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'calamus gladio fortior'

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Nihon Univ. Goes Towards Solusion

On Oct. 31 the board of directors was held at New Tokyo Hotel in Kanda, Tokyo. After the board of directors Chancellor Jujiro Furuta stated that directors wouldn't resign from their offices until the university by-laws were amended. The resignation of all directors which had been thought as the first step of the resolution of the confusion was not, realized by what Chancellor Jujiro Furuta said about remaining in office. His utterance withdrew the decision of immediate resignation of all directors which was decided at the collective bargaining on Sept. 30 or the later board of directors.

On Nov. 8 around 3:30 a.m. about 200 anti-strike students throughed into the Art Department of Nihon University in Nerima Ward, wearing helmets and carrying wooden staves, destroyed the barricade which had been constructed at the front gate and entered the premises. Mixed fighting was therefore brought about between them and the scores of students of the All-Campus Joint Struggle Committee who had been staying in the school building. After that, about 400 students of the All-Campus Joint Struggle Committee arrived there for aid of their comrade from the Economics or Law Department in Kanda, Tokyo.

About 6 a.m. the students of the All-Campus Joint Struggle Committee drove out the anti-strike students outside the pre-

mises. But scores of anti-strike students who failed to escape were brought into the school building and charged with the disorderly conduct.

On Nov. 10 a little past 10 a.m., the parents meeting of all Departments was held by the parents of students of Nihon University who urgently needed to stop the dispute at Nihon University Auditorium at Ryogoku.

The meeting was often thrown into confusion between about 300 students of All-Campus Joint Struggle Committee and parents, but about 4 a.m. they adopted following four items and closed the meeting.

1. The immediate resignation of all directors.

2. The accusation of Chancellor J. Furuta who committed the crime of misappropriation of the university funds.

3. The establishment of the system of freedom of study.

4. Not to pay a tuition fee during the strike.

On Nov. 11, parents who participated in the meeting on Nov. 10 organized the National Parent Association Executive Committee.

On Nov. 15, 2:30 p.m., several representatives of the NPAEC interviewed Chancellor Furuta at the New Tokyo Hotel in Kanda and proposed four items which were adopted in the meeting of parents of Nov. 11. The Chancellor's answer was that all the directors would resign when the university by-

L.D.P. Makes Report on U. Problem

On November 29, the Committee of Educational System Investigation of the Liberal Democratic Party made an interim report on the "university problem".

This report showed the basic attitude of L.D.P. to university problem.

The gist of it is as follows: The assertion of the right of students on such basic problems as the human affairs, finance, examination and curriculum of university must severely be excluded because students are prosecuting their studies and are not in the position that can be responsible to the society.

The fact that universities are popularized does not mean that the core of the control and management of universities changes to the students.

Universities are not the place that has extraterritorial right. Universities should not refuse the exercise of the police power not only when the liberty of study is violated and the life of teachers and students is in danger but when violence is rampant on the campus.

laws are amended as soon as possible.

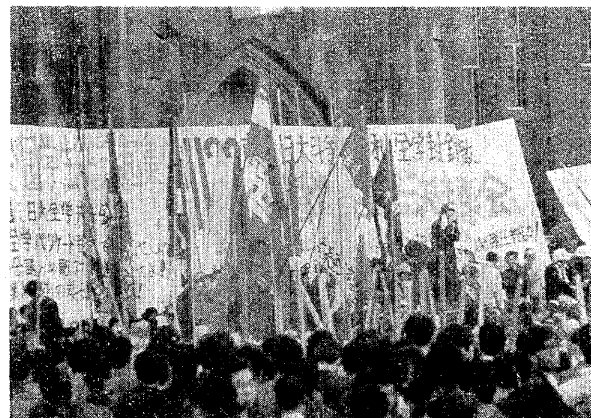
On Nov. 22, several thousand students of All Campus Joint Struggle Committee of Nihon University and Tokyo University held a mass meeting in plaza in front of Yasuda Hall on the campus of Tokyo University, saying that they would win in the struggle.

On Nov. 24, classes for seniors of the Economics Department began at school dormitory in Chiba Prefecture and Tochigi Prefecture. The department intended to reopen the classes for the seniors of Economics Department from Oct. 18 in Tokyo, but their requesters for the lease of non-school facilities refused because of the possibility of troubles with the students of All Campus Joint Struggle Committee who were opposed to this, therefore the department authorities started on the countryside classes at school dormitories out of Tokyo.

Countryside classes was held on Nov. 25, too, but one third students of Economics Department boycotted the lecture, moreover the scores of students of All Campus Joint Struggle Committee thronged to the place of lecture. Therefore reopening of classes came to a deadlock. Meanwhile, Commercial Science Department also decided early reopening of classes at student mass meeting on Nov. 25.

On Nov. 26, several representatives of the NPAEC met Chancellor J. Furuta and demanded the resigning of all directors. To this question, Chancellor Furuta answered that they would resign by Dec. 10.

Tokyo Univ. Bogs Down: Factional Dispute Escalates



On Nov. 22, the students of both anti and pro-Yoyogi Zengakuren gathered on Hongo campus of Tokyo University.

On Nov. 1, President Ohkuchi's resignation manifested his responsibility for the struggle inbargaining went off one after Tokyo Univ. At the same time, another and only two professors the resignation of Prof. Toyo-remained. In front of this hall, some 350 professors held a meeting against the illegal detention and protested the students by the singular "sprech-call." In Faculty Campus Joint Liberal Arts lashed from 3 p.m. to 9 p.m. and then the students blockaded the hall of teaching staffs. Finally at 11 p.m. the school authorities rejected the collective bargaining on Nov. 12.

On Nov. 9, at night, students closed the Akamon Gate worrying about the introduction of police.

On Nov. 11, in the Faculty of Liberal Arts at Komaba, the professor and the students who protested against blockades fought by force against the helmeted students, but the first and second main buildings were blockaded. While at Hongo, 500 professors held a anti-students meeting, but they were broken up by the students demonstration.

On Nov. 12, about 2:00 a.m., Hayashi, Dean of the Faculty of Literature was released. At professors and the students who night the anti-Japan Communist Party students who tried to stage an armed all-out blockades and the Japan Communist Party students who protested against the blockades had a wild combat, so that situation proceeded from bad to worse.

On Nov. 14, in the students meeting of the Faculty of Law, the proposal against all campus blockades was given approval while at Komaba, the students in general and the professors mediated between the students of both Japan Communist Party and anti-Japan Communist Party who crashed in the blockades of seminar, and the extension of combat was mitigated.

On Nov. 16 Acting President Kato and a few professors went into the Yasuda Hall which the anti-Japan Communist Party students had occupied and consented to hold an open preliminary negotiation with the All-Campus Joint Struggle Council in Yasuda Hall on Nov. 18. And in the afternoon of Nov. 17, they talked with a representative of the Japan Communist Party students, and decided to do the

same thing on Nov. 17, they talked with a representative of the Japan Communist Party students, and decided to do the same thing on Nov. 9. And they called students in general to participate in the open preliminary negotiation, while the All Campus Joint Struggle Council announced to open a grand meeting of students of the whole country in front of the Clock Tower at Hongo on Nov. 22.

On Nov. 18, the preliminary negotiation between Acting President and anti-J.C.P. students was begun from about 2:00 p.m. and most of students in general went to school. But around 7:30 p.m., it was unilaterally broken off by the side of All Campus Joint Struggle Council. Students claimed in this meeting that the overall resignation of seven demands was the Premise to open the all campus meeting from beginning to end.

