

News For  
World Peace

# The Mita Campus

'calamus gladio fortior'

With  
Fair Justice

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## Barricades Removed From Hiyoshi Campus

The barricaded school building at Hiyoshi campus, which had been barricaded since June, was removed by Professors and officials in the presence of riot police at 7:30 a.m. on Oct. 13.

As students blockading the building had already left, confusion did not occur. Well, this removal of barricades was not done by lawful means, but, as it were, by forcible. So it seemed to leave a big problem for the future. The barricade strike had been continued till Oct. without "inner gewalt" (factional fighting) as happened last year, since the Hiyoshi student rally, which decided to go on the indefinite length barricaded strike with slogans of crushing the University Bill and so on.

However, at last the university administrators introduced the police, as in many other universities where the barricade has been removed by bringing in the police by school order or by the police entering by order of the Education Ministry since

the University Bill took effect. To the students in the barricaded school building, the university administrators sent an ultimatum in which they demanded that the students leave before 7:30 a.m. on Oct. 13.

On the next day, as announced, they introduced the riot police of Kanagawa Prefectural Police and, in the presence of the police, the teaching staffs voluntarily removed the barricade. Though they called the action a voluntary one, actually it was equal to being done by riot police. So arguments about it seemed to continued for a long time. And the university administrators locked out the school building at Hiyoshi campus until Oct. 14.

The lecture began in many classes of the school of law and commercial science on Oct. 15, and of literature on Oct. 15. In the school of economics, the faculty meeting gave the students ten days to decide the declaration of stopping, or continuing the strike. So the lecture hasn't begun.

## Shingakudo Organizational Rally Held

On October 19 in Yoyogi Park about 70,000 Sokagakkai students (a Buddhist organized group) gathered for the first time for a rally. They came from all over Japan, from 300 universities. They are influenced greatly by the reactionary Clean Government Party.

The meeting began around 11 a.m. A chairman was elected and their slogans were established: Against President Sato's visit to U.S.A.; Realization of people's right; Creative research in the universities; Anti-Vietnam War; Scrapping Japan-U.S. Security Treaty.

After the meeting they sang some anti-war slogans familiarly. Their formation is called a third students force which is non-violent but political. The members are nearly 120,000 much more than pro-Communist Party students.

Their cognition is doubtful about difference between politics and religion.

armament rising in Japan and succeed in the union of laborers and students". "Stop Sato's Visit to the U.S. by force", "Shatter the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty" and "Win the Struggle of Okinawa". They started to Meiji Park at 2:35 p.m. There they held their own assembly again and the number of members had already increased to 1500.

Zenkoku Zenkyoto (National Federation of All Campus Joint Struggle Committees) Rally began at 1:00 p.m. at Meiji Park, in which 15,000 students took part. In this Rally they expressed determination to continue their fighting with violence against Sato's visit to the U.S. in November.

The massive demonstration from Meiji Park started at 4:30 p.m.; at that time the number of students had increased to 50,000. After a few minutes as riot police controlled the students who started the demonstration from another exit of Meiji Park, students in the park threw empty bottles at the police, which was never effective as the police fired tear gas bombs into the park. As the park was still filled with demonstrators, naturally some students were injured by the tear gas. The students who had left the park staged the snake dancing and running demonstration and the road, twenty meters wide, was filled with demonstrators.

At Aoyama crossroad, 5:30 p.m. riot police controlled them and stopped the demonstration for twenty minutes, even controlling passers-by in this time.

The demonstration was continued to Hibiya Park under heavy repression. There, each faction held a general rally to summarize then broke up.

After all activity of them ended guilty as police controlled them strictly.

## Anti-Yoyogi Rages On 10.21 Anti-War Day



Students rushing away from the attack of Riot Police at Shinjuku on 10.21 International Anti-war day.

On October 21, the International Anti-war day, Anti-war rallies and demonstrations took place all over Japan, with the train terminals being center of them.

At Shinjuku, strict precautions were made by police, and guard over the curious crowd was also strict, for preventing Shinjuku from being thrown in to the same chaos as last year.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, a great number of spectators started coming to the East Entrance of the station and some clashes were made between the mobs and the police.

Meanwhile, more people presented themselves at the station, and at 4:00 p.m., armed police started sweeping the spectators away from the East Entrance. After 4:00, about 150 radicals belonging to M.L. or Middle Core Faction jumped off the platform of Shin-okubo station,

and proceeded to the next station, Shinjuku. At Shinjuku, they clashed with the armed police of 500 who were waiting. The students threw rocks and Molotov cocktails at the police, but at 4:30 all the students were arrested after they had run into the freight depot of the South end of Shinjuku Station. Because of the clash J.N.R. Yamate Line and Chuo Line were stopped.

