

THE FIFTY YEARS
OF
THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF JAPAN

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THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF JAPAN**

**THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF JAPAN**

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CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF JAPAN

The Ruling System in Japan in the Days of the Party's Founding

Succeeding to the tradition of progress and revolution of Japan, NIHON KYOSAN-TO (Communist Party of Japan) was founded on July 15 1922 by vanguards of the working class of Japan.

Japan had become one of the greatest imperialistic powers of the world by then and the Japanese people beginning with the workers and peasants were under the Tenno-system power's barbarous rule and the landlords' and monopoly capital's ruthless exploitation and plunder and at a terribly low living standard and in a status deprived of rights. Workers were exposed to ruthless exploitation by monopoly capitalism—low wages and long working hours similar to those of colonial countries and without protections by law. In the rural areas, too, most of the peasants including tenant farmers were in extreme destitution under the semi-feudal, parasitic landlord system's rule and monopoly capital's plunder. Women were in a status deprived of rights, socially more discriminated than men and tortured by the pressure of semi-feudal patriarchal system.

The absolutist Tenno-system was the most powerful bulwark for monopoly capital's and big-landowners' exploitation and suppression of the people. The Tenno-system state machinery with the Tenno at its top had unlimited, absolute power, and barbarous military and police rule representing the interests of monopoly capital and big landlords was executed in the name of the Tenno.

After the promulgation of "the Imperial Constitution of Great Japan" in 1889, the national Diet was established. However, the Tenno held the power to appoint and dismiss government officials beginning with cabinet ministers, to declare war, make peace, conclude treaties, and the prerogative of supreme command of the army

and the navy, the troops of the Tenno, was in the hands of the Tenno, leaving no room for the Government and the Diet to participate in them. Trials were also staged in the name of the Tenno. The cabinet was appointed by the Tenno, bore the responsibility only to the Tenno. It did not bear any responsibility to the Diet. As for the enactment of laws, it was specified only that "all the laws shall obtain the approval of the Imperial Diet" (Article 37 of the Imperial Constitution), and the Diet had no legislative power in a genuine sense of the word. Even bills approved by the Diet could not be made laws unless they were approved by the Tenno and the Privy Council. On the other hand, the Tenno could promulgate laws freely in form of Imperial Ordinances independently of the Diet.

Moreover the Diet was based on a two-chamber system, and it was only the House of Representatives that members were elected by election. The House of Peers was composed of the representatives of Imperial Families and peers and members specially appointed by the Tenno. The right to vote was granted only to male taxpayers of 25 years of age and over, who paid more than a fixed amount of tax. Even after the revisions of the Election Law in 1900 and 1919, eligible voters accounted only for 5.6% of the entire population. As the result, the seats of the House of Representatives were completely monopolized by such bourgeois and landowner parties as SEIYU-KAI and KENSEI-KAI. Although these parties held different views around individual home and foreign policies, then and there, or around questions on the extension of the Diet's power, they took the completely agreed stand on the whole in supporting the Tenno system and aggressive wars and in defending the interests of monopoly capital and big landowners. "The Imperial Diet" was, to borrow Engels' words in characterizing the Reichstag, nothing but "a leaf of the fig" to conceal the absolutist despotism of the Tenno system.

The people's rights and freedom were stipulated in the "Constitution" for the sake of formality, but all of them were only admitted "within the framework of laws". On the other hand, the basic rights of the people such as the freedom of speech, thought, the press, assembly and association were severely suppressed by "the Criminal Law" (1880), "the Law concerning Assembly and Political Association" (1890), "the Public Peace Police Law" (1900) since the very beginning of the Tenno-system rule. Under these circumstances it was cruelly suppressed as "crimes" to organize trade

unions or peasants' organizations and even to oppose to the ruling classes' exploitation and plunder by means of strikes, assemblies, demonstration parades, propaganda activities.

Especially the Tenno was regarded as "a personal god" and as "sacred and inviolable" (Article 3 of the Imperial Constitution), and it was most severely punished as the "crime of national importance" (highest treason) to criticize or oppose the Tenno system. Not only criticism against the Tenno, but even criticism against Imperial Families, Shinto shrines, imperial mausoleums was entirely forbidden, and those who violated the bans were charged with "lèse majesté" and imposed severe punishments as their action was "a treason to which heed would not be given by the heavens and the earth"; and "their disgrace and dishonour should extend to the remotest generations and could not be wiped away".

The rapid development of Japanese capitalism since Meiji era had been characterized by ruthless exploitation of the workers and peasants at home and aggression and plunder in Korea and China. Burglarious wars of aggression that Japan provoked, beginning with the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), were all conducted in the name of the Tenno, and those who opposed wars were severely suppressed. The people were unconditionally rounded up to wars as "loyal subjects" of the Tenno and were forced to make all sacrifices whatever.

The Beginning of the Socialist Movement in Japan

The founding of the Communist Party of Japan was succession to the progressive and revolutionary tradition of the Japanese people who had fought for the people's freedom and better living and a peaceful and democratic society, under the military and police rule of the Tenno system.

The struggles of the peasants and the urban poor against exploitation and suppression under feudalism of Tokugawa Dynasty became one of the driving forces which overthrew the Tokugawa Shogunate to pave the way for the development of Japanese capitalism. The people's struggle did not stop even after the Tenno-system Government's rule was established through the Meiji Restoration. In particular, the movement for democratic rights

fought on national basis from 1874 to 1884 in combination with the struggle of the peasants against heavy taxes and the conscription system imposed by the Tenno-system Government was the first progressive and democratic movement against despotism of the Tenno system. Defying ferocious persecutions and holding openly the banner of "sovereignty resting with the people", the Japanese people fought in demand for the establishment of a Constitution by the people, the establishment of a one-chamber Diet by universal suffrage, unconditional guarantee of the people's freedom of thought, assembly and association in the movement for democratic rights. Although this movement was defeated by bloody suppression by the despotic government, there is no room for doubt that the struggle, which resolutely defended freedom and rights and lives of the people, was one of the traditions preceding a democratic revolution of Japan. That the Tenno-system Government had to promise the people the establishment of the "Constitution" and the inauguration of the "Diet" was one of the outcomes brought by the movement for democratic rights.

The struggle for the people's freedom and rights following the movement for democratic rights started with the growth of the working class in Japan. The Japanese workers had, since long ago, begun to rise up for spontaneous struggles against barbarous exploitation and rule by the Tenno-system Government and the ruling classes and it was in 1897 after the Sino-Japanese War that the first self-reliant trade union in Japan entitled "RODO KUMIAI KISEIKAI" (Association for the Realization of Trade Union) was formed under the call of Sen Katayama, Fusataro Takano, etc. The Tenno-system Government subjected the nascent trade union movement to all-out pressure by strictly restricting freedom of assembly and association and enacting the "Public Peace Police Law" (1900) which practically prohibited the trade union activities by regarding strike action as crime. The Imperial Diet composed of bourgeois and landowners' parties such as KENSEI-TO (later, SEIYUKAI) and KENSEI-HONTO unanimously supported this law of suppression. In this way, the trade union movement of Japan had to go into the struggle for the people's democratic freedom from the beginning of its birth.

With the birth of the trade union movement, socialistic ideas and social movements in European countries began to be introduced into Japan; in 1898, "SHAKAISHUGI KENKYUKAI" (Society for the

Study of Socialism) was formed by Sen Katayama, Shusui Kotoku, Isoo Abe, etc. It developed in 1900 into "SHAKAISHUGI KYOKAI" (Association for Socialism) which aimed at a socialist movement, and in May 1901, "SHAKAI-MINSHU-TO" (Social-Democratic Party) which was the first socialist party in Japan was formed. Together with the 8-point "ideal" demands including "a total abolition of the class system", the declaration of the party put up the 28-point action programme, in which they called for the enforcement of a universal suffrage law, the abolition of the House of Peers, disarmament, the abolition of the Public Peace Police Law, the enactment of a trade union law and a tenant protection law, etc. For the reason of democratic programme of the party, the Tenno-system Government immediately invoked the Public Peace Police Law to ban its formation.

Socialists in those days were strongly influenced by utopian socialism or anarchism but they gradually approached Marxism. "My Socialism" (by Sen Katayama in 1903), "The Gist of Socialism" (by Shusui Kotoku in 1903), "The Essentials of Socialism" (by Umpei Morichika, Toshihiko Sakai in 1907), etc. were of important significance as enlightening socialist books written by Japanese socialists. In 1904, the "Communist Manifesto" of Marx and Engels was translated and introduced in "HEIMIN SHIMBUN" (Commoners' News) issued by S. Kotoku and T. Sakai, and in 1906 Engels' "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific" in a magazine "SHAKAISHUGI KENKYU" (Study of Socialism).

The socialist movement took a firm stand against the wars of aggression launched by Japanese imperialism. In 1904, the Tenno-system Government and the ruling classes entered into a war with tsarist Russia over the spoliation of China and Korea with the support and aid of British and U. S. imperialism. Sen Katayama, Shusui Kotoku, Toshihiko Sakai and others courageously stood in the forefront of the struggle against the war, calling upon the Japanese people to join hands with the Russian people to fight against their respective despotic governments. Sen Katayama, in particular, attended, as a representative of Japan, the Congress of the Second International held in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, in August 1904, shook hands with G. V. Plekhanov, a Russian representative, on the platform and addressed the Congress to oppose this war jointly and to overthrow the despotic governments of the two countries. The actions of these people marked a brilliant page of

proletarian internationalism in the history of the working class movement of Japan and the world.

After the Russo-Japanese War, the discontent of the people's masses, upon whom the sacrifice of the war of aggression was imposed, burst into a rage and the struggles of the workers and peasants showed a new upsurge. The strike struggles of the workers took an unheard-of large scale and fierceness in shipyards, arsenals and coal and metal mines. Particularly the struggles at Ashio and Besshi Copper Mines in 1907, developed into such large-scale ones that the troops were called out to quell them.

In this situation, NIHON SHAKAI-TO (Japan Socialist Party) was formed in February 1906 by Toshihiko Sakai and others. From the experience of the suppression of SHAKAI-MINSHU-TO, NIHON SHAKAI-TO started without a party programme and only with a party rule in which it "would stand for socialism within the limit of domestic laws". Before long, however, antagonism within the party over the movement line became serious between the "parliamentary policy group" of Sen Katayama, Tetsuji Tazoe and the like who maintained the acquisition of universal suffrage by the political movement of the working class and the realization of socialism through it, and the anarchistic "direct action group" of Shusui Kotoku, Sakae Osugi, Hitoshi Yamakawa who insisted upon revolution by general strikes of the mass of workers and denied their participation in Diet and elections. The second congress of the party held in February of the following year, amended the party rule to the effect that "the aim of the party was to put socialism into practice". For this reason, the Tenno-system Government prohibited its formation. The assertions of the two groups reflected immaturity of the socialist movement in those days, which had just emerged from the stage of theoretical enlightenment to that of the practical movement for socialism. "The parliamentary policy group" exerted efforts to organize the working class and to develop the mass political movement such as a universal suffrage movement but understood neither the true nature of the Tenno system nor the powerlessness of the "Imperial Diet" under it. Therefore, they had fallen, so to speak, into "parliamentarism without parliament". On the other hand, the "direct action group" had lost ties with the mass movement while rejecting the illusion of the "Imperial Diet", and sought means to attain their purposes in adventurist action of the few.

Later, the “direct action group” of Shusui Kotoku and others became further inclined to adventurist assertion such as individual terrorism instead of organizing class mass struggles. Taking advantage of this weakness, the Tenno-system Government framed up the so-called “TAIGYAKU-JIKEN” (lèse majesté) in 1910 by charging them with a crime of plotting for the assassination of the Tenno, and put 12 persons including Shusui Kotoku and Umpei Morichika to death, and sentenced the other 12 to penal servitude for life, to nip the socialist movement in its bud. This large-scale ferocious suppression caused a vacillation and setback among socialists, but Sen Katayama and a few comrades did not stop organizing the workers’ masses even during the period called “the winter period”. From the end of 1911 to the beginning of 1912, they gave substantial guidance to the big tram-car strike in Tokyo. S. Katayama was arrested in the progress of the struggle, compelled to go to the United States after his release from prison, but made efforts from abroad for the development of the revolutionary movement of Japan. Toshihiko Sakai and others ran BAIBUNSHA and waited for a fresh upsurge of the movement by making efforts not to put out the fire of socialism.

Russian October Socialist Revolution and the Upsurge of Liberation Struggles of the Japanese People

In the progress of World War I, in Russia, where contradictions of world capitalism were concentrated, the October Socialist Revolution won a victory in 1917 following the bourgeois democratic revolution. The October Revolution opened up a path for a new period in the history of the world: a period of struggle between two opposing social systems, socialism and capitalism; a period of socialist revolution as well as revolution for national liberation; a period of the collapse of imperialism; a period in which the people of each country step out for socialism one after another and socialism and communism march for victories on a world scale.