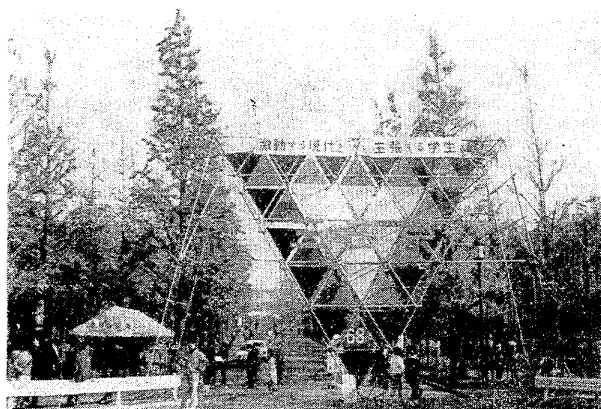
On Nov. 19, the preliminary negotiation between Acting President and J.C.P. students was held. And at about 11:00 p.m., they agreed on the four articles, but it was made clear that there were still many oppositions. In the students meeting of the Faculty of Engineering, the proposal against all-campus blockades was approved of.



On Nov. 28, as the school authorities decided the attitudes to the all campus meeting, they asked the students of pro and anti-J.C.P. to cooperate with its proposal of Nov. 29. The contents were the prohibition of introduction police except in the case of danger of one's life, abolishment of the Notice of August 10, no disposal of the students concerned in this trouble and so on, but the school authorities denied the withdrawal of the disposal of the students of the Literature Department. But the students of two sects opposed the attitudes of the school authorities, and in the student meeting of Agriculture Department, the executors made sure the students of the anti-J.C.P. were released and students in general elected a few representatives in the all campus meeting, so that the proposal against the blockades was suggested in the six

On Nov. 29, in the proposal meeting of the all campus meeting, acting President Kato was going to show his reformation and answer about demands by sit-down tactics. While the problem on remaining in grade of students would be more important on December, and the action of students in general would be the key to the trouble of Tokyo University.

Mita Festival Held On Hiyoshi Campus



The Mita Festival of this year was held from Nov. 21 to 24. Many visitors came on Hiyoshi campus.

The 20th Mita Festival of Keio University was held from November 21 to 24 on Hiyoshi campus, Yokohama, under the title of "the violently shaking present society and the insisting students."

The campus was filled with the visitors in and out of the university, especially on Saturday, 23rd and Sunday, 24th.

Many clubs and seminars, which pursued cultural creative-

ness and learning research, took part in the festival. In contrast with a large audience at the music concerts and plays, there were only few who attended the symposia and the forums.

For a long time there had been doubts as to whether there would be a festival or not, because Keio University had been on a long strike from July 5 to November 2.

Chuo Univ. Goes on Strike

On Dec. 14, about 500 students of the Enlarged Joint Student Council of Chuo University set up all-out barricades at the university. They had had mass bargaining on management of Student Hall. But the talks broke

down. The origin of this dispute can be said as follows: The school authority denied to pay the magazine of the hall to the students, who had canied it out, because the hall had not normally been managed. Against this, the students strongly protested.

"What Makes the Struggle of Tokyo Univ. Fire?"

We researched the essential causes of Tokyo university's struggle. For we wanted to clarify why this struggle of Intern system of Medical department, which had been arisen in 1963, in escalated on the all campuses of Tokyo university.

At first we pursued the process of this struggle from 1963 to this November in 1968, then researched the causes of this struggle. Moreover, this struggle appears as the showdown between Japanese Communist Party and Anti-Japanese Communist Parties, which are great two currents of Japanese students' movement. We can mention that students' movements in Japan are changing each way of them in this struggle.

Process of the Struggle

Now, Tokyo Univ. on an all-campus strike, besides has the possibility of blockading all-campus.

This struggle has arisen from the request against Intern system's abolition of 1963. On January of 1968, the Young Doctor Association opposed the registration system of a doctor by the Welfare Ministry, and rushed into the strike under the following slogans:

1. To prevent the registration system of a doctor from passing through the Diet.

2. To express that the faculty meeting of the Medical Department opposes the registration system of a doctor.

3. To admit the chief meeting of Tokyo Univ. Hospital to the demands of 1966, 1967, and 1968. The demands were to admit the Calliculam and members of the medical training.

On the other hand, 1968 on March 12, the school authorities punished 4 persons were withdrawn from the school, 2 persons were forced to be unlimited rustication, 7 persons were censured, one person was stopped study.

On March 24, Tokyo Univ.'s President Kazuo Okouchi gave a press interview, and he suggested the entry of the riot police.

On March 27, All-Campus conflict committee sat down in front of Yasuda-Hall at Tokyo University.

On June 15, some medical students against the school authorities occupied the Tokei dai.

So, on June 17, the school authorities carried out the entry of the riot police to take away them.

On October 21 the Law Dept. of Tokyo Univ. rushed into strike; at last All-Campus rushed into strike and continued till

now. During the strike, the school authorities notified the following on August 10.

1. The committee under responsibility of a council to re-examine the case of punished students.

2. The entry of the riot police is rightful.

3. The students must end the strike quickly and study as usual, because we established the committee to consider this problem.

On August 28, Dean of Medical Dept., Takashi Kobayashi said about the occupation of the main building of Medical Dept. that he could not spare to be infringed on the liberty of the study by some thoughtless persons.

On Nov. the students were divided two sects.

One sect is Anti-Japan Communist Party:

They insist as follows:

1. The criticism against the university connected with national rights.

2. The criticism against "the meaningless liberty of learning" of a Univ.

3. The criticism against the system of a Univ. as an educationist—a non-educationist, an administrator—a non-administrator.

4. The definite reform of a university cannot be successful without the social reform.

Thus, students of Anti-Japan Communist Parties insist that they must blockade all buildings of Tokyo Univ. And they demand seven items to the school authorities as follows:

1. That the school authorities should withdraw the punished 12 students of Medical Dept.

2. The school authorities must reflect that they enacted the riot police into the campus.

3. Admit the Young Doctor Association as a Council of Students.

4. To withdraw that the school authorities punished students of Literature Dept.

5. End co-operating with police in searching the campus.

6. Don't punish anyone from now on.

7. Members of the school authorities, who are responsible for this problem, must resign.

The other sect is the Japan Communist Party. They treat the problem of Medical Dept. as the conflict of democratization the system of the univ.: its content is to down with the absolutism of the faculty meeting. And they present following 4 demands to the school authorities:

1. The entry of the riot police should not be carried out again.

2. The withdrawal of the unwarrantable punishment in Medical Dept.

3. The democratization of the management of the university.

4. To clear off the violence on campus.

Moreover, they want to be admitted these demands on the collective bargaining.

On Nov. they don't admit the new executives of the university realized by the Ministry of Education and the reactive professors on campus. In short, the executives of the school authorities, which the central figure was President K. Okouchi, resigned and Prof. I Kato is acting as proxy. They try to organize the representatives group and to make the collective bargaining

success between the representative group and the school authorities only by them. They called for about 2,000 students outside the university and try to organize the executives by themselves for cleaning off the students of Anti-Japan Communist parties. On Nov. 15, the school authorities proposed the all-campus meeting to two parties. Then, on Nov. 18, students of Anti-Japan Communist Party asked "Does the university mean to withdraw the notification on August 10 or to accept 7 demands?", but the school authorities didn't reply, and they didn't discuss the matter logically. This collective bargaining was broken off.

Down with Old Idea

he was neither a staff of a medical office nor a medical student without the economical guarantee, moreover, has done miscellaneous business such as writing out cards in a hospital in the insufficient state of medical training education.

The movement to demand to improve this intern system has been continued by the interns. As it grew, the medical students and the interns decided on policies of abolition of the Intern system and the denial of an intern. This movement went on from the problems of Intern



Mass meeting on the campus of Tokyo Univ.

system to the abolition of the feudal system of a medical department.

For this movement of the abolition of this system, the government and the Ministry of Public Welfare offered a registration system, improving one section of the Medical Practitioners Law. The main contents are:

(1) The government abolishes the present Intern system, enforces the national examination just after graduation, and gives a doctor's license to a student.

