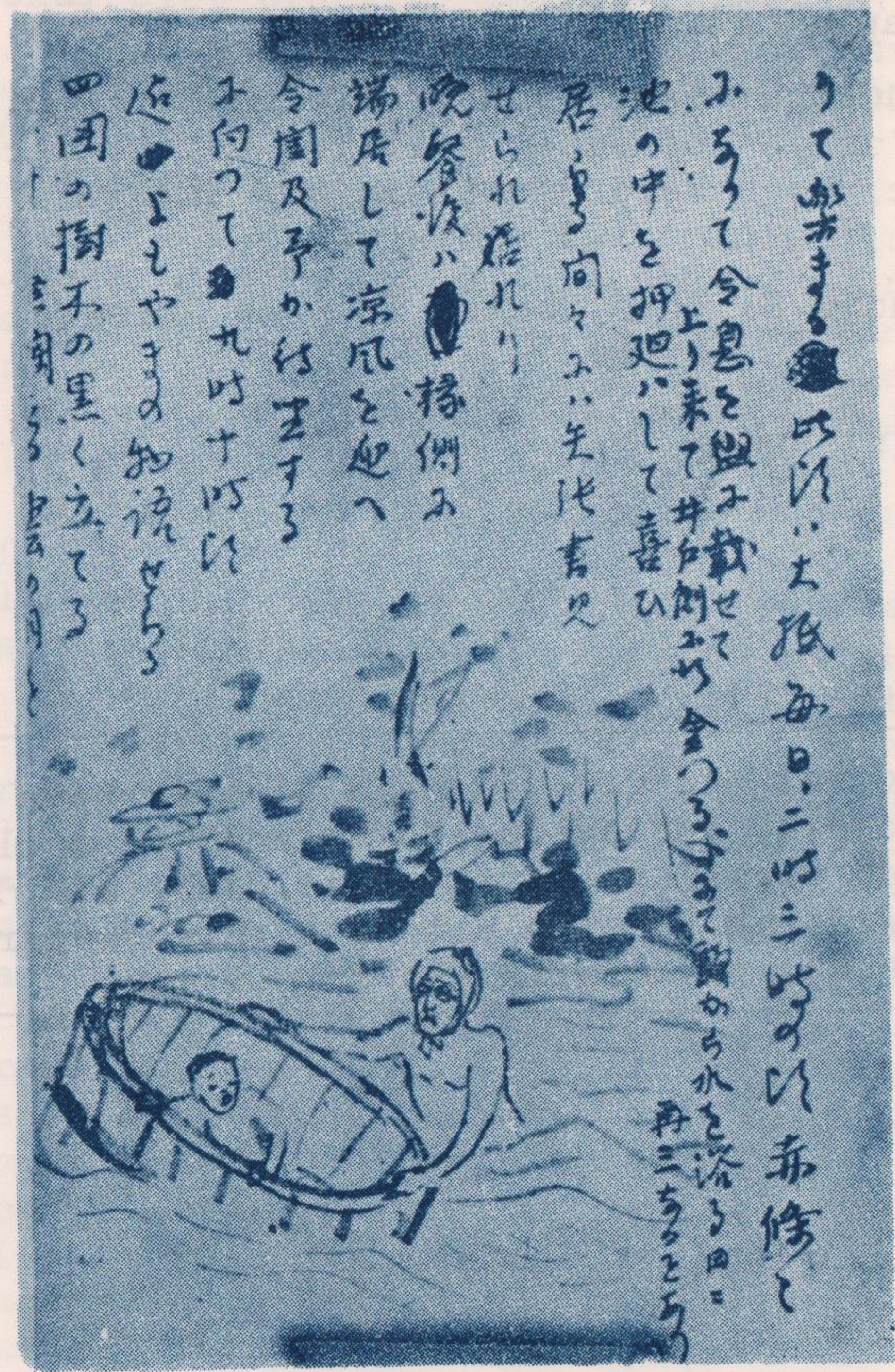


no.5

RADICAL



THE IDEA PUBLISHING HOUSE

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MINI NEWAS

* The cover picture is said to have been drawn
by Kotoku, indicating Nakae and his child Ushikichi
played together in the pond, July of 1893.
Handwriting is also Kotoku's, which reports how
Nakae had passed his hot summer day.

WHY MR. TANAKA MUST FALL?

