

MARXISM AND HUMAN EMANCIPATION†

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It is a matter of deep regret that in the ideology relating to world peace, democracy, and social progress there is a good deal of confusion.

For a long time arguments have been heard about Marxism or dialectical materialism being outmoded, and in Japan the influence of this is still found. As a result we can see evidence that Marxism and dialectical materialism, and especially the ideals of socialism, appear to be fading.

In this ideological situation in Japan, the image of socialism as waging war of aggression has been produced and taking advantage of the Afghan and the Polish issue, the anti-communist campaign has created the impression that socialism is antithetical to freedom and democracy, and that there is no future for the socialist economy. In addition, the organs of propaganda talk about a threat of a possible Soviet invasion of Japan, which is used to justify the militarization of Japan.

Given this degree of confusion in the contemporary ideological situation, it is necessary to reconfirm the original tasks of Marxism, and endeavor to establish that Marxism is capable of meeting the real situation, thus enabling us to find a clear orientation of peace, democracy and social progress in the world. It seems to be very important that Marxists of various countries should meet and discuss freely and frankly the theme of human emancipation, a fundamental task of Marxism.

In this paper, I want first of all to go back to the origin of the Marxist thought, and from that basis reflect on the situation in Japan, a monopoly capitalist country, relating it to the alienation and poverty of the people, in what could be called the crisis of their existence. I will also refer to the nations of the Third World in this connection, which places a big responsibility on Japanese capitalism from which it cannot escape. I propose then to reflect on the question of human emancipation from all these aspects.

I. *Original Points of Marxism*

1. The question of human emancipation was one of the main points under consideration by Marx in his *On the Jewish Question*, *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law*, and other works. The fundamental thoughts of Marx in *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* and *Comments on James Mill* can be summarized under the following three points: (1) Private property is criticized as estranged labor. (2) Civil

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society is seen as the estranged community. (3) The perspective of human emancipation is achieved by transcending the estrangement of labor and regaining community. Human emancipation will be achieved through the transcendence of civil society as the class emancipation of the proletariat, in which the unification of the individual and the community, i.e., human freedom, is realized. The confirmation of this idea is seen as the origin of Marx's communism.

Having written *The German Ideology*, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, etc., Marx established the principles of communism in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, a programmatic document written in collaboration with Engels. In short, the proletariat emancipates the whole of humankind by establishing communism, resulting from the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie and abolishing bourgeois private property. His *Manifesto of the Communist Party* says: "The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products, which is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few. In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property" (MECW, vol. 4, p.498).

The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* thus provides the theoretical basis for the proletarian revolution and the complete emancipation of the whole of humankind.

2. In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, the following famous thesis is found: "In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all" (MECW, vol. 4, p.506).

It is logical for such an association to be free from exploitation, antagonism and war between nations. The *Manifesto* also says, "In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end" (MECS, vol. 4, p.503).

At this present time, when the threat of nuclear war is increasing, it is all the more important to recall the fundamental thought of Marxism regarding war and peace. In his "First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War" (1870), Marx said, "The alliance of the working classes of all countries will ultimately kill war... In contrast to old society, with its economical miseries and its political delirium, a new society is springing up, whose international rule will be *Peace*, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same—*Labour!*" (MESW in 2 volumes, vol. 1, p. 490).

In this same context, I want to refer to the thoughts of Lenin. He noted in the quotations that follow, that far-reaching democracy in international relations, which is inseparable from democracy in each nation, is fundamental to the cause of socialism in the world, and that the right of nations to self-determination should be upheld at any cost. "Marx put the fundamental principle of internationalism and socialism in the foreground—namely, that no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 22, p.149). "Wars cannot be abolished unless classes are abolished and socialism is created" (op. cit., vol. 21, p.299).

"Only after we have overthrown, finally vanquished and expropriated the bourgeoisie

of the whole world, and not merely of one country, will wars become impossible" (op. cit., vol. 23, p.79).

"Victorious socialism must necessarily establish a full democracy, and consequently, not only introduce full equality of nations but also realise the right of the oppressed nations to self-determination, i.e., the right to free political separation" (op. cit., vol. 22, p.143).