Revolutions broke out in Germany and Hungary, and there was an upsurge of the revolutionary movements for national liberation in China and Korea, as well. After the collapse of the Second

International that had fallen to take the stand of social reformism and chauvinist nationalism, having lost the revolutionary spirit in the early days, vanguard parties of the new Leninist type—communist parties—were born one after another in various countries. On March 1, 1919, the Communist International (Comintern) was formed under the leadership of Lenin. It was established as a unified international organization with Marxism-Leninism as its guiding principle, and based on democratic centralism. The communist party of each country worked as a section of the Comintern and the Executive Committee elected at the world congress of the Comintern gave guidance to the world-level movements as well as activities of the communist parties of respective countries. This organizational structure and activity method were historically necessary in the condition that the communist party of each country was just founded, theoretically immature, had poor experience and had weak ties with the masses.

While social democratic parties of European countries betrayed the working class and revolution in the midst of the revolutionary crisis after World War I, and became a bulwark to help the prolongation of the life of capitalism, the Comintern resolutely defended through the cause of socialism and revolution and made a great contribution to the founding and strengthening communist parties in the world. Although the Comintern could not avoid making this or that mistake in its 24 years' activities up to 1943, the year of the decision of its dissolution, it, in spite of being exposed to the attacks of the world forces of reaction and war filled with hatred, played a great historic role as the central leading body, in the movements for democracy and socialism in capitalist countries, in the anti-imperialist and national-liberation movements in colonial and dependent countries and in the movement of the peace and democratic forces of the world against war of aggression and fascism and for peace and democracy.

Under the Terauchi Cabinet with a leader of the military as prime minister, Japanese imperialism provoked a war of intervention against the young Soviet regime and dispatched troops to Siberia in August 1918 in conspiracy with imperialist powers of the United States, Great Britain and France. However, the victory of the October Revolution and the upsurge of the revolutionary movements the world over, also exerted great influence upon the working people of Japan who had been distressed by the rule and exploitation by

the absolutist Tenno-system, semi-feudal parasitic landowners and monopoly capitalists.

In 1918, the "Rice Riot" which broke out when fishermen's wives of Uotsumachi, Toyama Prefecture, aroused themselves in demand "Give us rice", instantly spread to 43 prefectures of the country with several million people's participation. The "Rice Riot" was of spontaneous character due to the absence of a vanguard party of the working class to guide the struggle, and was brutally suppressed by the police and troops of the Tenno-system Government. As the result, however, the Terauchi Cabinet, the instigator of the dispatch of troops to Siberia, was forced to resign en bloc.

The "Rice Riot" made the working class and the people aware of the strength of the masses and the necessity of a revolutionary class organization and became the first step to develop the revolutionary movements broadly. The working class rapidly grew alongside of the industrial development during World War I; its number reached almost 3 millions after the War. From 1919, the year that followed the "Rice Riot", to 1921, the workers rose to the struggle for a 8-hour working system, higher wages and the recognition of trade unions in various parts of the country. Unheard-of large-scale strikes were fought in Kawasaki Shipyard (September 1919), Ashio and Kamaishi Mines (November 1919), Yawata Iron-Steel Works (February 1920), Mitsubishi and Kawasaki Shipyards (both in Kobe, June to July 1921), etc. In the upsurge of these struggles, organization of trade unions made a rapid development and "YUAI-KAI" (Friendship Society) came to play the role of their national centre. YUAI-KAI was originally formed in 1912 as a friendly organization to promote mutual aids of the workers and labour-capital collaboration. In the progress of the struggles of the workers, however, it gradually lost its first character and changed its name from YUAI-KAI to NIHON RODO SODOMEI (RODO SODOMEI or SODOMEI, Japan General Confederation of Labour) in 1921 to clarify its character as a national organization of trade unions. The first May Day was held at Ueno, Tokyo in 1920.

In the rural areas, too, after the "Rice Riot", tenant unions were formed in various places in the midst of the nationwide development of tenancy disputes, and in April 1922, NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (NICHINO, Japan Peasants' Union), as the first national organization of the mass of peasants was formed. In March of the same year, the inhabitants of unliberated BURAKU (hamlets) formed

ZENKOKU SUIHEI-SHA (SUIHEI-SHA, National Levelling League) in demand for the liberation of BURAKU.

In the field of the political struggle, too, the democratic movement for universal suffrage made a fresh development with advanced students, intellectuals and workers as its main force, under the influence of the thought "MINPONSHUGI"—a sort of democracy—of Sakuzo Yoshino, Ikuo Oyama and others. Progressive organizations such as "REIMEI-KAI", "SHINJIN-KAI", "KENSETSUSHA-DOMEI", etc. which mainly rallied intellectuals and students were formed one after another. In 1922, "GAKUSEI RENGOKAI" (GAKUREN, Federation of Students) was organized as a national liaison body of the student movement, and developed into "GAKUSEI SHAKAIKAGAKU RENGOKAI" (GAKUREN, Students' Social Science Federation) in 1924.

The Public Peace Police Law imposed especially discriminative oppression upon women by prohibiting them from joining any political association or attending political speech meetings. In opposition to such oppression, a movement of women grew. In 1920, "SHIN FUJIN-KYOKAI" (New Women Society) of Raicho Hiratsuka, Fusae Ichikawa and others was formed mainly by bourgeois intellectuals. In 1921, Kikue Yamakawa, Magara Sakai and others organized "SEKIRAN-KAI" (Red Surging Society) to carry out the socialist women's movement.

In the upsurge of movements of various strata of the people, and movements in various fields it became an extremely pressing task to form a vanguard party of the proletariat, which would be able to link the labour movement with socialism and to lead the liberation struggle of the Japanese people.

Against the background of the influence of the October Revolution and the growth of the Japanese people's struggle, socialist movements became lively again. These movements were not a mere revival of the pre-"winter period" movements, but characterized by an important feature that a new current intended to be based upon the position of revolutionary Marxism, having acquainted with the October Revolution led by Lenin. In December 1920, "NIHON SHAKAISHUGI DOMEI" (Socialist League of Japan) was formed, which was a mixed federation of socialists and trade union activists of all shades, including anarchists and social reformists to say nothing of those who took the position of Communism and was not able to carry out any work beyond general propaganda activity on socialism, and therefore, was not an organization capable of taking the political

leadership for the working class. The Tenno-system Government, however, ordered even this organization to dissolve itself in May of the following year under the Public Peace Police Law. The experience of the formation and dissolution of NIHON SHAKAISHUGI DOMEI again taught the people that, for the advance of the liberation struggle of the Japanese people, the establishment of not a mixed brigade composed of miscellaneous socialistic currents, but a revolutionary party based clearly on scientific socialism—Marxism-Leninism—would be really necessary, and that there were yet no conditions for legal existence of such a political party under the absolutist Tenno-system's rule.

After the dissolution of NIHON SHAKAISHUGI DOMEI, those who took the revolutionary Marxist position formed various Communist groups to start the activity for the formation of a vanguard party based on Marxism-Leninism. Since those days sharp controversies went on between the Communist current and the anarchist current (anarcho-syndicalism) of Sakae Osugi and others over their attitude toward the October Revolution and their lines for the trade union movement and the superiority of the Communist current in the movement for socialism gradually became clear.

The Founding of the Communist Party of Japan and Its Draft Programme

The Communist Party of Japan was founded on July 15, 1922 by rallying Communist groups and individuals. Prior to this, the Communist groups of Japan dispatched Kyuichi Tokuda, Kiyoshi Takase and others as representatives to the Far Eastern Peoples' Congress (Congress of Communist Revolutionary Organizations of the Far Eastern Region) held from January to February of that year at the call of the Comintern. The participation in this Congress and the assistance of the Comintern and Sen Katayama played an important role in promoting the formation of the Communist Party of Japan. The Communist Party of Japan was organized as an illegal party to the government and the ruling classes. Under the conditions of those days it was unavoidable for a genuine, revolutionary party to continue its activity without being destroyed by the Tenno-system Government and to lead the people's struggle.

With the founding of the Communist Party of Japan, the working

class and the people of Japan possessed, for the first time, the headquarters of the revolutionary movement which had truly revolutionary and scientific socialist doctrine—Marxism-Leninism—as its theoretical basis and which would dauntlessly cut open the path for the revolution of the people in Japan by linking itself with the struggle of the working class of the world. Needless to say, only extremely limited works of Marx, Engels and Lenin had been introduced into Japan in those days and there were still numerous restrictions on the political, theoretical advance of the revolutionary movement. Nonetheless that the banner of scientific socialism was hoisted by the Communist Party of Japan as the guiding theory of the liberation movement of the Japanese people meant that the Japanese working class and people reached the only scientific world-outlook which is the comprehensive compilation of the knowledge of the mankind and was of decisive significance surpassing the historic restrictions in those days in the development of the world outlook and thought of the people, and further, in Japanese history. The founding of the Communist Party of Japan was indeed an epoch-making event in the history of the liberation movement of the Japanese working class and people.

The Inaugural Congress of the Party was held at a dwelling house in Datecho, Shibuya, Tokyo, adopted a provisional Constitution, elected Central Committee and unanimously resolved the affiliation to the Comintern. Toshihiko Sakai was elected the first Chairman of the Central Committee. Major members of the Party at the time of and immediately after the founding of the Party included the following: Shoichi Ichikawa, Shigeki Ueda, Goichiro Kokuryo, Sanzo Nosaka, Kyuichi Tokuda, Kenzo Yamamoto, Masanosuke Watanabe, Kenji Kawata, Zentarō Taniguchi, Kenta Kaneko, Tadahiko Kawauchi, Kiyoshi Takase, Kanson Arahata, Hitoshi Yamakawa, Katsumaro Akamatsu, Tsunao Inomata, Eizo Kondo, Manabu Sano, Sadachika Nabeyama, and Sadaki Takahashi. Among them, there were those who dropped out of the Party or were expelled from the Party for the reason of their betrayal to the revolutionary movement.

The Party dispatched Kiyoshi Takase, Tadahiko Kawauchi to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern held in November of that year to report the establishment of the Communist Party of Japan. The Congress approved it and our Party was officially recognized as the Communist Party of Japan, Japan Section of the Comintern.

Sen Katayama was elected by the Congress member of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. The Congress set up a Committee on the Japanese Questions and a draft Programme of the Communist Party of Japan was drawn up with Sen Katayama's participation.

The Party held its Second Party Congress in Ichikawa City, Chiba Prefecture in February 1923, and convened an extraordinary Congress in Shakujii, Tokyo, in March of that year to discuss the draft Programme. The decision on the Programme was carried over after the Congress for further discussion at the Programme Committee, but deliberation of the draft Programme was not completed due to the first arrest of Party members in June of that year.

Although deliberation of the draft Programme was not completed and many incorrect or weak points did exist in it in reflection of the historic conditions of those days, the draft Programme had a great, historical significance as the first programmatic document of the Communist Party of Japan which applied Marxism-Leninism to the situation of Japan and indicated the direction and the goal of the Japanese revolutionary movement.

While pointing out the development of Japanese capitalism, the draft attached importance to the structure of Japan's state power and the role of feudal remnants in its social system, and clearly laid down the revolutionary perspective of accomplishing the bourgeois democratic revolution whose important goal was to "overthrow the Imperial Government and abolish the Imperial System" and which would be followed by an advance toward a socialist revolution. This was the first time that the revolutionary movement of Japan had a scientific strategic line based on the Marxist analysis of the situation.

The draft Programme gave the 22-point action programme as immediate demands. It was also the first time in the history of the liberation struggle of the Japanese people that the banners of democracy and peace, of the defence of the working people's interests and of international solidarity were held as a clear, consistent political programme.

The draft Programme firstly clearly laid down as the demands in the field of politics the following consistent demands for political democracy: the abolition of the imperial system, the abolition of the House of Peers, universal suffrage of all men and women over 18 years of age, freedom of association, the press, assembly and strike

of the workers and the abolition of the existing armed forces, police, gendarmerie and secret police. This indicates that the Communist Party of Japan was a correct successor of the revolutionary, democratic tradition since the movement for democratic rights and aimed at democratic politics really based on the people's sovereignty since the very beginning of its founding. Particularly important was that the draft Programme placed the "abolition of the imperial system" at the first place of the demands for political democracy, to make clear that democratic freedom of the people would be guaranteed only when the Tenno system was overthrown. It proved the pioneering and scientific perspective and undaunted revolutionary spirit of the Communist Party of Japan that in the situation that any criticism on the Tenno system was banned with ruthless penal punishments, and that the call for universal suffrage or extension of the Diet's power within the framework of sovereignty resting with the Tenno, for instance, "MINPONSHUGI" was prevailing even during the period of the upsurge of the democratic movement after the 1910's, the Communist Party of Japan specified in the draft Programme the abolition of monarchism for the first time as a political party in Japan.

Secondly, the draft Programme demanded such as the eight-hour day for workers, labour insurance, a minimum wage system, and the recognition of trade unions as public institutions of the working class; confiscation of land of big landlords and transfer to peasants of all the land that they have cultivated as tenants; and furthermore the democratization of the taxation system through the application of progressive income tax with tax liability becoming greater as the level of income rose. These demands showed the basic direction of the safeguarding of the Japanese people's living that the living of the working class and people would be thoroughly improved by putting an end to the semi-feudalistic landlord system through agricultural revolution and by holding down monopoly capitalism's exploitation and plunder.