On 17 Nov., President Ford landed on Haneda air port
he would have been welcomed by about 5000 police men
and 3000 activists. It is said that he would stay in
Akasaka Palace (the guest House for a V.I.P.) which
was a detached palace of the emperor, a dreadful imi-
tation of a Versaille palace before the war and used
for the National Diet Library in ten years ago.
In spite of journalistic propaganda that it has been
the second monumental event to welcome the black ship
since 1854, do they forget the general MacAthur's
occupational forces or do they want to erase his
occupied period off their memory? One opinion is fran-
kly enough, "Japan is a small country, there is no rea-
son to refuse the president who want to come, and we
want to be friend with any nation." Then the most of
Japanese had an anxiety of a general strike by Japan
National Rail Way scheduled on 18, Nov. Indeed, the
metropolitan transportation including the sub-way and
the bus traffic were cut off till the mid-day. This
strike was planed outwardly to check the tram-car and
rail way added with obtaining the year end bonus again-
st inflation of daily commodity, yet inwardly it was
an outlet of irritation of the people disappointed in
politics. For the prime minister Kakuei Tanaka has
being accused with his financial connections inflamed
by a conservative magazine "BungeiShinju". It declared
a "wakkata, wakkata no Kakusan" a quick mindel man,
Mr. Tanaka had collected his funds for the election of
directorship of Democratic Liberal Party from his par-
ticipated firms and companies. Moreover he had utilize
his status as the financial minister and the minister
of international trade and industry for bestowing the
national properties to his ghost companies, which
means nominal companies with no staffes and workers.
Thus he has accumulated his wealth consisted mainly of
villas and lands. An exposure of his private fortunes
is demanded by journalism including Japan Communist
Party which is earnest always to make a good mark

the elctorate as a mini Watergate affair. But in the behind of the curtain of the welcome show, the time had been already ripened for the tough guy, Mr. Tanaka, that is to say, a Otokono Hana Michi (a stage alley led to the exit for a meritorious man) has been provided for him with his diplomatic achievements by political bosses and Zaibatsu (the leaders of big businesses). Why he must fall? There are several points to be considered. Is he forced to take up responsibility for an inflation? No, it is a prevailed phenomenon over the world, then responsibility for downfall of the number of the votes of the previous election? Impossible. One thing cleared in the sun is that his vitality lacking sensitivity has caused an abhorance among the executives of D.L.P. In another word, his method to collect and distribute money among the parliamentarians to reinforce his status has been repudiated as an image-down of D.L.P. According to a Japanese etiquette, it is required to be sensible to hand money over to anyone, even to lend it. While Mr. Tanaka does it do openly. Yet I think, there is another ulterior motive to chase him out of the cabinet. It is to strengthen bureaucracy in the society. A hero of the success story, Mr. Tanaka has been an outsider, indeed, an intruder to this bureaucratic society. In a sense of the anthropologist, Mr. Benedictt's explanation (the chrysanthemum and the sword, a splendid analysis Japanese mentality based on aristocratic, therefore slavery due to the emperor hierarchy) Mr. Tanaka does not know his place in the Japanese society, so he must fall with his own vitality, for he has been nicknamed a bulldozer with a computer. In the aftermath, who will be a prime minister? He will be a bureaucrat like the former minister Sato elected among the bosses. Thus the Japanese society continues to be anarchy (without order in a ethical sense) and the last resort will be the

the emperor and his family, which is desired by reactionary elements in Japan under the umbrella of nuclear weapon of U.S.A.

Mr. Tanaka declared his resignation as prime minister on 26 Nov.

-The editor-

27 Nov 1974

THE AGE OF MADNESS

by Toshikazu Eto

" If the human being could survive and a historian had a chance to discuss about the last half of 20th century, he would call it "the age of madness". So it remarked in the Asahi Shinbun. Really we have no other suitable explanation of our generation. We have homicide weapons which enable to kill the whole population of the world by ten times, and that the chemical matters spoil us day by day, yet the spirit of the most of the populace is dominated with ignorance, foolishness, madness, superstition, intolerance, desires for money, power and fame. As long as the status quo is continued, the human being shall be destroyed with his own tools. I feel keenly it by observing daily events in Japan. When "bringing nuclear weapon into Japan" has been proved by Larock explanation, the government has tried to deceive the incredulous people as far as possible with assurance of 3 unnuclear principles (not to make, not to use and not to bring in a nuclear bomb) confirmed between Japan and U.S.A. and showed a poker-face trusted in the American government. Moreover both Japan and South Korea government have solidified their political and economical bondage based on an experience to sol-

ve an affair of kidnapping of Kim Tai Chyu, the former candidate of presidency in Korea from a hotel in Tokyo. Then Pak-regime, a watch-dog for Japanese capitalism, continues to oppress the democratic movement of the Korean people. There is no word to describe of ignomies of the former minister Sato and Tanaka, which induces to vomit by merely to think them. Meanwhile the young Marxists advocated an ideology that the consciousness of a human being is decided with the mode of production by the material life, etc., are struggling to hold power among them.

But we must not be nervous about the surface noises. However it is the age of madness, there are the people and their movements relying on Reason and with spirit of tolerance and sympathy, who cut open the future of the human being. They are an anti-military and base movement, anti-pollution movement, Human rights movement for a foreigner in Japan (a right to stay in this country is easily deprived for a Korean and a Formosan) and a solidarity movement with the Asian people. Though it is a minority movement, the activists are striving surely to demolish the establishment.

Buber's word is that we must live totally unromantic in the present, and construct a true community with rebellious materials of our historical age. It is the emergency for us at the present that we realize the meaning of popular movement fairly and stand at the side of the people.