At 5:30, students cooperating with spectators clashed against the police on the tracks of Shinjuku Station. The armed police discharged tear-gas at the students who were throwing rocks and Molotov cocktails. A few of them got injured.

At 6:00, about 20 students set fire to the stand they carried, cooperating with mobs, in front of the Odakyu Department Store in the West of the station. About 15 minutes later, the police fought the fire. And then four cars were used as barricade near the area 2-

Chome, Nishi-okubo. And near Tsubo-hazu, someone made an attempt to make a barricade with a street-car. Those guerrilla actions were not seen last year.

At Ochanomizu, Meiji University, Nihon University, Chuo University had locked out students completely since the previous day and they prepared for the 1021 Movement by strengthening fences and gates severely. On the other hand, riot police patrolled the wide area around Kanda and Ochanomizu. Students did not appear in force and could not see any students' movements.

At Tokyo Station, assembly place of Socialist Students Front and Anti-Imperialism Student Committee, about sixty students with green helmet appeared there to begin the demonstration at 3:30 p.m. and after throwing some Molotov cocktails at riot police, they ran into the crowd. After this as demonstrators did almost not appear at all, big confusion did not happen.

## 50,000 Join in Memorial Meeting



50,000 students joined in Memorial Meeting of Haneda Struggle at Meiji Park on 10.8.

On October 10, the demonstration in memorial of the Haneda Struggle two years before was held from Meiji Park to Hibiya Park. About 50,000 students joined this demonstration. On this way, various factions held assemblies separately at different meeting places before the massive demonstration.

Anti-war Youth Committee of laborers held the assembly at Hibiya Out-door Concert Hall. The slogans of it were "Stop the Vietnam War", "Break down the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty", "Win the Okinawa Struggle", "Obstruct Sato's Visit to the

U.S.". 32 groups and 14,000 people participated in this assembly. In the assembly, participants made a fresh determination to fight reconstruction of national anti-war young laborers movement by JSP and Sohyo Labor Union, cooperation of laborers and capitalists. After the rally they started for Meiji Park to join the demonstration.

The assembly of Kakumaru (Revolutionary Marxist) was held at Yoyogi Park. 800 students including 200 high school students of Anti-war High School Union participated. At 1:00 p.m. the meeting started with four slogans of "Break the re-

## Pres. Sato Expresses His Opinion

A press conference was held between President Saku Sato of Keio University and the several newspaper clubs in Keio University under the auspices of the Mita Campus, English Newspaper Association.

In this interview President Sato expressed his opinions about non-indefined barricaded strike at Hiyoshi campus, the University Bill and the Reform Bill of Keio University.

At the beginning, an interviewer inquired of the president about the introduction of riot police on September 7 and 8. President Sato said, "It was

regretful that riot police entered on the 7th by their own judgement, ignoring my opinion. But it was quite clear that we had no way but to call in the riot police on the 8th. Because Mita school buildings would have become the center of unidentified students. It was regretful that 53 students were arrested." About Hiyoshi non-indefined barricaded strike, the President said, "it is difficult to find the solution of this barricade strike. We are thinking about the method of the solution of this issue." (Professor and faculty removed the barricade at Hiyoshi building, protected by the riot police on October 13.)

Secondly President Sato said about the University Bill, "I am thinking that as Japan is a constitutional state, even an unjust law should be observed. Of course it should be useless to Keio University. I have no decision about 'the report' for the time being.

The President stated of the Reform Bill of Keio University, "the Reform Bill of Keio University has no contact with the plan of the Central Education Deliberative Assembly. Because before its report, the Reform Bill of Keio University was proposed, which is different from the process of Tokyo University. I will establish Keio Educational Committee."

## Special Edition on Japan-U.S. Security Treaty —II—

# Security Problem, Key to Japan in '70's

The year of 1969 is the turning point to our future. It liquidates '60's society and produces the view of '70s. Especially, facing to the revision period of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, 1970, the security problem for Japan and for the world has become one of the main problem of today. The out-of-date structure and thought of Japanese society having now been brought to light, the old concept of security based on "balance of power" does not lose its power.

In this time, we will reconsider the dangerous situation of Japanese society and create idea to our new security concept.

