

Section 5 The enlightening movement of socialism

Chapter 15

As we have explained in the previous Section, you shall understand that ‘the theory of Japanese constitution’ is a principle of restrictive-revolutionary that clearly intends to overthrow the present national polity and form of government. Social democracy recognizes that Japan after the Revolution is based on magnificent social democracy only from the legal point of view; it makes efforts to maintain and to develop it. But when we discuss the state thoroughly, it doesn’t consider the state in the sense of a political science as the same with the state in the sense of jurisprudence. The state considered from the jurisprudential point of view is theoretical one from a point of view how the state in laws is organized, and how much ideal and purpose of the state are expressed as legal purpose and ideal. The state in the sense of politics is actual one from a point of view how an organization of the state expressed in laws as it is acts, and how purpose and ideal of the state expressed in laws are realized along with we argue purpose and ideal of the state beyond laws.

Laws express ideals and purpose of the state. Politics is actual actions of the state. Since all people don’t make these clear divisions clear, upper class persecute socialists who profess that they design social profits in the pretext of ‘the society’ conversely. Socialists should deny upper class under the name of the state, none the less they profess the state itself and go to the logical gallows for themselves. Socialists who insist on nationalization of lands and every productive organ for social profits only faithfully obey laws to realize ideals of laws that prescribe that the society is the supreme owner; so needless to say, they cannot be persecuted by reason that they go against laws. Also, if they are not ignorant like Dr. Hodumi who insists that only the Emperor organizes the state or Burgess¹ in America who named only the Congress the state, we can regard them as this: they shall not fall into logical contradiction that they make Marx’s dictum ‘the workers has no country’ that he strongly declared the articles of faith, profess denying the state itself, deny themselves of parts of the state, and deny an ideal country that the state shall evolve and reach in the future. Scientific socialism is a large river

¹ He was an American constitutionalist, John William Burgess (1844-1931).

that flowed into the source of the river of Platonic theory of Republic 2,000 years ago. Plato said this: the state is the whole of individuals and individuals form parts of the state.

And see present laws. What law does prescribe that only the Emperor or only upper class organizes the state? What law does prescribe that the workers don't organize the state, or peasants are not parts of the state? Some people shall say: upper class occupies all national organs and their will is regarded as the national will, so the state should be denied. If so, children of upper class who don't organize the will shall be outside the state. Although all parts of the state shall get to express the national will as political men of power, children of all societies shall not organize the national will, so do you say that they are not parts of the state and only elders shall organize the state? Request of universal suffrage is advocated to make socialism the national will, so those who cry universal suffrage but deny the state don't understand socialism, don't have any ideal, and act rashly. If they deny the state, why don't they deny their own insistence that lands should be owned by the state that they deny? The content of denied state is empty, so empty state cannot own any nationalized productive organ. Even if upper class thinks that only they form the state, socialists should not counterattack by unreasonable thought like 'if so, we deny the state' against their unreasonable thought.

They are (materially and spiritually) evolved parts of the state who are inside the state. But the state includes lower class that has not evolved parts of the state. We should not think like individualism in the age of French Revolution that the old society is scraped by individual will through an assumption of primitive individuals and the new society is organized. Individuals have not existed as individuals even in the primitive times. When we enter into tombs, we form the society. The revolutionary theory of individualism intended to dissolve the state and to organize the new state that was based on freedom and equality. So, we can logically maintain the argument denying the state so far as we presuppose constructing the new state. But seeing from strict scientific basis of socialism, the state is never mechanically organized one that we individuals freely dissolve or organize. The revolution means that the national will evolves along with social influence in accordance with times. So, why the will of today's upper class in today's state is regarded as the national will is because upper class is on the top of today's social influence. If we deny today's state because of this, we shall have to deny socialism that shall be the national will on the top of modern social influence by the same logic because it shall not express the national will. –Not only in Japan, most of today's socialists are pure individualists and think that a mission of socialism is to practice the French Revolution once more.

Understand difference between the state in the sense of jurisprudence and in the sense of politics. The state in the sense of jurisprudence is socialism based on the sovereignty of the state. But since all political influence is based on economic influence, today's economic class state make the state substantial class state in a political aspect. This is why social democracy started on the revolution in an economic aspect; on the other hand, the revolution approves of present laws and decides victory or defeat by legal wars.

If laws regard the present state as class state and the sovereignty resides in upper class, socialists' efforts only protect interest of upper class. The logic means that all efforts are denied at once when upper class regards them that they go against upper class; so socialists must even refuse to enter into the Diet. When things come to such a conclusion, the French Revolution, the Meiji Restoration, or actions of today's anarchists don't theoretically contradict than socialists. We believe: the revolution of social democracy means the economic revolution under laws to make ideals of the legal revolution like the French or the Meiji Revolution perfect ones. Bebel² said this: when France shall be challenged by Germany, she shall have the right of self-defense to accept the challenge in the name of the state. This remark expresses the same with our insistence that the contemporary is the age of the sovereignty of the state when we are conscious that the state has its own purpose and ideals. Though the International insisted denying Jaurès³ view that the present state was class state, and resolved denying the state itself, its resolution has a contradiction. Besides, we shall declare this: the socialistic revolution is not like the French Revolution or the Meiji Restoration that intended to change where the sovereignty resided in, that is, it is not the revolution that resorts to force transcending laws to renovate legal basis itself. It is enough to express social influence that expresses the social will legally on the fixed sovereignty of the society. So, the socialistic economic revolution does not stain history with blood like previous legal revolutions. And it is not so fierce for revolutionaries. So to speak, it is enough to tidy up the present economic system that contradicts a legal ideal in the first revolution and to make ideals realize. We go on with our previous explanation that the Meiji Restoration was social democracy from a legal point of view and name nationalization of lands and capitals that is an economic aspect of socialism 'economic revolution'.

Perfect realization of the Revolution nationalizes can be achieved by nationalization

² He was a German socialist (1840-1913). He took an active part as a leader of Social Democratic Party.

³ Jean Jaurès was a French statesman and a leader of the Socialist Party (1859-1914). He advocated pacifism but was assassinated by an ultranationalist on the eve of the First World War.

of legal resource that can make the state act freely for purpose and ideals of existence and evolution. For this, we need to nationalize lands and capitals of economic resource and to make purpose and ideals of existence and evolution of the state realize. Legal resource was transferred to the state by the Meiji Revolution from the aristocratic country where many monarchs exercised legal resource for their own interest by their property right as the substance of the sovereignty, and socialism of the sovereignty of the state was legally expressed. Like that, we intend to overthrow an economic aristocratic country where many economic patriarchal monarchs regard themselves as the subjects of interest and own economic resource privately, and to organize economic nation-state by the sovereignty of the state expressed legally. The Meiji Revolution realized a revolution of economic foundations; before the Revolution, only noble class had had private property and lower class had only had the right to use it, but the Revolution gave the right to own it toward lower class and established the system of private ownership that forms the basis of democracy. The Meiji Revolution was clearly social democracy in the legal foundation. Nevertheless, how is today's situation?

When we see the jurisprudential state based on the Meiji Revolution and turn our eyes to the real state politically, we cannot help thinking as if we were made fall from the heaven to the hell. We have a legal ideal and ethical belief that we should act for the national interest and purpose in the name of 'patriotism'. But thinking from the economic reality, we are treated as sacrifice for existence and evolution of innumerable gold nobles and economic Daimyōs like in the age of the patriarchal country or class state. Jurisprudence and ethics treat us as (the subject of rights or) personality, none the less frank economics treats us as the object of rights that Gold Daimyōs can sell or buy freely. We are jurisprudentially parts of the Japanese Empire and have purpose of existence and evolution in this point. But seeing from economics, we exist as means of landlords for their purpose and are force to die as sacrifice for interest of factory owners—that is, we are not parts of the state. We are serfs who are sold or bought along with lands or slaves bound by wages. Gold nobles of landlords own lands privately and make us serfs; economic feudal lords of capitalists make feudal castles of factories their bases and treat us as lowly townspeople. As ex-samurai class was subordinate to noble class by martial arts and exercised its authority to lower class, pitiful gentlemen play with authority by their talents of scholarship and office works (it is a contrast that we cannot help bursting put laughing!). All things are done by the sovereignty of the state under the name of the Emperor. But the real Japan is not the age of the theory of the sovereignty of the Emperor either the sovereignty of the state; capitalists are regarded as almighty as if they had the sovereignty. Ministers exist with the support of

capitalists, and members of the Diet act by capitalists whom boss them around. This is why what the national organs express as the national will is not the will that the state should practice for its own purpose and ideals. They express the will being conscious of their own or their classes' interest, so the state is actually class state. That is, today's classes mean the state that is divided each economic class such as capitalist, landlord, peasant, or worker; the Emperor or *Kazoku* are the national organs who exist in another world from social democratic revolution. So, today's they are not classes in medieval meaning. Nobles who plundered economic resource by forces have been swept away in laws from the Revolution. Nevertheless, economic patriarchal monarchs annex other capitalists and small independent farmers by their capitals replace former monarchs and treat the national organs as they like. The state robbed the medieval monarchs of arms, so annexation and plunder by forces have not been seen within the country but keen army and swords of financial resources make shrewd or lucky men annex capitals and plunder lands. And the stern medieval class state was established using beautiful laws based on freedom and equality as a cover. Aristocracy clearly exists. Where does a result of the Revolution remain? The state was required in the name of 'the state', none the less where is the state gotten by the Revolution? As American people are drunk with the name of the country of liberty but are not aware that economic monarchs hold their own territories, social democracy of the Revolution remains only in laws and the state reverses the medieval age.