Selected from Libertaire
Vol., 5, No. 59

A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN JAPAN (4)

Appendix: B THE SANSUIJIN KEIRIN MONDO (The discussion of Ideal politics by the three drunkards) by Atsusuke Nakai, published in 1887

The author treated the political idea in his days in a disguise of talk by three drunkards. The reader may suppose it is not suitable putting a serious matter like a political article on the lips of the drunkards, but he took a precaution that his work would not have been banned under suppression of speech and publication. In those days, any article treated about politics was published in underground edition, and to be sure, he was deported from Tokyo in the same year (1887) due to his activities as a Minkenka by Hoan Jyorei (the rules of Public Security). He removed to Osaka and became a chief editor of Shinonome Shinbun (the Journal of Daybreak) and strived for prevail of civic rights. Kotoku was also included in the banishment of 570 Minkenkas, whose experience taught him that the Meiji government was monopolized by several high officials in the name of Mikado, its power was arbitrarily wielded over the militants of anti-regime by police forces, thus a future anarchist learned his anti-government sentiment from the homeless and penniless condition

The literary style of the book is like a "discour" of a French Roman in 18th century, but the phraseology is originated in Chinese classics, so it is rather difficult to grasp the real meanings word for word and fitted for reading aloud as a piece of fine composition.

Nakae maintained that there is no philosophy in Japan and a philosophy is a kind of decoration at Tokonoma, i.e., a decoration on the mantelpiece of

the drawing room. Since Hegel any Westerner holds to an opinion of no philosophy in the Orient except the ethical conception. In another word, to treat a truth for a truth sake is only found in Greek philosophy which the European has inherited from the Greek. (see Edmund Husserl's Phenomenology and the crisis of philosophy). I know Thomism and Cartesian rationalism are in this context. It is also true that we have no political theories like Hobbes and John Lock, but Nakae's utopian story shows his rational faith grown up in the climate of the Orient. Let him speak it himself. The opening page is depicted as follows;

"Nankai-sensei * has a taste of sake by nature, and he would like to discuss politics, too. But when he drinks one or two bottles, he feels pleasantly, while his consciousness floats in the air, his eyes glitters and his ears prick to a harmonious sound as if there were nothing to worry about. With more two or three bottles, his spirit rises to the highest, his inspiration comes out spontaneously and despite sitting in a room, his clairvoyance covers the whole world, then having ridden in the past and the future by each 1000 years instantly, he points out a course of the world and instructs how to do with the society. He thinks of himself, "I am a guiding wheel in the real world and the affair of human beings. While the so-called near sighted in politics is arbitrarily to use a compass, thereby he takes a ship dash on a rock or run ashore, thus he brings a calamity to himself as well as his fellow men." Though Nankai-sensei stays in this world, his mind climbs to the "Hakoya San" namely the mountain of UTOPIA, and roams about the country of NOWHERE, therefore his geography and history coincides with those of the reality merely in the spelling, not in entity. For in his geography, there are cold and warm countries in the climate, great and small ones, nations having civilized

manner and barbarous one, on the other side, in his history, there are peace and war, prosperity and downfall corresponded often to our geography and history. When he drinks another two or three bottles his ears rings, his eyes blind and he stretches his arms and limbs so far as to fall unconsciousness. After two or three hours' deep slumber he becomes sober again, and there remains no trace of his speech and deed during his ivress (drunkenness), as if the possessed with a fox* has recovered to his consciousness. Indeed there is always an acquaintance or a rumour monger who wants to hear the Sensei's curious political opinion, pays a visit to his home with a keg of sake and sakana*, then the guest toasts the host with several cup of sake and let him speak, by taking a caution of his heavy drunkenness, about the political affair. Sensei has reflected himself a little "before had I drunk heavily, I would put the important items down on sheets of paper, on another day I would pull them out, and add something, then compile them in a book form, which, to be sure, would please me and my friends at the same time." Ai, Ai, he has responded so to himself.

The days have continued with misty rain, not for a chance to see the sun, which made Sensei feel gloomy. One day he has been already in a state of topsy with self service of sake, there two guests have visited him with a bottle of European brandy "KIN PU" namely "GOLDEN AX". Sensei has no acquaintanceship either of them, nor he know their name, but having seen the bottle of European brandy, his spirit becomes cheered up. One of the guests has wearied the European costume from his head to feet, his eyes and nose are sharply shaped, his body is slim and behaviour is vigorous, while his speech is clear and defined, which seems that he (the guest) lives in the room of THEORY, perspires the air of REASON and like to go straight

*the possessed with a fox: the possessed with a devil.

* sake and sakana: sake and a relief.

on the line of LOGIC by disdaining to follow a zigzag course of the reality, that is to say, he must be a philosopher. The other guest is tall, his arms are big his face, pale and his eyes' sockets are deeply sunken. Judging from his Japanese costume with Kasurino kimono and Hakama(a pleated skirt) he is fond of a big adventure and fishing his fame with a bait of his own life, that is to say, he must be a man of Hero worship. After the formal greetings, they have toasted each other, Sensei calls the former, Yogaku-shinshi, a gentleman of European education and the latter, Goketsukun."