## Idea of Security in Future

Once upon a time, there was a famous scientist whose name was Galileo. He was a man who was judged a heretic by court and obliged to withdraw his opinion. This happening caused a large disturbance with excitement and sensation for 250 years. It was continued after science proved his right. Today, however, it seemed to become a very old story and of little concern.

When we discuss "security problem", we had better remember this story. Only a few people, using scientific rationalism, could expect that the earth was round and moved around the sun. Our experience is liable to give us a mistaken idea, for it is so intense that we cannot make scientific (based on reason) thought.

Anyway, with the improvement of natural science and its education, people have become to accept the fact that the earth is round. But in the case of security problems, men's concept is not so advanced. Today, almost all people believe from their experience that security is the same as military and strategy. The most famous theory which symbolizes this concept is the theory of "balance of power". Today, all countries accept the theory in their policy, although the theory is not proved true in scientific judgement. It is acknowledged without a doubt, however, for it seems natural from people's experience and feelings that security is the same as armaments and milita-

ry strategy. This theory worked defectively in the age when nuclear weapons did not exist and war was carried out by professional soldiers. But in the modern world where the nuclear weapons can exterminate human beings dozens of times over and where war is waged on a national-wide-scale, the theory of "balance of power" which takes wars as means to keep security, will be dangerous thinking for human beings. We should avoid every kind of nuclear weapons war. The loss in wars has much increased since World War I. And by the bitter experience of the world War II, we have recognized that the next war with the nuclear weapons will surely bring us unimaginable damage. So we should give up the old security concept, including balance of power, for the behaviour based on those concepts are not proved reasonable in modern world and on the contrary are liable to lead to the thought that war is unavoidable. But war should be avoidable in our age. The fact that we cannot avoid war with old security concepts was proved by our miserable history of continuous war somewhere in the world.

Therefore, a new security concept is now required. It should be confirmed in the scientific world. It should never be led astray by old concepts based on our experience of security. To achieve the new security concept we must, of course, advance our scientific knowledge on security and at

the same time we must approach security problem fundamentally and objectively.

It seems that what is now required about the security problem is to examine the question about the security of individuals. Because the security problem for nations can be reduced to the problem of security for individuals. We can get the true image for security by considering the security problem of individuals, for nations are composed of individuals. It is not until we form the concept of security for individuals that we can deal with the security for nations.

Security for individuals can be brought into existence when a man lives with another man. When some person lives in the world alone, the security problem for him is not concerned with men but with nature. His friends and his enemies are only in nature. But when many men live in the same world together, each of them has different will and desire. So there exist opposing wills and desires. The confrontation of opposing wills and desires create the security problem. Namely the individual security problem can be reduced to the problem of how to keep the individual right to do what one wants without being interfered by another person. To realize justice men organized nations. So, in the field of security problem, we should ac-

spreads all over Japan. Therefore in order to have the Government comply with the hearty appeal of the people, they must demonstrate on a larger scale than ever.

The Government tyrannize partly because what function the minority opposition should serve is done wrong. The biggest organization which support the Socialist Party is the labor unions. At an election the Socialist Party seems to hammer out the policies which are the object of only workers and not general people. The Socialist Party which is the minority of the Diet quarrels among each other and lacks unity, therefore weakening its power by itself. Consequently however much workers support the Socialist Party, it does not realize their hopes. They fail the working class will. A labor union makes its principle to raise their material existence.

Japan has a democratic constitution which we are proud of. We must proceed with parliamentary democracy conforming to the spirit of it. The majority in the Diet has to listen to the opinion of the minority carefully, not ignoring it or pressuring it and has to harmonize the opinions of both the parties, and has to make a better reputation. As Government must do the will of the greatest common measure of people, it must now tie itself up as a sectional power. Let us think what real democracy should be and save the crisis of democracy today.

cept Rousseau's thought that nations are the places for men to make a contract with one another and to keep the rights of freedom and equality. We should not think that nations are independent, natural and destined communities within which human being can keep their lives. The old concepts for security come from this idea of nations. Taking nations as independent from the individual, war which brings much damage to individuals can be justified in the theory of the old concepts. Here our logic for security is proved to be consistent. The old concepts for security were created by old thought about nations and individuals. And now we should reform the concepts for security—that is, nations are not destined and natural community but they are variable units for the individual to keep their rights. New concepts for security will be created by new thoughts about the relation of individuals and nations. We can never admit the theory of balance of power, which denies individual right to live with the right of freedom and equality.