After all, since the state has its own purpose, we require something or die in the name of the state. Today's social democracy is not limited in Greece like Plato's one. Neither is limited in Japanese race like the Meiji Revolution. It transcends real states in the point that insists that the state is the society based on the political unit and can realize national ideal independence and individual absolute freedom by the national unions (see the Section 3, *The theory of biological evolution and social philosophy*), but includes national purpose and ideal. What contradicts nationalism that makes efforts for the national purpose is the very aristocratic country in the medieval age and the monarchism that sacrificed everything for monarchs' selfishness. The aristocratic country that advocated monarchism and regarded everything as sacrifice for each monarch was overthrown for the national interest by the Meiji Revolution under the name of nationalism—but now how should we think economic class state that has been killing these economic monarchs under the name of the state? If they wrapped a simple equalitarianism 'why are the positions of kings, feudal lords, generals, or ministers based on a family line' up in a cloth of the theory of Japanese constitution, and they overthrew aristocracy for the state, why isn't this economic aristocratic country that

quite go against the purpose of the state reflected in egalitarians' eyes? If past aristocracy insulted human rights that we should overthrow, why don't admirers to the Revolution feel irrationality against this appearance of economic nobles who strongly insult human rights? No! Feudal lords in today's economic class state plagiarize these words for this state and use to advocate their own interest and crimes. Interest residing in economic nobles and everything that they do by the will to make interest reside in them is pretended that it is for the state or leads interest to the state. This is monarchism or individualism that pursuit only a few individuals' interest, so it is not nationalism; it is never nationalism at all. Socrates was forced to take poison because the state was like this! Ah, real patriots! Why don't you see that today's gold nobles use nationalism that overthrew the aristocratic country and conversely maintain the economic patriarchal country? Nationalism and monarchism! Nationalism regards the state itself as the purpose but monarchism regards the monarch as the subject of interest. Hence, any other person is sacrificed and regarded as means. How strange that these two contradictions—perhaps, historically unparalleled two contradiction—act smoothly before patriots! As long as nationalism is a principle that the state is regarded as the highest, it must not leave trampling down the national interest by economic monarchs as the state insists on its own rights to others. The fact that the state is dealt with freely by economic patriarchal monarchs means that the national personality is overthrown; the name of 'the Great Japanese Empire' is only left on the useless paper of the constitution and she goes back the medieval age of the patriarchal country. The state, open your slept eyes and see—economic monarchism that plans increase of a few individuals' interest is decollated beautifully robbing the beautiful cloth of the state! The patriarchal monarchs in the medieval aristocratic age were plainer than these economic nobles. Since the purpose of the state was not understood in their age, they required slaves who were economic subordinate to them to die for the reason of 'for the master'. But today's economic monarchs insist that production doing only for their own interest also leads interest to the society. War in South Africa over gold mines or monopoly of sugar in Cuba is justified by nationalism for the reason that they are for the state. Authority of individuals extremely evolved. Past samurais of slavish class exercised their powers to lower class like a tiger, none the less they didn't doubt to kneel on the ground toward nobles who they served like a cat as the moral duty. Today's economic samurai class who has a name 'gentleman' exercises one's authority to lower class, but they regard being seen a comedy that they become like a spider before economic nobles who they serve as a shame. Needless to say, this proves development of a view of equality and evolution of thoughts of rights. Even the King Carnegie, His

Majesty Morgan, Mitsui, or Iwasaki cannot mention the word of 'for the master'. So, they mention: for the state.

Ah, for the state! When the statue of liberty was approved as a wolf like a sheep, amazing oppression or cruelty were always done under the pretext of liberty. Like that, since the state acquired by the Revolution got to be occupied by second economic nobles, all patriots are persecuting under the name of the state in reverse (we call them patriots, but individualistic revolutionaries always laugh at when they hear it). Socialism makes patriotism that was broken the spell from loyalty to the monarchs when the age entered into modern times expand to other states; it is patriotism that esteems liberty and independence of other states. The state would have 'the supreme ownership', none the less why do she regard that social democracy that intends to make lands and capitals own by the state disturbs public order or hurts peace and happiness, and persecute it? No! It is never persecution of the state. Take gloves of the state off from their hands. You can clearly see sinewy clenched fists of capitalists. When Mrs. Roland rose up a guillotine, she pointed the statue of liberty and said: Ah, liberty! How many crimes were practiced under its name! Ministers who are chief retainers of economic monarchs say that they act for the state. Assemblymen who are samurais of gold nobles also say that they act for the state. Village headmen or even policemen say that we should act for the state. Even in a dance by *geigis*, a phrase 'for the state' is recited, and in an evening party of wives of rich men like prostitutes, they mention an opening address 'for the state'. –And when they persecute the Socialist Party, they follow a principle what is named 'for the state' and use a guillotine of the state. Despotism appears when we are intoxicated with the name of liberty, and strangles real liberty; monarchism hides its shade when we are blind with love for nationalism, and attacks the most ideal patriots.

Even if we drive out present Japanese people who don't understand the state but cry nationalism, we don't praise the present Socialist Party that don't either understand the state and is persecuted by Japanese people who don't understand the state. But when we see them whom bravely resist persecution in everywhere and wander the whole country, how they are dashing and are resemble for the Revolutionary Party (loyalists shall fortunately say to them, 'fight bravely')!

Today's social democrats are member of the Economic Revolutionary Party that intends to complete social democracy of the Revolution. Persecution to the Revolutionary Party is the usual state of social evolution so far as they concentrate on social influence. Like the Revolutionary Party in the Meiji Revolution escaped from submission of nobles and got masterless samurais, their refined heads don't permit

themselves to be public officers or businessmen; at first, they must be vagabonds under economic oppression. And like guards of the Shogunate and feudal lords persecuted those who propagandized the Revolution everywhere, magnificent scholars are threatened and deprived of freedom of speech, assembly, the press, or even bodies themselves and under policemen who have nothing other than the power to urinate. The party cabinet that was organized by Mr. Itō Hirobumi who was one of elder statesmen who rendered a great service of that Revolution—the party cabinet means establishment of republic by the conventional constitution like a loyal retainer Hodumi clearly says, and the Revolutionary Party overthrew aristocracy and realized democracy—forbade forming ‘the Socialist Party’ by reason that it is an association of traitors. All Japanese are descendants of traitors or their accomplices and today’s governmental officers are filled with quite independent thoughts at heart, none the less they irresponsibly guess that the word of ‘social commonerism’⁴ shall be a cipher, and wait to arrest them someday. Like the past Revolutionary Party had not had the place where they hid themselves in eastern mountains nor in the western sea (Ah, they weren’t appreciated from the world like the French revolutionaries but were misunderstood as monarchists; how many heroes were buried!), dogs with a human face that are bred by expenses of the state follow the Economic Revolutionary Party everywhere. And they are said, ‘the speaker, stop your speech’⁵, are taken to the police station, and are jailed. –They justify their actions because it is ‘for the state’.

Ah, for the state! People who believed that their actions brought profits to the state, and died in Manchuria or Korea⁶ would not have persecuted social democrats when they would discover social democrats being troubled with the state. Why Russian soldiers always retreated in the Far Eastern War was not because they were cowardly but because they understood that their actions brought profits to the state. But they can be selected members of a suicide corps of assassination or can be executive committees of the Revolutionary Party. Japanese people who competed with others in joining a suicide corps on an operation blockading the port of *Lushun* and believed that it brought profits to the state don’t escape from violence of economic monarchs nor refuse to be executive committees (of the Revolutionary Party) for the state. Don’t misunderstand. We know that a bomb doesn’t settle anything. A blast when we hear sometimes a sound of spray hitting against rocks before the great stream. But terrorism by bombs itself is always seen regardless of the problem how bombs have a harmful influence on the state.

⁴ This word is not used in other paragraphs. Perhaps, he meant ‘social democracy’.

⁵ In prewar Japan, the police watched oratorical meeting by statesmen. When statesmen referred to criticism of government, the police cried, ‘the speaker, stop your speech’ and forced to stop the oratorical meeting.

⁶ These point death in action in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese War.

Egor Sazonov⁷ who fires guns of the revolutionary war beginning in Russia explains the reason of terrorism by bombs most clearly. He explains himself as a user of bombs who assassinated Plehve:

Russian Government forbade us freedom of speech and the press. Does it think we cannot get across what we think without speech or the press? Human beings have spirits that can get across what they think even if they don't have speech either the press.

Our Socialistic Revolutionary Party is never cowardly to take up arms. If government oppresses us by swords, we nothing but counter against it as the same. I only showed Russian government officers that a criminal could not escape punishment through assassination of Plehve who committed great crimes. Members of our party positively return on the active list even if they go into the reserve, and I'm proud of performing my duty.

The revolution started from performance of obedience that I received and government knew that it danced on the mountain being erupting for the first time. We can say that government was received an incurable wound 40 years ago⁸. But why it has not collapsed is because it is addicted to alcohol of despotism and only strains its nerves. Why can we regard it as normal?

It seems that reforms at that time ended by emancipation of serfs, but this is a superficial view. Emancipation of serfs clearly made us become aware of freedom and independence. Reforms of Alexander second were Alpha of the Russian Revolution and since then Russian people have made all-out efforts. If so, today is Omega of the Revolution. In short, today's problem is who carries out the revolution. I'm not so stupid that we can carry out the revolution if we use bombs. Don't forget that there are a fifty or sixty thousand people behind one bomb. I weep this. We need not incite people. They have already had intelligence thinking by themselves. The present system shall be overthrown by people's pains at a sign from a few bombs. Pains and complaints of people can be put down so far as the present system is maintained. I spent three years to carry out this. And I spent one-and-half-year in a jail among three years. Punishment from Heaven based on a well-thought-out plan like this never ends without a reward. When I was in Siberia, how many times did I dream to overthrow the grand duke Vladimir⁹

⁷ Egor Sazonov was a revolutionary who belonged to Partiya Sotsialstov-Revolyutsionerov (The Socialistic Revolutionary Party). He belonged to the radicals in the party and assassinated Plehve, who was the Home Secretary at that time.

⁸ Perhaps, it points the Rescript of emancipation of serfs by Alexander second in 1861.

⁹ It points the Russian Emperor.

and Plehve at a stroke? If I became a soldier not because government was evil, what did make me a soldier? When I overthrew Plehve, I was glad that I obeyed an order of my own consciousness.