(2) But for two years after graduation, a student must have clinical training education in a designated hospital. The numbers of it, a curriculum, the working rule are to be decided by the director of the hospital.

(3) The director of the hospital reports the Minister of Public Welfare about the students.

This registration system passed through the House of Representatives on 29th of March in 1968.

But it cannot solve the problem of Intern system that an intern is forced to work as a cheap labor power under the absolute power of the professors in a medical department. Nor can it overthrow the feudal system of a medical department which has appeared in this trouble of the abolition of an intern system.

Its feudal system was exposed in the fact that the medical department punished a student, who one of eleven students was not concerned with the strike but did not receive a summons as a punished person.

In Tokyo University, the steps of the punishment must be done as follows:

Hearing of the case concerned — examination — the faculty meeting — the conference — the president of the university — the signature of the deans of it — the announcement of punishment.

But in fact, the faculty meeting including the deans dealt with the problem, and the conference only made a decision "right or wrong", wholly depending on the report of the faculty meeting. This procedure

is enforced not only in the medical departments but also in other departments as well.

Therefore we can say that there is an essential cause to develop the trouble into the All-campus against anti-democracy (that is, the faculty meeting has absolute power).

We can mention four causes of the struggle of Tokyo university of the way in which it has spread through all departments from its origin in the Medical Department.

1. The student's dissatisfaction with the state of education of mass-production of the university.

2. The problem of curriculum which is unilaterally forced upon students by the school authority.

3. The state of a university, which is swallowed by the theory of Capitalism.

4. What attitude do the professors take as instructors and research workers?

These four problems don't exist only at Tokyo University, but at the 51 universities in Japan, where students struggle.

Therefore, on Nov. 22, students of anti-Japanese Communist parties, who struggle on their Campuses gathered and discussed for the first time at Tokyo University Campus.

We must mention that this struggle will last long, but we want to introduce how to settle this struggle as follows:

1. To respect the self-government of all communities of this university.

2. School authority recognizes that all Communities of this university are equal.

3. All people of this university strongly realize causes of this struggle, as members, who constitute this university.

At first, the school authorities of this university realize three matters, which we mentioned, in order to settle this struggle.

And, all members who constitute this university, which of course includes students, must gather together and establish a new idea of a university.

Moreover, a council as the system of deciding all problems of this university must be established systematically.

整髪料の男性

Vitalis

KAN

かんぎょう

GYO

A NAME OF AN AIM

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"It is the Meaningless Idea of the Self-Government!"

Today we often hear the word "student power" and it appears in the form of campus struggles. Observing each case, we come to a conclusion that the cause of the struggle relates with the self-government of the university. The concept of the self-government was the Western idea and imported to be transformed.

The original university in Japan imitated the German styled university (the university that deserves the state). So it is very difficult for such universities to speak of its self-government apart from the state. While as the relation between society and the university becomes closer, the maintenance of their independence becomes difficult for private universities. However the self-government has to be maintained and it has to be reformed to suit the new age. What is necessary for making the new self-government?

Cause of Struggle

Nowadays, some fifty universities are struggling in Japan. Especially at Tokyo Univ., Nihon Univ. and Kyoiku Univ. (the Tokyo Education Univ.), they have been striking for a long time.

At Tokyo Univ. the struggle erupted due to reformation of intern system and soon developed into strikes by the disposition of students at the medical, literature departments. It has been escalating ever since in the direction of confrontation with the co-operation of the public university. The mass meeting for the resolution offered by the university itself to the students was put away and the resolution is not yet to be found.

At Nihon Univ. twenty billion yen tax evasion was exposed by the Tokyo Taxation Office and asking for the opening to the public of management, from which the matters advanced to the democratization of the university. In Sept. the impulsive execution of the induce to the riot police made the matter confused and all the students joined in a university wide strike.

On Sep. 30, the mass bargaining was held between president Furuta and the students. Chancellor Furuta and all the other directors were made to recognize the self-criticism but they changed their attitudes. Between strike supporters and the anti-striking side, there have been conflicts.

Until these days, at Keio Univ. and the universities itself as for the induce of the U.S. Army Funds there have been a strike for 120 days, but the students of the side of the anti-striking were more than the strike supporter, so the strike condition was set freely. Today, the student power appears in the form of the campus struggles and it traces to its source of the difference from the vision between the university itself and the students.

Plan to Solve

The vision by the university itself as for the self-government is as this. According to the suggestion, "The opinions of the university itself" proposed by public universities' association to be criticized by the public.

All the universities must take care of the solution for the subject of all the public universities by the consciousness of connection. Moreover, the self-government is not the extra-territoriality like the privilege of diplomacy but the good social habitual practice keeping of the liberty of learning, so we must be conscious of the duties to keep it. The university's education is remarked for the unification of the research and the education.

(As for the education)
1. It is the education by way of the study.

2. According to the view, the research are sorts of researching students, so they are not only the students. We propose that these two facts should be basic dates for the education.

The university itself must

take care of the needs of society in modest way. The choice must depend on the judgement of the university itself. And as for the Concrete Relation like the association between the industry and the universities, they take a very cautious attitude.

As the inquiry into "the Opinion about management and operation of universities" of the Reference of National Universities, the gradual infringement upon the university's self-government by the Government and monopolistic forces, has already made progress as a historic fact, and the university has never over looked this fact.

About the self-government of students. It is said in the "Self-government of university and Self-government of student" A pamphlet (published in 1965 by the Tokyo Univ.) that the students are educated and should be distinguished from the teachers, and that the self-government of students is the same as extra-curricular activities of a junior high school and a senior high school, and the area of self-government is simply a little enlarge.

If we affirm this thought of "Self-Government of University and Self-government of students", now the universities must recognize that they did not fulfill at all the responsibility of education and guidance in this point to students.

Present & New Self-Gov't

Now we can say that universities are put together into the social structure and the self-government is violated as little as possible. At first it is due to the request of monopolistic capitalist forces, such as the request of the development of men of ability from the industrial world, accompanied by the rapid development of science and technology.

In the case of private universities, the monopolistic capital joins hands with the management for management principle of university authorities, and bluntly accomplish the principle of capital to universities.

In the case of national universities, it is different from the accomplishment of capital to private universities. Because a generally national universities traditionally, refuse the educational request from the non-government in view of the self-government of university. The request of the capital does not accomplish things so smoothly as in the private universities. So, it tries to accomplish its request a form of the administrative direction of the Ministry of Education to as the national universities.

We shall think whether, now universities are as strong as they can stand against the violation of their self-government. Now, universities have so much ability that the co-operation of industry and university will be taken by the universities under the pretext of a request of human society, and even the military study has been taken into the university under such pretext.

As far as the self-government of university is equal to the self-government of a faculty meeting, which if the co-operation of industry and university is independently decided, the self-government of universities

Now, let's think how academic freedom was gained so that we may overcome the crisis of Japanese universities. The origin of the university institution which is now established existed not in ancient Greece or Rome but in the Middle Ages. Especially Bologna university in Italy is thought to be oldest. Although it was called a university, it didn't have any constitution.

Many professors lectured in every place of the city. Many students came from every part of Europe and lodged and paid tuition to these whom they would like to listen to. At first students didn't have any control or co-operation. So that

And it is, we think, the reason why such contradiction came out that they definitely distinguished between the self-government of a faculty meeting and the self-government of students, and regarded the self-government of students as the "educational meaning which was given to the educated men.

never at all violated, it is difficult to defend the self-government of university.

It was made clear by the disputes of the universities a few years back that there are some universities which are doubted to be able to govern themselves or not.

Then, we want to think what the new self-government of university is.

In Japan, the constitution permits academic freedom. This is because the truth is variant and can't be move by the nation.

Academic freedom is followed by the self-government of university. This means that professors and students can study freely without being interfered with by the state.