In the process of forming new security concepts, we will pay attention to disarmament. Because to obtain the security concepts not concerned with military power we must realize the world without soldiers and weapons. But we cannot reach such a world at once. There are too many weapons and soldiers in the world. So disarmaments is the only possible means to realize our idea. In the course of disarmaments we can make our new security concepts more precise and correct, accompanied with the advance of social and political assimilation.

## Free from Old Fashioned View of Security

Each political party has manifested their ideas about security for the country. First we want to express that of the Liberal Democratic Party. This party published an interim report in 1966 (the Hoshina tentative plan) formed out of conflicting views within the Party, which was too adamant for the New Right (the left and middle of the Party) who were against it. After all, a plan of a permanent security pact was really at the base. And from view of anti-communism and cold war ideology a policy of defence and public peace and order was adopted.

The L.D.P. believes in the control of war by the balance of power (east and west camp) and a system of collective security, with the world divided into the U.S. camps and the U.S.S.R. camp, Japan being in the U.S. camps, the party have this idea and that his balance of power should be continued permanently. But the balance began to break down. And the New Right began to speak about security by diplomacy. But it was accepted throughout the Party that communism is bad and that the cold war in Asia continue permanently; i.e. in the end, they also have the ideology of confrontation. They say that the situation of the world had been controlled favorably by the big powers in the U.S. camp and that the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty is in need. Japan's security cannot be kept without it. But the dominance of American military power began to break down,

## Theory By-gone

The theory of "Balance of Power" took its rise in Europe in the sixteenth century. It is the theory that peace and security should be held by the balance of powers usually between two powers. For example, "the big alliance against France" which Pitt, the younger of the U.K. formed at the Napoleon war, or Wien Structure were based on the theory of "Balance of Power". As we see the examples of "Balance of Power", we can easily find that the theory is very old-fashioned. It is an outcome of the age when diplomacy was underdeveloped and the war was the most effective means to resolve the problems between the countries. It is an outcome of the age of Karl von Clausewitz when there was a strategy of how to obtain the country's benefit.

After World War II, the world has been held by the balance of power between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. It has been said that because of the balance of power between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., peace was held to some extent. But the latter half of the twentieth century is no more the age of Napoleon or Metternich. We have the nuclear weapons. The age of the nuclear weapons can not be held by the theory of "Balance of Power". It is "the balance of terror". As J.F. Kennedy said, "under the sword of Damocles which is hung with a very thin thread and which is nearly cut down by an

accidental occurrence, a miscalculation, or madness, all men and women and children make their living."

As we mentioned above, the theory of "Balance of Power" is now very old-fashioned and is going to collapse. We can see some examples of its collapse. There is a movement to the multipolar way all over the world. The U.S.S.R. and East Europe, which have been thought as one rock, recently more and more expose the diversity. The most impressive example is the Czechoslovakia Incident in August, 1968. In former years, there was the Hungary Incident in 1956. And Yugoslavia walks her own way.

The another examples of the collapse of the theory of "Balance of Power" is the relation between the U.S.S.R. and Communist China. We can see that the world is going to move toward diversity in the relation between these two countries. The movement of diversity has begun in the east of Eurasia. Moreover Communist China has had nuclear weapons which is now of no use to have. Because the nuclear weapons can not be used. Nowadays, nuclear weapons has the power to destroy the whole world.

Meanwhile, the U.S. failed in the policy of Vietnam. The U.S. thought that if South Vietnam Government turns to Communism, balance of power in the South-east Asia will collapse, and that the whole world would go into war. On account of this old-fashioned theory, the U.S. entered and failed in Vietnam.

and it is seen that a dominance of military power can not assure security. Secondly, we want to express the Socialist Party's security ideology. It was decided at an executive committee in 1966. This Ishibashi plan emphasized the importance of security by wants of diplomacy. In the party's analysis of the Asian situation, Communist China and the U.S.S.R. basically want peace. The source old Asia's stress is the American Far East strategy which has closed off Communist China, and it is American imperialism that wants to invade and interfere by power, they say. This thought is exactly in opposition to that of Liberal Democratic Party. It was obvious that their position is partly a reaction to

the L.D.P. and demonstrates the ideology of confrontation used by the Socialist Party in reality. After all they can not get out of the old nationalistic, isolationist state image and can not get out of the logic of balance of power. Still more, the opinions of other opposition parties and from certain figures were that the states confront each other and certainly have to have military power. It is only a security. As long as such old state image is in base, we can easily deny their opinions. And each party lacks radical inquiry into war, peace and the state, which made then rely on an old image. Since each party is in such a situation, we can easily deny the validity of their opinions.

## Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy

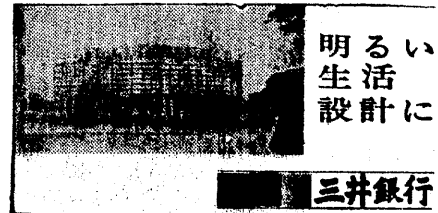
Fascism, which denied democracy, was broken down and democratic spirit was spread in Japan 150 years later than in Europe. Japanese, however, did not acquire democracy by themselves as it was imposed on them by the occupation force after the war. So they do not understand democratic spirit clearly. As Japanese have had no democracy in history, they are not well conscious of it and they do not realize the importance and greatness of democracy. And they do not understand the process of the development of democracy.

In current Japan, which has historic defects in this way, there are various problems which may destroy democracy. Parliamentary Democracy in the Diet is now at a crisis. The Liberal Democratic Party which has been in majority power since the war, makes light of the minority parties and has literally, physically forced votes again and again—e.g. forcing a vote about Japan-U.S. Security Treaty in 1960, Japan-Korea Treaty in 1965, The University Bill and so on in 1969. We cannot help criticizing this ma-

majority tyranny against the strength of parliamentary democracy. The Diet is the scene of ideological dispute and power strife. The Government has become a sectional power and has come to be the oppressive means in our society through which capitalism has developed intensely today and through which the classes have been completely separated. Like that the Government has kept establishing policies which have ignored the will and the desire of the people. The Diet is supposed to be a place reflecting the will of the people but now it is not the place.

In this time, the movement of "the minority outside of the Diet" necessarily happens—it is the new form which people participate directly by demonstration and challenge the responsibility of the Government. The movement has grown from 1960 and is developing more and more in the presence of 1970 and becoming a large civil movement.

In 1960 the government did not comply with the request of the movement probably because the movement did not



### 短期留学生募集

米 国 Stanford 大	12名	受 付	11月25日～28日
カナダ U.B.C.	6名	一次試験	11月29日
香 港 中文大	4名	二次試験	12月6日
フランス カーン大	4名		

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# War Industry Growing Rapidly

After World War II, the U.S. scale war industry came into existence. But after a few years, the peaceful coexistence between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. greatly influenced the war industry and many companies which produced weapons went bankrupt. During these years, Self Defense Force which was supported by the U.S. Army, organized its own army, the navy and air-force divisions in 1954, and the long self-defence built-up plan began. On the other hand, the companies which was remained during the depression paid attention to the developing Self Defence Force. And the war industry has been growing steadily in accordance with the first, the second, and the third selfdefence build-up plans. The domestic production of weapons is increasing rapidly, and at the present time, the war industry has the ability to produce weapons and munition

to defend Japan efficiently from direct or indirect invasion.

But war industry is going to modify its purpose in quality as well as quantity as a result at the "selfdefence arguments" which are being raised among the people. It means that the war industry itself is thought to be the most important political and economic problems. The following is the background from which this tendency has become stronger than in the former age.

Firstly, we can find that nationalism in Japan is rising strongly. Its cause comes from the self-confidence of strong economic growth and the political stabilization. As a result, Japan herself begins to be conscious of her great power.

Secondly the U.S. Government has decided to withdraw troops from Asia, especially from Vietnam. The U.S. overcommitted

herself in the Asian countries and failed to maintain respect and stable dominance there. As the big country of Asia, Japan is taking over the parts which has been carried out by the U.S. Government. This phenomenon can be seen by the increased export of weapons, economical assistance and trade.

Thirdly, Japan must seek new markets to invest in if Japan is to maintain the rapid pace of economical growth. The production of minituens will help solve the narrowness of the market. So this field is attractive to the enterprises. These three points are reasons why the war industry is increasing. We think that the "self-defence argument", which is put forth by the economic circles, can find its basis in these circumstances. It is said that all expenditures for the fourth defence build-up plan is more than 140 bill on dollars. This unlimited increase of war industry creates the danger of losing the original meaning of 'security'. It is thought that the notion of security equals military power. But it is a very dangerous tendency, because the other parts of 'security', for example the action of foreign policy, social welfare and so on, are ignored. We must think the true meanings of the 'Constitution', which was established by the results of miserable World War II—this war proved that it was useless to solve the problems among countries by resorting to arms. Here we can remember the words which were given us by Eisenhower in 1961. If Japan proceeds like it is now, the military states will appear actually, as we see it in the U.S. And we will have to fight to useless war.