We cannot calmly overlook these phenomena as matters of scientific principles. These are horrible things for those who persecute speech or the press along with us. The fact that Japanese people are not patient at all comparing with French or Italian cannot be hidden. Once there was a political fanatic Hikokurō when noble class was overthrowing, and there was a Kadota¹⁰ in Osaka who tread on the Emperor's picture on the democratic movement. Statistics show that we Japanese by far exceed Italian who don't value their own and others' lives at all and commit murder most (in Europe). See many workers who get angry without reason and cry, 'don't talk rot!' –Don't talk rot! When today's workers understand why they are put in a difficult position and persecuted, they shall grasp chemicals which Sazonov used in their raised clenched fists along with a thundering of 'don't tall rot'. –When the time comes, what should we do? We read words of Egor Sazonov and shudder at today's men of power who dare to incite them to assassinate.

As long as Japan professes that it is a civilized country, barbarous customs such as persecution of speech and the press should not be done in the future. Nevertheless, it is strange for persecutors make efforts to spread education suppressing socialism. If we remember that the Revolution against the aristocratic was brought forward because of encouragement of education by Tokugawa Ieyasu, when people get to have 'intelligence thinking by themselves' that Sazonov said by education given to the whole people, the economic revolution that swept out economic noble class shall come; none the less, if you don't notice this, what a contradiction! In this point, Russian government practices consistent persecution. In that country, government decides the theory of university professors and forbids comparisons and studies of the national laws of other countries. This is no match for Dr. Hodumi's theory of the constitution that doesn't agree with Mr. Itō Hirobumi's *The Commentary on the Constitution* generally but lectures the constitution independently. Once university students have a book having liberal tendency, they are taken out of school. It pays much more carefully attention to this than the event that got flurried to Muirhead's¹¹ ethics and performed a comedy. It forbids teaching republican government in ancient Greece and Rome and the Luther's Reformation and the French Revolution, and permit to teach meaningless rest one when

¹⁰ Perhaps, he was Kadota Saburōbē who published a magazine in Osaka during on the Movement for Civic Rights and Freedom in the 1880s.

¹¹ He was John Henry Muirhead.

professors lecture world history. This shall be unthinkable for an indiscreet country where make historical philosophers who rudely attribute a failure of government in *Kemmu* era¹² to only blind love of the Emperor *Godaigo*¹³ but praise Yoritomo and Ieyasu because they loved and grew up people, lecture the Imperial Rescript on Education. The enlightening movement goes ahead of all revolutions and forms the basis of the revolution. Socialism is realized by people's awakening. Thanks to education until today, people are gradually awaking from sleep of long night, and are judging the true worth of social democracy independently or is waiting to judge, so we must thank them. Even in *Takamagahara* or *Hi Izuru Kuni*¹⁴, it is beyond question. We need not pay attention to Dr. Aruga's theory of power of rebellion or Dr. Hodumi's theory that regarded Yoshitoki as the sovereign. The fact that letters which means of communication of knowledge have spread to almost the whole people—the revolution in Russia has had difficulty in this point but all Japanese people have had a key to enter social democracy—means powerful class has been surrounded by the whole people. Even if weeds grow thickly the cultivated field for some time, a seed of socialism shall increase 10,000, shall flower, and shall bear fruits because socialism is truth (compare many scholars' theories who blame social democracy with our argument that overthrew them and think which theory is true). Everything practices the struggle for existence. When social democracy won the struggle for truth and occupied the whole people's brains, the national will shall express new social influence and the economic revolution shall be realized by legal wars.

So, movement of social democracy is pure enlightening movement. Since Marx and Proudhon¹⁵ separated, it is social democracy that blocks way of those who intend to resort to violence and drive away in the first place. Of course, in the age or the country when or that had not had or have not had legal forms to fight in legal wars, people had or have no choice but to fight according to a principle of 'a sword for a sword' like Sazonov said, so it is right from viewpoint of jurisprudence. In Russia, like we cannot regard the Emperor's actions as legal because they are not controlled by laws, we cannot regard people's actions as legal because they are not controlled by laws, either. Relationship between people and the Emperor is not legal relationship but moral relationship or a power relationship from the first; that is, people have no choice but to

¹² It points during 1333-1336.

¹³ It is not clear whether the word of 'blind love' means his unfair appointments of governmental officers that gave nobles important positions but slighted samurais, or favored Ano Yasuko, who was a mother of the Emperor *Gomurakami*. Guessing the meaning from the context, it probably points the latter.

¹⁴ It is a good name of Japan (*Hi Izuru Kuni* means the country of sunrise). This name was used in diplomacy toward the Sui Dynasty. Japan lies the east of China, that is, a direction of sunrise.

¹⁵ He was a French socialist and one of the founders of anarchy (1809-1865).

obey everything by slavish morals or to refuse it by strong power. So, if it is not unreasonable to regard public assassination of the Emperor as the death penalty, it shall be reasonable to name assassination of the Emperor by the Revolutionary Party execution of the death penalty. The death penalty in modern countries means slaughter by the state against those who go against purpose of the state; it should not be distinguished whether its way should be public or secret. If the Russian Emperor names people who go against his individual interest criminals, people are at liberty to name the Russian Emperor who is regarded that he goes against people's interest criminals. The name of 'criminal' is given by the state for the reason that he or she hurts the national interest, not the name of the Emperor or people. Listen to the Russian Emperor's a term; he says, 'my people', or 'my state'. If lands and people are properties residing in many patriarchal monarchs (that is, the Emperor and nobles) like before emancipation of serfs, insistence like this is not unreasonable because their actions are based on the right as the subjects of property rights. However, modern Russia is monarchy that one person organizes the supreme organ but it is not the patriarchal country that the Emperor stands outside the state and deals with it as a means of his own interest. He must express the national will (it doesn't mean an action based on his own selfishness) as a part of the state to come into legal force when he acts as a monarch, however free the supreme organ is; he forgets that his speech and action is ineffective if not. If the Russian Emperor expresses the national will as the national organ, it goes without saying that everything going against the will is a jurisprudentially crime; slaughter by him shall be named the death penalty from a viewpoint of punishment of the state. But he regards that people and lands are his properties as if he could deal with freely for his own interest. So, people have the right of self-defense jurisprudentially for the first time, and there is only a decision by strong power. A conception of punishment or crime is not valid, so a conception of rebellion is not valid, either; there is only the gallows and dynamite.

We shall declare: it is sure that slaughter against a breaker of the national organ that the Revolutionary Party of Russia practices through unavoidable self-defense does not go against laws at least, however it is criticized by a viewpoint of political interest (though an argument that assassination is illegal but is permitted for the national interest is not always true). Of course, what have forms of laws shall exist even in Russia. But they do not express the will of the Emperor as a part of the state; they are invalid laws that intend to treat other parts of the state as sacrifice to satisfy his individual selfishness. No, they have no worth having the name of 'laws'. Because of this, many of despotic monarchy cannot be distinguished with the patriarchal country. Since

the only supreme national organ is not established by a law but by consciousness of the Emperor based on political morals, those who only have low-grade consciousness often break the national organ by their individual selfishness for themselves, plunder the state, and become traitors put on a crown. If the Russian Emperor puts the national interest first even though a law does not order it and acts as if the Japanese Emperor who held Confucian political morals and did not practice inappropriate behaviors as the only national organ for 23 years after the Revolution, his each speech and action shall be exercise of the sovereignty of the state; when people go against this, their actions are regarded as illegal behaviors against the state. But how is a present state in that state? The Emperor is a plunder against the state, not the national organ. And he is a traitor against the state, not the monarch who exercises the sovereignty of the state. -When he says unreservedly, 'my people' or 'my state', he is the very plunder and traitor against the state. It is jurisprudentially meaningless that the Revolutionary Party declares that assassination of the Emperor means execution of the death penalty since it, which intends to drive out a plunder, is not the national organ, either; but the gallows that the Emperor of a traitor against the state constructed does not have a jurisprudential meaning than that bomb. Rebellion means going against the sovereign. So, in the patriarchal country where the Emperor regarded lands and people as his properties and treated all people as sacrifice, traitors were punished in the name of the Emperor because he or she was the substance of the sovereignty. In modern nation-state, the substance of the sovereignty is the state having purpose of existence and evolution. If someone has the will and acts to ignore it, he or she is a traitor even though he or she is the Russian Emperor; it is an unmovable jurisprudential principle. So, self-defense against a traitor is legally right, and the state has no choice but to wait to be established the national organ newly because it loses the way to express its own purpose (a vengeful ghost of Dr. Hodumi shall say: when the state shakes, where the sovereignty resides in gets unclear. He would insist like us that the present Russia shakes, so the Emperor is not the sovereign).

According to this principle of jurisprudence, a Sazonov's phrase is clearly truth in modern Russia. Because of this, we fear that today's persecutor deviates from the position of the national organ and is becoming a violent servant. Today's Japanese government often takes on an aspect like this! When the Prime Minister orders to sentence assemblymen by the death penalty, is he the national organ that we should obey? When a policeman issues an Imperial ordinance and intends to call the Imperial Diet before a police box, is he the national organ that we should obey? The national organ can be the national organ in given competence. When government confronted the

Socialist Party up to now, it strayed from its authority and used violence; it is a behavior of a violent servant that is a breaker of the national organ. Then, social democrats can use every means against infringement of rights.

Why today's Socialist Party overlooks this and does not exercise defense rights is not because it doesn't respect rights but because they act in accordance with interest that much of bloodshed doesn't bring profits to it (the whole people, praise them whom put up with an insult. They don't make their consciousness obey anyone else, and are trampled on their every right by policemen's muddy shoes for profits that their insistence spread). So, ridicule and abuse to social democracy by anarchists who make light of interest concentrate on this point. They anarchists say: socialists say that they should follow lawful ways but law themselves that they say that we should follow are not enacted by rightful rights. So, even if we follow the laws and enter into the Diet steeped in vice, we can enact no effective law. Socialists only depend on a utopia of the Diet. But although social democrats cannot reply on these arguments base on inference, it is never shame for them. Because reality is a step going upstairs¹⁶ of an ideal and it is absolutely impossible to reach an ideal without touching the real social state. If you deny a conception of legal wars of social democracy because it makes real irrational laws a point of departure, where does rational one exist in the world, on earth? Even anarchists shall not say that denying everything means rationality. If so, do they deny using dynamites which they often use because it is irrational?