Working from these theses, *For a True Peace Program*, published by the Japanese Communist Party in 1981, says: "In defending world peace, maintaining the right to national self-determination, i.e., the right of the people to determine their own country's course, is the most elementary premise and foundation on which to build permanent peace."

I want to confirm the above points, because the defense of the right of nations to self-determination is a fundamental issue of our times.

In short, human emancipation, which constitutes the foundation of Marx's thoughts, is nothing less than the efflorescence of human freedom through (1) realization of communism by transcendence over capitalism (imperialism), and (2) realization of permanent peace by transcendence over war, the two being inseparable.

3. I have referred to the term, "estranged labor" used by Marx in *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*. One interpretation given to this is that this concept of estrangement is a philosophical term used by Marx in his earlier years but abandoned later. But this is not true. Marx used, developed and deepened the concept throughout his life. Estrangement lay at the foundation of his thoughts, and was given concrete form in another concept. The concept of pauperization set out in *Capital* is nothing less than the concept of estrangement concretized and deepened in the scientific study of the law of the movement of capitalist society. It can be seen in many places in his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, *Theories of Surplus Value*, and others.

(1) In *Capital*, vol. 1, chapter 23, Marx wrote:

"It follows therefore that in proportion as capital accumulates, the lot of the labourer, be his payment high or low, must grow worse.... Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole, i.e., on the side of the class that produces its own product in the form of capital" (ibid., vol. 1, p.645).

This important thesis is related to the argument presented in Part II of my paper, where I will examine modern forms of pauperization.

(2) The Question of war. If we consider pauperization not only in terms of its economic dimension but also its consequences in political and military terms, war and the disasters caused by war must be seen as the worst form of estrangement.

In this same context, one cannot avoid pointing out that nuclear weapons represent the absolute extreme of modern estrangement, as the most alienated ruling force ever produced by human hands, and at the same time, the complete negation of human life, labor and history. In this sense, they are to be distinguished from all other forms of estrangement. They are the absolute negation of human existence. Nay, total nuclear war would mean neither pauperization nor estrangement, but the total annihilation of human beings.

In what follows, therefore, I want to take up two questions, pauperization and war, especially the role of nuclear weapons, seen in the light of the present situation in Japan.

II. *Estrangement, Increased Misery and the Crisis of Survival of the People in Contemporary Japan* (Including Problems of the "Third World")

Let us examine the present conditions of Japan, a state monopoly capitalist country, and at the same time, let us consider the conditions under which the peoples of "third world" countries are living.

Following the end of World War II, the reconstruction of Japanese capitalism from the devastation of the lost war offered special favors to monopoly capitalism under the sole occupation of Japan by the U.S. Along the Dodge line adopted in 1949 (Minister Joseph M. Dodge was financial advisor to Douglas MacArthur), and then under the San Francisco Treaty—Japan-U.S. Security system, an effort was made to reconstruct and strengthen Japanese monopoly capitalism in subordination to the United States. This enabled monopoly capital to make a rapid accumulation of capital, while at the same time placing burdens on workers, farmers, fishermen, and small-and-medium enterprisers, who suffered intensified exploitation and plunder. Labor and all democratic movements were severely suppressed. These were the conditions under which state monopoly capitalism of Japan made its high-rate growth from the latter half of the 1950s, and in 1968 Japan for the first time placed second in the so-called "free world" in terms of GNP.

I set out below some of the characteristic features of the rapid accumulation of capital in Japan: (1) Industrial complexes were established along the Pacific belt zone, which led to an extensive building of new industrial cities; (2) national and local administrations and finance committed themselves to the growth of capital in a massive way; (3) natural resources were monopolized by capital in a disorderly way, by application of science and technology; (4) capital spending on the re-processing of industrial wastes, maintenance of safety and improvement in welfare was extremely low; (5) a consumption boom was created, under which, for example, the private ownership of cars increased so excessively that the limited space of Japan was flooded with them, and road systems were built in a disorderly way to meet the growing traffic demand. In the period of high-rate growth, Galbraith's "affluent society" was the dominant thought. His idea was that a shortage of the labor force would lead to an improvement of workers' conditions, and that increased GNP was an indicator of improved living of the people, creating the impression that the living of the people would see continuous improvement. But the truth was the reverse of this. As I will show later, the conditions of workers worsened.

