never become a nuclear-weapon nation on the above-mentioned precondition. And there needs endorsement that the Japanese government never will permit a delivery of the U.S. nuclear weapons and a call at a port of nuclear submarine into Japan Proper. It is natural for the Japanese national conscience to prohibit the over-all nuclear weapons, and this is not the problems of specified party and class.

The formation of the third powers, Japan and West Germany and so on may entertain some fear as re-formation "Tokyo-Bon Line". However what can but the third powers cope with the plotting "Washington-Moscow Line" in the form of exceeding national interests?

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# Spiritual View of Student Activist

The social phenomenon of the rise of Student Power has been spoken about not only in Japan but in many other countries of the world in these days, and now it comes into question what role Student Power has played in the progress of mankind. Recently in Japan it has been more and more active on the phenomenal side and the movements are so sensational that people in general only argue for and against what has happened, and will not make an effort to understand the relation between the theory and the deed of student activist and their mind. So in this paper we will try to explain the psychological aspect as far as we perceive it.

## General Opinion to Zengakuren

The students movement, that demonstration at Shinjuku Station on Oct. 21 or Haneda, for staves, throwing stones have been now the words of mass throw stones only on impulse, communication. Generally, the students movement means the onstration is not a theory but a sensational clamors, and mass communication says by the sensational expression that the movements become an outlet of frustration and it observes only a phenomenon of the movements and then criticizes it. Then public opinion is only useful for deriving general theory from those phenomenon. And this theory directly will be joined the counterplan, for example, the application of the Riot Act, by riot police. But when we shutting out the student activist in finding employment and so on. More over we must regard the action of the riot police who forced these students to wear helmets as the above counterplan. We must notice this problem and think about the common basis of the students movement. So we need to find the source of their energy to evade a one-sided view.

We think as observers about the crash between students and riot police, such as a student



Both many helmeted students and common ones belong to the same category, that is, the young. And the former ones act regarding political issues. What are they looking at with their earnest eyes?

## Way To Fill Up Gap Between Them and Us

What is it that differs us from the Zengakuren? Are there any essential differences between them and us? If so, what on earth is it that drives such a lot of students all over the world to engage in political activities? We are young and have the spirit of the righteousness, of splashing energy and of complete freedom which are peculiar to the young. Isn't it a natural result for the young to try to eradicate the contradictions in society and make reforms when he comes to take notice of the social problems. But such consciousness sometimes makes the young act so violently that people are apt to think of it as a meaningless action. In this sense the actual activities of the Zengakuren is not necessarily serving our common purpose, but if they logically believe it right, after a very earnest consideration, and if they did it believing that there was no other way left for accomplishing the purpose, we cannot help affirming the deed, even to be extent of throwing stones. For we believe that they did not directly try revolution and appeal to force.

the present-denied theory quite easily and they are driven to the radical movement. But we think this book shows that their theory or activity is something empty. The young man must challenge and act in spite of social contradictions, but it is never equal to the revolution or to Zengakuren. The young man needs to overcome youth: the spring time of life. And if the radical movements of Zengakuren students now is the permanency of their existence at the risk of their life, it will be that the labourers throughout the country will rise up as saying by Marx.

When they come to be conscious of the contradictions in society, did they try to make a revolution, and appeal to force? Since they desire the happiness of all mankind, how can they affirm the use of force? If their purpose is accomplished by acting according to the rules of democracy, and if they find the possibility of success, they cannot appeal to force. In other words, when choosing whether to observe sound argument and gain no result, or appeal to force and accomplish the purpose, they take the latter course.

When someone seriously considers something and tries to act on theory, he cannot help resorting to excessive action. Conversely, there are many theoretical contradictions and differences in the activities which are thought to be conscientious and common. Certainly the idea of Zengakuren who throw stones is much removed from that of the general student who opposes striking. But when the general student thinks of the social problem seriously and starts a movement against the social problems and when the social wind blows against them, they cannot help becoming a member of Zengakuren who fight against the riot police. There is no difference, in purpose, between the Zengakuren and us who commonly intend to clear away all the contradiction of society. It is indifference and the need for righteousness of society that makes the Zengakuren throw stones. It is not the Riot Act and the Self Defence Force that will make them give up throwing stones. We ourselves and society must be more conscious and alert of the tension of society and be more conscious of society and act accordingly, in the spirit of democracy.