Society evolves. Evolution depends on class conflict. Society evolved the stage like today and superiority or inferiority of class conflict gets to be decided by voting. Voting is the way of a revolution that expresses social influence most precisely, so it is the healthiest and surest main street to go up the stairs of an ideal than bombs or strikes. In a country where doesn't have this, the way of rebellion and terrorism of bombs is cut as other narrow paths. Many civilized countries passed the way of rebellion and terrorism of bombs and entered into the main street of legal wars but Russian people have walked narrow paths. Suppose that we were born in Russia. We shall laugh at the mouth and tongue of social democrats, and shall insist terrorism of bombs! Ah, nihilists falling down along with the Czar in smoke from the explosion of bombs that were thrown from their own hands! The Heaven's door shall be knocked and opened by priests. The stage of the revolution is sometimes reached passing a bloody *hanamichi*¹⁷. Democrats in the Meiji Revolution hid a bloody sword. But today's us got a good fortune

¹⁶ In Japanese original text, this part is '*kaikyū* (it means class)' but '*kaijou* (it means a step going upstairs)' is right guessing from the context.

¹⁷ It means an elevated passageway leading from the state through the seats of the audience to the back of a *Kabuki* theater.

and were born in Japan where evolved the stage that the way of legislation was adapted, so even if hoodlums strayed from authority of the national organ, we don't have to encourage people to exercise the right of self-defense against that. Social democrats shall know as the name shows that they need to accept the fact social interest is more respected than individual authority in many cases (we repeatedly praise today's Socialist Party in Japan because it is moderate).

The right of universal suffrage is required for these legal wars.

The Economic Revolution that intends to realize ideals of the Meiji Revolution can be almost realized if we have the right of universal suffrage. The revolution when the state had not been the substance of the sovereignty always practiced by blood and iron called 'traitors'. The revolution about the content of the state shall be entirely decided by voting under the name of the sovereignty of the state. –'Voting' is a bullet in the Economic Revolution and acquisition of the right of universal suffrage means occupation of powder magazines. The revolution before legal wars always smoothed its rotation by oil of blood. The revolution by a bullet of voting opens a stage by cheers. So, it goes without saying that it is trivial to include bloodshed in a definition of the revolution as an indispensable factor. If we say that bloodshed itself is regarded as the revolution, we must regard internal troubles in the Imperial Household as innumerable revolutions; we must regard wars and subjugation in the Age of Civil Wars as outbreaks and ends of hundreds or a few thousand revolutions. The revolution means perfect change of system of thought, so it is out of the question whether bloodshed happens or not. Hence, however much blood is shed and corpses are piled up, if system of thought is inherited, we should call them the disturbance of war not revolution. For example, we don't regard the *Jinshin War*¹⁸ as the revolution but legislation in *Taika* era as the revolution. We don't regard Wars between the Genji and the Heike Family as the revolution but establishment of Kamakura Shogunate by Yoritomo as the revolution. We don't regard *Ōsaka Wars*¹⁹ as the revolution but the Civil War in 1868-69 as the

¹⁸ The *Jinshin War* was a rebellion that the Prince *Ōama* (the future Emperor *Temmu*) triggered off in 672 (the year was called '*Jinshin*' in an old Chinese calendar).

He was a younger brother of the Emperor *Tenji*. The Emperor *Tenji* intended to make the Throne succeed to his son of the Prince *Ōtomo* (he is also called 'the Emperor '*Kōbun*'), so he judged that he might be assassinated if he stayed in the near of the Imperial Palace and escaped to *Yoshino* (today's Nara Prefecture's area). After the death of the Emperor *Tenji*, he rebelled against the *Ōmi* Court that the Prince *Ōtomo* led. He defeated the Prince after fierce fights for about one month, and ascended the Throne.

¹⁹ *Ōsaka Wars* were the battles between Toyotomi and Tokugawa Family in 1614-15.

After Tokugawa Ieyasu established Tokugawa Shogunate in Edo in 1603, Toyotomi Family in *Ōsaka* gradually declined its power but still had great influence to Daimyōs because the Family was descendants of the great conqueror Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Ieyasu thought that preserving Toyotomi Family would be dangerous to him, so he attacked the *Ōsaka Castle* of Toyotomi Family the winter of 1614 by an extremely forcible pretext (the Winter Battle). But he could not take the *Ōsaka Castle* by storm since it was quite strong castle having the outer and inner moats which a master-hand of attacking castles Hideyoshi designed. So, he made peace with Toyotomi Family and

revolution. Why we regard them as the revolution is because they changed system of thought such as the monarchal country, the aristocratic country, or the democratic country. –The revolution by social democracy fundamentally intends to drive the system of private ownership of today’s upper class (not the system that all parts of the society own properties that individualists cherish as an ideal) out; and it intends to change the system of thought to realize a communal society where individuals make the society of an aggregate of parts the subjects of properties as parts of the society. So, the revolution means the death of an old society and the birth of a new society.

Of course, like there are the laws of heredity between mothers and children, it goes without saying that all new societies develop by heredity of old societies. We don’t live such the world without intelligence that people say, ‘without a hard labor and hover between life and death, we cannot call those who were born newborn babies’. An obstetrician and gynecologist of voting discovered a principle of social physiology simply got to have a new society deliver safely. But it is unavoidable that bad mothers in an old society who are barbarous and don’t know how to love their children intend to abort or to kill their unborn babies them. Since bad women are ignorant and barbarous, they always refuse helps by obstetricians and gynecologists of the suffrage but they fall down and suffer from pitiful bloodshed by themselves. Once they are pregnant, they must have them. Also, even if they intend to abort or to kill their babies, babies shall pregnant again so far as mothers’ bodies are healthy (so, in declining countries, there is no trend of the revolution). However ignorant the society having historical experiences is, it knows that bloodshed makes mothers’ bodies suffer. Also, evolution of love teaches it that a new society survives instead of it as the second itself, and it knows that obstetricians and gynecologists make a delivery amazingly easy. So, as long as she²⁰ knew that there is no possibility that a delivery does not kill her as well as babies, and as long as she²¹ is not the situation that she become weak by outer oppressions or inner bad conditions to her and cannot endure pregnancy, she cannot strictly refuse fierce request of the right of universal suffrage. She has not already been able to endure weight of the baby. –Why was this baby pregnant? Needless to say, mothers’ bodies reached sexual maturity and an embryo of developed sociality was fertilized social democracy. The baby was perfectly made as an ideal that should be realized. The baby moves in the mother’s womb. The baby is about to give one’s first cry and to go out. The

made Toyotomi Family admit filling the outer moat in for the present. But he broke a peace term and filled the inner moat in. Toyotomi Family fired up his action and the battle broke out again the summer of 1615 (the Summer Battle). But the Castle lost the moats got weak and Toyotomi Force was defeated by Tokugawa Force. Finally, Toyotomi Hideyori, the son of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, killed himself and Toyotomi Family was ruined.

²⁰ In Japanese original text, this word is ‘he’ but it is not fit a context. So, I regard it as a mistake of ‘she’.

²¹ See the previous note 20.

baby only waits arrival of obstetrician and gynecologist. –The right of universal suffrage is required like these.

So, the movement of the right of universal suffrage by social democracy is never advocated to court publicity. Like today's United States of America, if we cast a vote to speak as slaves in accordance with thoughts of gold emperors rashly, there is no worth. Casting a vote means a roaring sound of cannon which broke a feudal castle. People don't touch a voting paper by dirty hands that exchange paper money like in the present Japan. When they put a voting paper into a box, fresh blood drops from their hands. When we make our mind like these and require the right of universal suffrage, who can resist us? –All people shall be kicked and overthrown. We don't expect that explosion outbreaks throughout Japan like bold and splendid patriots who risk their lives and blast the castle gate. But when faithful and serious workers in Manchuria who believed that solidarity make everything possible and obeyed rules in their every action come back Japan—now, they are coming back! People welcome their triumphant return but they form an army to march in legal wars, not simple those who returned in triumph. Russian soldiers don't become losers but are marching to overthrow a traitor put on the Crown (I feel that a shout of *Banzai* that I hear when I open a study's window is very similar to voice of people under Jie or Zhou²² who welcomed the regal army, and cry like rain). Solidarity has power. Social influence has the sovereignty. Before this power of solidarity, can you still rashly despise people in accordance with the amount of their taxes? If we can deny the suffrage by reason of a little amount of taxes, how do you explain the fact that incompetent people about how to use taxpayers' precious money come to important power? Patriots! When you lay down stretchers and were carried behind the camp dreaming, leaked out and dropped fresh blood from bandages like belts only gave nutrition desolate grasses but no fruit of a right bore. At dusk when the moon began to lighten, or in the dark when rain fell, when you were considerate toward your darling wives and children in their home towns and fought in the front corps, ministers of this state leisurely looked for prostitutes in the name of the Red Cross in the whole country. When you laid wild flowers and wiped tears of everlasting from your eyes by your brave hands in front of small tombs of thousands comrades, the Seven Doctors²³ (they would not be the Seven Soldiers²⁴ in the Battle in *Shizugatake*!) were proudly in a

²² Jie and Zhou were famous ancient tyrants in China.

²³ These point professors of the Imperial University of Tokyo, Tomizu Hirono, Tomii Masaakira, Terao Tooru, Kanai Noburu, Takahashi Sakue, Onoduka Kiheiji, and Nakamura Shingo. In 1903, they insisted support for war because Japan would lose not only Manchuria but also Korea if she didn't fight against Russia. Government disciplined the head Tomizu to suspension from work because they opposed concluding a peace treaty.

²⁴ They were Katō Kiyomasa, Fukushima Masanori, Katō Yoshiaki, Hirano Nagayasu, Wakisaka Yasuharu, Kasuya Takenori, and Katagiri Katsumoto who distinguished themselves as subjects of Toyotomi Hideyoshi in the Battle in *Shizugatake*. In 1583, Hideyoshi fought against Shibata Katsue in *Shizugatake* to take the initiative

rigid honor. Don't you know that your compatriots guarded the front gate of the licensed red-light district where there was a prostitute *Koi*? When remains of comrades came to a wharf and followed the sight that smoke of your ships disappeared to the East your ships with their eyes, they were with tears in their sunken eyes. Did they only shed tears to tearful voices of their children? Be magnificent demons and wander in the Manchurian fields rather than be slaves without rights and adorn your chests with a golden fragment²⁵ like a childish toy.