On top of this, the Japanese people, victims of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, now face the danger of annihilation in a limited nuclear war, because under the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, Japan has committed itself to the U.S. strategy of a nuclear weapons buildup, a question I shall return to later.

In her *Economic Heresies* (1971), J. Robinson, a leading pupil of J.M. Keynes, says:

"National economic success is identified with statistical GNP. No questions are asked about the content of production. The success of modern capitalism for the last

twenty-five years has been closely bound up with the armaments race and the trade in weapons (not to mention wars when they are used); it has not succeeded in overcoming poverty in its own countries, and has not succeeded in helping (to say the least) to promote development in the Third World. Now we are told that it is in the course of making the planet uninhabitable even in peacetime."

This paragraph shows clearly that the "modern economic" miracle must now confess that the rapid accumulation of capital in Japan and other countries of monopoly capitalism has not helped to improve the people's living; indeed, it harms it.

Let me now go more deeply into two aspects of this question: the economic, and the political and military.

1. ECONOMIC ASPECTS

In the latter part of chapter I, I quoted from *Capital* a paragraph in which Marx predicted that in proportion as capital accumulates, the lot of the workers, whether wages are high or low, must grow worse. This hostile character of capitalist accumulation is unchanged under the present conditions of Japan. Besides the traditional question of increased suffering in relationship to the level of workers' incomes or employment, or the questions of wage and working conditions within a capitalist country, I want to call your attention to a new form of misery—the question of the deteriorated environment caused by pollution and urban problems, such as cannot be measured by exchange-value. It is true that Marx dealt with the housing question for workers in the context of the general trend of capital accumulation, and Engels also wrote on this housing question. In this sense, pollution and urban problems are classic ones. But in the past, generally speaking, it was anticipated that these problems could be resolved once economic conditions were improved. Now we are faced with a drastically changed situation, in which these problems are no longer local or temporary, but have taken on nation-wide, even world-wide dimensions, a question that has become one of the most important social contradictions of modern capitalism. It is a question that requires us to direct our attention onto the struggle of people living in residential districts, a citizens' struggle, as well as the development of the labor movement. The struggle must be directed at both national and local governments. A distinction between the new or "modern" form of misery and the traditional "classic" or "basic" form has been made, thus attention being called to present day problems. But in making an overall analysis of the modern misery of people, we must take into account another form, that of the people of the "third world."

A. Misery in Japan

1. Misery in the Classic Form: In terms of the level of income and employment, the growth of Japanese monopoly capitalism has brought about misery of the classic form for workers.

(1) As the organic composition of capital has increased, and as investments in technological innovations have become massive, labor productivity has been greatly increased. This has not necessarily resulted in an increase of real wages for workers, but the accelerated competition in rationalization investments has brought about a sharp drop in wage costs, leading to a striking deterioration in the comparative status of workers toward capitalists.

The ratio of surplus-value in 1972, according to some calculations, was more than 300%. This means that exploitation has been intensified, and the conditions of workers have steadily gone from bad to worse. The domination of capital over the working class has been greatly strengthened.

(2) As technological innovations are promoted by monopoly capital, younger workers with higher education are absorbed by major companies, but skilled workers of middle or advanced age are dismissed from these companies, and forced to find jobs in small-and-medium enterprises, thus changing the composition and disposition of the labor force. The lowered conditions of workers of middle and advanced age, plus the depreciation of the value of labor power, has necessitated plural earnings by other members of families to maintain the households. The worsened conditions of workers is seen in the increased number of plural wage-earner families.

(3) In boom periods, when capital accumulates at high speed, an increase in unemployment doesn't manifest itself clearly, but as we have pointed out above, it takes the form of increased mobility of the labor force, and an increase in the number of temporary, sub-contract or part-time workers. Relative surplus-population, as was pointed out by Marx in *Capital*, is found first within the small-and-medium firms, which are dominated by the giant enterprises, and in these firms relative surplus-population is sometimes mobile and sometimes stagnant. But a more fundamental fact is the differentiation experienced by the farming population, both massively and rapidly during the period of high-rate growth, creating surplus-population, and making sure of the existence of a low-wage labor force.