Thirdly, the draft Programme demanded the abolition of all attempts at intervention with foreign countries and the complete withdrawal of Japanese armed forces from Korea, China, Taiwan and Sakhalin. That the draft Programme courageously opposed the Japanese imperialist wars of intervention in the revolutions in Russia and China and flew the banner of liberation of the then Japanese imperialist colonies, Korea and Taiwan, had important

significance as it made clear our Party's proletarian internationalist position from the very beginning of its founding. The Communist Party of Japan has consistently fought against war of aggression, for peace of Asia and of the world, for independence of nations through its half-century activities since then, inheriting the tradition of anti-war and peace in the socialist movement of Japan, beginning with the anti-war struggle at the time of the Russo-Japanese War.

These lines laid down in the draft Programme have become the most important revolutionary tradition of the Communist Party of Japan, which are fundamentally different from those of other political parties.

Following the founding of the Communist Party of Japan, revolutionary youth founded NIHON KYOSAN SEINEN DOMEI (Japan Young Communist League) in April 1923 under the leadership of the Communist Party of Japan, and Yoshitora Kawai, member of the Party, assumed the position of its Chairman. This, too, was formed as an illegal organization under the then situation. Its tradition is succeeded to by the Democratic Youth League of Japan today.

CHAPTER II

STRUGGLE IN THE 1920'S FOLLOWING THE FOUNDING OF THE PARTY

Struggle Immediately after the Founding of the Party

In the years immediately after its founding, the Communist Party of Japan was still immature in regard to the theoretical and political level in applying teachings of scientific socialism to the Japanese situation to lead the people's struggle; and there still remained influence of such opportunist ideologies as syndicalism and reformism in the ranks of the Party. Organizationally, too, the significance of constructing a unified revolutionary party with the discipline of democratic centralism was so little understood that the Party still retained such a sectarianist characteristic as a federation of small groups of Communists, which had existed prior to the founding of the Party; besides, not a single factory or establishment branch (cell)—the basis of Party organization—was established until the reorganization of the Party in accordance with the "1927 Theses". It was necessary for the Communist Party to make undaunted efforts of Party construction to forge itself in the ordeal of the revolutionary movement extending over a long period of time in order to acquire the theoretical, political and organizational ability as a vanguard party of the Japanese working class.

Notwithstanding these weaknesses, however, the Party unfolded its activities among the masses from the very day of its founding and took brave actions for the expansion of the Party.

In April 1923, the Party, which had not yet openly emerged before the eyes of the masses, published "SEKKI" (Red Flag; later renamed "KAIKYUSEN"—Class Struggle—after the mass arrests in June that year), the propaganda and theoretical organ periodical

incorporating "ZEN'EI" (Vanguard) and other similar organs of various Communist circles that had existed prior to the Party's founding. The Party also published "RODO SHIMBUN" (Labour News) and "NOMIN UNDO" (Peasants' Movement) and, through the activities of Party members within trade unions and peasants' unions, endeavoured to develop struggles of workers and peasants. The Party especially attached importance to the struggle for the unity of the trade union movement; as a result, in September 1922, the inaugural convention of the "RODO KUMIAI SORENGO" (General Confederation of Trade Unions) that incorporated 60 organizations across the country, was held in Osaka; but in the course of the vehement discussion conducted with the anarchist currents regarding the formula for confederation, the convention was forcibly dispersed by the police.

The Party, also strove to develop the movement for the liberation of BURAKU, such as the ZENKOKU SUIHEI-SHA movement and made efforts to correctly link this movement with the liberation movements of the working class and the people.

At that time, Japanese imperialism was still persisting in its Siberian expedition. Since before the founding of the Party, the Japanese Communists had stood in the van of the movement against the intervention. Sen Katayama called on Japanese soldiers in Siberia to oppose the war of intervention; there were several Japanese revolutionary workers who participated in the struggle in Siberia against the war of aggression and for the defence of the Russian revolution. Inside Japan, too, in the course of the endeavour led by the Communists, the slogan of "Recognize the Worker-Peasant Russia" was raised on May 1 1922; and in June that year, the "TAIRO HIKANSHO DOSHI-KAI" (League of Comrades for Nonintervention in Russia) was formed; the Party, on its part, sought to connect this movement for nonintervention in the Soviet Union with the relief movement for famine-stricken Russia and strove for its mass-scale development. Confronted with the condemnation against the intervention both at home and abroad, the Japanese Government was compelled to withdraw all its troops from Siberia in October that year.

It was also an action manifesting the Party's internationalism that the Communist Party of Japan held aloft the slogan of "Workers of Japan and Korea, unite!" and supported the Korean people's liberation struggle: Japanese imperialism carried out

ruthless exploitation and oppression in colonies like Korea and Taiwan and subjected the people's resistance to cruel repression of blood. On March 1 1919 when, for instance, the Korean people, encouraged by the Russian Revolution, rose up in an independence movement across the whole land of Korea crying "Long Live Independence", the armed forces of the Tenno system opened fire on them ruthlessly, killing nearly 8,000 and imprisoning many others; subsequently, a colonial rule buttressed by sheer armed force was imposed over the Korean people. The Communist Party of Japan was the only political party in Japan that persisted in opposing the colonial oppression of Korea by Japanese imperialism and in supporting the Korean people's struggle for independence.

One of the political tasks confronting the Party in those days, was the struggle against three bad bills including the "Radical Social Movement Control Law". The Tenno-system Government, which realized that the implementation of a "universal suffrage law" would sooner or later be inevitable in the face of the mounting democratic movement, had been long preparing for the enactment of a "Radical Social Movement Control Law" which entirely prohibited propaganda about "matters disturbing the rule of the Tenno, including anarchism, communism and others" and "matters relating to the transformation of the social fundamental organization by illegal means" in order to render the universal suffrage harmless to the ruling classes. At the end of the year 1922, the Government decided to once again submit the bill for the suppressive law to the Parliament, along with the two other bills for a "Trade Union Law" and a "Tenancy Dispute Mediation Law" which aimed at the state power's intervention in the workers' and peasants' struggles. Attaching importance to the struggle against the three bad bills, the Party played a leading role in organizing joint actions of workers' and democratic organizations' like RODO SODOMEI and NICHINO, and won a great result of having aborted the three bills.

As for the universal suffrage movement that was carried on during the same period with this struggle, either the Party or the workers' organizations failed to participate in it. The Party's draft Programme listed the demand for universal suffrage as an item in its immediate action programme, and it also pointed out that it was one of the important tasks of the Party to participate in and give leadership to the struggle for winning universal suffrage.

Nonetheless, the Party took a negative attitude toward the universal suffrage movement ; this was due to the fact that Hitoshi Yamakawa and some others, who were in the then Party leadership, remained imbued with a syndicalist position that negated universal suffrage. Kyuichi Tokuda and some others insisted upon participation in the universal suffrage movement in keeping with the instruction of the draft Programme, but were in a minority position. So, while there was the upsurge of the people's political struggle against the bad bills, the initiative for the universal suffrage movement was solely left in the hands of the bourgeois political parties like the KENSEI-KAI.

First Oppression; the Party Dissolution Resolution and Its Criticism

In June 1923, the Tenno-system Government subjected the Communist Party of Japan to the first oppression based on the "Public Peace Police Law". Approximately 100 members including many leaders such as Toshihiko Sakai, Shoichi Ichikawa, Kyuichi Tokuda and Sanzo Nosaka were arrested ; and the just founded Party was dealt a hard blow. What led to the mass suppression was that Manabu Sano had entrusted the custody of Party documents with a worker, who turned out to be a spy of the Metropolitan Police. This first suppression taught the importance of the struggle against the Tenno-system Government's espionage and provocation policy.

Again, the Tenno-system Government and the reactionary forces took advantage of the disorder that arose from the Great Earthquake of 1923 (in September), to carry out another massive repression. They circulated fraudulent rumours, such as "The Socialists are in attempt at a civil war" and "The Koreans rose to a riot", and went to the length of killing some Communists, including Yoshitora Kawai, then Chairman of the Young Communist League who was working for the relief of earthquake victims, as well as some trade union leaders, socialist Keishichi Hirasawa and others (the Kameido Incident). At that time, anarchist Sakae Osugi and his wife and thousands of Korean people were also brutally murdered. All these cases evidently proved that the

reactionary forces would resort to whatever despicable, cruel means conceivable in order to retain their anti-popular rule.

The atrocious acts evoked strong indignation from the broad masses of people; some labour organizations, including RODO SODOMEI, held rallies of protest and condemnation across the country.

But, as the storm of reaction grew stronger, there appeared in the Party leadership party-liquidationism and defeatism, as represented by Katsumaro Akamatsu and Hitoshi Yamakawa, who insisted on the dissolution of the Party on the allegation that it had been in itself a mistake to have formed the Communist Party under the condition prevailing in Japan; and it gradually grew a dominant trend. Some people who approved the proposed dissolution of the Party, did so from the stand of not denying the necessity for the existence of the Communist Party, but dissolving the existing Party for the reason of its shortcomings and weaknesses only to reconstruct the Party again on a more strong and solid basis. Under such conditions, the then Party leadership decided the dissolution of the Party in February 1924, without holding either a Party congress or a regular conference that should take the place of a congress. Simultaneously, in consideration of the future reconstruction of the Party, it was decided that a bureau consisting of a small number of persons should be left in function so as to keep contact with Party members. In May that year, a research magazine "MARUKUSUSHUGI" (Marxism) was founded; the magazine played the role of a legal theoretical organ periodical of the Party until the April 16 oppression in 1929. Prior to that, SANGYO RODO CHOSASHO (Industry and Labour Research Institute) was founded mainly by Sanzo Nosaka with the chief task to analyse the Japanese politics and economy from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint and to introduce the world labour movement and Communist movement.

The decision to dissolve the Party was a serious mistake that dissolved the headquarters of the working class and the people for itself and disarmed the revolutionary movement. This or that shortcoming and weakness that a young Party possesses, only adds more importance to the task of Party building to correctly overcome them, and therefore in no way justify the dissolution of the Party. In order to win victory in the complicated class struggle and liberate themselves, the working class and the people must always

have in their van a vanguard Party which is led by the Marxist-Leninist theory and capable of correctly leading the complicated struggle. The resolution of the Party dissolution in 1924 deprived the Japanese working class and people of the headquarters of the revolutionary movement during the most important period in their struggle for about three years until the Party-Reconstruction Congress, and inflicted a very serious damage on the work of constructing a mass vanguard Party as well as on the people's liberation struggle.

The Comintern and Sen Katayama resolutely opposed the decision of the Communist Party of Japan to dissolve itself. With the guidance and assistance given by the Comintern and Sen Katayama, many of the Communist Party members, who for the time being had supported the dissolution of the Party, reached a conclusion that the dissolution of the Party was a mistake, and in January 1925, decided the Party reconstruction line; in August that year, the bureau that was formed at the time when the Party-dissolution decision was made, was reorganized into a central bureau for reconstruction; and mainly Kyuichi Tokuda, Masanosuke Watanabe, Shoichi Ichikawa, Manabu Sano, Fumio Sano and others started the Party-reconstruction activity. In September that year, the first number of the "MUSANSHA SHIMBUN" (Proletarian Paper) was issued as the legal organ paper of the Party under reconstruction to extend its activity among the masses.

In contrast, Hitoshi Yamakawa, Toshihiko Sakai and some others did not support the reconstruction of the Party. Subsequently H. Yamakawa began to actively develop in legal journals his liquidationist theory that what was really required in Japan was a legal proletarian party (joint front party) and that the existence of a Communist Party was not needed. Katsumaro Akamatsu, one of the advocates of the Party dissolution, soon came to advocate "KAGAKUTEKI NIPPONSHUGI" (scientific Nipponism) to oppose Marxism, subsequently turned into one of the central leaders of anti-communist right-wing social democracy, and finally went downhill along the road of fascism which defended Tenno-system militarism.

Activities in the Period of Preparations for the Party Reconstruction

While inflicting a large-scale suppression on the revolutionary movement, the Tenno-system Government committed itself to the enforcement of a "universal suffrage law" in 1923. And the next year, 1924, for the first time a "political party cabinet" representing the majority in the Parliament was formed in place of the bureaucrat cabinets, which had existed till that time, and it promulgated the "universal suffrage law" in March 1925, giving every male of 25 years of age or over the right to vote without any qualification regarding tax payments. As a result, the number of eligible voters rose to 22 percent of the entire population. Needless to say, however, the "universal suffrage law" did not deprive the absolutist Tenno-system of its despotic character. In the situation of monopoly capitalism rapidly developing, the Japanese rulers attempted at an ever closer connection between the Tenno system and monopoly capital and at diverting the people's struggle in the direction of false "parliamentarism" with a view to reinforcing their ruling system politically.

Earlier in the same month, lest the revolutionary democratic movement should gather its strength by taking the opportunity of the enforcement of the "universal suffrage law", the Government enacted the "Law for Maintenance of the Public Peace" with the unanimous backing of all bourgeois and landlord parties, such as KENSEI-KAI, SEIYU-KAI, and SEIYU-HONTO. The "Law for Maintenance of the Public Peace" was a bad law, far worse than the preceding "Public Peace Police Law"; it prohibited all associations, speeches and movements for a "change in national polity" and "denial of the private property system", making any violation punishable with imprisonment of 10 years or less. It was a law of extreme barbarity, branding as a "crime" all ideologies and movements critical of the Tenno system and capitalist system. Furthermore, it was later revised for the worse into a law providing even capital punishment (in 1928). At the Parliament, the Government explained that the "Law for Maintenance of the Public Peace" was designed to control only the movements of anarchism and communism and that it was in no way intended to bring pressure

upon general social movements, in the democratic movements or academic research. But it was proved beyond any doubt in the course of history of subsequent years that it was a sheer deception.