At first, Yogaku-shinshi states his opinion. He advocates European democracy, and expresses his doubt about wars among the nations based on three principles i.e. Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. He accuses such struggles caused from obtaining frivolous fames betraying morality, rules of economy and accumulating hundred millions of the regular army consumed their national incomes. He advises a course of a small country(alluded to Japan) that she ought to enter into the realm of Liberty and Fraternity having acquired morality and technology, then to become a country of philosopher by excavating the fortress, melting the cannon, changing a battleship into a steamer and making a soldier to be a civilian, thus she will be an example for European nations which have not yet layed the foundations of democracy. This argument was directly opposed to the policy of the Meiji government, which had being promoted the national defence by the coast, and that the policy of the rich country with strong soldiers on a pretext of invasions by Western imperialism in the Orient. Yogaku-shinshi argues they (the westerners) might have an original quality of civilization, however they can not follow it, and if we take it up and show the same foundations of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity with no armament and treat them with good will, they dare not invade us.

For "however they want to kill the wind with the sharpest dagger, the wind blows where it wants to go" He explains that the politician should be a disciple or a novice served for a god of Evolution and his duty is to open the road for the God. Because the God of Evolution does not care about the bush and the rock in his course, that is, He tramples on even the people who kill each other for the name of revolution. Yogaku-shinshi cites examples for the reigns of Charles the first and Louis XVI. In his view the evolution goes fast without a stopping, the evolution of art and learning which enlighten the people promotes a transformation of the institution. "Art, learning and the political theory are no less than the branch, leaves and fruits sprouted from the same stock of knowledge." Thus he defines three stage of political institution, i.e. Despotism, Constitutional monarchism and Democracy. He analysis the political evolution with abundant historical proofs and his comentes.

" There is no human being except the king and the aristocrat in the despotic country, and that the other million souls are nothing but an automaton in deficiency of spirit. Whenever the people accumulated wealth with their toil and pain, the government exploits it without notice or deposit it as tax. It is robbery and there is no right of private property. -----

In the constitutional monarchic country, there are a prince and five sorts of rank(it is a satir to the Meiji Government, see Appendix C)

This is against the principle of Equality, but the prince knows the purport of Liberty, fixes a constitution and the national law to protect the rights of the people. There exists a little exploitation and the rank of nobility above the fellow men, therefore this institution is the half-reformed from a view of Evolution.----

The constitutional monarchism is not so worse,

but democracy is better. The constitutional monarchism is spring which has frost and slight snow, while democracy is summer without them. The former is like a wise man, the latter is a saint according to Chinese tradition while a Bosatsu (Bodhi-sattava) and a Nyorai (a Buddha) to Indian phraseology. The constitutional monarchism should be respected, but democracy is to be loved. The former is an inn for a traveler, you must leave it if you were not a lame or a weak, while the latter is your home which you certainly to feel at home after a long journey."

Then Yogaku-shinshi shows his vision of a democratic country; "Having established the institution of democracy, let each one have his dignity, excavate the fortress and disarm the armament to show no murderous motive, at the same time we do not accept the interference of the other countries. Let our country be a land of morality and learning in which exists a parliament in order not to split the brain of the country. And that allow the people have the rights of voting at the adult age regardless of the sex, the rich and the poverty except the idiot, the fool and the man of deficiency. From a governor to a village master they should be elected publicly not to flatter the administrator, while a lawyer and a judge should be also elected not to flatter the legislator. Let us found the school to educate the whole people without fee to make them a gentleman. Eliminating the death penalty and the barbarous fetters by law and the protective tariff to break through the barrier of economic competition, let abolish the rules of speech, publication and assembly unless they do not corrupt the manner and invoke a tumult. Thus let the speaker have his freedom of tongue, the audience, his freedom of ears, the writer, his freedom of talent, the reader, his freedom of eyes (which means a freedom of reading any book) and the gatherers, a freedom of association. Such a thing is my platform.---"

Yogaku-shinshi proposes a plan of making a small country in Asia a laboratory for democracy, equality, morality and learning added with non-violence and non-resistance towards the foreign countries. For he believes that "a man should live with his own rights, not depending on the other---- and making the whole people a kind of living morality for the future society."

This opinion impacts us even now, for the Japanese constitution of the post war has proclaimed the similar doctrine, though it has been bestowed from the above or advised by the occupation forces of U.S.A. in 1945.

But Goketsu-kun (a man of Heroworship) has burst into laughter to hear non-violence and non-resistance. According to his knowledge of history, the civilized countries such as Sparta and Rome in the ancient and England, France, Germany and Russia are, in the modern times, the countries of war. "The war is a barometer of civilization.--the richest and the civilized have got usually a victory." and that the war is, for Goketsu-kun, a show to demonstrate his courage and a pasture for his fame. He does not analyse the nature of imperialism which is carried out by Kotoku in 1901 with his work "Imperialism, or a monster of 20th century" published at the same year of Nakae's death. On the contrary, he proposes to invade a big country in the neighbourhood (alluded to China) to leave a small country (Japan) or having handed her down to the minkenkas or the democrats. He wants to establish a country of despotic monarchy and accumulate the wealth to buy a fruit of civilization. Because "Rome can not be made in a day. wealth and strength of England, France and Russia of to-day are caused with many reasons and means. For instance, the wise king has reigned with benevolence, the good prime ministers have helped them in regulation of both foreign and domestic affairs

or the general has done a meritorious achievement, or the scholar has announced a perfect theory, the inventor has contrived a precious vessel, etc. While they have endeavoured to deposit the fruit in the peaceful time, and tried to conserve it in the war time. Then having it moistured with graceful rain and exposed in the bright sun. Once they have come to the open field from the alleys, the other time, they have entered in the slow current from the rapid one, then from right to left and vice versa, thus they have come to civilization with thousands and million pain and toil. How many years, months, knowledges, troubles, lives and materials have been consumed? So if we want to participate in civilization to enjoy the fruit, there is no other method except to buy it with money. But the price of civilization is so high as a small country will be exhausted or compounded with the big country gradually.--"