## Educational Structure in Japan

Since World War II, the educational structure in Japan has been changing remarkably till today. Especially in this year 1969, university disputes and student movement intensified all over the country, on the other hand University Bill was realized firmly; Japan stands at the turning point of her educational structure. Well then, let's look back upon the changes of the past educational structure historically.

In Japan, before the war, there was a centralized educational system. But after the war, a modern educational administration was established generally under the peaceful Japanese Constitution and the Fundamental Law of Education as reflection of pre-war structure. The following are the fundamental principles of the new administration. 1) The old centralized educational system should be altered, and the educational administration ought to be entrusted to each local self-governing body so as to weaken the power of state and the Department of Education. 2) Dignity of the individual should be respected, and all men must seek the truth and peace.

The creation of universal education which aims at creation of culture ought to be promoted. Concretely the educational policy was orientated at making a healthy nation which loves the truth and justice, respects the dignity of individual and which

is full of the spirit of independence.

Also, the equality of educational opportunity, the compulsory education system, respect of education in political culture, which is necessary for a sensible nation, and prohibition of religious education by the government or any public body were all decided in principle. But such plan had been forgotten gradually after the occupation policy was over and, the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty was concluded.

In 1954, a law, which demanded the political neutrality in education, was realized. In 1956, "a law about constitution and management of the local educations administration" was decided, consequently the approval of the Minister of Education became necessary to appoint the head of the education board. Also in the same year, the teachers' efficiency rating system was established, thus controlling teachers. Moreover, excessive moral education, tests of scholarship which restrict pupils by grades, the system of free textbooks from the government, which aims at control of school books, and at creating the expected man have been made one after another. And lately, the inspection of textbooks has become an issue; Mr. Saburo Ienaga is prosecuting the Department of Education for the system now as he says the system is unconstitutional. Thus, educational administration with the purpose of fostering one's spirit of independence and creative

power had been changed without our knowledge, into one intended to cultivate a man who is submissive to establishment, who is indifferent to political affairs and who has no critical spirits. And that tendency begins to show itself in university too, the University Bill being an example of that.

If we, as a nation, leave the changes in educational administration as they are, how will it be?

We shall be given the text book by government which is supportive to government; in moral education we shall have patriotism stressed, and we shall be educated by teachers who are controlled by government. Therefore we are cultivated into men who have no individuality or no spirit of independence, still more we cannot seek truth and cannot create a culture freely. The notion of respect of "the individual dignity in the peoples' heart is lost, and another notion. We should offer our life for our own country—is replaced for it.

If it becomes so, the nation will exploit and take advantage of people like in pre-war Japan. In that case, the more than 20 years after the war will have been in vain, and the death of people who fought in that war will be useless deaths.

So, with the 1970's coming soon, we have to take full cognizance of the ill effects of the past educational administration and to stick to the forgotten distorted fundamental principles of the new educational system.

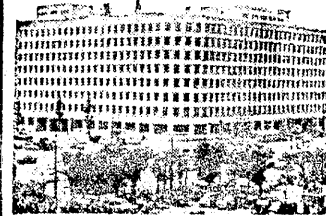
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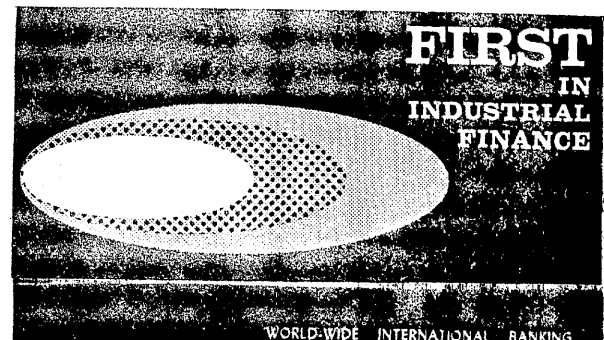
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Shinetsu



# Okinawa Issue Decides Our Future

In this November Japanese Prime Minister Eisaku Sato (Liberal Democratic Party) is going to the United State to negotiate the issues of Okinawa and Japan-U.S. Security Treaty with American President R. M. Nixon. But from many points of view, there are many people who are against, who protest or who want to smash this negotiation. From a very native point of view this negotiation will be good for Japanese people because we can get Okinawa back to Japan in '72. This decision to return Okinawa in '72 was realized in the joint communique between Sato and former President L. B. Johnson last November. So the return of Okinawa will be realized in '72 when the Vietnam War is supposed to be over. But some people cannot agree with the attitude of Japanese government toward the November negotiation or cannot allow Sato's visit to the U.S.A.