In a situation like this the Party pushed on the activity for reconstructing an illegal party, and, at the same time, taking advantage of the conditions wherein the "universal suffrage law" was to be enforced, decided a line for active participation in elections and the parliament in order to strengthen its open political activities. In the ranks of labour and peasants' organizations, such as RODO SODOMEI and NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (NICHINO, Japan Peasants' Union), there was a stronger trend, on the eve of the enforcement of the universal suffrage, to change their past policy influenced by syndicalism to refuse any political struggle, to use the right to vote following the enforcement of the law, and for such purpose, to form their own proletarian party. In such circumstances, the Party supported the intended formation of a legal single proletarian party as an organization that would play the role of a democratic united front organization of workers and peasants and that would enable the Communists to unfold their legal political activities, and strove to give active guidance and promotion to that effort.

It had a tremendous influence on the proletarian party movement as well that in such circumstances a split of RODO SODOMEI took place in 1925. RODO SODOMEI was one of the organizations playing a central role in the workers' and peasants' movements in those days; and the class current represented by Kenzo Yamamoto and Masanosuke Watanabe had held no small weight in the ranks of RODO SODOMEI. But, against the background of anti-communist repressive and conciliatory attacks made by the Tenno-system Government flying high the "Universal Suffrage Law" and the "Law for Maintenance of the Public Peace", right-wing leaders of RODO SODOMEI—Bunji Suzuki, Komakichi Matsuoka, Suehiro Nishio and others schemed to exclude the left-wing forces by pushing an anti-communist splitting policy and expelling a number of left-wing unions in violation of democratic operation and the left-wing forces countered such a scheme by organizing a "SODOMEI KAKUSHIN DOMEI" (League for Renovation of the General Confederation of Labour). In May, 1925, the RODO SODOMEI central committee dominated by right-wing leaders dared to expel the member unions of the "SODOMEI KAKUSHIN DOMEI" with the result that RODO SODOMEI was split right into two. The 30 unions thus expelled,

together with two others, formed "NIHON RODO KUMIAI HYOGIKAI" (HYOGI-KAI, Japan Trade Union Council). (At the time of the latter's formation, HYOGIKAI held 32 unions under its wing, with a total membership of 12,500 while 35 unions remained in SODOMEI with 13,000 members in all.) True, this split of the labour front was provoked by the right-wing leaders with their anti-communist splitting policy; but, at the same time, the sectarian errors committed by the left-wing forces in the course of the struggle against it—errors such as mechanical rejection of right-wing leaders, the immaturity in the struggle for the safeguarding of the unity of SODOMEI and so forth—turned out to be a serious weakness that the anti-communist right-wing leaders exploited in pursuit of their splitting policy. Nevertheless, NIHON RODO KUMIAI HYOGIKAI, which was founded in these circumstances, played a great role in the development of the labour movement and the democratic movement as the first national organization of class trade unions in Japan.

In August 1925, at the proposal of NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI, a meeting of a "preparatory committee for organizing a proletarian party" was held and the movement to form a proletarian party was concretized, but the right-wing forces of social democracy centering around the post-split SODOMEI persistently tried to impose the anti-communist social-democratic line on the proposed proletarian party. The tenacious efforts with the Party's guidance and influence, however, thwarted the attempt; and as a result, the inaugural convention of "NOMIN-RODO-TO" (Peasants' and Workers' Party) was held in December 1925, but only three hours after its founding the Tenno-system Government subjected it to the oppression of a ban of association on the ground that it had "aimed at the practicing of communism". But the endeavour to form a proletarian party was continued, with the result that in March 1926, the "RODO-NOMIN-TO" (RONO-TO, Workers' and Peasants' Party) was founded. Prior to its formation, however, SODOMEI right-wing leaders had issued a statement demanding that the proposed proletarian party clarify its position "against the Communist Party" and eliminate left-wing organizations such as HYOGIKAI. Having found it impossible to persist further in its anti-communist line in the face of the criticism both from inside and outside the party and also in the face of the demand for "open the door", the right-wing leaders withdrew from RODO-NOMIN-TO in October 1926 to form forcibly the "SHAKAI MINSHU-TO" (Social

Public Party), an anti-communist social-democratic party long prepared by them. Also, some social democrats within SODOMEI, like Hisashi Aso formed another party "NIHON RONO-TO" (NICHIRO-TO, Japan Workers' and Peasants' Party); along with this, in the labour front as well, another split broke out inside SODOMEI and "NIHON RODO KUMIAI DOMEI" (Japan Trade Union League) was formed. Earlier in the spring of that year, Rikizo Hirano and some others who had withdrawn from NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI to split the peasants' front, formed "NIHON NOMIN-TO" (Japan Peasants' Party).

In that way the masses' expectation for a unified proletarian party was betrayed by the social democrats' policy of split and at the end of 1926, there arose a situation in which RODO-NOMIN-TO, a progressive democratic party with Communists' participation, existed side by side with a variety of social-democratic parties such as SHAKAI MINSHU-TO, NIHON RONO-TO and NIHON NOMIN-TO. At the same time, the formation of such separate proletarian parties became an unfortunate starting point at which abnormal relations between political parties and mass organizations were brought into the Japanese labour movement, the relations that trade unions and other organizations are divided by their support for political parties.

The Party, which was under reconstruction, endeavoured to develop the struggles and organizations of the workers, peasants and other strata of the people, while striving to form a progressive proletarian party during this period.

Under the leadership of the Party, NIHON RODO KUMIAI HYOGIKAI rallied class-oriented trade union movements on a nationwide scale and stood in the van of the struggle of workers, such as the great strikes launched by workers at KYODO INSATSU (printing) in Tokyo and at NIHON GAKKI (musical instruments) in Hamamatsu, both in 1926. The activity of the HYOGIKAI historically made a great contribution to the Japanese trade union movement in terms of class militancy in the struggle against monopoly capital's exploitation and plunder, in terms of organization, policy and tactics of the labour movement, and also in terms of international solidarity of trade unions which take the class position. Organizationally, too, HYOGIKAI attained such a faster development than SODOMEI and had 59 member unions with a membership of 35,000 a year after its formation.

In rural communities, the struggles of peasants who put up demands for tenancy reduction and exemption and establishment of the right to till, beginning with the great tenancy dispute at Kizaki-mura, Niigata Prefecture, which was carried out under the guidance of NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI, upsurged ahead at various places of the land.

In the youth and students front, "ZEN-NIHON MUSAN SEINEN DOMEI" (All-Japan Proletarian Youth League) was formed in August 1926 as a united national organization of youth centering around young activists of member trade unions affiliated with the HYOGI-KAI and rallying youth of SUIHEI-SHA, NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI and social-science study groups at various universities and others. At the time of its second convention in November 1927, the League had grown to such extent as to have branches at 38 prefectures with more than 10,000 members across the country; it thus played a great role in rallying progressive revolutionary youth in the land.

So, notwithstanding all the difficulties stemming from the splits in their front, the struggle of the Japanese people, including workers and peasants, was developing apace. Thanks to the guidance and influence of the Communist Party of Japan under reconstruction, the struggle was marked with a qualitatively new advance compared with that in the preceding period, in terms of class and political consciousness and of organization of the struggle itself. In the midst of the new upsurge of the people's struggle and organizations, the Third Congress of the Party was prepared to reconstruct the Party formally.

The Third Party Congress and "1927 Theses"

The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Japan, held at Goshiki Onsen (spa), Yamagata Prefecture, in December 1926, reconstructed the Party, formally elected a Party Central Committee composed of Manabu Sano, Kyuichi Tokuda, Shoichi Ichikawa, Masanosuke Watanabe, Fumio Sano, Kazuo Fukumoto and Sada-chika Nabeyama and thus laid a basis for a further fresh advance of the Party. Fumio Sano was chosen Chairman. In January 1927, Fumio Sano, M. Watanabe, K. Tokuda, and K. Fukumoto

left Japan to hold consultations with the Comintern; thereafter, a home centre was set up to lead the Party, with Shoichi Ichikawa in charge.

The Party now reconstructed, held aloft the banner of the overthrow of despotism and achieving political freedom and stood in the van of the Japanese people's struggle for democracy and peace and for the safeguarding of their living.

Under the guidance of the Party, a nationwide movement to petition the parliament for dissolution of the House of Representatives was unfolded from 1926 till 1927, with RODO-NOMINTO and HYOGIKAI taking a leading role. It was a nationwide political struggle that demanded of the Government, which intentionally put off the holding of the universal suffrage, the immediate enforcement of dissolution of the House of Representatives and of general elections under the universal suffrage law, along with the establishment of freedom of speech, assembly, the press, and association and also the workers' rights to organize and strike and the peasants' right to till the land. Although the Tenno-system Government resorted to repeated measures of suppression like a ban on assembly, the movement for political freedom greatly extended the masses' support.

In March 1927, Japanese capitalism was struck by a devastating financial crisis. The Party immediately called on the workers and peasants, in "MUSANSHA SHIMBUN" and elsewhere, to rise up in great struggle for the defence of their living; and in April, with HYOGIKAI taking a leading role, a movement for a factory representatives conference was organized. This movement, in which not only trade unions affiliated to HYOGIKAI but also trade unions belonging to SODOMEI and representatives of unorganized factories, which had no trade union, took part in a large number, quickly spread across the country as a united-front movement against the assaults launched by capital in the current crisis.

During this period, the struggle against Japanese imperialism's intervention and aggression in China took an increasingly more serious turn. As the National Revolutionary Army went ahead with its northern expedition in China, the imperialist powers attempted to make armed interventions in the revolution under the excuse of protecting their residing nationals. The Tenno-system Government, for one, landed marine units on Shanghai in February 1927, and again dispatched troops to Shantung Province in May.

The Party at once demanded the immediate withdrawal of troops in an editorial of MUSANSHA SHIMBUN (in the issue of February 26), calling for formation of "TAISHI HIKANSHO DOMEI" (League for Nonintervention in China). The League was formed in May by RONO-TO, HYOGIKAI and others, developed the struggle against Japanese imperialism's aggression in China in defiance of all persecutions and powerfully displayed the spirit of international solidarity of the Japanese people's struggle. Meanwhile, in April-May that year, RONO-TO and NICHIRO-TO made a joint statement against intervention in China and held joint speech meetings, thus realizing the first united action following the split in the ranks of proletarian parties; but as the joint speech meetings were suppressed and the NICHIRO-TO subsequently called off the joint struggle immediately before the dispatch of troops to Shantung Province, China, the united actions were foiled after a brief period of time.

It was of important significance for the Japanese people's liberation struggle that the Party was reconstructed at its Third Party Congress. But the political line decided upon at the Congress contained a serious error. It was made as the result that the idealistic, anti-Marxist theory of Kazuo Fukumoto, who took part in the Party Centre at the time when many Party leaders were imprisoned after the finalization of sentences in their trials following the first wave of arrests, had been brought into the Party.

So-called "Fukumoto-ism" had been introduced into the Party in connection with the struggle to overcome liquidationism advocated by Hitoshi Yamakawa and some others who insisted upon dissolving the Communist Party into a legal proletarian party—"Yamakawa-ism". K. Fukumoto, who founded himself on Lenin's "What is to be done" and other works and distorted its Party-building theory in an idealistic way, alleged that precisely it was the construction of a vanguard party to win "genuine Marxist consciousness" through "theoretical struggle" and to thereby "separate" from consciousness of unionism and eclecticism. This meant to substitute the task of Party building by a problem of "consciousness" alone departed away from the actual revolutionary movement and to negate the construction of a mass vanguard party firmly tied to the working masses, especially to the working class. K. Fukumoto not only justified the split in the various fronts, which was provoked by SODOMEI and other right-wing forces, as an inevitable course of development in the proletarian movement, by forcing the alleged

“ideological struggle” and “separate-unite” theories on the mass movement and mass organizations, but also insisted, by confusing the tasks of the vanguard party with those of the mass organizations, on making RONO-TO, HYOIKAI and others carry out the tasks to be fulfilled by the vanguard party. “Fukumoto-ism” gained strength within the Party temporarily because it was expected with its introduction of the experience and theory of Party building in Europe and Russia and materialist dialectics to be a theory that might oppose the economist vulgar-Marxism and Party-liquidationism advocated by Hitoshi Yamakawa and others and thus provide a theoretical basis for the tasks and role of the Communist Party. But, in fact, “Fukumoto-ism” was dual liquidationism in reversed “Yamakawa-ism” both in respect to closing the road of Party-building among the mass of workers and peasants by denying the Party’s revolutionary, mass character and in respect to seeking to force the mass organizations to virtually execute the tasks of the Party in its place.

In the appraisal of Japan’s situation, too, while containing a positive aspect of attaching importance to the struggle against the “despotic remnants”, “Fukumoto-ism” fell into a subjectivist appraisal that insisted on imminence of the revolution among other things for the reason that Japanese capitalism was at the stage of “rapid downfall”.