Goketsu-kun's imperialism means to get money for purchase the fruit of civilization and that if a big country is weak in spite of her fertile land, it is better to make a use of it. The notion has been unhappily an analogous course of Japanese militarism since the Meiji era until 1945. He analyzed a collision of civilization and its influence over the people.

"The inhabitants of the backward country should replace the former institution, culture, custom and sentiment. Thereby there come out the element of philo-antiquity and that of philo-novelty, whose characters are indicated as follows;

The elements of philo-antiquity (a conservative)

1. men who are above 30 year of age.
2. who regard every novel custom, manner, sentiment frivolous and feel a vomit to see or hear about a new mode of culture.
3. who estimate liberty as a capricious and heroic deed, while equality is an unfavourable thing to be chopped off with a hatchet.

4. who regard the law a strict learning and disdain economics a scholastic science.
5. who respect Danton and Robespierre. Marat and Saint Just might have been in this category around the Revolution.
6. who are not fond of any obstacle in the process of public affairs, etc.

The elements of philo-novelty (a progressive)

1. men who are under 30 years of age.
2. who regard the ancient regime being corrupted with a bad smell, and seek for a new mode of culture without exhaustion.
3. who estimate a theory, despise violence, promote industry and disarmament.
4. who affect for a theory of morality, law and economy, then regard themselves the literate or the philosopher and respect Thier and Gladstone.
6. who like to deliberate a plan not to be failed in their public affairs.

Goketsu-kun maintain an opinion that the elements of philo-antiquity become often a cancer of public affairs in the country, so that he would like to emigrate them in a new land to establish a utopian monarchy. (This design has been partly realized in Manchuria during 1930s in sacrificing of Chinese people, which is contrary to good intention of Nakae.)

Nankai-sensei has criticized each of them. He states that democracy of Yogaku-shinshi can not be realized without cooperation of the whole people, nor the policy of Goketsu-kun can be effected without despotic resolution of a prince or a minister. He has pointed out the common under current of each opinion has been inflicted

with fear of imperialism of European states, but they have their own business, for instance however the prince wants to invade a small country in the Far East, there is Parliament, and having not obtained a consent of the members of parliament, that is, an approval of the people, the prince can not enterprise an invasion. Furthermore he were lucky enough to get the consent, there is also a public opinion over there raised by freedom of press, whereas it is difficult to cause a war against a foreign country with his own will. As for the God of Evolution, it is a name labelled on the course of history. He is affectionate inconsistent and fond of debauchery, so you can not think that he is only favour for a progress and goodness. In Europe there are some countries to abolish death penalty, which may be called his work, i.e. an evolution in Europe. But in Africa, there is a tribe of cannibalism which is also a kind of evolution. Therefore " if you declare that the god loves merely democracy, not for despotic monarchism, you are wrong. For do you think that there is no god of Evolution in Turkey and Persia? If you assert that the god prefers to cultivate a perfect virtue and has no taste in massacre, was there no god of Evolution when the general Kou() had killed the war prisoners of Ghyo dynasty by 400,000 in a ditch? The god prefers feudalism during the feudal period, the national isolation when the country has closed the door, and likes a foreign trade when the door is opened again----- (the imagery of this paragraph reminds me of " CANDIDE " of Voltaire who has accused Harmony of Providence)

But there is one thing that the god disdain, which we, especially the statemen ought to know. For when the stateman has misunderstood the object of hatred of the god, a calamity would be awful. An old literate like me has happenly written a book opposed to the will of the god of Evolution, such a book would not be sold out. If I had planed a treason, I would have been imprisoned for several years and executed. Though if the state man

had enterprised without knowing her intention, a thousand million people would suffered. It is an awful thing! Then what has she hatred for? It is that you may speak and do something without considering the proper time and place. My saying may be sounded a wrong. Whenever the stateman had established some institution without knowing the time and place, which brought a calamity to the million people, the scholar might point it out that it should have been so due to a cause of necessity. If it was due to a cause of necessity I agree, it is a work of the god of Evolution, not her repugnance.--- then what is hatred for by the god? That is, you want to do which you should not do out of the time and place--- Nankai-sensei has joked with an addition that " in my view, the god of Evolution in Asia prefers the nobility than the common people-- but (he continued) the purpose of politics is to follow up the intention of the people and make them enjoy their happiness peacefully and keep interestes of welfare in accordance with their knowledge. If you establish the institution not follow the will of the people and against their knowledge, with what you make them enjoy happiness?---the order of politic and the society is from despotism, constitutional monarchism and democracy respectively. If you enter into democracy from despotism abruptly, the brain of the people will be destroyed with the sudden change, for the image and thought of a king and the nobility have been submerged deeply in their consciousness. To be sure, a few people welcome the transformation as it follow up REASON, but the people are perplexed and raise a tumult--- (Sensei has defined two sorts of Civic Liberty) Civic Liberty in England and France is the rights of restorative type, i.e. obtained from the below, while the other is the right to be bestowed from the above. The quantity of restored rights can be determined with our own volition due to our own