## Our Image of an Activist From His Note

What on earth drives the Zengakuren to such violent movement? In the various criticism and sympathy for the movement, we consider this question from a viewpoint of their being too young and rash. It is true that we young generation understand the Zengakuren movement. In our present society many contradictions exist and young people challenge and resist them. But we cannot understand that the Zengakuren wear helmets and hold staves. Where does their energy come from to throw stones and set things on fire? They may have a theory behind their violent movements. It is theory of the revolution; Marxism. But it seems to us something is lacking. The reason why we think, in this way is the result that we tried to understand them by reading the work of a student movement activist completely failed. The name of the book is "A Grave Post of Youth" the love and death of a student movement activist. The writer of this book, Kohei Oku, made up his mind to become a new revolutionist in the present society and digested theoretically his emotion and his consciousness in his daily life. And he participated in the revolutionary movement with this theory for a back ground.

His starting point for the revolution was the present contradictions and joined the theory based on Marxism. He denied the present establishment of participating in the movement and dreamed of a liberated Utopia. At the same time he continued to be bothered by the meaning of man's existence and the essence of man. There were death of his friend, love and the problem to live his life. When he thought about revolution and advocated it, he found his meaning of life there in. When he thought of death, love and existence, he gave up hope and despaired. He was troubled with man's existence more than with social condition and after he denied all of the existing state of affairs, he denied himself and committed suicide. After all he was defeated by the severe challenge of life, rather than by the revolutionary movement or social activity. Here we discover "figure of a man" more than anything else. Youth have a brilliant side but something an empty-sided one. This young man stands alone in it, loves people and fates this world through lack of experience. Many young men cannot bear severe hardships of existence which have a desolate intension especially so young time, so that they jump up at

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## EDITORIAL

## What comes after Riot Act

Metropolitan Police Department at last decided to invoke the Riot Act in early morning of October 22 as the students who rioted at Shinjuku on October 21. The Riot Act, different from Anti-Subversive Activity Law, itself is the law that M.P.D. can arrest all participants whether they are politically minded or not. At the demonstration at Ohji in April and Shinjuku occupation on October 8 the invocation of the act had been considered. The direct cause of the application in this case is said to be that the demonstrators set Shinjuku Station on fire, so the lives of the station staff were in danger.

Whether what time may be applied to the Riot Act, it is enough to say objectively that their Riot Act was invoked because the train schedule was suspended so long time and to create chaos on the outskirts of Shinjuku Station. But isn't the M.P.D. at fault with such an application? Each anti-Japanese communist party Zengakuren faction organized its own group at the university. It is clear that the outskirts of Shinjuku Station were into chaos when it is considered that the strength of the demonstration was roughly the same as that held on October 8.

But why does M.P.D. allow such an assembly? Why M.P.D. could not control the students before they arrive at Shinjuku? M.P.D. answered that there were too many citizen's houses around the Univ. it seems only an evasion. Did they invoke an unlawful situation in residential areas if not at Shinjuku. We can criticize it after it was done. Wasn't an unlawful act magnified to apply the Riot Act if the structure and the method of guard was proper? It is thought that the M.P.D. needs to devise the necessary security more carefully. At a Cabinet Conference on October 22, Prime Minister Eisaku Sato stated "it is natural to apply Riot Act" and the chairman of the Public Safety Committee, Masamichi Akazawa, the need to review the application of the Riot Act. Some of the Cabinet members of Liberal Democratic Party insist on founding New Public Peace Law and guarding the Defence Force, so director of general of the Defence Agency, Masuda, was blamed for the attack by Socialist Student League.

In this conclusion, he decided to set committees, the formation of Agency Guard. These government suggestions were supported naturally. If this runs naturally to the government of the students, the end result can not help but being the strong organization of riot police power, the proof of the reserve for riot act crime being the "might for might" construction of the law of control. The more stronger the defence, the more wild the side of the defended people will be.

Now the same thing has been repeated and it stirred us up, and the end result is the act and the police will be united.

Opposition is shown by the fact that German supplied the stock troops for red terrorists and reduced the people at Nazism, War and destruction. Not only is the condition far from democracy, but also oppositely this is the obstructed structure. We cannot disregard the social foundation of making up the fact, that is, dissatisfaction of the citizen for this government and congestion. The true cause that general citizen is on the side of the students and object at the nature power, really exists. Carrying on government that has not the support of the people and the people who resist the choice is signated. It is not a real solution to govern without taking care of public opinion, for example granting Imperial Amnesty for centennial memory since Meiji Restoration to one who is infringing upon the election law, and applying Riot Act easily, without understanding true meaning of anti-war movement against the U.S. Army fuel tank, to Shinjuku demonstration.



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