Underlying the fact that such an anti-Marxist theory exerted a big influence on the rebuilt Party, there were the theoretical immaturity of the entire Party and the circumstances in which the Party was subjected to successive suppressions under the barbarous Tenno-system’s rule and could not build a forged and stable leadership. But, thanks to the assistance extended by the Comintern and Sen Katayama, the Communist Party of Japan was able to take the first step forward to overcome this new mistake.

In July 1927, Masanosuke Watanabe, Sadachika Nabeyama and other representatives of the Communist Party of Japan held consultations with the Comintern on the “Resolution on the Japanese Question”, the so-called “1927 Theses”. The Comintern asked K. Fukumoto as well as H. Yamakawa to participate in the consultations. K. Fukumoto took part in the Japanese delegation, but H. Yamakawa did not accept the request but merely submitted an “opinion paper”. In December that year, an enlarged meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan was held

in Mt. Nikko to unanimously confirm the "Theses" following the report by M. Watanabe and others who had returned home.

In the tense situation wherein the outbreak of Japanese imperialism's war of aggression in China was imminent, the "Theses" analyzed contradictions of Japanese capitalism then heading for the war and clarified the character of the coming Japanese revolution and the tasks of the Communist Party of Japan.

The "Theses", first of all, pointed out that Japan, as a result of her recent development, had turned out to be the "first-class imperialist power of the vast Asiatic continent", that especially it was making preparations for the war of aggression in China as "the most dangerous foe of the Chinese revolution", and that preparations for a war against the Soviet Union and also its development into a war against the U.S.A. and Great Britain were on the order of day; it thus emphasized that the struggle against Japanese imperialism's war of aggression and preparations for it was the "foremost duty at the present time" of the Communist Party of Japan.

Analyzing Japan's situation and criticizing Japanese capitalism's "rapid downfall" argument advanced by K. Fukumoto and his followers, the "Theses" defined that "Japanese capitalism is still on its rising curve of development" and pointed out that its contradictions were making conditions for the revolution grow.

With respect to the character and prospect of the revolution, the "Theses" clarified that the Japanese revolution had a prospect of proceeding from a bourgeois democratic revolution with the democratization of the Japanese State, abolition of the monarchy and agrarian revolution as its main contents rapidly to a socialist revolution.

"There are thus in Japan both the objective prerequisites for a bourgeois democratic revolution (the feudal survivals in the governmental state structure, an acute agrarian problem), and the objective prerequisites for its rapid transformation into a socialist revolution (the high level of concentration and trustification of capital, the close blending of the state with the trusts, the relative great proximity to state capitalism, the unity and bloc of the bourgeoisie with the landed nobility)."

As its action programme the "Theses" raised the demands of opposition to war and aggression such as the struggle against

imperialist war, opposition to the intervention in the Chinese revolution, the defence of the Soviet Union and complete independence of colonies, and, at the same time, upheld the demands for safeguarding of democracy and the people's living, such as the abolition of the monarchy, universal suffrage for both males and females above 18 years of age, an eight-hour working-day, unemployment insurance, annulment of laws and regulations for suppression of workers, and confiscation of land of big landownership.

Elucidating the role of the Communist Party in the liberation struggle of the working class and the people and criticizing "Yamakawa-ism" and "Fukumoto-ism", the "Theses" emphasized the significance of building a "firmly consolidated, ideologically consistent mass Communist Party", and indicated a line to construct a mass vanguard party deeply rooted in the working class. Furthermore, the "Theses" pointed to the importance of developing mass organizations and united-front tactics in linking the Party with the masses.

The "1927 Theses" were the first programmatic document formally adopted by the Communist Party of Japan; and the strategic line, tactics, and Party-building line formulated therein were the important line in building a Leninist party and in advancing the revolutionary movement in this country.

Reflecting the historical restrictions, however, the "Theses" could not avoid some mistakes and weaknesses. For instance, while correctly defining the character of the immediate revolution in Japan as a bourgeois democratic revolution, the "Theses" defined, with regard to the composition of the Japanese ruling forces, that Japan at that time was being "governed by a bloc of the capitalists and landlords" under the hegemony of capitalists and thus failed to arrive at a definite recognition about the absolutist character of the Tenno system. The conclusion drawn by the "Theses" with respect to subjective conditions for the Japanese revolution was also, in the light of the history of the liberation struggles of the working class and the people in Japan, an incorrect one that "Neither the proletariat nor the peasants of Japan have any revolutionary traditions or any experience of struggle".

The most serious weakness of the "Theses" was manifested in its attitude toward social democracy. The "Theses" had a special chapter entitled "The Communist Party and Social Democracy" and instructed that "Under the present conditions, a Com-

unist Party can develop in no other way but through a struggle against social democracy. This is also absolutely so in Japan”, that “The social democratic leaders are the bought agents of the bourgeoisie”, that “left-wing” social democrats in particular were a dangerous force that hid their opportunist nature with “left-wing” phrasemongering and that it was “one of the most urgent struggle tasks for the Communist Party” to expose their traitorous role. At the same time, the “Theses” gave such a positive line for the unity in the political front and labour front as the importance of the united-front tactics and the safeguarding of unity of mass organizations, and the efforts for the merger of RONO-TO and NICHIRO-TO. Due to its basic attitude unconditionally hostile toward the whole social democracy, however, this line was provided only with the significance as tactics “for social democratic workers”.

It was laid bare by countless facts in World War I and in the postwar revolutionary crisis in Europe that the various parties of social democracy were political parties which represented currents of bourgeois and petty bourgeois socialism alien to the cause of scientific socialism and that their opportunism and divisionism played the role of impeding the development of the liberation struggles of the working class and the people and defending capitalism from the revolutionary movement. During World War I, social-democratic parties in Germany, France, Great Britain and many other countries supported the imperialist war under the slogan of “Defend Fatherland”, and in postwar days when the revolutionary movement upsurged in various countries they took the position of defending the capitalist system to oppose the revolutionary movement. At the time of 1927, too, the social democratic parties in Europe were either taking part in the Governments as in Germany and Great Britain, or taking the naked class-collaborationist policy in other countries, thereby to literally play the role of the “main pillar of capitalism” in many countries. Therefore, the Comintern’s line to expose and fight against the role of the social democratic parties as a bulwark of capitalism, was a positive one that reflected the above situation. Simultaneously, however, it contained sectarianism which regarded social democracy as the “main pillar of capitalism” in any country and in any period irrespective of concrete circumstances, and that it negated all the possibilities of change in the situation beginning with the possibility of differentiation of a progressive force stemming from it, thus unconditionally excluding it

altogether—this sectarianism grew stronger in the Comintern following the death of Lenin.

Especially in Japan the social democratic forces had just emerged as political parties; and their right-wing current had played, from the beginning of its emergence, a role no less traitorous than that of its European seniors; but, in view of the severeness of conditions of the workers and peasants and the despotic repression of them Japan had, alongside of the growth of the right-wing current, special conditions more strongly than Europe, for giving a rise to the current of certain progressive significance that reflected the people's aspirations for better life, democratic rights and peace. All the more, it exerted not a little harmful effects on the movement of the Japanese people in the subsequent years that the "1927 Theses" mechanically reflected the Comintern's above line.

In the field of Party building, the "Theses" did not pay full attention to the problem of safeguarding the Party organization from the Tenno-system Government's barbarous repression, above all, to the vigilance and struggle against the policy of espionage and provocation; this turned out to be a serious weakness in the subsequent activities of the Communist Party of Japan.

Reorganization of the Party; the March 15 Oppression

The Communist Party of Japan decided on the formation of a new Central Committee including Masanosuke Watanabe, Shoichi Ichikawa, Manabu Sano, Sadachika Nabeyama, Goichiro Kokuryo, Kenzo Yamamoto, Keiichi Sugiura, Katsuo Nakao and others; and following the enlarged meeting of the Central Committee in December 1927, it formulated its political line, organizational line and trade-union policy, all of which concretized the "1927 Theses", and thus immediately started implementing the "Theses". (First, Manabu Sano was chosen Chairman and soon after the general elections in February 1928, Masanosuke Watanabe replaced him as Chairman.) First of all, in accordance with the "1927 Theses" line for Party building, the Party set to the task of reorganizing the whole of the Party based on factory branches (cells) and on February 1 1928, founded the Central Committee's illegal central organ "SEKKI" (Red Flag) as collective propagandist-agitator-organ-

izer, thereby strengthening the activity to extensively disseminate the Party line among the masses and to closely link the Party with the masses. With the founding of "SEKKI", the Party made its first public appearance among the masses that had gathered around the Party.

When the Communist Party of Japan, based on the "1927 Theses", was going to take a first step toward a genuine mass vanguard party which would advance the revolutionary movement by firmly connecting itself with the masses, the "legal Marxists" like H. Yamakawa, T. Sakai, T. Inomata and K. Arahata started "RONO" (Workers and Peasants) magazine in December 1927, formed an anti-party "RONO-HA" faction and launched an attack on the political line of the Communist Party of Japan from the "socialist revolution" position of avoiding the struggle against the Tenno system and of calling to question only the struggle against the bourgeoisie. In February 1928, the Party decided to expel H. Yamakawa and others and, at the same time, continued the activity to shatter them to pieces theoretically and to clarify that precisely the line of the democratic transformation, whose main contents would be the abolition of the Tenno system and democratization of the State of Japan and execution of the agrarian revolution, and of its change into a socialist revolution, was the road of the Japanese people's liberation, the road to socialism in Japan. This controversy was continued for long in commercial magazines, and today the judgement of history on the matter is already evident.

The first nationwide struggle, which the Party faced, having just embarked on the work of reorganizing itself, was the first general elections under the universal suffrage law, held in February 1928. The Party in illegalized conditions, fought the elections by putting up 11 Party members including Kenzo Yamamoto and Kyuichi Tokuda on RONO-TO ticket. In the election campaign, the Party showed such a political platform as the abolition of the monarchy, the establishment of a democratic republican system, universal suffrage for both males and females above 18 years of age, freedoms of speech, the press, assembly and association, an eight-hour working day, confiscation of large land owned by landlords, opposition to imperialist war, and independence of colonies and unfolded its own mass propaganda activity to extensively appeal the Party's policies. As to the parliament itself, too, the Party raised the slogan "Smash the bourgeois parliament tied to the

Tenno. Establish a democratic parliament of the workers and peasants” to concretely clarify that the Imperial Diet under the Tenno system had neither power nor qualifications for the settlement of the people’s impending problems, and thus called on the people to take the direction of establishing a democratic parliament in which the working people under a democratic republican system would be the genuine master of the country. This showed the Party’s attitude of definitely severing relations with anarchism and syndicalism which denied every participation in parliamentary struggle or election struggle as “a surrender to bourgeois parliamentarism”. At the same time, the Party criticized the stand of “parliamentarianism” of social democratic parties under the Tenno system as what closed their eyes to the present condition of the Imperial Diet, a mere subsidiary organ for the Tenno system, and tailed after the bourgeois parties to prefer parliamentary politics to everything, and clarified the people’s standpoint regarding the Imperial Diet from the position of scientific socialism.

The Government concentrated its reckless election intervention by mobilizing the police on the opposition parties, particularly on RONO-TO and other proletarian parties; but, for all the severe situation, the so-called proletarian parties polled about 490,000 votes (about 4.7 percent of the votes) and returned eight of their candidates. Of the proletarian parties, RONO-TO polled most, about 190,000 votes (about 2 percent) with two returned candidates including Senji Yamamoto. This was a reflection of the strong expectation of the working people pinned upon the genuine working-class party. In contrast, among the bourgeois-landlord party SEIYU-KAI won 219 seats and MINSEI-TO 217 seats, and the two parties alone obtained an overwhelming majority of more than 90 percent in the House of Representatives.

After the general elections, the Party embarked on preparations for the convocation of the Fourth Party Congress in order to establish throughout the entire Party the policy line and organization based on the “1927 Theses”. In the midst of the preparations, however, the Tenno-system Government on March 15, 1928, subjected the Communist Party of Japan to a nationwide wholesale suppression in fear of the Party’s advance, arrested and barbarously tortured 1,600 Party members and Party supporters. It was soon followed by the Government’s order to dissolve HYOGIKAI, RONO-TO and ZEN-NIHON MUSAN SEINEN DOMEI.

The massive suppression of the Communist Party of Japan and the democratic organizations was inseparably connected with the war programme of Japanese imperialism to forcibly embark on the war of aggression in China at the sacrifice of the people. In order to consolidate the rear for the imminent war of aggression, the Tenno-system Government and the ruling classes thus attempted to strangulate the Communist Party of Japan by force, which had resolutely flown high the banner against the war of aggression and for freedom and democracy and had undauntedly been fighting for the defence of the people's interests.

Moreover, in April of the same year the Tenno-system Government submitted the Diet a bill to adversely revise the Law for Maintenance of the Public Peace. The mal-revision bill was such a ferocious one as to provide "death or life imprisonment", instead of 10 years imprisonment as the maximum penalty until then, for organizers and leaders of associations that aimed at "transformation of national polity" and, furthermore, to provide anew a "crime of execution of purposes" with a view to making any cooperator an object of suppression. The "death penalty law", however, had to be shelved on account of, among other things, strong dissension even in the Diet. In June, however, the Government promulgated it in the form of an urgent Imperial ordinance; and in July, it spread the network of TOKKO (special high police) all over the country to undermine every democratic movement and every revolutionary movement and to deprive the people of all democratic freedom.