efforts. Meanwhile that of the bestowed rights can not be fixed with our own volition. Moreover it is against the order to change the bestowed rights into the restored one abruptly." In his view, the Japanese constitution of the Meiji era was the bestowed rights, so that he recommended the people to transform its nature as follows; "however the quantity of bestowed rights is small, its nature is not so differed to that of the obtained from the below, you must protect and keep it as well as cultivating it with the fertilizer of science and vitality of morality, then it will grown up gradually in accordance with advancement of the times and conditions of life until it will coordinate with the restored type rights. It is the principle of Evolution."

His advice is still fresh for us, because the conservatives of to-day propose to amend the post-war constitution with the same reason as it has been bestowed from U.S.A., but the last resort for the democrats will be the above saying. He taught Yogaku-shinshi with an instruction.

"Gentlemen! An idea is a seed and the brain is a field. When you appreciate the democratic idea, you may speak and write it to sow the seed in the brain of the people, which may sprout after 100 years in the nation. But now the bush and the flower of king and nobility have rooted deeply in the field, then is it not an error to expect the prosperity of democracy from a seed in your brain? Thereby the brain of the people is a store house of the past ideas, while an enterprise in the society is an issue of the past idea. Therefore if you plan a new enterprise, you must sow the idea firstly in the brain of the people as a past idea. Because the enterprise is always to bring an effect in the present, but its idea has a root in the past.-- Every achievement in the universe is no less than the effect of idea in the universe. The idea and the enterprise are mutually piled up and linked to draw a

zigzag course, which is the so-called the universal history. The idea raises an enterprise and the enterprise produces an idea by vicissitudes, this is a course of the god of Evolution. He does not stay above the society, nor crouching or hiding under foot of the society, but he lives in the brain of the people. Thereby the god amalgamated (cooperated) with idea of the people makes a circular body. Gentlemen! Having respected an idea in your brain, if you have the people recognize it as a work of god of Evolution, it is as if you put a black dot on a canvas to make the spectators form a perfect arc. I think it is a kind of monopoly of idea, which the god does not appreciate, and the scholar should take necessary precautions. The times is a canvas, the idea is colour and enterprise is a drawing. We may say that the society of a generation is like a drawing. Gentlemen! if you want to draw a future picture on the present canvas with unprepared colour, it will be a work of the fool. But when you make exertions in colour of ideas, the flow of colour emerges spontaneously on the canvas of the society, then you draw a present enterprise on the present canvas with colour of past ideas, which will, to be sure, attract the eyes of the spectator and be a chief d'oeuvre superior than those of Rubens and Poussin.---

To reply non-violence of Yogaku-shinshi and chauvinism of Goketsu-kun Nankai-sensei cleared up his stand point.

Self-defence of Nankai-sensei

1. Expansion of armament ensues an equilibrium among the big nations.
2. The theory of world peace has no chance of its realization till now (which asserted Yogaku-shinshi' opinion about peace theory of Kant and Saint Pier but the more the nexus of morality prevails, the more violence losses its territory, such a course is a progress. "Among four countries such as Prussia France, England and Russia, if one of them were far stronger than the other three, she would violate with her caprice without regarding Universal law,

but as it is now, there is equible among them, and that they are forced to keep the law, thus the small countries are spared to be annexed to the big country. Furthermore due to the complex of the state machinery and the will of mass of the people, it is impossible to enact a war unless considering the public opinion, the press and consensus of parliament, etc.

3. But despite such considerations, if the foreign country invades us, we defendes ourselves with a guerilla war fare.

4. He held to the opinion against chauvinism and imperialism of Goketsu-kun. He said if there were a big country of impotence in our neighbourhood, we must make a relationship of brotherhood, and help each other in emergency. Moreover "the most of antagonism and hatred raise not from the substance but a false voice. Therefore when we investigates the reality, our doubt is usually solved away, only a demagogy resultes in a crisis." Japan ought to negotiate with China with good will to open a market, not to take up arms against her.

"The best foreign policy is to make a peace with any country, and as the last resort, we must take up a stratage of self-defence, yet we must strive to alleviate the expenditure and pains of the people with elimination of armament. Thus were we not contaminated with a disease of moribond, China would not not have an antaganism towards us.--"

The last scene of the banquet was interrupted with cock-crowing. The two guests took a leave. The host said "according to my calendar, you will find it out at your home that you have already passed here about three years !" Two guests smiled each other, and left his home. Within ten days, the book has been written. Meanwhile it is rumoured that Yogaku-shinshi went abroad to North America, and Goketsu-kun to Shanghai, but Nankai-sensei has remained to drink his sake every day.