—Our patriots! Answer! You were delightfully sacrificed as parts of the state for existence and evolution of other parts of the state. Is your sacrifice eternal and ceaseless one that you die for dirty pleasure or playing of upper class when there is no competition among the states? Doesn't the word of 'for this state' mean that you are not only sacrifice for upper class of the state but also for your wives and children of parts of the state as the same? It is true that certain parts of the state are threatened by an infringement of Russia. However, cannot constant slaughters to your class of parts of the state by upper class of the state be helped 'for this state'? When people cried, '45 million compatriots, be sacrifice yourself for this state', the 45 million compatriots means the state; they did not think that only a few class or minority formed all parts of the state. Nevertheless, their actions were only helpful for upper class—there are widows, orphans, and full of people who were died of hunger! Don't they form parts of the state but parts of horses and cows? Today's state is not the monarchal country where only one person of parts of the state occupies all parts of the state. Neither is the aristocratic country where minority occupies all parts of the state. In the democratic country, all parts of the society form the state, so we can appeal all compatriots to be sacrifice in the name of patriotism. All duties to tell you to be sacrifice mean the right that makes every sacrifice purpose. —The word of 'for this state' should not only used in as aspect of the state vs. the state but also should be required when we overthrow today's economic noble class who has been slaughtering most parts of the state; it is a solemn shout. Today, complicity by government of capitalists and the Diet of landlords is called national unity and scuffles when thieves divide stolen articles are called conflicts between the officials and the people; When people wake up by the voice of 'the state' and march from the Manchurian field wearing bloody clothes, and when people welcome the army and prepare for joining the line, can you still insist that universal suffrage is too early yet to realize? The gate of the enemy's castle shall be broken by a charge and the

among chief vassals. He defeated Katsue in this battle, and established a position of a successor to Oda Nobunaga.

²⁵ At that time, those who distinguished themselves in battle were given the Medal of the Golden Kite.

According to *Nihon Shoki*, when the Emperor *Jimmu* was conquering the East, the golded kite flied and stopped on his bow. And it shined like a thunder. The enemies were dazzled by the light and lost no will to fight. In this way, the Emperor won the enemies. From this episode, the Golden Kite got to be regarded as a symbol of victory.

right of universal suffrage shall be majestically able to invade into the demon's mansion of the Diet. Ah, they who insisted with their hair erect that the establishment of the Diet was too early to realize now change their insistence and insist that universal suffrage is too early yet to realize. From this reason, *Rikken Seiyūkai* and *Rikken Shimpotō* have entirely lost energy as the democratic parties, and have been slaves respecting cliques of particular fiefs and nobles in the House of lords by consciousness of a principle of economic aristocracy. We conclude: the right of universal suffrage should not be what should be easily acquired by an intermittent petition for only hundreds or thousands of people. It should be what the whole people awakened by fundamental enlightening movement should overpower and make groups of men of powers obey, and should acquire. All rights are decided by the strong power. When we wake up the meaning of solidarity, we can get the strong power. However many children are, it means zero like zero is zero even if it is multiplied by fifty or sixty thousand. Like that, unless lower class of the state realizes that solidarity is strong, the foundation to require rights cannot be strong. In this point, we oppose to the resolution of the International and praise effects of Russo-Japanese War in the name of the natural law. People have united. And they clearly realized that solidarity was strong. Now, the flag of 'patriotism' fluttered in the smoke has fled on the vanguard of the army in legal wars. They don't think it is unpleasant to remain as a crowd shouting in the rear, and rouse themselves and stand the front line. –They cannot remain as a crowd shouting without the right of universal suffrage and willingly intend to be combatants in the war of voting. The banner coloured the French Revolution waved and people attacked a powder magazine in the Castle of Bastille, and hot-blooded those who brought about the Southwestern War attacked a powder magazine at first; in legal wars, we must acquire the right of universal suffrage occupying a powder magazine of voting before a declaration of war. Laughing! Today's government and capitalists delightfully welcome the army that shall ruin them in the future. Though government and capitalists praise their charges, suicide corps, night attacks, or the all-out attacks and they regard that the victory could be gotten for themselves, don't they understand that their charges or the all-out attack by suicide corps shall overthrow them at a once? Turn your heads back and look at the far back. The fire of the revolution is about to burn, isn't it? Today, if you misunderstand that the Socialist Party in Japan is only formed by a few moderate 'writers' or 'Christians', it is the same that you have found scouts, none the less you have forgotten that there has been a large army like a could. This 'a large army' means awoken general class.

Really, when the general class get the right of universal suffrage and send its soldiers

into the Diet, class conflict shall be practiced in the platform of the Diet, not in the field sending up smoke. The Meiji Revolution practiced class conflict sending up smoke by an awakening of the general class, and usurped lands and the political power from nobles. Like that, economic revolution make capitals and lands of gold nobles return to the state by class conflict of voting, and shall overthrow an actual monopoly of government. Class conflict of social democracy does not mean the struggle that only aims at replacing existing ruling class. No, in all class conflicts, the nucleus of movement is taken by lower class; as a result of the conflict, lower class shall evolve to upper class by imitation and assimilation and upper class shall be expanded. It means that lower class drives class itself out by its evolution; it does not mean a conversion of the position between upper and lower class either restoration to the primitive equality that intends to bring upper class that has evolved in the parts of the society down to lower class (some people in the Socialist Party or Tolstoians insist like these, but they are never social democracy). Furthermore, in other words, it intends to make all parts of the society evolve the grade of today's upper class—no, more than it, as a result that the society divided its parts and gradually evolved itself in the evolution. In the Meiji Revolution regarded social democracy that regarded all of people as members of the state legally and made its existence the purpose as an ideal, drove out all patriarchal monarchs, and class state became extinct. Like that, economic patriarchal monarchs who are subjects that productive interest resides in shall be absorbed by the state as a process of economic history, all of people shall form economic groups, and the economic groups shall be purpose of production; in this way, we intend to realize social democracy perfectly in an economic aspect of the state. That is, we intend to overthrow economic monarchism and to construct economic nationalism.

—Ah, advocate nationalism in a strict Platonic sense. —And save nationalism that is treated as a means from plunder of economic monarchs. Monarchism means that one part of the state sacrifices other parts for monarchal interest and every interest and the final goal is held by a monarch. It would have been legally driven out by the Meiji Revolution. But capitalists and landlords treat workers and peasants of parts of the state as a means of their own interest and purpose, and are in the economic world as monarchs where they can do freely. Hence, the economic influence becomes political influence, and nationalism is being relegated out of the text of laws and is disappearing. See laws. The Great Japanese Empire is the strict state that has purpose of existence and evolution. Nevertheless, why don't the Socialist Party and all of people in Japanese Empire notice that there is economic monarchism under a disguise of nationalism? Socialism is not any other 'ism' and, needless to say, it regards the higher one than the

present geographic societies as an ideal. –However, it is not such non-nationalism that it takes a cool attitude plunder against the state by economic monarchism. Socialism approves of the state strictly, and intends to develop ideal independence based on a union of the state; it is supra-nationalism. Nationalism is an evolutionary process of socialism and economic monarchs are, of course, traitors against the state. Why is the Socialist Party a traitor? Also, why is the Socialist Party confused because it denies the state? Luther said that the state was the ethical system and Mengzi pursued satisfaction to every ethical requirement toward the state. We oppose to the resolution of the International and approve of the state like them in the name of social democracy. See today's laws. The Great Japanese Empire is the strictly ethical system. And it regards satisfaction to every ethical requirement as an ideal. But under these national laws, economic nobles hold their own sphere of influence and hurt ethical brilliance by embezzlement of nationalism by individualistic them, so the Japanese Empire is put the guilt and becomes ugly. Ah, the second revolution! We must start class conflict against second nobles and feudal lords again. This is practiced by legal ideals of the state that transcended classes. Everything is based on class conflict. On the head of who won class conflict, the Golden Crown of rights shines. The Goddess of Justice has a sword as well as a balance. Justice that laws regard as an ideal shows by having a sword that a balance can be gotten after rotten system before an ideal is overthrown. Decision of rights was entirely based on violence through the ancient and medieval age. Like that, the first code of procedure called a plaintiff and a defendant into the court and made them duel. The phrase, 'I got my power by myself. I'm able to occupy not only the position of the king but of the emperor whenever I want' is not only Hideyoshi as the way of acquisition of rights. A balance leans in accordance with a weight of a swords, and the Goddess of Justice decides in accordance with an inclination. Today's laws mean justice that capitalists decided that organize the national organs and express the national will. Government of capitalists and the Diet of landlords tip by a weight of gold as they like. A sword decides slant of a balance and winners make rights. As winners in the wars using force established the monarchal country or practiced aristocracy, lucky people in today's economic wars become resource of all rights. So, we declare: so far as the Socialist Party is weak and workers put up with to be treated as slaves, social democracy is not base on rights in the real world at all, so it is not a principle of justice, though it is not a crime legally. But winners are not everlastingly winners, and losers are so, either. Development of a view of equality and innumerable peasant uprisings made social lower class escape from slavish class such as samurai or serf, and enabled them to get strong power. The Meiji Revolution overthrew the aristocratic country by a

sword and has held a balance by a right of equality gotten by a sword. Like that, when peasants and workers are surprised at a flash of a sword under the present laws of social democracy; unite and make strong power, the economic aristocratic country shall be overthrown and the Goddess of Justice shall appear on economic equality. Government and the Diet that throw about gold on a carpet of the Constitution made by men of the Democratic Party dyeing by their blood, and indulge in gambling! See a present state that many classes enclosing the gambling house wake up from long sleep and listen to an alarm bell of social democracy ringing in the darkness. When this great union goes on the carpet by a step like a magnificent man, the stolen gold is never a toy like playing cards. A slept lion is stupider than a dog. Million or ten million slaves fear one nobleman. Slaves of peasants and workers keep a watchful eye on authority like nobles and unite a group like to get million or ten million strong powers, the lion shall rise up against the political world shaking its mane. Then, government and the Diet shall run away like a mouse!