And then, professors and student must be equal in study, and can, therefore, have equal right and responsibility in deciding affairs and curriculums. This necessities the establishment of a conferences between professors and students. Further more, in private universities the establishment of conference between directors, professors and students is necessary to prevent directors to run the university autonomously.

Here is an example of Ritsumeikan University. It has "all university conference". This is composed of a board of directors, teachers conference, teachers' union, and students' self-government. Big problems such as raise of tuition or establishment of faculty are discussed at this conference.

This is the democratization of university. In national university, finance, now distinguished by the Ministry of Education, must be distributed by agreement between universities. In this case, united finance can be attained. Success of this plan can be attained only by endeavor of every professor and student.

History of Self-Gov't

Europe

the price of lodging and books were raised.

In opposition to the raise of price, students established union and co-operated. It was in 1252 that students' union was approved of publicly.

This union means Universitas, University (in English). On the other hand, professors established union in opposition to students.

Campus was made unnoticed. Those universities had many characters they are:

1. It was a group of professors and students without being interfered by any authority or political power.
2. New thought were taught instead of old ones.
3. The union of students was stronger than that of professors.

4. There were many poor students.
5. Professors and students were intranational.

These characters were lost little by little. Japanese universities are far from the original character.

Japan

Now, let's take historical view of the Japanese university. Tokyo Imperial University is the oldest one in Japan. This was the model for other universities. It was not a place to pursuit truth but a place to educate those who served the nation. This is natural to Japan which was slower in capitalization than European countries, for imitation of other countries was more urged than creation.

It can be easily understood that the study of new thought which didn't put the purpose of the nation was restrained After World War I, with the coming of fascism, those professors who criticized ultranationalism were purged from universities one after another. Those universities which didn't have freedom of criticism or study were no longer worthy of the name. In 1945, as a natural course, Japan lost world war II. It was quite natural that criticism against universities arose.

American new system universities were introduced. They were no longer servants of the

nation. They were universities for the people and to cultivate peoples as a good citizen. But this change was on the surface. Most people couldn't change their mind and persisted in the old system because of little of cultural course which must play a great role in new system universities.

Here is an example of Tokyo Imperial University. Most professors disdain Komaba (general education course) and make much of Hongo (special course), so that personal changes from Komaba to Hongo are welcomed and those from Hongo to Komaba are disliked. And other universities aim at Tokyo Imperial University. This means the new system universities have not yet been understood by professors and even students.

Such a lack of understanding of a new system makes it easy for a nation to interfere in the internal affairs of universities. For example many plain-clothes policeman are hanging around the campus for thought control of professors and students. These are the background to the late troubles of Japanese universities.

How we maintain the Self-Gov't

We have examined the present conditions of the self-government of the university and its history. The problem of the self-government of the university will grow more and more important from now on. We have to know what is the purpose of the university before we think of the self-government of the university.

To bring up or make the subjective individual through the research and the education is the aim of the university. The university is where we should study in order to establish ourselves as subjective individuals. Therefore research and the study are important.

The university has never lost this spirit in its early history. However, as the university couldn't but have a close relation with society, it was forgot the character of the university was distorted, and the university changed to the one deserves well of the country.

The university must remember its real aim, and rechange to what it was in its early history. Because why the self-government of the university is important is that the university completes its real aim.

As we mentioned above, in Japan, when we speak of the university, we are inclined to think that the university that deserves the country, and forget the original aim of the university. This shows the special characteristics of the Japanese university clearly. Owing to such reasons, the university in Japan can't improve its character from the university deserves to the country to the one for the individual.

It is real shame that the university does not change its character without being accompanied by violent activity. Remembering its true purpose, the Japanese universities must change its character and become the one that serves the individual, that is to say, the study and research.

Today's students movement

demands the reformation of the university, and it is not carried out by the certain revolutionary but supported by the general people. We should notice this!

The establishment of the self-government of the university can be possible both with the effort of the university member and the aid from the usual society. The self-government of the university begins with the consciousness that a university is a community for the university member. To make a community, the co-operation of the staff and the student is necessary, for the university member. The mutual suspicion between students and the staff will never be permitted if we think of the university as a community. And the aid from the general society is necessary as well. However, we Japanese don't have a clear consciousness for the self-government of the university and the university itself. We have to reform such attitudes towards the university.

The improvement of the university needs the great power. If the combination between the university member and the help of the general people, cannot be possible, we don't expect an improvement.

What is necessary for the self-government of the university concretely is the loyal security of its system. This needs much more effort. In Japan only our constitution guarantees the self-government of the university. In the U.S., the state law guarantees the conditions of each case. The students movements have to move such a direction. The more the complex the society becomes, the more influence the university is inclined to be given.

Especially in Japan this tendency is clear, but in such a time the university has to produce a subjective individual. To achieve this purpose the speciality of the university has to be emphasized. To support this, the existence of the self-government is necessary.



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Asian Nationalism Needs No Meddling

Nixon's winning of the U.S. President election tells us the end of 1968 which caused many troubles in Czechoslovakia and Vietnam. In the world situations composed of the subtle balance between bipolar phenomenon and multipolar phenomenon, South East Asia, holding the key to the questions of the world peace, is going to point to a place of neutralization. That is to say, South East Asia now stands at the crossroads of the 'creative destruction' or the 'destructive compromise'.

So we will imagine the next feature of South East Asia after the Vietnam War in the axis of coordinates of neutralization, and take Vietnam, the U.S. Asian policy and Vietnam as the tangible corroboration.

Neutralization for South East Asian Nations

Catching the present world situation roughly, it can be called a transition period to the "new epoch", because of the simultaneous existence of the opposition movements, multipolarization and 'destructive co-operation' of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. The former not only means that the 'have-nations' except the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. increased their power, but also as we can see from the Czechoslovakia Affair, in smaller nations nationalism has embodied as political pressure, defensive or positive, connected with world peace. The tendency is definitely to see indignation of the smaller nations shown at the 23rd U.N. assembly. On the contrary, the latter means that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. which display of their influence of nuclear weapons, out-of-date toys, take the lead in the world and proceed on the way to ruin. Behind that, there is political and military pressure with economic and social facets, which recognize each other's bloc. In other words, that is ex-modern maneuver, which practices "power politics" and subjugate the smaller nations, and contain a dangerous country as Communist China in co-operation with each other.

But even if Nixon's words fit the bitter experience as defeat in Vietnam, being symbolized by N-bombing halt, it is clear that focus of world strain will still be in Asia. Namely, there is one side such as "hollow area" by dead-lock of U.S. Far East Strategy, and U.K. evacuation from east of Suez till 1971, and there is another possibility of Communist China foreign offensive who ended Cultural Revolution. To keep away a new occurrence of dispute in this "hollow area", it cannot be done by big-powers seeking colonial interests. One which can do it positively is to be the conception of the South East neutralization. As for the long-term political purpose of that conception, we can think of following three. The first is to strengthen pressure of the smaller nations to stop monopolization of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. and to proceed the multipolar phenomenon. The second is to stop adventurous strategy and shatter the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. containment policy to Communist China to establish peaceful co-operation with Communist China, a big-power in Asia. The third is to establish co-operative leadership of Japan in Asia, who is to be a big power as Communist China, and is a member of the smaller nations. It can be said that almost all of South East Asian nations tend to be neutral. To be concrete, nations which were recognized as neutral at the Geneva Conference in 1954 and 1962 are the North and the South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and which have cried neutralization are India, Burma, Indonesia, Pakistan, and which tend to neutralization are Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore.

This is effected by South East Asian historical, geological factors. That is to say, South East Asia, being different from Latin America and Africa, is settled between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. beside Communist China. And its movements are so closely connected with big power interests that a stupid myth such as the "Domino theory" had appeared. So, nationalism of South East Asian nations has a large meaning to bloom now. But obviously to see inside of each nation's politics, they do not agree as how to make the most of their na-

tionalism in concrete policies. It is quite difficult to promote it to "Asian nationalism", not conceptual as "Asia is one", but to establish political pressure group to keep the interests of the smaller nations (which is to be world's interests in the end).