This utopian story has personified three type of Japanese intelligentisia, i.e. Yogakushinshi (a gentleman of European education) is always alluded to Kotoku and Yuzabro Sakai, another disciple of Nakae, who helped his master in publishing a book "Rigaku-kogen" (the outline of philosophy) and also introduced the meaning of May day, the tendency of Socialism in Europe, and besides, he contributed a fund when Kotoku founded Heiminsha in 1903. Goketsu-kun stands for a Tairiku-ronin who wandered about Korea, Manchuria and China for his own fortune and fame, then embodied in a nationalist while Nankai-sensei represents for a hermit of Chinese tradition. A political man, in a sense of Chinese tradition, is also a man of taste, who retires from the reality at the old age or a frustration of his political maneuver. I think, it is better to understand Nakae's fundermental thought with this Nankai-sensei believed in Taoism. This granted, it is easy to grasp his view of history. He admitted a progress. Evolution and three stages of political transformation, yet it lacked dynamism which we can find in historical materialism. In another word, his nihilism does not emerge from the behind of the present, which passes to and corporated with the future with a name of necessity. Such an action is artificial, while Lao Tzu recommended "taking no action, having no desire and naturalness holding Tao". Of cause as a modern enlightened thinker, Nakae was complex in his thought, but his ethical sensitivity was tranquil in Tao.

We can also discern a pattern of acceptance of European civilization, which has brought repugnance and willingness among our people in a backward country of Far East. Japan has quested breathlessly for the fruit of civilization so far as to buy it with money. Yet scientific technology can not be attained without manual talent and practical knowledge of the people. Then it has been recommended to learn Jitsu

gaku () i.e. a practical knowledge about science and technology even from the government, which has resulted in a motto of WAKON YOSAI () namely to have a Japanese soul with a Western talent. In another sense, it proclaimed Japan has a special tradition, whose ethical and spiritual background can not be changed even with European civilization. Thus every products added with patentes and a technician, as occasion demands, including rail road, ship yards, textile factories, bank management, architecture, educational method and parliamentary system had been imported. This process was admitted by Nankai-sensei theoretically as to buy the fruit of civilization. But now such naive attitude towards civilization can not be approved, for heavy industry including chemical products cause pollution and environmental destruction, and yet there is always retardation to amend the environment, for the imported fruit is destined to eat or processed for profit making without instructions, then Japan has now become a polluted country.

In spite of his great knowledge in democracy, Nankai-sensei remained as a constitutional monarchist in his political attitude in common with the author, Atsusuke Nakae. Really having been asked the meaning of socialism, he (Nakar) replied that he strived for Liberty, not for Socialism through his life. Though he was a revolt to the Hanbatsu Seifu (the government monopolized by lords and peers) and showed a great sympathy to the nihilistes in Russia. In my view, the qualification of a thinker is his ability of analysis, predication and identification to his contemporary world, and Nakae performed his part as a enlightened thinker. So we can find his intellectual maturity in this book. His rational faith and taste in Chinese classics were inherited by Kotoku.

Appendix E: Toyo Shakai To (The Oriental Socialist Party)

In 1882 a timber dealer Tokichi Talui founded a party named Toyo Shakai To in Hizen Shimabara (Nagasaki prefecture in Kyushu island). It is said that he was stimulated with the activities by the populist in Russia, i.e., the nihilist terrorized Alexander II in 1881. So the preamble of the party proclaimed that Nihilism (Kyomushyugi) is not a monopoly of European civilization, he could find it in Taoism, Buddhism, which enabled the people do what they wanted to do in a revolution. Thus Chinese nihilist has continued for 2000 years. He compared an origin of the Oriental nihilist with European one and said that the nihilist party would emerge in the reality because of oppression of the civilized people with authoritative barbarism, and it was caused from an error of the institution which would be proved that such party was few in free country, but abundant in monarchical country. Therefore the Russian emperor was a sacrifice by himself, not by a nihilist. Meanwhile he took a survey of the tendency in Japan, and was shocked to see many sympathizers and the friends of Russian nihilist. Thus he appealed to the people with the similar mentality to found a party. Yet he added an enigmatic excuse in his speech, "it is clear the nihilist party is a trouble maker to the society, I agree with you and have the same hatred as yours to the nihilist. The next step is to contrive a mean to destroy it without waiting its full bloom. Our nihilist party is still in its bud, then it is better to cut off a cause (a seed) after having it cultivated so far as a bud grew, for there is no bud without a seed or a cause." He might have took a precaution with a tactic of the Taoist, not to impact the authority, nevertheless formation of his party shocked the whole country with its name of socialism and its rules.

A Draft of Party Rules

Article 1 Our Party sets rules with fraternal speech

and deed.

Article 2 Our principle is equality among us.

Article 3 Our party aims to promote maximum welfare for the people.

Article 4 To reform the old custom and heredity of the rich and the poor, we carry out the following items.