Nevertheless, it is highly ridiculous that some people rudely throw a piece of bread before these million or ten million nobles who have hoes and hammers, and use sweet words to an ear of the king of beasts like a fox.

A piece of bread! Some people praise and call this 'charity'. Ah, how this action insults human authority! We are not so roundabout either stupid that we say to those who are breaking down because of hunger, 'brush hands stretched out before you as mercy aside'. But many vicious thugs named 'charitable people' treat poor people as sacrifices for their own moral pleasure, even if they are the most conscientious. Mean-spirited fellows among them think it as the same with an entertainment in a ball at night. Why can we swallow the leavings thrown into from the back gate of plunderers even if we put a gun to our throats? So, when those who regard their honors highly sink into poverty, they suicide because they cannot endure to enter into a poor-house.

Even though their bodies are relived, their spirits have been killed. They named 'charitable people' entirely reverse a Christian gospel and think lives, 'Man shall live only by bread'. Those who fret the present state most and sigh over shall say this: workers live with respectable honest poverty but the rich are beggars on living rooms because they live by labors of workers. However, the fact is never like that; they are not beggars but stately plunderers. Let us reveal our immorality and say this: if we are born in poor families, we rather cling to somebody's love than become thieves and plunder regardless whether we are beggars on earth or on living rooms. Social democrats are different from moralists like earthworms named 'men of virtue'. Beggars are despised

but plunderers are respected. Greek poets admired pirates as noble and sturdiness of pirates had been so respected that Byron had composed a poem with it until quite recently. The medieval Japanese samurais had been had the habit of robberies cutting people and it had been admired. Beggars had not been admired historically, and the Gold Crown had been always put on the heads of plunderers. However they compare capitalists and landlords to beggars on living rooms and covet pleasures, plundered beggars on earth shall be insulted forever, unless those who kneel on the ground before them of the strong like ants and admire plunder. When they stretch out their hands as charity, their lips have arrogant smiles; when the poor receive them, cold sweat of humiliation drops down from their neck. But if this is like what is the result of individual labors and they divide this in tears to eat along with other unlucky people, we shall kneel on the ground worship to this respectable man.

Actually, only the minority of upper class plunders all social labors based on steam and electricity and most of social majority driven into unlucky state because of the plunder are pushed into a prison of 'charity system'; the minority throws into a piece of bread from an opening of an iron fence. How cruel it is! –This is crueler than devil. Wild dogs and Rostrum Socialists shall be deceived by 'charity'. Human beings are not satisfied with only a meal like dogs. Working class who awoke social democracy and got individual authority like nobles is not so shameless consciousness that they kneel on the ground before horse manure on the roadside and worship gold Daimyōs like Rostrum Socialists. Try to throw into money to those who speak of charity in the name of charity. They shall be red with angry, shall not they? Why all members of the society get to be shameful of receiving charity is because they escaped from the position of servile slaves and had aristocratic consciousness. All things are decided by strong power. In the age when the strong plundered by force, plunder was done by force; those who plunder by today's laws shall be plundered by new laws. Might is right. So far as gold nobles have power, today's plunder is natural, so we have no choice but to admit that their plunder is right even if we stand side with those who died of hunger. When the king of beasts shall prostrate all animals and its fang shall be dyed blood, social democracy shall mean right. We don't reinforce our argument in tears. We use the theory of rights that is colder than iron and advocate social democracy. It is not a problem whether we give a piece of bread but how to get a piece of bread. We don't advocate the moral theory that we insist on give those who are starved a piece of bread. It is a solemn problem of rights that disregards hunger to the right to bread. A samurai glories in honorable poverty. Unless the whole society has this noble authority, why can we realize social democracy?

No! As they who awoke authority are thrown into a piece of bread before them and

insult, what is called men of religion has pointed a verse of the Holy Bible and has ridiculed them when they have been starved. ‘Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil. And when he had fasted forty days and forty nights, he was afterward an hungred. And when the tempter came to him, he said, If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread. But he answered and said, It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God²⁶. Ah, who leads them, whom are not Christ, up and makes them stand on the roadside to get food? They are tested by hunger after forty days and forty nights whether they are Sons of the God by the devil. As starved son of the God was laughed by him, ‘command that uneatable stones ‘be made bread’, they who are not Sons of the God are stuck the paper which produces no food out and are ridiculed, ‘if you can work miracles, command that this Holy Bible be made bread’. The devil would test up fully. –Nevertheless! The devil began to ridicule them again who got bread thanks to economic evolution and are making efforts to get authority of the God. He says this: you have made good lives. So, you mustn’t get material happiness. The religious theory like earthworms does not understand individual authority at all.

And before this solemn problem of rights, contemptible Rostrum Socialists insists on harmony between capitals and labors. Ah, harmony between capitals and labors! What similar it is to the theory of union between the Shogunate and the Court²⁷! If we don’t understand from Japanese history that lands of noblemen and feudal lords were gotten by plunder, and if we don’t understand from *The Capital* that capitals were gotten through plunder of labors, the theory of union between the Shogunate and the Court shall exist even today. And harmony between capitals and labors shall last forever along with the earth. As Dr. Hodumi argues that the sovereignty adheres to the skin of the Emperor, if today’s Rostrum Socialists argue in economics that capitalists wear bank bills on naval strings when they come out from the mothers’ bodies, they should carry through the argument. But, actually, making us burst out laughing, Rostrum Socialists recognize that capitals are produced from labors and other capitals are produced from them. If so, capitals would be that labors would be expressed concretely—in this way, they insist on harmony between capitals and labors. We shall answer like this when we

²⁶ This paragraph is seen in Chapter 4, section 14 in The Gospel according to St. Matthew of the New Testament. For translation, I quoted The Holy Bible of authorized King James Version by Oxford University Press (and so forth).

²⁷ This union was promoted by the Tokugawa Shogunate to revive authority of the Shogunate in the last days of Tokugawa Shogunate. The Shogunate married the Princess Chikako (Kazunomiya), who was a sister of the Emperor *Koumei*, with the Shogun Tokugawa Iemochi. From this, he uses the theory as a symbol of an argument to intend to maintain *status-quo*.

are questioned, 'when we strike both hands, they make a sound. Then, what sound does one hand have?'²⁸ (see the part that we have explained that they confused capitals with capitalists in the Section 1, *Economic Justice of Socialism*). In this way, they argue in the name of harmony between capitals and labors that interest and profits of capitalist class and wages of workers mean distribution of productions. As we have explained, it goes without saying that a wage fund of old school of economics is a useless hypothesis, and Lassalle's 'ironclad rule of wages' constructed on the wage fund cannot be advocated without a revision. Unless a turn of phrase that farmers distribute feed grasses with cattle is adopted in a national textbook²⁹, distribution cannot express this relationship. Capitals and labors are put under orders and obedience. This means government. Under this relationship, monarchs in the economic aristocratic country have the right that they freely act on serf and slaves in accordance with their moods and interest; this is the relationship between the master and subjects. If we persuaded the Revolutionary Party to abandon their theory of Japanese constitution because upper samurai class formed by nobles and chief retainers would get more rewards if their plan carried out, they would burst out laughing. Today's Rostrum Socialists think that they use sweet words of 'a raise in wages' like foxes or *tanukis* to working class who roused themselves to action to deny economic Daimyōs themselves and can suppress them. Workers are not dogs which complain of hunger and bark. Social democracy does not think that it is enough for working class to be able to escape from poverty. Really, it is an anger of the awakened king of beasts.

Dr. Kanai says in his *Social Economics*:

Today, the Social Democratic Party became the strongest in Germany and other many European sympathize but it is only deformed one of a union that often existed between the political revolutionary thought and economic lack from old times. The best way of countering against disturbances this party incites is social reform: Recent studies of economics and social policies that the German Empire has practiced by the Emperor and Bismarck to some degree since 1877. Needless to say, when this social policy is practiced, the most necessary ways are forbidding inciting illegal actions or disturbances, and punishing those who commit these severely. That is, on the one side,

²⁸ This is one of questions for Zen meditation. These questions cannot be answered by common knowledge. Zen masters don't aim at making pupils answer rightly but making them abandon conventional ideas and leading them to spiritual awakening.

²⁹ Until in 1902, textbooks were not national ones. But corruption cases over adoption of textbooks in primary and junior high schools happened in 1902 (more than 100 people such as prefectural governors or principals were convicted). With this as a turning point, government adopted the system of national textbooks after 1903 (and government intended to reinforce nationalistic trend in education at the same time).

we must make laws strictly and make a strict application of the law against the Socialist Party; on the other side, we must investigate the cause of the birth of the party, must practice social reforms steadily, and must drive evil effects out gradually.

Some means or ways that various European countries adopted against political and moral dangers the Social Democratic Party brought would be proper hitherto, though some of them failed. ...Looking back, only compulsory means against violent action of this party and education to people can never drive out a disaster perfectly. We must be sure to save lower people from the poverty, to ease disparity in wealth, and drive out what is called an aversion to this at the same time...

And Dr. Tajima says in his *The Latest theory of Economy*:

The Socialist Party originally appeared to interpret social problems, but now the Socialist Party itself becomes a cause of social problems. It is one of difficult problems in social policy how we deal with it.

From these, we can understand how stupid Daimyōs and the retainers strike their empty heads how they should deal with arbitrary arguments private citizens.