(4) Incessant technological innovations and rationalizations by capital are motivated by profit-seeking; top priority is given to the introduction of more modern plants, with no attention given to questions of humanity. In an enormous plant workers are downgraded, as it were into little more than impersonal cogs in a big machine. As work is standardized and rationalized, the intensity of domination over labor multiplies. More and more small-and-medium enterprises have gone bankrupt in recent years, seriously threatening the livelihood of workers. Profit-hungry monopoly capital decides to liquidate its dominated firm on the ground that the firm is in the red, thus driving more workers into the streets.

Although fundamentally labor should be "enjoyed as something which gives play to worker's bodily and mental powers" (*Capital*, Vol. 1, p.178), it is accepted by the worker as a hated toil, and the dehumanization of workshops is accelerated with the torture of uncertainty of livelihood.

2. "Modern" Misery: Of course, problems of housing, pollution and urbanization are all old issues, but, as I have said, they have assumed qualitatively new dimensions since the end of World War II, and so are classified as "modern" misery.

(1) In Japan, the growth of monopoly capitalism has done serious harm to the livelihood of the people, through destruction of the environment, the traffic congestion, and urban problems. The chaotic advance of capital into localities has destroyed more than half of Japan's beautiful coastline, and caused extreme pollution to the surrounding seas, as well as to rivers and lakes. Cars dominate Japan's narrow space as though they owned it, and roads have been built with little attention to human welfare, serving the car traffic exclusively, so that Japan now takes first place in the world in the space taken by roads compared with the national land. Cars are bought by such a large proportion of the population because the car makers use every possible means to spur people to buy them, aimed at

maximizing profits. The air is polluted with exhaust gases, and millions of people suffer from noisy days and nights. Traffic accidents have become so normally a part of life with a considerable increase in fatalities that they have ceased to claim much attention.

Among the worst examples of suffering from pollution are the Minamata disease, Yokkaichi asthma, Itai-itai disease, etc., all the results of industrial poisoning. The neglect by state monopoly capital to spend money on the maintenance of the environment and safety has resulted in destruction of the natural environment, air, water, soil, etc., in surrounding areas, with the suffering of fatal diseases among the people.

Both the national and local governments must be held responsible for the aggravating pollution because of their failure to promote proper counter-measures.

It must be admitted that environmental destruction and urban problems are not exclusive to capitalist countries, but the capitalist pursuit of profits and the anarchism of private enterprise have made these problems in Japan more serious. Japan's high-speed economic growth, unprecedented in history, was made possible by shifting these serious problems onto the people. It can safely be said that the most elementary conditions for a worthwhile human life are being lost from every aspect of the national life. In this sense, "pollution means the exploitation and destruction of the people's livelihood and the environment in whole districts, which the rapid accumulation of capital necessarily brings about" (Shigeaki Hirohara); and "pollution is a common phenomenon of modern societies, but its seriousness is especially to be seen in those capitalist countries where major companies strongly dominate the society, where there is rapid economic growth, and where fundamental human rights are not fully established because of the underdevelopment of democracy (especially in the local autonomies) and the lack of a unified culture. In capitalist countries, since the main economic burdens must be borne by the poorer classes, especially the working class, peasants and fishermen, as well as discriminated minorities, this problem, along with other forms of deprivation, soon develops into a social issue" (Ken'ichi Miyamoto). The source of pollution in Japan must be seen as due to state monopoly capitalism and the modern economic system.

(2) Lowering the Quality of the People's Living: At first glance, the Japanese people are enjoying the affluence of material goods, both in quantity and quality, but the deterioration in the quality of living must not be overlooked. As result of mass-production and popularization of cars, public transportation services are compelled to operate in the red, and the people can no longer breathe clean air or walk around the country freely. Beautifully polished fruits and an enormous variety of foods are set out for sale in shops and department stores. But the very foods are often polluted with poisonous additives, and many people suffer fatal diseases without knowing the cause. The diffusion of TV sets intensifies the adverse tendency of people not to read, thus preventing any depth of thought, and making it possible for the state to determine the thinking of the people at will. Public services, including medical care and education, are expanding, but even in these, corruption is spreading. We recognize, of course, that most doctors and teachers are diligent and sincere, and many belong to democratic movements. But the people feel no little distrust and uncertainty about medical ethics, and the degradation of education and juvenile delinquency have become a serious social issue. Let me draw your attention again to my earlier quotation from Marx's *Capital*, in which he pointed to the "accumulation of mental degradation" as the other side of the coin of capital accumulation. The press reports the situation in the

United States, the largest capitalist country, about the rampant spread of drug addiction, murders and thefts, the corruption of public morality, and the widespread juvenile delinquency, exceeding our wildest imagination.