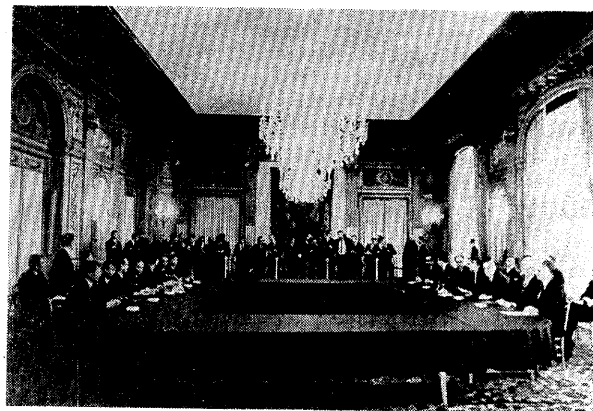
To avoid the great difficulty, we can mention establishing South East Asian economic co-operative organization. This does not need a fixed model, such as socialist government, because there are advanced nations and less-advanced nations, and moreover there are different national circumstances. It is meaningless if it is flourished by ideology. Secondly, it is said that SEATO has become a frame. We must recognize the danger of military alliance which helps to make bloc by means of big power, especially Thailand with an U.S. Army of 48 thousand men and the Philippines have problems inside. We must establish a perfect self-governmental "hollow area". In the end, by Asia Treaty, we practise diplomacy of the smaller nations' political pressure and make big power recognize non-nuclear area in Asia.

As we mentioned above, the role of South East Asia for the "new epoch" is neutralization. We scoop out Vietnam, Asian Policy of the U.S. which is most closely related, and Okinawa and Japan which the U.S. calls a "keystone".

and in military affairs and the South Vietnam should not be made the place of opposition between the U.S. and Communist China. This is the best policy of guarantee of security and the way to prosperity for a little country like Vietnam.

For the sake of rebuilding the desolated economy, the South Vietnam will depend on foreign supports to some degree. On this occasion too, a kind of united co-operation, organization must be made for the restoration of Vietnam. But even if various kinds of assistance was made by foreign countries, we must pay attention not to be made it in aspect of ideology.

When the South Vietnam is restored as a peaceful state in nationalistic and in democratic (not assemblage of opposite parties but government established on the national consensus), unification between the North and the South Vietnam should be possible. At first, a federal state will be born to. This new Vietnam which has a long, severe and painful experience of the War is the suitable country to avoid a second Vietnam War co-operating with the other countries of the South East Asia and to establish the peaceful community of nations.



Vietnam Peace Talks at Paris (photo by the U.S. Embassy)

Fear of U.S. Asian Policy

After World War II, the logic supporting U.S. diplomacy is the "logic of Cold War". It exists in the wavering world situation up to now. The U.S. fundamental attitude carrying out Asian policy is anti-communism. That is a containment policy to Communist China. It is an indispensable condition militarily involving Vietnam and other Asian countries.

By President Johnson's ordering a total halt to bombing of the North-Vietnam, it shows signs of Vietnam Peace. But so long as the hypothetical enemy of the U.S. is Communist China, tension in Asia will continue. So long as the U.S. continues to intervene militarily in Asia, she is subjected to criticism and as a result anti-American sentiment will arise in Asia. Of course, the reason why the U.S. intervenes in Asia is not only that of against Communist China, fundamental feeling of insincerity and that of hostility against the U.S.S.R. sternly exists and feeling of Cold War does not disappear. We must condemn U.S. logic of forcing other countries and playing power politics with military powers for background. The error in U.S. Asian strategy is obvious. It shows up in Vietnam War going from muddy conditions to setbacks. We must heed Asian policy of expected President Nixon. Considering Mr. Nixon's post speech and his speech in course of election campaign, it is obvious that he will carry out the policy taking a serious view of power politics. "Over-flow pledges" to overseas countries taken under the flag of "New Int'lism" by the Democrat Government will be gradually arranged. If Mr. Nixon takes the "New Isolationist policy" under the flag of "New Int'lism" by a cause of setback in Vietnam War, the prestige and leadership of the U.S. will disappear. We cannot foresee New Nixon's Asian policy based on int'l view, but he will fundamentally take over the stability.

policy of the present Government.

How should the Asian policy of the U.S. be? First of all, the U.S. must recognize the vivid movement of neutrality in South East Asian countries. It is a manifestation of nationalism holding an independence of their own countries and that of universal thought. The U.S. must not force power politics towards the South East Asian countries. How does the U.S. connect political independence (neutrality) with economic one? That is a question. The U.S. being much concerned with South East Asian area should promote the Asian policy of neutrality instead of checking the movement of neutrality. She should convert the co-operation in military relations into economic and technical mutual co-operation. By doing so they make the cost price of the South East Asian policy of the U.S. cheap and there disappears blame caused by intervening the South East Asian countries.

Japan, the most advanced country in Asia, should promote the movement of the South East Asian countries and soften strain in Asia. Firstly she must take the attitude of advising directly about the Asian policy of the U.S. Mr. Nixon even stated that SEATO is behind the times, and so it is necessary to convert ASPAC and ASEAN into collective security treaty in case of need. But Japan must oppose it from the essential standpoint of conference. The intention of Mr. Nixon is to establish a fort for anti-communism as a result it goes without saying that int'l strain will arise in Asia. Mr. Nixon suggests that Japan should take the responsibility of Asian defense. He intends to convert the responsibility of the U.S. in economic part and military one into that of Japan. We are afraid that his statement causes tension in Asia instead of bringing about political stability.

Towards Unification of Vietnam

President Johnson of the U.S. announced through T.V. on October 31 that the U.S. has stopped North-bombing completely and that Saigon Government shall join in the Paris Conference. Here the Vietnam War proceeds into the new direction of stopping the war and seeking peace. We have already thought about the figure of South East Asia after the Vietnam War in the axis of coordinates of neutral policy. So we will think here of what political form Vietnam should take after the Vietnam War, and where in this axis of coordinate, the new Vietnam can be placed. First the South Vietnam is discussed. Because to discuss about unifying the North and the South Vietnam under the existing conditions means the subordination of the South Vietnam to the North Vietnam, and because it is not possible to think about the unifying problem of Vietnam until the South Vietnam becomes a completely democratic and unified nation.

Today, in the South Vietnam, such political groups as the Saigon military administrative-power, Vietcong and the Vietnam Union of Democracy and Peace are existing and they are confronting each other on religions, ideologies, policies, social classes and so on. But if they want the South Vietnam to exist not as U.S. dependency, nor as North Vietnam dependency, they are forced to form a combined government in the South Vietnam. It is clear that none of the Saigon military administrative-power, Vietcong and the Vietnam Union of Democracy

and Peace want the South Vietnam to be americanized or communized as Communist China or democratized as the North Vietnam. Therefore the U.S. and the North Vietnam understand that there is no solution and the South Vietnam can expect to make a combined government of these political groups. In doing this, nationalism should be important to tie up these political groups, each very different each other. Vietnam history was a history of invading by old China, France and the U.S. and today, in spite of these invasions there is strong will to continue independently in the North and the South Vietnam. This fact tells us of a very intense nationalism in Vietnam. Each South Vietnam political group will be very different in its basic political attitude, but they all hold the same intention of making the peaceful and democratic nation based on nationalism. Nowadays, nationalism is hardly a key to support from the big nation's interference. This must be really true in today's South Vietnam.

Like this, the way the South Vietnam must take as a nationalistic state is not to exist as a puppet state of the U.S.

or of the U.S.S.R. and Communist China in respect of home administration or in diplomacy.