Socialists who have no ideal, why can those who intend to start a revolution of fundamental thoughts harmonize or cooperate with those who intend to maintain fundamental systems? A crowd of those who act rashly and disgrace social democracy, if you say that realization of a raise of wages, the system of 8 hours labor, or compulsory insurance—this means socialism, we must deprive those who have no ideal and act rashly of the name of social democracy and must make them run into the theory of union between the Shogunate and the Court. The Meiji Revolution is not the same with a riot of peasants that appealed pains of taxes, and hang out bamboo spears and flags made of mats³⁰. Like that, you mustn't absolutely indentify a riot of factory workers that appeals the high price of rice and lowness of wages, and strike with socialism. Social evolution means that it makes lower class evolve upper class. The Meiji Revolution made Japanese society that had been the situation that noble class had evolved the stage that had had absolute freedom as a monarch and had reigned over each place evolve and made the whole people escape from samurai or serf class; it made them evolve to noble class who had evolved to monarchs and realized freedom and

³⁰ In 1876, peasants rose in riots require reduction of a land tax in Ibaraki, Mie, Aichi, Gifu prefecture and in Sakai in *Ōsaka*.

independence of all people and individual authority. In this way, it made Japanese society 'democracy'. Like that, social democracy that makes efforts to expand social democracy in legal sense realized by the Revolution to an economic aspect is aristocratism in all aspects of the society that intend to give today's peasants and workers economic happiness of today's economic nobles or more, and to make them get all political and economic evolution. So, (repeatedly speaking), '*commoner-ism*' does not make much difference with Rostrum Socialism in the point that both don't have no ideal; those who advocate it can only be a head of a riot of factory workers. Social democracy must be advocated in the name of the whole society, that is, in the name of individual authority based on all of individuals. If poverty is removed by a raise of wages, the system of 8 hours labor, and compulsory insurance, social policies what Rostrum Socialists insist on shall succeed, and lower equality or equality of honest poverty that '*commoner-ism*' regards as an ideal shall be realized. For the present, social democracy holds up realization of religious and ideal world by social evolution and individual authority as a higher ideal than poverty and crimes. If you say that a raise of wages, the system of 8 hours labor, and compulsory insurance rather express social democracy, it is strange. German Social Democratic Party made rapid progress because it got those, and its wings cover with the whole world like clouds in the heaven. A slept lion is more pitiful than a dog. However, even awaken lion cannot break an iron chain being in hunger. Foolishness has worth mentioning specially for historians if it is complete. –Do Rostrum Socialists throw into a chunk of meat to awaken and starved lion and intend to sleep again? Repeated riots of peasants in the feudalism made a lion eat heartily and it broke an iron chain in the Revolution. A lion of Japanese Socialist Party awoke up but it is tired by low wages, excessive long-time workings, and anxiety of disease or decrepitude and lies down in an iron fence; it has not been able to get up yet.

The Socialist Party that insults and makes a fool of the German Emperor based on 3 million votes obtained and 82 Diet men, a lion bites an iron fence and bark fiercely since those who fear it outside the fence threw into a chunk of meat, doesn't it? Of course, we cannot make a lion hunger until it dies. A lion has a fang which tears everything up and eats. But even workers cannot boldly continue strikes when they are starved. Workers who earn so few wages that they cannot always maintain their wives and children cannot make the large trade union and save war expenditure. Excessive long-time workings deprive animals which have a lot of sense of time to think and makes them be exhausted the ability of acceptance of social democracy. Why a Japanese lion has still been obedient to the owner of capitalist or landlords is because it has not had enough

power because of hunger.

–Ah, how fierce the German Social Democratic Party. A lion ate heartily and has authority and abandons the chair of the vice-chairman that occupies as a natural result of a majority party like a broken shoe since he must salute a man of the German Emperor; every election increases the number of votes obtained and Diet men in geometrical progression (in this point, today's members of Japanese Socialist Party have a keen eye to point out where meat is, so they have a honor to be printed in the first page of *The History of Japanese Socialist Party* by the largest type size). So far as Japan exists, Daimyōs and nobles of plunderers is never recognized the existence. Like that, unless *The Capital*, which pointed out history of plunder by capitalists, is burned, however they compromise by the theory of union between the Shogunate and the Court, their compromise brings next compromise. –No, we don't have to wait their compromise. Unless economic nobles are oppressed under a sword of legal wars, 'a difficult problem in social policy' never becomes extinct. Before the revolution, we always hear coward and unreasonable arguments that use respectable words such as 'harmony' or 'eclectic'. As stupid Daimyōs and the retainers strike their empty heads how they should deal with arbitrary arguments private citizens—private citizens at that time became Genrō (old-timers)³¹ and strike their heads. However Rostrum Socialists who have their title of legal doctors or professors in the University regard the problem how they should deal with the Socialist Party as a difficult one, the revolution rout those who advocate the theory of union between the Shogunate and the Court, and advance. Once we conceive a child, we must bear him or her. Even if we a plaster on the stomach of a pregnant woman, the pain cannot be removed.

We declare this: that what is called compromise of social policy is practiced before the social democratic revolution is the same that a nutritious substance is sent before childbirth. Social democrats strongly require this for a newborn baby and an easy delivery of the mother's body, and acquire this by strong power when compromise is not practiced. An argument that social policy nips social democracy in the bud resembles a quack doctor who advises a pregnant woman to drink milk soup to have an abortion closely. Dr. Kanai and Tajima are *too wise* that there is an extremely doubt that their names in a corner of a person's name dictionary in the Meiji era, but these arguments show how the brain in the age of the system of private ownership was organized in the interesting form, so their voluminous works would be curiosities for future historians (no, since they are interpreters, they may not be able to receive this honor. So, responsible people would be outside).

³¹ It means elder statesmen in the days of the Meiji Restoration.

So, we shall profess beyond class interest: the only effective way to the Social Democratic Party is suppression that Bismarck practiced or slaughter of all being pregnant babies by physical power like Russia practices. Without Bismarck's suppression, the German Emperor would have deposed from the throne ten years ago, and disgusting voice 'Long live the Kaiser!' would be heard in today's Germany. The czar was required the constitution at almost the same time with Japan, but he oppressed the request, and has keeps on his palace. The mother of despotism lives as she likes. –Those in power are more evil than doctors everywhere, but they are much wiser than those who are proud of being professors in universities. As Russia fixes people to the stage that they cannot understand revolutionary movements, today's government persecutes the enlightening movement at first and oppresses speech very wisely. And see, a foot of oppression tramples on what is called social policy that those who advocate the theory of union between the Shogunate and the Court. –If persecution is like this, it is magnificent and splendid. Bismarck's social policy is not what Rostrum Socialists can guess.

History orders us to declare this: Bismarck's social policy was succeeded in accordance with his tyranny by strong power. And it failed in accordance with compromise by strong power of the Social Democratic Party. The Compulsory Insurance Act that Rostrum Socialists cite an instance of social policy was not what he enacted positively either was his true intention. It was a result that strong power of the Socialist Party won him to some degree and a triumph. Though he was defeated by it, he swung a hammer of suppression and fought with the Social Democratic Party. –But he was defeated again. Why Louis the 16th was forced to rose up a guillotine surrounded by children and a disorderly crowd was because he was 'a sheep' who was deeply sympathetic man. See today's Russia. She was surrounded by the large revolution in the whole country, none the less she well keeps herself as if an isolated island kept itself on the big wave of the ocean. Napoleon saw a crowd who charged to the Castle of Louis the 16th and whispered this: why doesn't he open hostilities once and drive them away? Even if nothing can be done about it at last, the only way that those in power can practice is persecution. Those who kneel down before them and explain advantages and disadvantages insult their rights. We declare this in the name of scientific: persecution is interest and the right of the strong.

Namely, this declaration shows that insistence of the Socialist Party that persecution to socialism makes it prosperous in reverse is fault, and what is called social reform that Rostrum Socialists insist on as the theory of union between the Shogunate and the Court is worthless. Social reform forces lower class what upper class thinks as profits of

the whole society. We know that social policy of upper class is based on class feelings that ignore the reality from a sense of sin that they wholly act only for their interest. But upper class cannot escape from the situation that their knowledge, feelings, or any other ones are made in accordance with class like their looks show their class beauty, unless they are those who are distinguished specially—for example, like Tolstoy, or an anarchist Kropotkin. Even though they act in accordance with their conscience, it is not sure that their social reforms always bring lower class profits.

So, we declare this: it is worthless that that the monarch practices people who don't understand social democracy to social policy from top. True nation-state that has personality is not produced by a dream of the Court in the *Taika* era. The Meiji Revolution brought about because the national consciousness developed and expanded to the degree that the whole people were conscious of the purpose existence and evolution of the eternal existence of the state, and nation-state was produced by it. Like that, needless to say, social democracy is not established by an Imperial Descript. No, as it is never realized in government formed by cliques of particular fiefs or a party cabinet, even if a few far-sighted members of today's Socialist Party form a cabinet, it goes without saying that social democracy cannot be practiced on the level of today's people. Whether the power class leans socialism a little or they strictly drive it out would affect realization of socialism but historically, the power class has not proposed to become extinct for themselves willingly. And, seeing from ethics that argues that conscience is made in accordance with class, we cannot find reason that confirms that. Each class has each different interest and class knowledge, class feeling, and class conscience (see the Section 2, *Ethical ideal of socialism*, and Section 3, *The theory of biological evolution and social philosophy* that we have previously explained).

—Things are like these, so conflict between one class conscience and the other class conscience is the same that in the age that religions and morals were different with the community, the state had no choice but to decide conflict of regional conscience by wars. Class conflict cannot be solved other than decision by strong power based on legal wars. Since this history and ethics of class conflict are not understood, people misunderstand the Meiji Revolution as the process that feudal lords returned their political power and lands from a viewpoint of Reverence and loyalty to the Emperor. And Rostrum Socialists argue according to the same logic that we should require today's economic Daimyōsthe to return right of production, lands and productive organs to the state—some people argue 'to the Emperor'—(Yamaji Aizan³², who the leader of the National Socialist Party

³² He was a journalist and writer in the Meiji and Taishō era (1864-1917). He wielded a facile pen as a journalist and excellent essays on history and literary criticisms. Especially, critical biographies such as Ashikaga Takauji, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, Tokugawa Ieyasu, and so on, are famous.

is a remarkably example of this argument in the point that he is a barbarous historian). Suppose that you thoughtlessly lectured morals to loyal retainers in the last days of Tokugawa Shogunate and confronted them against nobles who constantly shut the Emperors up, made them abdicate the Throne compulsory, and oppressed them. Nobles who had had lands and political power gotten by rights of the strong would think that those who would insisted on 'return of them' would infringe on their rights and Tokugawa Family would strictly continue oppression even now. The law of nature has no false or useless one. As the state goes to war against the other state that believes a different religion or moral and decides conflict of regional conscience, democratic conscience of loyal retainers attempted assassination and war against conscience of noble class, and overthrew them. The economic revolution only decides things by strong power based on legal wars. Although we explain principles of Buddhism to cannibals, we cannot replace conscience made in cannibals in one night. Like that, if we leave national socialists who think that it is enough to keep on appealing return of the right of production to conscience of capitalists and landlords as today's noble class to take their own course, social democracy would not be realized until the earth would collide with a comet; it is after the whole things are enlightened. Democratic Revolution of the Meiji Restoration explained economic evolution of lower class based on for 300 years peace and evolved theory of rights by classics and Confucianism, and named noble class a plunderer and overthrew them after long enlightening movement. They were rightful claimants in the early days of the medieval times but only became plunderers by social evolution. This social evolution earnestly means enlightenment of the society by evolved theory of rights. Until today, it was not plunder at all but natural right to individuals owned capitals and lands by individualistic rights of labors. But once 'capitals' by steam and electricity annex other small capitalists and petty independent farmers who cannot counter capitals of moneylenders, it clearly got to go against today's conception of justice of an ideal of individualism. If the whole society awakens up the evolved theory of rights by the enlightening movement of social democracy, economic nobles shall be named plunderers and shall have to be overthrown.