I have set out above various “modern” versions of pollution, which can be summed up under the following five points:

1. Along with relative damages that money could cure, there are damages that money can never cure, widespread in various fields of human life, in nature and in culture;
2. The source of pollution and disasters is monopoly capital, engaged in profit making by utilizing the state power and the public finances of national and local governments;
3. Suffering caused by pollution and industrial disasters affect not only workers, but also farmers, fishermen and other citizens. So it is necessary that they be tackled not only as a workers’ movement, but as a local citizens’ movement;
4. Pollution and disasters are not temporary but lasting, with not only a local but a nation-wide dimension, so the struggle against them must be promoted on a nation-wide united scale;
5. The destruction of nature (and waste of natural resources) has now assumed global dimensions. Efforts to preserve the irreplaceable environment of this planet, as well as nature and its resources, based on the common rights of the human race to enjoy a good environment, has become an urgent challenge to all mankind.

B. Misery of Peoples of the “Third World”

It is thoroughly well-known that people of the “Third World” are living in absolute poverty. *Reshaping the International Order—a Report to the Club of Rome* (1976), compiled under J. Timbergen, says:

“It is, however, in the poor nations where it has assumed desperate dimensions ...According to the World Bank, nearly half of the world’s people live in relative or absolute poverty in conditions which are an insult to human dignity. Some 900 million people are estimated to subsist on incomes of less than \$75 a year in an environment of squalor, hunger and hopelessness. Of these, 650 million live in absolute poverty on incomes of \$50 or less in conditions so wretched and deprived as to defy any rational definition of human decency.”

According to the World Bank’s *World Development Report, 1979*, it is expected that the number of people living in absolute poverty will reach 470,000,000 by the year 2000 if there is high growth rate, and 710,000,000 if there is low growth rate. Speaking in general terms, about 600,000,000 fellow humans on the earth will be living in absolute poverty. So “absolute poverty is not likely to be eliminated by the year 2000.” The “absolute poverty” implied in the report involves mal-nutrition, illiteracy, diseases, bad environment, high infant mortality, low life expectancy, and so on; in other words conditions that are far below what is required for decent human living.

Many reports indicate that the misery in the “Third World” is far beyond our imagination. What causes such misery? Fundamentally, the misery is a result of the selfish exploitation and plunder of global underdeveloped areas by world capitalism, which turned these areas and peoples into dependent countries or colonies. Since the end of World War II, it is true that a number of nations have won political independence, but the simple fact is that

old colonialism has assumed the form of neo-colonialism, which allows capitalism to continue its economic domination and exploitation of underdeveloped countries, even while granting them political independence. This takes the shape of advances into these countries of multinational enterprises, and neo-colonialist policies sustained by the international banking system working in close collaboration.

Japanese state monopoly capitalism, in spite of some contradictions with the United States, operates in fundamental subordination to the US, and exploits the people in the "Third World" areas. The working people of Japan must never forget that the qualitative and quantitative affluence in some materials (capitalist goods) which they now enjoy is more or less due to such exploitation.

The "Economic Declaration" of the Fourth Conference of the Heads of Non-aligned Countries (held in Algiers on September 5-9, 1973) says: "Imperialism is still the greatest stumbling block to the emancipation and advancement of developing countries, which are striving to attain a standard of living in accordance with the most basic norms of welfare and human dignity." It says further, "policies have begun to be pursued which are based on resort to open or disguised economic aggression, as illustrated by the multifarious and increasingly pervasive activities of multinational and monopolistic commercial, financial and industrial companies." And, "Many countries are still subject to imperialist domination and neocolonialist exploitation, which threaten the sovereignty of states and mortgage the growth of these nations. This situation explains the large gap which exists between the industrial and the underdeveloped world and the constant widening of this gap." These non-aligned countries are engaged in the struggle to defeat the international order of imperialism and neo-colonialism, and establish a new international order.