Up to the "April 16 Suppression"

By the March 15 wholesale suppression and the subsequent dissolution of the three organizations perpetrated by the Tenno-system Government, the Party had many of Party leaders and members arrested and its ties with the masses temporarily broken to find its activities difficult. But, under the leadership of Masanosuke Watanabe, Shoichi Ichikawa and others who managed to escape the arrest, the Party organized mass protests against the March 15 suppression, and immediately set to reconstruct itself. Thanks to the heroic efforts of Party members who were not arrested, the Party was able to recover its nationwide contact and even republish "SEKKI" at the end of April. This demonstrated

our Party's immortal vitality. In the struggle against suppression and for relief of victims, "KAIHO UNDO GISEISHA KYUENKAI" (League for the Relief of Victims in the Liberation Movement) which was founded in April, 1928, played a major role.

When the Nationalist Army in China resumed its northern expedition in April 1928, the Tenno-system Government again sent troops to the Shantung Peninsula; in May, it provoked the so-called Tsinan incident to extend its aggression in China. For all the blows it had suffered from the suppression, the Party went all out to organize a struggle against this new aggression in China, resolutely demanded opposition to the intervention in China and the immediate withdrawal of expeditionary forces through "SEKKI" and "MUSANSHA SHIMBUN", and furthermore, called for the formation of "SENSO HANTAI DOMEI" (Anti-War League) by developing the "TAISHI HIKANSHO DOMEI" (League for Nonintervention in China). The Anti-War League was formed in May that year, and next year it developed itself into the Japan Chapter of the Anti-Imperialist League, constituting a wing of the International Anti-Imperialist League. The League led the movement against Japanese imperialism's war of aggression and suppression of other nations through firm solidarity with the world's anti-imperialist forces, until its organization was completely destroyed by the suppression in the spring of 1934.

In May 1928, the Party issued a joint declaration with the Communist Party of China to condemn the policies of reaction and aggression of the Japanese Government that was silencing the people at home by oppressing the Communist Party of Japan and class mass organizations and thereby forcibly carrying out the aggression in China and to call for the Japanese and Chinese peoples' international solidarity in opposition to their common enemy, Japanese imperialism.

At the same time, the Party laid bare the Tenno-system Government's scheme to revise the "Law for Maintenance of the Public Peace" for the worse and, together with the advanced working people and intellectuals, resolutely opposed it, demanding the abolition of every law for suppression. But, many of the social-democrats could not understand this would in due course deprive them of their own freedom, too, but hesitated to struggle for the annulment of the evil law.

Although the Tenno-system Government continued to subject

the Communist Party of Japan to suppression following the March 15 arrests, the Party managed to spread its political activities among the masses, reinforced its ranks with newly recruited members, reconstructed itself on a nationwide scale and thereby kept up its undaunted activities. In October 1928, Goichiro Kokuryo was arrested. In the same month, then Chairman of the Central Committee Masanosuke Watanabe, who was one of the undaunted fighters since the founding of the Party, was raided by police squads on way home from his China visit for a Party mission and committed suicide in Keelung, Taiwan. But, at the end of October, the Party Centre was reconstructed centering around Shoichi Ichikawa, who returned to Japan after attending the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and "SEKKI", which had been forced to suspend its publication because of suppression since August, was published again in December that year.

The Party strove to rebuild trade unions that were destroyed by the Tenno-system Government's suppressions, and set to reorganize HYOGIKAI-affiliated trade unions on a regional basis; this, too, having been banned, the Party formed NIHON RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU KYOGIKAI (ZENKYO, Japan National Council of Trade Unions) in December 1928. The activities and organizations of ZENKYO were placed under virtually illegal conditions from its outset. On the youth front, too, where ZEN-NIHON MUSAN SEINEN DOMEI (All-Japan Proletarian Youth League) was disbanded, the Party set to reinforce the KYOSAN SEINEN DOMEI (Young Communist League).

The reconstruction of RODO NOMIN-TO, too, was made by Ikuo Oyama and others in the form of New-Party Preparatory Committee, and in December 1928, the founding convention of a new "RODO-SHA-NOMIN-TO" (Workers'-Peasants' Party) was held, but the Government issued an order of the ban on association to the new party on the third day of its convention. In the meantime, the Party had switched its past policy toward a legal workers'-peasants' political party to take a position of denying in principle the progressive significance of the formation of any workers'-peasants' party other than the Communist Party and after the new party was banned, it limited its endeavour to the formation of "SEIJITEKI JIYU KAKUTOKU RONO DOMEI" (Workers'-Peasants' League for the Acquisition of Political Freedom), a non-party organization designed to temporarily rally workers and peasants. Since, the Party had

assumed the attitude of censuring all attempts at the formation of a legal party as liquidationism and legalism that deny the vanguard party. True, this was based upon the line newly formulated at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, held in July-August, 1928; in connection with the revolutionary movements in colonies and dependent countries, the decision stated that "Since a workers'-and-peasants' party, however revolutionary it may be in character at one time, is liable to easily transmute itself into an ordinary petty bourgeois party, Communists should not recommend organizing such a political party". Nevertheless it was a sectarianist line which prevented the rallying of the progressive democratic forces. (The Comintern also virtually revised this line at its Seventh Congress held in 1935 and clarified that under certain conditions a workers'-peasants' party would have a progressive significance as a form of united front.) At the Comintern's Sixth Congress, Shoichi Ichikawa, Manabu Sano and Kenzo Yamamoto were present as representatives of the Communist Party of Japan and K. Yamamoto remained abroad to continue his activity.

On the cultural front, soon after the March 15 suppression, several proletarian artist organizations got together to form "ZEN-NIHON MUSANSHA GEIJUTSU RENMEI" (All-Japan Proletarian Arts League, NAP) in March 1928 and founded "SENKI" (Fighting Flag) magazine. At first "SENKI" was founded as organ magazine of the proletarian literature and arts movement; but, before long it changed its character into a magazine of mass political propaganda and agitation by "SENKI-SHA" (SENKI Publishing House), which had become independent of NAP; the magazine had a circulation of more than 20,000 at its peak, displaying great strength in propaganda of scientific socialism and political enlightenment along the Party line among the working class and the people.

In December that year, NAP was reorganized into a unified organization with various sectors of literature, arts, drama, movie, and music, and was renamed "ZEN-NIHON MUSANSHA GEIJUTSU DANTAI KYOGI-KAI" (All-Japan Council of Proletarian Arts Organizations, NAP). NAP played a great role in the ensuing development of the proletarian cultural movement and in rallying the progressive democratic forces on the cultural front. Meanwhile, following the arrest of Sanzo Nosaka, SANGYO RODO CHOSASHO was taken over by Eitaro Noro and others.

With an eye on the 56th session of the Imperial Diet convened

at the end of 1928, the Party in accordance with the decision of the Party Centre's conference in January 1929, published a "SEKKI" pamphlet entitled "The Imperial Diet's 56th Session and the CP of Japan's Slogan" to make clear the political position of the Communist Party of Japan in the current situation, and to boldly call on the people to wage a struggle against the imperialist war and despotic politics and for peace, freedom and better life.

"(1) *Hand off China!* . . . Today, it is not enough for us to cry the slogan of *no intervention*. In order to really fight against our ruling classes under this slogan, we must also make the voice of *'Immediately withdraw all Japanese troops from China'* the voice of the masses. We are also duty-bound to agitate *among the Japanese troops in China*, calling on them to *'Go home and seize land from big landlords!'* and *'Fraternize with the Chinese masses!'*

But this is not all. For Japanese imperialism, the point of the China question lies in Manchuria and Mongolia. That is why we uphold the slogans *'Against Japan's special concessions in Manchuria and Mongolia! Return Japan's all special concessions in China to China!'* . . .

(2) *Liberate colonies!* The bourgeois Government and political parties cling, to the last, to the subordination of Korea, Taiwan, and Manchuria to the Japanese empire and suppress their liberation movements ruthlessly. While paying lip service to opposition to the oppression of colonies, MINSHU-TO and TAISHU-TO in fact rest contented with 'self-government of colonies' *under imperialist Japan*.

We must resolutely fight against spreading an illusion as if colony could enjoy freedom and self-government under the imperialist rule. We must abide by the slogan of liberation of colonies to the letter, or their *complete separation and independence* from imperialist Japan! and *complete freedom of the national movement for this purpose!* For, there cannot be a proletarian movement possessed of colonies. . .

(3) *Defend the Soviet Union!* . . .

(4) *Against the imperialist war!* . . . We must agitate for and organize *a war against the imperialist war* by exposing that the budget bill now before the current session of the Diet contains huge military expenditures and various expenditures for facilities of suppression of the proletariat and that since it is spendings for preparations for the imperialist war, all of the dispatch of troops to China, the death penalty in the Law for Maintenance of the Public Peace, the transfer of land taxes to the local communities, and the establishment of owner farmers are part and parcel of preparations for the imperialist war. . .

(5) *Freedom of speech, the press, assembly and association! (Abolish the Law for Maintenance of the Public Peace! Freedom for the Communist Party organization!)* The slogan of freedom of speech, the press, assembly and association is, in present-day Japan, a slogan of the proletariat and the peasantry. And, the greatest oppression of this freedom of the proletariat and the peasantry is the Law for Maintenance of the Public Peace...

(6) *Right to organize and right to strike!*

(7) *Confiscate land of the Imperial Household, shrines and temples, and other big landlords! Give land to the peasants! (Oppose the proposed establishment of owner farmers)...*

(8) *Impose progressively higher income taxes! (Oppose the planned transfer of land taxes to the local communities!)...*

(9) *Abolish the monarchy!* All the political parties and factions in the present Diet, beginning with SEIYU-KAI, which enacted the death-penalty public peace law to safeguard the Tenno and national polity, that is, the monarchy, are supporters of this monarchy that defies exploitation and oppression. The abolition of the Tenno and his system, under whose name the proletarian vanguards are imprisoned and put to death, Chinese workers are imprisoned, and imperialist war is declared, must be the slogan of the entire proletariat and the peasant masses.

(10) *Universal suffrage for all males and females above 18 years of age!*

(11) *Seven-hour working day! Unemployment insurance!...*

(12) *Dissolve the Diet intended for preparations for the imperialist war and for suppression of workers and peasants!...*"

In the course of the 56th session of the Imperial Diet, the Government forcibly made the Diet pass the mal-revised Law for Maintenance of the Public Peace, which was one of the worst humiliations to the Japanese people, in March 1929; and Representative Senji Yamamoto of former RONO-TO, who had put up a resolute fight against it, was assassinated by a hooligan on the very night. The Party lauded commending the activities of Senji Yamamoto who had dedicated his life to the cause of democracy and the people's freedom, decided to bury him as Communist Party member posthumously and conducted a workers'-and-peasants' funeral service.

On April 16 1929, the Tenno-system Government again made a nationwide attack on our Party to arrest all Central Committee members and about 1,000 activists. The Party was thus deprived of almost all leaders like Shoichi Ichikawa, who managed to escape

arrests on March 15 of the previous year, along with a large number of activists all over the country.

Struggle in the Great Crisis and Ultra-Left Adventurism

The March 15 and April 16 suppressions dealt a severe blow to the Party. Yet contrary to the attempt of the Tenno-system Government and the ruling classes the ferocious suppressions could not make the Communist Party of Japan give in; but new activists sprang up one after another to tackle with the task of reconstructing Party organizations. Soon after the April 16 raid, the Party's central bureau was organized in June and "SEKKI" reappeared in July, 1929. The Party continued its activities so boldly that in succession to "MUSANSHA SHIMBUN", whose publication was forced to be suspended, "DAINI MUSANSHA SHIMBUN" (Second Proletarian Paper) was semi-illegally founded in September that year.

It was at such a juncture that Shigeo Mizuno and some others, who were arrested in the March 15 raid, completely succumbed to the enemy while in prison; in collusion with the prosecutors, they went to the length of expressing "support for the Tenno system", organized a group of liquidationists insistent on the liquidation of the Communist Party of Japan, and, even after having got out of prison on bail, resorted to party-subversive activities under the feigned name of "RODOSHA-HA" (Workers' Faction of the Communist Party of Japan). In September 1929, the Party expelled S. Mizuno and other traitorous elements to resolutely smash their shameless manoeuvres. Liquidationism and party-subversive activities of S. Mizuno and his like were connected with their conversion to the support for the Tenno system. Following the fact that liquidationism of H. Yamakawa and his like was connected with opportunism of averting the struggle against the Tenno system, the above fact indicated that the attitude to be taken toward the absolutist Tenno system was the touchstone of the prewar Japanese revolutionary movement.

At the end of 1929 when the Party had just taken a step toward the reconstruction of its organization from the destruction by a series of suppressions, the capitalist world was struck by the great crisis which spread to Japan in 1930, and the Japanese

people's struggle became confronted with a serious situation. The economic crisis swallowed all industrial branches in Japan, bringing about an unprecedented unemployment inferno with the number of the unemployed reaching 3,000,000 in 1931. In rural communities, prices of agricultural products so heavily declined that farmers were driven into dire straitened circumstances.