Since this law of social evolution is not understood, the Yamaji faction says that we should use the power class like the Meiji Revolution. Also, some people insist that socialism is too early, since economic evolution in the present Japan is very low stage. Everything in the world is decided by 'power'. The society moves by strong power. Those who won the fight are called 'the government army' but those who were defeated are called 'traitors' in spite of their principles. All virtue and vice are decided by class conflict. Those who understand social democracy truly, make up your mind: social

democrats are criminals today and upper class has the right and duty to punish them in accordance with class conscience! The theory of evolution does not permit to assume dual confrontation of absolute virtue and vice in the world. Even in ethics, it is impossible to assume absolute vanity. Virtue and vice depend on evolution, so they are produced because the degree of evolution are different. What was regarded as virtue in the ancient times got to be regarded as vice when the times entered into the medieval times; what was regarded as virtue in the medieval times got to be regarded as vice when the times entered into the modern times. Upper class in the society is most evolved person in the point that they are regarded as an ideal of lower class and as a goal to reach, that is, an object of imitation. So, from the theory that we have given an outline, we can say that upper class has the right and duty to regard class virtue of not evolved lower class as crimes in the name of the state and punish them (future science of criminal law should be organized according to this sense. See the Section 2, *Ethical ideal of socialism*).

However, evolution of conscience is a question of degree; it is true of every individual. Today's what is called socialists inherit dogmatism of individualism and rather deny the state that is political system of the society, but when they reason social democracy by analogy at once and have a showdown by conscience that does not respect individual freedom like against self-appointed socialists, nothing can be done about it. If the national organ behaves for individual selfishness against social selfishness that he or she is conscious of as a part of the state in the contemporary of the sovereignty of the state, his or her speech and action are clearly invalid jurisprudentially. If he or she behaves according to order of his or her conscience, his or her behave is evolved than the above-mentioned, but it goes without saying that it is a jurisprudential crime along with conscience of not evolved class. However, these are ideological arguments of jurisprudence; needless to say, we have no way to probe people's inmost heart whether the national organ obeyed the order of conscience or cannot restrain its own selfishness. Especially, since many of them act in accordance with class conscience, once all their speech and action have jurisprudential effects, social democrats must think things very strictly. See everything calmly. True wicked people are very rare in the world and all of them only behave in accordance with their own conscience. We don't absolutely understand that upper class that oppressed the Socialist Party goes against his own conscience and obeys his own vice. They act in accordance with the present virtue and social democrats in accordance with future virtue. In this way, all things are decided by strong power. The strong power depends on social influence (you mustn't jump to a conclusion that today's strong power means physical power because physical power in

the medieval times was simply collected social influence). Social influence replaces the old with the new in accordance with social evolution. –So, persecution can be defined as all means that the power class recognizes the existence and oppresses speech and action that they regarded that they hurts existence and evolution of the society not to become social influence. Human beings don't have freedom by nature; nor have equality. Freedom and equality can exist because conscience is made as conscience that respect freedom and equality in the society where approves of freedom and in the country where makes equality a principle.

So, even in the age of social democracy, individual freedom is not absolute as individualists assume. Suppose that you walk the main street naked. The society cannot respect the freedom. Suppose that you set fire to a house, or commit adultery openly. And suppose that you plunder lands and productive organs of the state, and revive the system of private ownership. Needless to say, these freedoms shall be oppressed by strong power of social democracy (morals shall become instinct, individual selfishness shall get not to conflict with social ones, therefore, individual freedom shall get not to conflict with other individuals or the society of an aggregate of individuals). All things are decided by strong power. In the age when the state went to war against the other state that believes a different religion or moral and decided conflict of regional conscience, were unintelligent people who said that fierce oppression reinforced the enemy? The Socialist Party in the present Japan fears strong power of the power class and argues that persecution reinforces influence of socialism, but we have no choice but to say that they are very ignorant about tactics in legal wars. All things are based on the enlightening movement. All things are decided by strong power.

If conscience of the power class thinks that social democracy goes against purpose of existence and evolution of the society, persecution of social democracy is the right and duty from a viewpoint of jurisprudence.

Hence, if you understand conflict of class conscience in this legal war, you shall understand that it is a side issue how capitalists and landlords shall be treated after social democracy. We never want to argue whether we should confiscate properties from them or should give them public loans instead—whether the public loan should be free of interest or carrying annual interest—because this is not based on 'ism' but an argument of a policy. You shall understand the above-mentioned. However we make innumerable conditions that put upper class at their ease today and escape from a slander such as an extreme or a radical that show a general aversion against social democracy, we cannot expect economic Daimyōs the theory of loyalists that they propose return of the right of production for themselves. An 'ism' should be propagandized as the

principles, so the theory does not permit an exception at all. A criticism such as an extreme or a radical expresses an individual character that holds the 'ism' or the strength of social influence; an 'ism' itself must carry through to point out its principle as a theory as thoroughly as possible. The first and last movement of social democracy is simply the enlightening movement and a theory of a policy is a temporary phenomenon in accordance with the situation of enlightened social influence. Namely, the problem how capitalists and landlords shall be treated is entirely useless for today's social democrats. Of course, a policy is different from in accordance with times and regions and, for example, in the time of the French Revolution, priests and nobles were confiscated their properties. But it was a false of a policy because in the age of individualism, once they lost their private properties, they fell down lower class in the society and degenerated at once. In addition, individualistic theory couldn't explain why the state made mechanically had the proper right to confiscate their unjust properties. So, replacement of lands of nobles with public loans in Germany and Japan was not only convenient policy to avoid social disturbances but also could be justified by the theory of the system of private ownership.

But the revolution of social democracy means to own jointly private properties jurisprudentially divided to individuals (actually, them of upper class of the society occupied by economic nobles) by all parts of the society. It is quite different from individualistic revolution that divides private properties of upper class of the society jurisprudentially occupied by upper class into individuals of all parts of the society, and intends to realize equality of private properties. History doesn't repeat itself. If you intend to follow policies in the age of individualism after socialism is realized and all individuals become owners of common properties as parts of the society, you shall show being ignorant of a political science. If social democracy does not have truth or people are not enlightened since the times do not evolve, today's plundering class shall leave its traces because of a principle of class conflict of not having strong power being irrelevant of an argument of a policy. Today when nothing is needed other than the enlightening movement of an 'ism' itself, it is only indiscreet to dispute whether an argument of a policy in the age of individualism should be repeated on socialism or not (those who called themselves socialists now are thoroughly individualists in the age of the French Revolution). See people taken to the battle field. They are being confiscated even their lives by exercise of the sovereignty of the society, 'for the state'.

Of course, we don't think individuals as the final goal like thoughts in the age of individualism as the name of a socialist shows. But if you know that individual lives cannot be converted into alternatives even in today's laws, today when the sovereignty

of the society confiscates even exalted individual lives as sacrifices for the state, what jurisprudence does prevent the sovereignty of the society to manage lands and capitals that it has had by 'the supreme ownership' for its interest of existence and evolution of the? Macculloch³³ understands nothing except for economics, so he said that workers are machines which were made by long times and great hardships according to materialism. They would be similar to machines to some degree in the point that their operations support fathers, mothers, wives, and children every year. If so, under today's laws that have the freedom to use living machines by the sovereignty of the society for interest of the society in a season when they operate most—that is, a term of conscription and to send them to the battle field if need be, and to break down machines themselves, what right does prevent all non-living productive organs that are the result of plunder of capitals that the state use them by her ownership for her interest? Today the system of private ownership, pitiful productive organs leave their wives who are inferior to in an aspect of labors or their children who cannot work at all, don't refer to a dirty word such as compensation, and are sacrificed smiling. Nationalization of lands and capitals is not sacrifice for capitalists and landlords. It makes them maintain their positions and become joint owners of public properties along with the whole society that has evolved to the position. It does not fall their wives and children into lower class that has no way to work like today. It brings greatly economic evolution through to manage public economy together and make them become joint owners of social properties. They are enough to be social influence by the enlightening movement under purpose and an ideal of existence and evolution of the society. Although *Kazoku* is recognized as rightful today the system of private ownership, when social communism shall be realized, remaining economic patriarchal monarchs as owners of public loans shall be the same that human beings shall have tails of beasts. Once Christ said, 'Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's'³⁴. All movements of social democracy are only like this. –Nothing belongs to Caesar in the world. Render unto God the things that are God's; and unto Society the things that are Society's!

Social democracy intends to overthrow economic nobles to reach economic contents of the state to an ideal by the sovereignty of the state that regard all of people as the state that is a legal ideal after the Meiji Revolution and people's government. But it doesn't deny the state like the French Revolution in the age of individualism; it only intends to express social influence united under the truth as the national will by the national

³³ Perhaps, he was a British economist, Macculloch in the first half of 19th century (1789-1864).

³⁴ This phrase is seen in Chapter 22, section 21 in The Gospel according to St. Matthew of the New Testament.

organ. And the class conflict means a legal war.