Even if the combined government was made in the South Vietnam, they fear that the unstable government like that of the present Laos. For they (Vietcong and the present Government of South) are confronted with each other and a weak thread of nationalism cannot develop adequately to the strong allied government aiming at a true unification. In order to avoid an unhappy state of affairs, they must establish a true democratic political power step by step. There is no way except this. They, for example, must aim to constitute a democratic institution by a fair election. So lest it should be obstructed by violent power, something like an international supervision organization will be needed.

Moreover, in order to assure an attitude of neutrality, the South Vietnam must promote diplomacy along the lines of the South East Asia neutralization. For the South Vietnam must deepen a relationship between the South East Asia and the rest countries by the neutral diplomacy in political

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New U. Festival to Rise from Ruins

Nowadays the waves of students' power are hitting every country in the world, and causing considerable damage to each government. In Czechoslovakia, students performed valuable deeds in the movement for democratization.

In Japan there are many university struggles, the culminating one being Tokyo University's struggle, have arisen and the doctrine of a university is considered again. Some universities held university festivals under these conditions.

We, The Mita Campus seek to make the doctrine of the university festival through our Keio University festival, Mita-sai, from the standpoint of co-operation between modern society and the university.

Considering the university festival, we, first of all, have to grasp its relationship with the modern society. We regard society as a kind of management or well-controlled society in which political and economic powers are so concentrated on a few managing controllers that the gaps of the powers between the controllers and the general mass is now becoming more and more marked. We think our society will find a new way to the new one, when we can fill the gap. In this point we find one of the roles of a university. The university should never be an ivory tower as in the Middle Ages and the place for acquiring knowledge.

In universities in Middle Ages, the learning researches had a few contacts with the civil society. The doctrine of universities in the Ages, however, does not apply in modern universities. Modern universities should strengthen the co-operation with civil society, toward the new direction, and be the academic universities in this sense.

From this point of view, the university must always give a hint of seeking a new direction for a new society to the general mass, because generally speaking the general mass would like to fall into a peace-at-any-price principle of "safety first", and is passive to seek new direction which means to face the present circumstances and contradictions and to reform them toward a new society. Here the university festival is more important as a contact point in co-operating with society.

Now let's try to distinguish

clearly the difference between the academicism of universities in the Middle Ages and that of modern society. In the medieval university the research of professors, were important, and students studied the classics. They generally fell into the idealism in their research. The number of universities and students were very few, compared with those of in modern society. They, professors and students, thought themselves to be removed from the society, and had a kind of elite consciousness. Meanwhile the general mass thought the university something accessible. So it had no intimate relations with the society and boasted of itself as an ivory tower to the society.

While, in the modern society the number of universities and students have been immensely increasing, and the doctrine of American educational system is taken in Japan. The university can not be an ivory tower in these circumstances. As mentioned above, having the roles to fill up the gap, as a matter of course, it should strengthen the co-operation with society and make efforts to promote human welfare. It has a heavy social responsibility in the contents of its researches. At this point, there was a clear difference between the academicism of the medieval university and that of the modern university.

From this view-point, the university festival should not be merely so called a festival for pleasure but also attach importance to learning first of all, and take heavy responsibility for society, filling up contents of the festival.

Doctrine of U. Festival in Modern Academism

Now we, The Mita Campus try to think of a doctrine of a university festival through our university festival. To be frank, we can not help doubting the significance of the existence of Mita-sai. The theme of this year "The present shaking violently and the students insisting" was made less in plannings, and students took the festival easy and could not realize the above mentioned significance of the festival. We could see a few insisting students in the festival. Only so called festival plannings seem to have overflowed in our campus, though there were few plannings on such as social problems that we should think seriously. For example, branches for eating and drawing lots and so on, in which we can not find its participating significance at the university festival, made the festival run into vulgar situations.

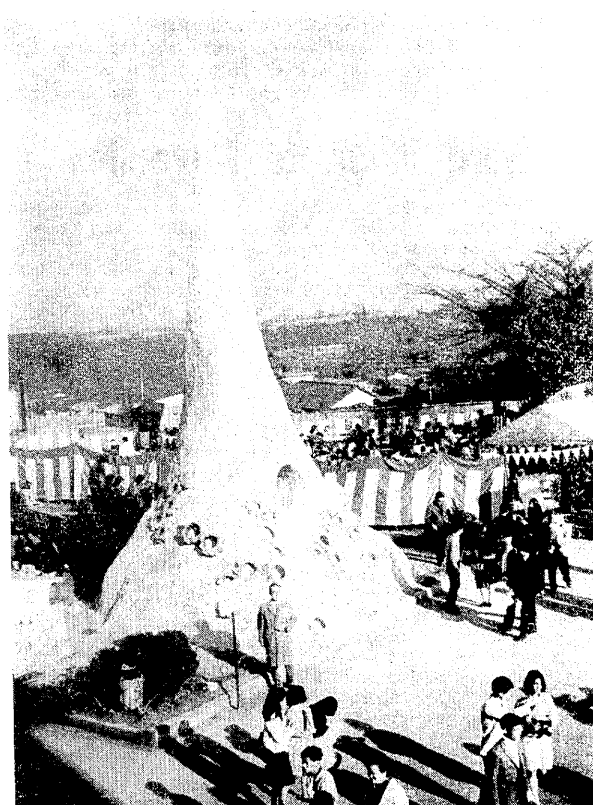
Meanwhile, participating students at the festival were swallowed by tense festival atmosphere. It seems that many seminars have made pretentious public without devoting to the study, and the clubs which pursue scientific researches in our university were similar to the seminars. It does not seem that the contents of the announcements showed their ability thoroughly, and that they escaped from the strict responsibility towards society, having taken Mita-sai as a amusing and easy festival. Moreover the an-

nouncements and shows of the clubs which pursue cultural affairs did not reach the extreme step of the soul of human beings but ended in trivial contents which were only for amusements of guests.

They only followed on from the past and lacked creative powers to help build a new society. That is, the students lacked the active attitude for seeking a new direction, having fallen into the epicureanistic common run of men.

In this point, originally, if the organizer thinks about seriously the responsibility of the school festival to the society, he will find only pessimistic atmosphere, when he looks back upon Mita-sai in the past twenty years, however, a bit of the effect he can expect in the present mixed state of the academic and the festive.

Therefore we suggest that we separate a place of academic research from that of festive research. We think that if we do so, we can at least renew the present Mita-sai from falling into mannerism. As a concrete plan, the exhibition of Bunren-Clubs, which research and act the cultural things and like that, is held in the term for Bunren-Clubs. In this way, the focus of Mita-sai will be unified. In the term of Mita-sai, if are weighted upon the presentations of seminar, discussion and symposium, which are held for a scholastic purpose



The symbol of Mita-sai seen on Hiyoshi Campus. But it very symbolizes the illusion of the festival.

by the people within and without Keio University, the true value of the school festival as mentioned above, will be able to be defined much more in the future.

As we are mentioning one of the examples above, considerable contradictions arose in Mita-sai and we face these situations to consider the doctrine of the university festival again. We are afraid that all the university festivals in the world have suf-

ficient dangers to fall these situations. In modern society, various contradictions have arisen not only in Japan but also in all countries in the world each under special circumstances.

Looking at these various contradictions earnestly, universities should pursue the new direction and overcome the contradictions together with the general mass. We must think the doctrine of the university festival in this sense.