In the midst of such a great crisis, the people's struggle for safeguarding their living spread with fiery vigour. Beginning with strikes of Tokyo city tramcar and bus service workers and strikes of female workers at KANEGAFUCHI Spinning (KANEBO) and TOYO Muslin, there broke out violent labour disputes against wage cuts, curtailment of operations, and dismissals one after another. In 1930, the number of labour disputes was 2,289 involving more than 191,000 workers in all, and in 1931, it was 2,456 involving more than 154,000 workers in all, indicating the highest record up to that date. The struggle of peasants was also fought everywhere including the tenancy dispute in Maeda-mura, Akita Prefecture; the tenancy disputes became so intense every year that there were 2,434 disputes in 1929, 2,478 disputes in 1930 and 3,419 disputes in 1931. The struggle for national independence of the colonial peoples in Korea and Taiwan also increased its intensity.

The great crisis likewise dealt a severe economic blow to urban middle strata, intellectuals and students and led to the development of the student movement and the cultural movement supported by the upheaval of the workers' and peasants' movements. In October 1929 "PURORETARIA KAGAKU KENKYUSHO" (PUROKA, Proletarian Sciences Research Institute) was formed with an aim of "Marxist research in science and its publication" and in August 1930 "SHINKO KYOIKU KENKYUSHO" (New-Emerging Education Research Institute) was also set up with an aim of "establishment of proletarian education"; both were indicative of a new extension on the front of the proletarian cultural movement.

But it was the greatest factor for making the correct development of the people's struggle difficult that in addition to the increasingly ferocious police-suppression since the March 15 suppression and the growing compromising-trend in the ranks of the social democratic forces, the Communist Party of Japan was deprived of almost all of its leaders since its founding and became weaker while the class trade union movement centering around ZENKYO was illegalized and lost much of its earlier strength.

Furthermore, an error of ultra-left adventurism alien to Marxism-Leninism emerged in the Party activities of this period because some petty-bourgeois activists with little experience in the revolutionary movement like Seigen Tanaka and Hiroshi Sano took a leading position in the Party leadership and also because spies and provocateurs like Nishiyama took advantage of the confusion to sneak into the Party and ZENKYO centres. S. Tanaka and his like subjectivistically drew a conclusion that the current upsurge of the people's struggle was imminence of revolution, made light of the economic struggle of the working masses who were suffering amidst the economic crisis, and even went to the length of "armed May Day", making workers on May 1 of 1930, who had become indignant at the police banning ZENKYO's participation in May Day demonstration in Kawasaki city, carry bamboo spears and march on the May Day celebration plaza, calling the day "armed May Day". This error was rectified and toward the end of May that year, "DAINI MUSANSHA SHIMBUN" and "RODO SHIMBUN", the ZENKYO organ, carried a series of articles of self-criticism. But the fact that even though temporarily, such adventurist leadership was undertaken, resulted in isolating the Party and ZENKYO from the masses, giving the enemy an excuse for provocation and suppression, and doing serious damage to the revolutionary movement. Besides, upon being arrested S. Tanaka and his like openly betrayed the Party, and became enemy agents. At that time, Shuichi Sato, Shigeo Kamiyama and others set up a "ZENKYO SASSHIN DOMEI" (League for Renovation of ZENKYO) in June 1930 and started a factional struggle in the rank of ZENKYO under the excuse of its leadership's mistakes, adding more confusion to the revolutionary movement. At the Fifth Convention of the Profintern (International of Red Trade Unions) in the summer of 1930 the error of ultra-left adventurism was criticized and the dissolution of the "ZENKYO SASSHIN DOMEI" was decided upon; this helped to rectify the erroneous trends in the Party and the labour movement.

CHAPTER III

FROM THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR OF AGGRESSION IN CHINA TO THE DEFEAT OF JAPANESE IMPERIALISM

Outbreak of the Large-Scale War of Aggression in China and the Communist Party of Japan

The capitalist world suffered the blow of the world economic crisis and people's struggles and, in Germany and Italy, monopoly capital was trying to get out of the crisis by fascism and war of aggression. In addition to the intensification of its contradictions by the great crisis Japanese imperialism was faced with the situation wherein its interests in Manchuria (North-East Region of China) and Mongolia were endangered by the development of the Chinese Revolution and more strongly urged itself to make large-scale preparations for the war of aggression in China on the pretext that "Manchuria and Mongolia are Japan's life-line".

In such a pressing situation, the leadership of the Communist Party of Japan was reconstructed by Yoshimichi Iwata, Yojiro Konno and others in January of 1931 with Jokichi Kazama as its responsible person. The new Party Central Committee definitely overcame ultra-left adventurism of S. Tanaka and others, extended its activity and organization among the masses and made efforts to genuinely popularize the Party. In this month SEKKI, which had suspended its publication since June of the year before, was reissued, surmounting difficulties.

The Party Central Committee secretly sent Sanzo Nosaka, who had been released on parole because of illness, to the Comintern in

March of 1931. S. Nosaka worked as a representative of our Party together with Sen Katayama and Kenzo Yamamoto, who had been already in Moscow.

From June of 1931, the joint trial of more than two hundreds and eighty Communist Party members (the central leadership and Tokyo district organization) arrested in the March 15 and April 16 cases was held in Tokyo. The arrested Party leaders actively fought the court struggle, arraigned the Tenno-system Government's barbarous suppression and took most advantage of pleading in the court to clarify the true figure of the Communist Party of Japan, which the Government and ruling classes distorted with every false propaganda, broadly before the people. The progress of the trial was recorded by the accused released from prison and printed by the hand of the Party to distribute throughout the country. In the trial in July of 1931 Shoichi Ichikawa stated that he was in the court not because of any other crime but only because he was a member of the Communist Party of Japan which fought in defence of the interests of the Japanese working class and people and vehemently accused the anti-popular nature of the trial. In defiance of the court's strong disturbance, S. Ichikawa stated about the history of the Communist Party of Japan from the founding of the Party to the April 16 case, and it was intended to broadly inform the people of the character, tradition, tasks and objectives of the Party under the leadership of the Central Committee outside prison. In July of 1932, the next year, the leadership outside prison illegally published it in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Party's founding as the "Short Struggle-History of the Communist Party of Japan."

On September 18, 1931, Japanese imperialism launched the war of aggression in the North-East Region of China (Manchurian Incident) according to the long prepared plan. Already more than two months before that, the Party concretely exposed in SEKKI that Japanese imperialism was going to launch a new war of aggression in Manchuria and called for a struggle against it ("Fight against the War Preparation of Japanese Imperialism", SEKKI, July 6, 1931). It organized illegal meetings and demonstrations in various parts of the country on the Anti-War Day, August 1 1931, to demand the "immediate withdrawal of Japanese troops from Manchuria, Korea and Taiwan". On the next day of the outbreak of the war, the Party issued an appeal to the workers, peasants

and soldiers all over the country and called on the people to "Oppose Imperialist War; Hand off China", explaining the true meaning and objective of the advance of Japanese troops in Manchuria.

"Workers, peasants and soldiers! Dear comrades! Ally yourselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers of China and rise up for the struggle of revolutionary solidarity!

Immediate withdrawal of troops from Mukden and all other occupied areas! Immediate withdrawal of the Japanese troops and warships in China and Manchuria! Send not a single soldier to the front! Against every military action of the imperialist Japan and Chinese reaction! Fight against another danger of imperialist war!

Defend the revolutionary China! Help the Red Army! Defend the Soviet Union! Down with the imperialist Japan! Establish a Soviet Japan!"

ZENKYO at once exposed the Government's policy of "legitimate self-defence" or "non-expansion" and called on the people to "resolutely oppose the outbreak of battle, refuse to transport the ammunition, weapons and troops, go on strike and hold mass demonstration against the war". ("RODO SHIMBUN", September 23, 1931). And other mass organizations under the influence of the Party also respectively made propaganda against the war, linking it with the masses' daily demands.

In contrast, the bourgeois-landlord parties, to say nothing of the then government MINSEI-TO, and the opposition SEIYUKAI actively supported the war of aggression. The right-wing social democrats also took an attitude of supporting this war of aggression, for the fear of the suppression by the Tenno-system Government. In October 1931, one month after the outbreak of the war, SHAKAI MINSHU-TO (Social Public Party) published under joint signatures of Tetsu Katayama and others a statement that "we shall never agree" on the unconditional abandonment of Japan's interests in Manchuria and Mongolia, decided at the meeting of its central committee in December, the attitude of supporting the Manchurian Incident under the deceptive slogan "To transfer the bourgeois control of Manchuria and Mongolia to a socialist state control" and argued "Give the interests in Manchuria and Mongolia to the people's masses" in the general elections in February 1932. ZENKOKU RONNO TAISHU-TO (National Worker-Farmer Mass Party; formed in July of 1931), another social democratic party, assumed an attitude against the war immediately after the

outbreak of war, but the voice against the war gradually became weaker because of internal opposition and on the contrary even a tendency to beautify the military fascists as an anti-capitalist force began to gain strength.

In July of 1932 SHAKAI MINSHU-TO and RONO TAISHU-TO merged themselves to form SHAKAI TAISHU-TO (Socialist Mass Party). This party upheld the programme of “anti-capitalism, anti-communism and anti-fascism” and its leadership including General Secretary Hisashi Aso approached the military voluntarily. It is an important lesson of history that anti-communism of right-wing social democrats and “anti-capitalism”, which approved the Tenno system, approached the Tenno-system military and opened the road to the cooperation in the war of aggression.

Thus, only several months after Japanese imperialism launched its aggression in China, all the social democratic parties either supported the war of aggression or took down the banner of opposition they held at first. It was only the Communist Party of Japan that upheld the banner of opposition to the war of aggression in China.

People's Struggle in the Beginning of the 1930's

In addition to the sacrifice of the crisis since 1929, even the burden of the war was imposed on the workers and peasants whose struggles, therefore, greatly upsurged and the organization of trade unions and peasants' unions were also expanded. The organized rate of workers amounted to 7.9% (membership of 369,000) in 1931, the highest record in the prewar days.

In the trade union movement, the leading power of the social democratic parties which tended to cooperate in the war became weaker while the workers' living became worsened and the activity and influence of ZENKYO led by the Communist Party were to an extent broadened. Though in illegal and difficult conditions, ZENKYO extended its registered membership from 4,000 of August of 1930 to about 10,000 at the end of 1931 and extended its strength even among such trade unions as ZENKOKU RODO KUMIAI DOMEI (ZENRO, National Federation of Trade Unions) and Tokyo Traffic (street-car) Trade Union. In March 1932, it led the strike

of the Tokyo Subway workers who demanded the "better treatment of soldiers on the front" and won victory with the tactics of workshop occupation. This called forth a big echo. And it organized unemployed's committees in various parts of the country and actively worked also among the unemployed. These unemployed's committees played an propelling role together with consumers' cooperatives in the "give-us-rice" struggle for the sale of government rice which began to spread from the summer of 1932.

In rural areas, tenancy disputes continued to upsurge and the organization of peasants' union also continued to expand. In 1928, NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (Japan Peasants' Union) and ZEN-NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (All-Japan Peasants' Union) merged to form a united ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI (ZENNO, National Peasants' Union) on the basis of the principle of freedom to support any political party. ZENNO led the tenancy disputes all over the country. At its convention held in March of 1931, however, the right-wing group took advantage of the suppression of the left-wing group to monopolize the functionary posts and then, discarded the principle of freedom of support for any political party to decide its support for ZENKOKU RONO TAISHU-TO and to carry out the dissolution of the left-wing organization and expulsion of its leaders. Thus, the front of peasants' union was also split. In July of the same year the expelled left-wing group held a "National Conference for Reform of ZENNO and against Imposed Support for the Workers' and Peasants' Party." ZENNO ZENKOKU KAIGI (ZENNO National Congress) founded here actively fought throughout the country under the leadership of the Party for the reduction and exemption of farm-rent and against the confiscation of land as well as for such multifarious demands of peasants as the cancellation of debts, opposition to heavy taxes, rice for family consumption and jobs.

The anti-war movement of youth and students also rapidly upsurged from about 1930 and the Young Communist League fought in the van of the movement. A movement against militarist education developed among teachers of primary schools.

In the sphere of the cultural movement, NAP was dissolved in October of 1931 on the basis of Korehito Kurahara's proposal to form NIHON PURORETARIA BUNKA RENMEI (Japan Proletarian Cultural League, KOP) in November of the same year by integrating twelve cultural organizations including not only those in

the field of arts but also PURORETARIA KAGAKU KENKYUSHO and others. A Party organization was formed in the field of culture and arts that year and Takiji Kobayashi, Yuriko Miyamoto and others also worked therein. While boldly tackling with the struggle against the reactionary culture and with the task to create and popularize a new culture, KOP made efforts to organize the demands of the working people for a progressive and democratic culture and to form cultural circles in factory and village with the view to laying an organizational basis of the cultural movement among the masses.