1. Natural products shall be hold in common
2. To found a cooperative company
3. To set cooperative breeding of the children
4. Scientific reproduction (which means to propergate a scientific birth control)

Article 5 To solidify our organization and propergate our principles, we endeavour;

1. self-teaching
2. public speech
3. circulation of the paper and the organ
4. speech tour

Article 6 Nomination of our party shall be Toyo Shakai To

Article 7 The atmosphere of Oriental civilization makes us to fuse and forge our party, neither your strength nor my leadership has founded it, Moisture of our brains evaporated by illumination of Oriental civilization has responded each other and being condensed to a column of cloud which fall a rain drop of virture of Equality over the society.---

The prince whom I serve is nothing but Morality, yet Morality can not reign over, for my conscience is Morality itself.---

The party rules would be compiled by each member, not bestowed from above, and there was no director or chief appointed, merely a clerk or a caretaker honoured with a name of his representative district.

The party was participated with 3000 members under influences of Civic Liberty movement, but its characteristic was unique

with laying its foundation on Morality. Therefore a christian anarchist Sanshiro Ishikawa praised the party as the first society of Anarchism in his Nippon Shakaishyugi Shi (The history of Japanese Socialism written by Ishikawa and coedited with Kotoku, appeared in the news paper, Heimin Shinbun of 1907).

Ishikawa said that they (Talui and his comrades) had not read writings of Marx and Engels, neither Bakunin, nor Kropotkin. They did not know or consider thoroughly about the biggest motive of modern workers movement, the first factor of economic organization. Therby it is impossible to compare their movement with those of socialism and anarchism, but it promoted a step forward to Japanese Socialist movement like Weitling and Fichte who took initiatives of German socialist movement as well as Saint Simon and Fourie in France. The Oriental Socialist Party was suppressed and ordered to disorganize after two months of its appearance. In 1887 Talui became a parliamentarian but could not find a chance to realize his ideal in the political field however he had declared his opinion about National Bank System.

Refering to a book of Sogoro Tanaka "Toyo Shakai To", Talui acquainted with the meaning of socialism by a missionary at Hongkong and confirmed its nature as Spencerian socialism to refute Ishikawa's opinion. But Talui had an honour to have organized a party with spontaniety of the people and showed his hope of agrarian collectivism.

Etymologically a Japanese "Shakai-suru" is a verb to indicate "to gather", "to come together", while "Shakai" is a noun coined after a word of "Society", and it is an incredible story that Shakai shugi and a Shakai shugisha (Socialism and a Socialist) have been a taboo and a leper in Japanese society so far as 1945!

Generally Socialism in those days was regarded to destroy private property and equality, to break the rank in the society, therefore it was intorelable for the despotic regime.

MINI NEWS

* An event of the anarchist movement in 1974 has been to discuss about a federation, and for this purpose we have held a meeting sponsered three groupes such as LIBERTAIRE, LIBERO, and IOM, in September. Two tendencies have been roughly pushed on, i.e., Platformism advocated by Koko group in Kyoto and Free Federation by other groups and actistes. But we have not yet reached to an agreement.

* The group names and its addresses:

LIBERTAIRE, 2190 Ooizumi gakuencho, Nerima-ku, Tokyo.
LIBERO-sha, 28-5 Tanaka Monzencho, Sakyo-ku, Kyoto.

NIPPON ANAKIZM KENKYU SENTA, 251 Sugita, Fujinomiya, Shizuoka Pref.,

IOM no KAI, c/o Yukinaga Maeda. 1-5-3 Kumauchi chyo, Fukiai-ku, Kobe.

SALUTON, K. Mukai, c/o Izumihara Bunka, 1-12-2 Asahi chyo, Abeno-ku Osaka city.

KURO HATANO MOTONI, c/o Keishyu Buildg, 2-7-5 Koraku, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo.

GENYO-sha, Takada Haitzu No. 206 3-38-23 Takada, Toshima-ku, Tokyo.

KURONO TECHYO-sha, C/o Oosawa, 33, Kitayamabushi chyo, Shijuku-ku, Tokyo.

NAGANO KYODO SHINBUN, P.O. Box 62 Nagano Central Post Office, Nagano Prefecture.

NINGEN-sha, 1-740 Kaimishakuji, Nerima-ku, Tokyo.

* The group names and its addresses:

KUBARU Group, c/o Toda, 4-2, 3-chyome, Iwaya kitamachi, Nada-ku Kobe.

BERABONA Group, c/o Yonetsu, 2-36-2 Ooshima, Koto-ku, Tokyo,

DARASHINE-sha, Takadono Kyoku-dome, Asahi-ku, Osaka.

W.R.I. Japanese section, c/o Mukai 354 Kameyama, Himeji city, Hyogo Prefecture.

NIPPON ANARCHIST CLUB, 3-472 Tsuka koshi, Kawasaki city

KYOGAKU DOKU SHO KAI, c/o Enriko Buildg., 7-61-4 Nishi Kamata, Ootaku, Tokyo.

KOKKO-sha, 50-30-402 Nakayamada cyo, Ogurusu, Fushimi-ku, Kyoto-shi.

IWASA SAKUTARO IKO SHYU KANKO KAI, Higashimurayama, Tokyo, c/o Shida.

NONAKA NO IIKENYA, 895-201-go, Ichinomiya, Tama city.

URAWA SHIMIN SHINBUN-sha, 4-24-15, Kishimachi, Urawa city.

FUTEIKI BIN, c/o Hirose, 1-2-7-5-6 Kasuga, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo.

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