We Accuse J-Gov't of Her Policy on Okinawa

(Continued from Page 4)

In a literal sense, the base Okinawa is the 'Keystone of the Pacific.' It exists in the center of the Far-East Strategy from the North Pacific to India. The purpose of Okinawa is to surround the communist countries. Okinawa is also the advanced base of Vietnam War, too. Many strategic purposes can be thought of, but after all, it is clear that all of them are based upon the "logic of Cold-War." But many faults which the strategy have are revealed clearly by the Vietnam War. Many troops are poured in Vietnam, but the problem could not be solved. It does not mean that the communist powers are increasing but it means that nationalism, which is different from communism completely, is increasing. This is the fault of the U.S., that is, she mistakes nationalism for communism. The country who contradicts the



B-52 flies today, ignoring the demonstration of citizens. (Photo by the Okinawa Times)

U.S. is the communist nation. It is wrong to think like this. The same thing can be said about the problem of Communist China. Surely Communist China is the socialist nation

and the diplomatic policy are rigorous. But it must be thought that she is working the process of the country constructing. In such a condition, it is not effective for the stability of Asia to

isolate her by pressure. As mentioned above, the Far-East strategy never increases the stability of Asia. The role of Okinawa should be changed not to the military base, but to a base for peace.

At present what condition is Okinawa placed in? At economic part, about seventy percent of the wealth depends upon the base. But many social problems, which were unescapable for the existence of the base, appeared. In addition to these, Okinawa's human rights are trampled upon and a false democracy was exercised for these twenty-three years. This is the most important thing of all. These questions of humanity and life feeling were included by the solemn winning of Mr. Yara, who repeated 'emergent return' and became the new top seat of Okinawa prefecture.

At this chance, our government should change diplomatic policy, including Okinawa problem. We must be careful the words of expected President Nixon. He said as follows: Japan should defend the Asian countries from communism

positively. This is based upon the fear of manifestation and militarization of ASPAC. Namely, we feel anxious for Prime Minister Sato's policy, for he says insensibly that people in Okinawa understand well that she plays an important role as a base to security of Japan, and that it is only lack of understanding to say they wish to make a base like Japan proper. When Mr. Sato tackles the problem of Okinawa with thus attitude, with what attitude is he going to confront, in future, the concrete problem of 'switching defence of Asia'? We expect our government to carry out voluntary diplomacy from Japanese viewpoint. And if it were not for his brave practice-voluntary diplomacy, past history should repeat again.

As things are, the problem of 1970 is debated in earnest. But it cannot be thought except the crush of each side ideology. It is pity to think that they are ignorant of the actual international circumstances. In this point, our government should do her best to relieve the Problem' is the touchstone of détente. Concretely speaking, the Japanese policy.

In Asian countries, the action of the neutralization is obvious. Of course the concrete plan has not been decided at all. If Japan keeps to have a dependent attitude like now, the positive opinion cannot be done. In this sense 'Okinawa do her best to relieve the Problem' is the touchstone of détente. Concretely speaking, the Japanese policy.

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Hear the Racial Voice in Okinawa

Since Okinawa put under the rule of the U.S., the economic lives of the Okinawans were said to be leveled up. In spite of these phenomenon, the people of Okinawa keep crying for the retrocession. On the other hand, the people of the Japan Proper keep ignoring the Okinawa, and when the Okinawa problem is made public, they even try to make it a victim of the parties' egoism. It is a miserable gap of racial consciousness born in a race. To get over the gap, we will reconsider of the Okinawa problem from racial point of view.

Hard Walk to Reversion

Just before the Pacific War ended up, Okinawa became the bulwark of the mainland for its geographical condition and in only three months about twenty thousand victims were killed in action, in fact half of them being non combatant. Some were shot by shells, others avoided being disgraced by the American soldiers approaching behind and killed themselves by diving into the sea. It is not too much to say that the basis of the miracle development was established as a result of evasion of the battle in the Japan proper. On the 15th of August in 1945 Japan surrendered to the U.S. without conditions and the Pacific War ended up. In Okinawa the battle was suspended before that. In January of 1946 Okinawa was separated from the Japanese government by G.H.Q., and in April the Okinawan government made a start.

Okinawans have felt deeply about racial humiliation under American force's undemocratic policy, undisguised racism as a victor, and uncountable crimes. They thought the reversion of Okinawa to Japan based on absolute peace is the only way to repulse such American Army's oppressions, and thereby to protect the race.

The reversion movement was mainly started by the union of teachers. They felt responsible for the fact that youths whom they had brought up as faithful soldiers were killed in vain during the war. This Okinawans' will has been reflected clearly in the repeated elections. In 1950 Seiho Matsuoka who had been regarded to be a most powerful mayoral candidate was defeated by Chobyō Yara belonging to the Socialist Masses Party. This result indicates Okinawans' judgement estimating which candidate would prove the strongest in appealing the Okinawans' desire for early reversion to Japan. Prior to Japan-Okinawa peace conference in 1958 regarding the status of Okinawa islands, the diet of Okinawa passed a resolution of demand for Okinawa's reversion to Japan. But at this conference Okinawans' intention was trampled and they felt a new kind of humiliation. At the end of war American Army used the lands without compensation, because the ownership of the lands was not definite. And moreover the American Army needed the extension of military area for the establishment of permanent base, and for this reason the American Army declared unilaterally the lands confiscation law.

The Legislature Dept. passed a vote "Petition for the treatment of the military area" thus objecting flatly against the American policy. For the Okinawans who have supported themselves by plowing the land, this land conflict was a quite serious one, and racial heart felt cry for the reversion and the emancipation.

What would it be that has supported such a firm reversion movement? We can say that it is the desire for the liberation from the U.S. force's hard tyranny which utterly ignored peoples' desire. In short, it is the humiliation to which they were subjected in the following cases: a principal of a junior high school expelled from school because he read in the class "Okinawa without Mother coun-

try" which was edited by Okinawan students in Tokyo in order to make known the actual situation of the islands: labourers discharged because of pictures taken of their joining in May day or public gatherings; and many cases of murder by American soldiers and the Army's attitude to settle the cases with only a little money. It is too natural that human beings should desire to gain the right to live.

With such background the election of the Chief Executive of Okinawa took place, and Chobyō Yara, the candidate supported by the Progressive Parties Joint Struggle Council was elected, calling for immediate, unconditional and complete retrocession of Okinawa. What is

Poor Consciousness in Japan Proper Abandons Our Brother

As soon as the Okinawa was separated from the Japanese Government the people of the Japan Proper began to forget Okinawa. One of the reasons why Okinawa was given up easily is due to its geographical situation, moreover the dark history of long-term between Japan and Onikawa suggests one reason. Since the domination of Shimazu feudal clan in the feudal era, through the discriminating treatment against Okinawa since Meiji era, at the time when the Pacific War ended up, the wrong consciousness had spread to the Japan Proper, that Okinawa was dominated and occupied by Japan and that the people there was a different race having a different culture. This thing appears exactly in the fact that Japanese have a feeling of despise towards the Okinawa. Therefore the problem of Okinawa is of vital importance for the Okinawa, but the people of the Japan Proper do not feel it very imminent.

That is to say, for the Japanese a defeat in the war was a national dishonor, and therefore they wanted to be freed from an impression of defeat and tried to forget it by means of separating themselves from Okinawa which is said to be the symbol of defeat in the

reason why he was elected? Doesn't it seem that his policy is too idealistic and too difficult to realize, for the people of Okinawa. But we clearly look the firm determination for the retrocession in the mind of the people of Okinawa through this fact that he was elected. The racial consciousness of the Okinawans still live in their mind, and this may be seen in the words of Yara's at his first press conference: "I would like to negotiate with the Japanese Government from the basic standpoint that the Okinawan problems are problems of all of the Japanese people. Many problems in Okinawa return to the homeland, Okinawan peoples' strong demands for the withdrawal of B-52's from U.S. Bases, and that of nuclear-powered submarines because of the danger of radio-active contamination."

It is not only the oppression of the U.S. Army but also the Japanese Government and people deserting Okinawa that silenced the people of Okinawa. In 1956 four representatives came to Tokyo from Okinawa to appeal for the actual situation in Okinawa that U.S. Army severed by force native farmers from their farms and ground on the "Price Advice".