Kurt Waldheim, the then U.N. Secretary General, submitted a report to the 32nd U.N. General Assembly, "Economic and Social Consequences of the Armaments Race and its Extremely Harmful Effects on World Peace and Security" (1977), which stresses that, exacerbated by the population explosion, the food crisis, and the devastation of natural disasters and war, the problems of eradicating poverty and improving standards of health, nutrition, education and housing have reached a stage of crisis in many parts of the world. It also says: "The gigantic costs of this arms race and the perverted priorities of the world at this juncture more than halfway through the Disarmament Decade and the Second United Nations Development Decade, are perhaps best illustrated by the fact that every year military activities throughout the world absorb a volume of resources equivalent to about two thirds of the aggregate gross national product of those countries which together comprise the poorest half of the world's population." We must focus our attention on the enormous quantities of resources being wasted by the armaments race.

2. POLITICAL-MILITARY ASPECT

Under the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty system, the provisions of the Japanese Constitution relating to peace and democracy have been infringed, in both the economic and the political-military aspects. At present, political and business circles are promoting the idea of a "comprehensive security" system, under which security considerations should embrace the people's lives, economic, political, military and cultural, and that the people's lives should be controlled by the state. Such a security system and the Japanese Constitution are fun-

damentally incompatible. This concept of "comprehensive security" violates the concept of peace and democracy, and political and business circles for this reason have revised the interpretation of the Constitution, in order to rationalize the policy of making Japan a big military power, and have developed plans to revise the wording of the Constitution by around 1985.

I will present some examples that show the extent to which Japan has gone in building up powerful military forces under the security system, and how dangerous this development is to the life of the peoples of Japan and other countries:

(1) Japan collaborated actively with U.S. imperialism in its aggressions against Korea and in Vietnam, allowing the U.S. to build and use military bases on Japanese soil. In this sense, Japan must be held responsible for the killing of tens of thousands of Asian people. At the same time, Japan granted the United States administrative authority over Okinawa for more than ten years after the signing of the San Francisco Treaty, allowing the independence of the Japanese people to be treated with scorn. The Japanese Government by these acts violated the rights of the people of Japan and other countries to national self-determination.

(2) The Three Non-nuclear Principles—"Not to manufacture, not to possess and not to allow N-weapons to be brought into Japan"—have been violated, and U.S. nuclear weapons are allowed to be brought secretly into Japan. The U.S. aircraft carrier Midway, equipped with N-weapons, has been allowed to make port calls at Yokosuka, and again at the time of the U.S.-South Korea joint exercise, "Broken Arrow" (an exercise to provide against nuclear weapons accidents) carried out at Yokota, Tokyo and Kadena, Okinawa. There have been large-scale joint exercises between the Japanese Self-Defense Forces (SDF) and the nuclear-weapons-equipped U.S. forces. While these exercises were being conducted, U.S. units moved freely around Japanese territory in secret, creating a situation akin to "extra territoriality." The most sophisticated weapons, such as cruise missiles and F16 fighters, are also to be deployed in Japan in the near future. The fact that the Japanese Government collaborates and commits itself to support the U.S. concept of limited nuclear war multiplies the danger of the Japanese people being annihilated in a nuclear war, greatly adding to the extreme uneasiness of the Japanese people.

(3) The very existence of the SDF is a violation of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution. The SDF are armed with enormous quantities of conventional weapons. If the U.S. should go to war in Korea or in the Mideast, there is a plan for despatching SDF Units to act in military support. For this very reason people in certain quarters are pressing for revision of the Constitution, Article 9 of which prohibits Japan from going to war.

(4) Under the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, Japan has provided the U.S. with many military bases for the stationing of U.S. troops, a serious cause of many base problems in many parts of the country. The suffering and insults suffered by the Okinawa people are too numerous to list. In Okinawa, large areas of the best land is still requisitioned for the use of U.S. forces, and the prefectural people suffer from many economic, political and cultural problems. People have been killed or injured by crashes of U.S. warplanes in residential districts, and the Japanese Government refuses to accept any responsibility for the protection of the people's lives, while damages caused by the U.S. forces continue to increase. Fishermen are victims of damages caused by U.S. warships (especially nuclear submarines) and people living near U.S. bases must suffer the noise of coming and going planes.