This negotiation has some dangerous possibilities for the Japanese future and also it can be said that our future in 1970 years must be decided by this negotiation. Why are we against Sato's visit or have to stop it? This issue will be a little useful to understand the radical Zengakuren group's plan to smash Sato's visit even by force.

## Free Use of U.S. Bomber

What matters most of the negotiation in this November is how to deal with the U.S. bases in Okinawa and with the nuclear weapons now there after the return of Okinawa to Japan. The first matter deals with the prior consultation clause of Security Treaty and its enforcement. Article 6 of Japan-U.S. Security Treaty says that both countries have a prior consultation about the use of U.S. bombers from Japanese territory to other countries to determine if it is necessary. And the Japanese government can say "No" if the government worries to violate the peaceful constitution of Japan (which gave up the holding of military power in article

9.) But recently Japanese government is getting to emphasize we have some possibility to say "Yes" for U.S. use of bombers to other countries, like to Vietnam or to Korea, in compensation for the return of Okinawa. So the U.S. bombers will fly from Japan to Vietnam or Korea after return of Okinawa. Especially B-52 bombers which carry nuclear weapons, disturb the Okinawan people greatly and are extremely useful for Vietnam will, not be removed from Okinawa, because the Japanese government has agreed in the joint communique on the importance of U.S. bases in Okinawa for peace and security in the Far East. This means that we Japanese assert directly and in conjunction the U.S. policy for Vietnam and Korea and all of Asia. So the prior consulta-

tion clause in the Security Treaty is to be changed in quality into one assisting even more the U.S. military policy in the Far East after the return of Okinawa.

## Rise Above From Our Nationalism

The next matter is how to deal with the nuclear weapons in Okinawa. Japan has three non-nuclear declarations—no possession, no production and no storing of foreign nuclear weapons in Japan proper. And also we have the terrible experience of nuclear bombing in Hiroshima in 1945 which made us not only hate nuclear weapons, but to be against any war in this world. But the Japanese governments agree in the prior conference that in the negotiation they will not decide about the treatment of Nuclear weapon in the joint communique of this November's negotiation with Nixon.

In Okinawa there are nuclear weapons and they are very important for the U.S. military strategy in the Far East. And the fact that Japanese government will not say anything

about nuclear weapon in Okinawa in the joint communique means we have the possibility to hold nuclear weapons in all Japan after returning Okinawa to Japanese Territory (i.e. Japan may acquire the status of Okinawa with regard to nuclear weapons).

At the same time some Japanese politicians of L.D.P. or conservatives say that we have to defend Japan by ourselves and must enlarge the present Self Defence Troops of Japan. The return of Okinawa is really a good chance for them to change Japanese military strategy and our idea about military power.

So Sato's visit to U.S.A. in this November seems to me to enlarge the security treaty and to strengthen and also the important step in re-arming and establishing firmly the new imperialistic stage of Japan in Asia.

## We Hold Nuclear Weapon

It is quite natural that the people in Okinawa and Japan have desires to release Okinawa from different racial control

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(American Military domination), freely to bomb other countries from a nationalistic point of view. But what we have to pay attention is that the Japanese government took this nationalistic protest and is distorting it to use for their advantage for the rebuilding of Japanese international situation, mainly Japanese military power, to get leadership in Asia. So it is mistaken that only the American government is the assailant of the Okinawan people. The Japanese government is also the assailant of them. Besides this, even if U.S. bombers, especially B52, are removed from Okinawa, these bombers will still fly from other countries like Thailand, Korea or Laos to bomb Vietnam or so. So if we stand on class consciousness, not only nationalistic, the problem is not only "Return of Okinawa to Japan" but what will happen after the reversion of Okinawa.

At the same time I want to say that even the people in Okinawa have some possibility to become the assailant of Japanese if Sato's way of Returning Okinawa is realized. Because by Sato's way of Returning, we cannot say "No" to the U.S. bombers to fly from the homeland of Japan to bomb Vietnam, and the fact is that we begin to hold nuclear weapons in Japan. So Okinawan people have to think about this issue of returning Okinawa from the stand point of "Anti-war", and "peace", not only from the nationalistic point of views. And in this November we have to negotiate with Okinawa to stop Sato's visit to U.S.A. and against Sato's plan of reversion of Okinawa to Japan. For the negotiation in this November is nothing but the strengthening of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and the preparation for same condition with Okinawa where U.S. bombers can fly the near future.