As just at that time in the Japan Proper the Sunagawa Struggle brought about a public disturbance, the struggle was fought against the expansion of a U.S.A.F. Base (the Sunagawa Base in Tokyo), and both the problems in Okinawa and the struggle in the Japan Proper were concerned with ground used for the military aims.

In 1964 two meetings on the sea were held and there the representatives in Japan Proper and those in Okinawa swore each other to fight till the day when Okinawa was returned. Such meetings have been held every year. But as the problems in Okinawa were not thought to be close at heart by the people of the Japan Proper, the initiative of the movements asking to return Okinawa was taken by the political parties (J.S.P. and J.C.P.) and sometimes the antagonism between

two parties obstructed the movements.

There is an "episode", one Okinawan student said to me, "In my town named Naha (the largest city in Okinawa islands), I came across with a Japanese youth, he was walking along the street, looking like a stranger who comes into a foreign island for the first time, and he seemed to be worrying. He noticed me because I kept looking at him fixedly, so he walked to me and managed to say something but he could not. After a few embarrassing minutes later, he said dimly 'I can't speak English so much, but I want to ask you where an exchange house is'. This maybe is a extraordinary instance. But I can say that this is also an instance that originally shows what it is true. In Okinawa, they of course speak Japanese but they use dollar in stead of yen.

The weakness we feel in arguing the problem is, first, "the status quo" of Okinawa is not that of the Japan Proper: Plane-clash by U.S. Army's bomber 52 (B-52), Traffic policy in priority of military affairs, the economy dependent on the bases, and more than others, their right to decide their own fate deprived of and even now limited to: all these things, we cannot find in the Japan Proper in the form like above.

A famous L.D.P. (the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan) statesman became alarmed, during the campaign to the Okinawan, "If Yara is to be elected the Chief of Executive, it will become difficult for us to negotiate with the U.S. Government about the Okinawa retrocession." Also the aristocrats called intelligentia are not exceptions. One of them told sensationally, "So rapid retrocession must only damage to the Okinawa economy, they must return to the poor, hard life they have experienced long ago before the war". When we heard of these, we feel only the self-centered egoism, snobbish utilitarianism, and self-preservation.

How can we connect with, what should we do for Okinawa: these are the first and most important problems that should be questioned. What we must consider now is the state of the emotion the Okinawan are feeling of.

Take a Step toward Unity Together

As has been seen in the election of the Prime Minister, the Okinawa problem has certainly commanded the social awareness, and in a sense it become a vogue. In spite of these phenomenon, how many of the people of the Japan Proper think seriously about the future of the lives of the Okinawans who desire liberation from an undemocratic rule by another race, and moreover how many people have made any effort toward this end. It can be said that Okinawa is one of the most important places for the U.S., Japan and for all the nations over the world from the point of view of policy and strategy. The assertion of the retrocession of Okinawa with the condition that it is treated as Japan Proper and the retrocession with nuclear weapon on the part of the Japan Proper is based on an

objective ideology relating to the problem of Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. Now we must think of what the Okinawans really desire. As is easily understood by analysing the present condition of Okinawa, the desire for returning to Japan came up from the racial consciousness as a Japanese and strong will for the liberation from the rule of other race in their daily life and not from ideological point. It is up to the Okinawans to decide to what country they should belong. And strangely enough the actual power of deciding this is held by both the U.S. and the Japanese Government. Therefore if the Okinawans does not desire of coming back to Japan, there is nothing that in all honesty, we can do about it, even if Okinawa at one time belonged to Japan. The fact is that the

Okinawans want to come back to Japan. Basing on this theory, we cannot help saying that the rule of the U.S. is something unusual.

On the other hand the people of Japan seems not to have any consciousness to the Okinawans as a fellow countryman and they regard this fact as helpless. Considering the situation of the Okinawa, we cannot help thinking that the theory basing on the sticking to the organization of Japan-U.S. Security Treaty is only a pretext. We must take the Okinawa problem as our own problem and make concrete action for retrocession with the power of whole people. We do not assert the return from the rule of the U.S. to that of Japan as prewar but to treat Okinawa as one of the prefecture. This miserable gap of the racial consciousness is cleared away by only integration.

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EDITORIAL

Exodus to New Age

As great tension is anticipated in the year 1970, the last month, November was very meaningful. That means that in the U.S. New Nixon appeared and in Japan Mr. Sato was elected the president of the Liberal Democratic Party for the third time. Although they were so important, they are called 'the barren choice' and forced the people the choice of nothing or the lesser. Because they depended not upon the difference of policies, but upon the organization votes. Taking into account the new heads of both countries that produce no expectation of the people, we view the hereafter of the joint responsibility era of Japan and the U.S. (which was confirmed by the Sato-Johnson Statement) through the denial of the past.

At first, to summarize the foreign policy of Japan till now, Japan has consistently clung to the U.S. for twenty three years after World War II. In fact, she admitted North-bombing of the U.S. and further had a meeting with the heads of the South Vietnam, contrary to her attitude to advocate the mediation. That is, she always reflects the U.S. face. These attitudes without any fixed principle are further exhibited as animalistic in the U.N. That is to say, as seen in the alignment ratio (which was examined by Mr. Saburo Matsumoto, assistant professor of Keio University) on the Japanese attitude to vote, the U.S. and the United Kingdom bloc shows the alignment ratio of more than 91% and the fact indicates the part of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. control. And on the other hand, Japan makes every effort to obtain economic bloc in the South East Asia for the right of her own country. The argument that Communist China is dangerous for Japan as far as it is dangerous for the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. is realized as a cunning non-policy which relies upon the sense of animal-like preservation.

On top of that, only by seeing the president election of the Liberal Democratic Party (in this election Japanese Premier is automatically elected), we can clearly point out the non-principle of the domestic and foreign policy. That is, firstly it is the consistent people-ignoring politic that change the external pressure the leader of which is the U.S. to the inside. This fact is clearly appeared in the Sato's speech that we must defend our country and the reactionization. Secondly it is an ultra-micro international political view as seen in the speech concerning Okinawa. Thirdly, there is a non-ideal policy controlled by outside power and based on a non-principle policy. Fourthly, it is the irresponsible attitude that ignores the economic power (the GNP of Japan is the second in the free world). As is seen in the strength of West Germany vocal power under the international currency crisis, Japan must evolve responsible foreign policy that has a positive effect on obstructing the tendency that armed might is almighty. These four facts invite the political indifference of the people and make up the situation that appears no plural diplomatic policy.

With the appearance of New Nixon, it is clamoured that there needs the rise of the nuclear almighty logic after the denial of the "Flexible Counter Strategy" by Mr. McNamara. Talking about Japan, there is a possibility that the 'hawk' of the U.S. who are not content with the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty thrust on us the division of the responsibility logic. This fact is easily understood by the speech of Mr. Nixon that there is nothing more effective for making Communist China's leaders elastic than powerful Japan and powerful Asian countries existing around Communist China.

Above mentioned, it is plain that Japanese foreign policy centered on the policy toward the U.S. needs a detail examination. Concretely speaking, firstly re-examining the J-U.S. Security Treaty by all the people. Can it be said to be national politics without recognizing the fact the abandonment of J-U.S. Security Treaty occupy the main current of opinion. Secondly, we can say that Premier Sato's blank paper theory on Okinawa problem that is inwordly conscious of nuclear base system is anachronistic without understanding present situations. Thirdly, we say on the big power in Asia, Communist China that has begun to move. It is harmful to participate in containing policy of Communist China without worrying about the responsibility of World War II and to desire the cultural intercourse with her—it might be very difficult to obtain confidence of Communist China however hard Mr. Sato might improve. Lastly, we assert that Japan gets rid of economic animal attitude seen in her South East Asia policy as mentioned above.

Japan should develop those re-examination and evolve her foreign policy that leads to the true world's peace. It is the very Japan-U.S. relations with the correct confrontation and tension that fills the gap of the joint responsibility era of Japan and the U.S.