(5) The Japan-U.S. joint declaration signed in May, 1981 was a major turning point in making the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty into an offense-and-defense alliance. The collaboration of Japan in the U.S. concept of limited nuclear war, the planned deployment of cruise missiles and F16 fighters, large-scale Japan-U.S. joint exercises on the pretext of a "threat from the Soviet Union," and the plan to revise the Constitution, are all aimed at strengthening the Japan-U.S. offense-and-defense alliance, and making Japan into a big military power, the moves for which have alarmed Japan's Asian neighbors, who were already victims of Japan's aggression during World War II; many even fear that Japan may take over the role of "policeman" from the U.S. forces.

It means that, contrary to the desire of the Japanese people to uphold and confirm the Three Non-nuclear Principles, Japan, the only victim country of Atomic bombs used on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, is now partner in the nuclear armaments race, and Japanese and Asian peoples are all now living under the threat of a total world nuclear war or limited nuclear war. The limited nuclear war scenario is a wholly inhuman and selfish plan that aims to give the United States "sanctuary," while Western Europe and Asia (Japan included) would be the areas of annihilation. Japan's role is to act as a "nuclear shield" to protect the U.S. and its interests, far from being defended under the "umbrella of nuclear weapons." Even more than this, Japan is given the role of "nuclear spearhead," directed at peaceful nations.

The preamble to the Japanese Constitution declares that, "resolved that never again shall we be visited with the horror of war through the action of the government," "We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time," and "We recognize that all peoples of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want." But the Japanese Government is consistently violating this ideal and trampling upon the right of other nations to live in peace, which also applies to the Japanese people. "The right to live in peace" is a right that lies at the root of democracy and all fundamental human rights, but it is a right that unfortunately is not respected. On the contrary it is being repeatedly violated.

Let me sum up what I have said. I cited paragraphs from "Capital," chapter 23, volume I, in which Marx, focusing his analysis on the laws of movements and phenomena of capitalism, said that the accumulation of capital is necessarily accompanied by the worsening of the conditions of the workers. The growth of Japanese monopoly capitalism in these post-war days has brought about worsened economic conditions for the workers as the accumulation of capital has accelerated, and has worsened the people's living in every other field. Even beyond that, it has deteriorated the livelihood of people of other nations. In other words, the growth of Japanese monopoly capitalism (1) has aggravated the sufferings in various forms, not only of the Japanese people but also of other peoples of the world, especially of the Third World; (2) combined with the U.S. global strategy for nuclear war, it now poses the danger of nuclear war—a threat that could bring all mankind, all nations, to total annihilations.

Points one and two are closely related, and their root cause is capitalism, dominated by U.S. imperialism. What we must do is to grasp them as two aspects of the same thing, and to get rid of them in one move. The elimination of the danger of nuclear war is at present the most acute need of the world's people. The "Political Declaration" of the Fourth Conference of Heads of Non-aligned Countries in Algiers says:

"So long as there are colonial wars, apartheid, imperialist aggression, power politics

and economic exploitation and plundering, peace will be limited both in principle and in scope. In a world which is already divided into rich and poor countries, it would be dangerous to widen this division by restricting peace to the rich regions in the world, while condemning the rest of mankind to insecurity and the domination of the most powerful. Peace is indivisible."

III. *Modern Road toward Emancipation of Humanity*

As I said at the end of section 2 of chapter II, state monopoly capitalism in Japan (1) has increased the sufferings of the Japanese people as well as the "Third World" nations, and (2) by taking part in the nuclear strategy of U.S. imperialism, it is marching along the road toward a big military power increasing the threat of nuclear war. By struggling against the worsened livelihood conditions, and against the threat of militarism and nuclear war, we should open the way to the following two unified tasks: (1) to transcend capitalism and achieve communism; and (2) to achieve lasting peace through the renunciation of war, and thereby establish efflorescence of human liberty.

I consider that if we are to take the road to true peace, it is elementary that we strive to achieve the following tasks, as set out in the document "For a Program on True Peace," issued by the Japanese Communist Party.

(1) Opposition to any aggression against other nations, and defense of the right of nations to self-determination;

(2) Total prohibition of nuclear weapons and signing an agreement for banning the use of nuclear weapons;

(3) A drastic reduction in conventional weapons;

(4) Removal of foreign military bases and withdrawal of foreign troops;

(5) Liquidation of military alliances and military blocs;

(6) Establishment of a genuine collective security system;

(7) Resolution of conflicts by talks.