So we have to consider what the return of Okinawa means to us. And I think the return of Okinawa under the present leadership of conservatives puts the homeland of Japan in the same condition with Okinawa where U.S. bombers can fly the near future.

## EDITORIAL

## Liberal and Radical

There were two big demonstrations recently on the 15th in the U.S.A. and on the 21st in Japan. These demonstrations were against "War", but they were quite characteristic of both countries—radical one in Japan and moderate in the U.S.A.

We dare to refer to the American demonstration against Vietnam War in order to consider the meaning of this demonstration to American people and to compare the difference of it from the Japanese movement.

It was really beyond our expectation that about 1.5 million people joined on 15 all over the U.S.A. We can estimate to some extent this number of people, but we like to evaluate the quality, not the quantity of it.

Some Japanese mass communication admired the American moderate peaceful demonstration and that the conscience of the American people is still alive against the Vietnam War. We could hear the voices of American people—"Peace Now!" from the U.S.A. But we have to pay attention that some radical groups like SDS, Black Panther, Third World Liberation Front, which thought Vietnam War is just the typical invasion of America to other countries, were excluded by Moratorium Committee, the sponsor of 15th demonstration. If the conscience of American people were really alive, such national-wide scale and peaceful demonstration would have been held at the beginning of Vietnam War. American people including even the crazy anti-communist have just become aware that Vietnam War was a mistaken policy and not so effective to defend their "freedom" compared with their risks and losses in Vietnam.

So we think the peaceful demonstration on the 15th in the U.S.A. was far from "Anti-War" in its quality only the "Lost-War" or weariness of war. Every American people should admit that they lost the war in Vietnam and that there is no more "American Way" of solution in the other countries of the world. We suppose this was the reason President Nixon said clearly that he would never be influenced with this "Lost War" demonstration, for he cannot admit the loss of the war in Vietnam without losing much of its powerful image.

On the other hand, Japanese International "Anti-War" day on 21 was finished very radically and violently. Some radical students and workers threw Molotov cocktail and stones at the police stations or built barricades in the street. Anyway their demonstration was very radical and violent and they were in some way isolated from general people of Japan. Such demonstration will be escalating much more violently and militaristic from now to next year—the revision of Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. This never means that Japa-

nese people like to use violence to solve the political issues. We worry about such an opinion being taken mistakenly by a foreign country (like New York Times on its editorial about Japanese International "Anti-War" day on 21.)

Then we should analyze what the reason is for the difference of the two demonstrations on the 15th in the U.S.A. and on the 21st in Japan.

## Seek Own Liberalism Through Opposition

From a historical point of view, we like to compare the difference of liberalism and radicalism in the two countries. The U.S.A. consists of many different races and of different ideas of Europe, Africa or Asia. They came to the New Continent to build a new nation from different standpoints. They had to gather with each other in spite of their differences. The differentiation or divergence is the basic character of American society, Liberalism is the overs or holds together the great differentiation. So they needed Liberalism, tolerance and patience, and at the same time they needed complete exclusion of radicalism in both wings—the right and the left—to maintain order in their new nation. This characteristic is supposed to be accepted in all social fields, economically and politically in America. So Liberalism had been the most powerful and the traditional idea in her history, which is now challenged by new radical people of America.

But here in Japan our history had been an idea before the World War II—the idea of Japanese race as the only race or of Japanese Emperor who symbolizes Japanese race. This was the traditional conservative idea creating to totalitarianism of Japan and exclusion of the other races. And some change occurred after the World War II under the leadership of American military administration. But the idea of traditional conservatives lived on, because this change far from effected essential change in the Japanese society. On the other hand the progressive people lost any expectation, or illusion for the government, and American "Democracy" was imported for the Japanese to achieve westernization. Marxism became the most popular at that time, after the war. But the traditional conservatism is still powerful in all social fields economically (Protectionism) and politically, and very reluctant to listen to the opinion of the opposing people. So the opposition became much more radical in a reactionary way to the conservative, who opposed them without any liberal background.

We think the radical Japanese demonstration will be continued as long as the Japanese conservatism is going on. At the same time, we hope we could find our own Liberalism from this said opposition of Japanese. And we know well this is very difficult or almost impossible now. For the result from the radical demonstration on 21st of this month is—ANGER TO RIOT POLICE and DESPAIR TO RADICAL DEMONSTRATION. . .