On point (1), I consider that the starting-point for maintaining and advancing the cause of world peace is to defend national self-determination in accordance with the principles of democracy among nations, and to oppose intervention or aggression against any other nation. My chapter I stresses this as one of original viewpoints of Marx.

Concerning point (2), a total ban on nuclear weapons; a ban on testing, developing, manufacturing, stockpiling, transporting and use of nuclear weapons, should constitute a most urgent and major pillar of the disarmament movement. History shows that the various partial measures on the control of nuclear weapons, such as the partial nuclear test ban treaty and the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, both of which were signed in the 1960s, are no real contribution to eliminating nuclear weapons; on the contrary, they have tended to intensify the nuclear armaments race. Of course, we do not oppose all partial measures, but the point is whether individual partial measures have an appropriate place in the full context of the fundamental idea of the elimination of nuclear weapons. Among such partial measures, we hold that the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, the establishment of nuclear free zones, and a comprehensive ban on all nuclear tests would all be important, and the signing of an international convention prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons is

seen as the most urgent. Prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons has been a common demand of the world peace movements since the Stockholm Appeal in 1950. It is considered that an agreement on this would prove to be a breakthrough toward the elimination of nuclear weapons, for if the use of nuclear weapons is prohibited and the treaty strictly observed, it would make no sense to test, manufacture or stockpile nuclear weapons.

It is not only nuclear weapons that we oppose. We also call resolutely for the prompt elimination of all other categories of such cruel weapons, including chemical and biological. One of the worst weapons that must be watched with constant vigilance is the possible development of biological weapons, employing the discoveries of genetic engineering, to counter which there are no known means; but our most urgent present task is to rid the world of the threat of nuclear war, to achieve which we must eliminate nuclear weapons.

I want now to introduce to you a meeting held under the auspices of the National Forum for Advancing Peace, Democracy and a Progressive United Front in Japan. The meeting was held on November 22 last years, to discuss the present political situation and the task for progressive unity. The following goals were put forward by the progressive forces in striving to achieve a change in the national administration, around which the people's consensus and progressive unity should be formed:

(1) to oppose the policy of the "administrative reform" commission which aims to promote Japan's rearmament and serves the interests of the major enterprises and big business, while sacrificing the interests of the people, and to succeed in reducing military spending and improving welfare and education;

(2) to oppose all maneuvers for mal-revision of the Constitution and the revival of militarism, to oppose the political rule of money-power and corrupt forces, and to establish clean and fair politics in defense of freedom and democracy;

(3) striving to achieve the urgent task of a total ban on nuclear weapons, to oppose Japan's collaboration in Reagan's limited nuclear war plans, to abrogate the Japan-U.S. military alliance and to build a non-nuclear, non-aligned and neutral Japan.

Toward the end of November, the Nakasone cabinet was formed. Nakasone is well-known as a rightist, who recently argued for a drastic change in national polity in opposition to the present Constitutional system. It is feared that this government will press for a rightist, fascist and militarist policy in subservience to the United States, which would inevitably intensify the inner contradictions within Japan, both economically and politically, and lead to an intense class struggle and rising people's movements. Fears have already been expressed by other Asian countries, that Japan is heading in the direction of becoming a big military power.

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To sum up, the following are the important points in our goals of rescuing the Japanese people from estrangement, increased misery and the crisis of survival, all of which are related points:

(1) To develop movements and international solidarity aimed at changing each respective government's policy in favor of the elimination of nuclear weapons;

(2) To form a united front that will abrogate the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and build an anti-nuclear, non-aligned and neutral Japan;

(3) To promote the struggle against monopoly capitalism and for democracy, a struggle which is an integral part of the above;

(4) To develop close solidarity with the movement for establishing a new international economic order, being promoted by the non-aligned countries.

In chapter I, I spoke of a grand perspective of the development of human history (1) from capitalism to communism, and (2) from the threat of devastation by war to the era of lasting peace. This is the perspective that only Marxism can give to end the confusion in the world, because it is the scientific view of point. With this perspective before them, it is the task and duty of the Japanese people to strive to achieve these goals.