The proletarian cultural movement which started in the 1920's made so great a development in the 1930's that it also drew attention internationally. The proletarian cultural movement was the first cultural movement of the oppressed classes in Japan. Although, needless to say, it had such a historical limit that it had no policy to rally all the progressive and democratic forces and currents around a united front, but it created many historic achievements to be correctly inherited today as a revolutionary legacy of our national culture such as the principled explication about the class nature and social nature of culture and literature, about relations between culture and politics and about the unity of objectiveness and partisanship in science and art; advocacy of proletarian realism; union of artistic task with political task in the cultural and literary movement; mass basis of the cultural movement; and internationalist solidarity with the revolutionary and democratic cultural-movements of the world. In the situation that the Party and class labour movement were outlawed, organizations of the proletarian cultural movement were almost the only semi-legal class organization which openly safeguarded the righteousness of Marxism-Leninism and played a great role in publicly propagating the world outlook of scientific socialism and the Party's idea about the liberation struggle of the Japanese people.

The Tenno-system Government subjected this development of the cultural movement to a heavy suppression in spring of 1932 and arrested more than four hundred cultural workers including Korehito Kurahara. But activists who escaped arrest continued their persevering activity, carrying on the open activity or fleeing from persecution into underground.

Thus, the struggle against the military and police Tenno-system and the imperialist war gradually extended into various strata. At

the same time, while its organization being constantly destroyed by the attacks of the enemy, the Party added new activists to its ranks in factories and villages and the Party organization expanded throughout the country. SEKKI was printed in type in the underground printing office and regularly issued every five days (sometimes every three days) since April of 1932, and the circulation amounted to seven thousands. In its every issue SEKKI exposed each step of the Japanese imperialist aggression in China with concrete facts, allocated a great part of its pages for solidarity with the Asian peoples resisting Japan's aggression in Korea and China and courageously stood at the head of the anti-war peace struggle of the Japanese people.

In this period, the Party built Party organizations in barracks and warships, in army regiments in Tokyo and Osaka, the naval ports of Yokosuka and Kure and Battleship Nagato, Haruna and Yamashiro, and issued "HEISHI NO TOMO" (Friend of Soldiers, first issued in September of 1932) and "SOBIYURU MASUTO" (Rising Mast, first issued in February of 1932) to extend the anti-war struggle among soldiers and seamen, as well.

It was only the Communist Party of Japan that raised the banner of anti-war and defended through peace, democracy and the genuine interests of the people when Japanese imperialism was dashing along the road of expanding the war of aggression, and the Party resolutely fought without yielding to any persecutions.

One of the important weaknesses in the activity of the Party in this period was that the Communist Party had no united front policy to rally all the progressive forces opposing war and aspiring to democracy.

In this respect, the biggest rootsource of sectarianism against the united front policy was the "social fascism" theory, which was prevalent in the international Communist movement under the leadership of Stalin.

The sectarianist tendency toward social democratic forces then growing in the Comintern after the death of Lenin in 1924 was formulated as a programmatic line of the Comintern at its Sixth Congress of 1928. Thus, the Programme of the Comintern adopted by this Congress (1) characterized social democracy and fascism as the two instruments of the bourgeoisie to rule the workers, (2) especially defined the "left-wing" of social democrats as the "most dangerous group" deceiving the masses with revolutionary phrase-

mongering and (3) unconditionally made social democratic forces of all shades an object of attack. According to this Programme, the united front tactics in relation to the social democratic trend was nothing but “a means to mobilize the masses from the class viewpoint and to expose and isolate the upper section of reformists”.

This sectarianism took a more extreme form because the Comintern adopted the “social fascism” theory at the Tenth Plenum of its Executive Committee in 1929. Namely the Theses adopted by this Plenum on the international situation and immediate tasks of the Comintern defined the social democratic party as “social fascism” in a special form of fascism and obligated every section to intensify the struggle against social democracy and particularly against its “left” wing.

“In countries where there are strong social-democratic parties, fascism assumes the particular form of social-fascism, which to an ever-increasing extent serves the bourgeoisie as an instrument for the paralysing of the activity of the masses in the struggle against the regime of fascist dictatorship.”

“The Plenum of the E.C.C.I. imposes on all the Sections of the Communist International the obligation to intensify their fight against international social democracy, which is the chief support of capitalism.

The Plenum of the E.C.C.I. instructs all Sections of the C.I. to pay special attention to an energetic struggle against the ‘left’ wing of social democracy which retards the process of the disintegration of social democracy by creating the illusion that it—the ‘left’ wing—represents an opposition to the policy of the leading social-democratic bodies, whereas as a matter of fact, it whole-heartedly supports the policy of social-fascism.”

These lines were directly drawn from the fact that the Social Democratic Party in power in Germany and other countries suppressed the Communist Party and labour movement with the police power, in reality played the role as the bulwark of capitalism and helped the rise of the fascists. Nevertheless, it was wrong to identify with fascism the social democratic parties as a whole including both those in power and those not in power and to deny the possibility for a trend and force against fascism to come out in the social democratic camp. The “social fascism” theory, however, defined the whole of the social democratic forces as either an accomplice or a carrier of fascism and denied the possibility of united front of Communists and social democrats by regarding its

“left-wing” as the most vicious force.

This policy of the Comintern exerted a seriously negative effect on the activity of the Communist Party of Japan as well. In Japan, the social democratic parties were not the executor in power to suppress the people, and trade unions and peasants' unions, which were their basis, were more or less an object of oppression by the police authorities. Of course, it was true that under the pressure of the Tenno-system Government, many social democratic leaders tended to cooperate in the war of aggression and were approaching the Tenno-system military fascists and the criticism and struggle against them were naturally necessary. At the time of World War I, Lenin characterized the Second International forces who degraded to the supporters of the imperialist war as “social imperialism” or “social chauvinism”. And it was an unmistakable fact that the right-wing social democratic current in Japan, which approved the Tenno-system's war of aggression in the name of “socialism” and lent a hand to the fascist consolidation of its despotism, was the worst social imperialists and a force to be called social fascists. The error of the “social fascism” theory did not lie in the criticism and struggle against such a current, but in the fact that the whole of the social democratic forces was defined and excluded as “social fascism” for that reason and that in particular its “left-wing” was regarded as dangerous. This meant to close the eyes before the possibility of differentiation within social democracy in regard to the attitude toward war of aggression and other matters and especially to lose sight of the perspective of united front rallying the working masses under influence of social democracy to the anti-war and anti-militarist struggle.

This sectarianism restricted also the activity of ZENKYO which was affiliated to the Profintern. The fact that ZENKYO took an attitude to exclude all the reformist leaders or a policy to form “revolutionary opposition groups” within other trade unions failed to correctly link the militant energy of the class labour movement rallying around ZENKYO with the work for the advance of the whole labour front.

“1932 Theses” and Perspective of Japanese Revolution

In the situation at the time when the war of aggression was launched in China and the Tenno-system's military and police rule was strikingly strengthened, it became a vital task at home and abroad to fully analyse the character of Japanese imperialism and to make clearer the features of the situation and the perspective of revolution in Japan.

Prior to that, since the latter half of the 1930, a work to re-examine the “1927 Theses” and draw out a new theses in order to meet the development of the situation had been started in the Comintern. Before this discussion reached an official decision, one of the first drafts discussed by the committee for examining the Japan question was introduced into Japan when Jokichi Kazama and Yojiro Konno returned home and, on the basis thereof, the Party Central Committee published a new “draft Political Theses” in SEKKI in April of 1931. It was, however, based on a fundamentally erroneous view on the assessment of the situation in Japan and the character of the coming revolution. Holding out that the error of the “1927 Theses” be rectified, this “draft” defined the state power in Japan as the “dictatorship of financial capital” and changed the past strategic line into the coming revolution as a “proletarian revolution extensively embracing bourgeois democratic tasks”. It was a “left” opportunist line which made light of the role of the Tenno system and other feudal remnants in our country, avoided the bourgeois democratic revolution that would sweep away the Tenno system and semi-feudal landownership and attempted to direct the struggle of the people chiefly toward “socialist revolution” against financial capital. It also contradicted with the arrival point of the analysis of Japanese capitalism by Eitaro Noro and other theorists of the Party, and critical opinions came also from the leaders in prison including Shoichi Ichikawa. But this “draft Political Theses” was published as a virtual decision approved by the Comintern. This event caused a confusion among those Party members who had consistently defended the strategic line since the Party's founding—evolution from democratic revolution to socialist revolution—and fought against the erroneous “socialist revolution

theory” of the “RONO-HA” faction who avoided the struggle against the Tenno system.

The Japanese imperialist war of aggression in Manchuria and the actual conditions of the Japanese ruling forces manifested therein made clear the error of the “draft Political Theses” which regarded the struggle against the Tenno system as a secondary task in the revolutionary movement. In the Comintern, a profound study of the Japan question was made from 1931 to 1932, with the participation of Party representatives, Sen Katayama, Sanzo Nosaka and Kenzo Yamamoto and in May of 1932 the “Theses on the Situation in Japan and the Tasks of the Communist Party of Japan” (the so-called “1932 Theses”) was adopted. It not only rectified the error of the “draft Political Theses” of 1931, but also further developed the “1927 Theses”, and became an epochal guiding-star indicating the road to be taken by the revolutionary movement of our country.

1. As regards the character and future prospect of the launched Japanese imperialist war of aggression in China, the “1932 Theses” made it clear that in Japan “the aggressiveness of monopolistic capitalism is reinforced by military adventurism of absolutist military and feudal imperialism”, that Japanese imperialism aimed in this aggressive war at turning the vast part of China into its own colony and intended to build an advanced base for its attack on the Soviet Union and to prepare for a new war for the domination over the Pacific and that the outbreak of the war in China was making the danger of military clash with the United States and other imperialist powers more realistic than ever. The “Theses” further pointed out that Japanese imperialism’s overseas aggression was inseparably connected with a policy at home “to preserve and strengthen the regime of unheard-of terror and violence against the workers, to strengthen the corvée rule in rural areas and to force an even lower standard of living on the masses” and that inevitably the war would sharpen the class contradictions within the country. This analysis in the “1932 Theses” correctly viewed the future of Japanese imperialism and splendidly demonstrated the foresightedness of scientific socialism.

2. The “1932 Theses” characterized the ruling system in Japan as a combination of the three factors—the absolutist Tenno-system, landlord landownership and monopoly capitalism. In regard to the Tenno system it pointed out that it represented the interests of the

landowner class and monopoly capital and at the same time maintained its independent and relatively significant role and its absolute character, thinly concealed by pseudo-constitutional forms and that this bourgeois-landlord Tenno system was indeed the "main pillar of political reaction and of all the relics of feudalism in the country" and the "strong backbone of the present dictatorship of exploiting classes", and made it the first of the fundamental tasks of the revolutionary movement in Japan to destroy this Tenno-system state apparatus.

3. From the above-mentioned the "Theses" defined the character of the immediate revolution in Japan as a "bourgeois-democratic revolution with a tendency to grow rapidly into a socialist revolution".

"The Communist Party of Japan makes its basic task the attainment of socialism and must clearly understand that the path to the dictatorship of the proletariat in present Japanese conditions can only be reached through a bourgeois-democratic revolution, that is, through the overthrow of the monarchy, the expropriation of the landlords, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry."

As the main tasks of this democratic revolution the "Theses" raised (1) the overthrow of the Tenno system, (2) the abolition of parasitic landownership and (3) the establishment of a seven-hour working day (and the people's control of banks and large enterprises in the conditions of a revolutionary situation) and took up, as the immediate key slogan, the "people's revolution against imperialist war and the police Tenno system, for rice, land and freedom and for the workers' and peasants' government".

4. The "1932 Theses" emphasized that the future development of the revolutionary movement was wholly conditional "on strength and solidarity of the Communist Party, on its ability to mobilize the millions of workers around its slogans and to lead their struggle" and stressed that the Communist Party of Japan should rectify its right-wing passiveness and sectarianism in the mass activity (confusion of mass organizations with the Party and others) to become a "genuine mass party" deep-rooted in the masses. "The present conditions make it imperative that the Communist Party of Japan bend every effort toward extending and strengthening its present very weak contacts with broad masses of workers, peasants, and other toilers."

These propositions of the “1932 Theses”, which basically and correctly clarified the character of the immediate Japanese revolution and tasks of the Communist Party of Japan, not only overcame the error of the “draft Political Theses” of 1931, but also delivered a decisive blow to the opportunist theory of “RONO-HA” and others. The “Theses”, which clarified the lawful direction of social development in Japan—the nature of the Tenno-system rule and inevitability of democratic transformation—on the basis of the scientific analysis of Japan’s situation, strongly displayed the superiority of scientific socialism and was the most important guiding-star of the Party and working class until the defeat of Japanese imperialism in World War II.

But the “1932 Theses” had a number of important shortcomings, reflecting the state of the international Communist movement at that time.

Firstly, the “Theses” was based on the subjectivistic assessment of the situation that a “revolutionary decisive battle” was imminent in Japan. Concluding that “big revolutionary events may take place in the near future” in Japan, the “Theses” called on the Communist Party of Japan to “train its members for the leadership of the big revolutionary events that are approaching”. This assessment was not a matter of Japan alone, but also a manifestation of the general tendency of the Comintern in this period to regard the world economic crisis and the rise of fascism simply as the sign of the maturity of the revolutionary crisis. This tendency was more striking in the decision of the Twelfth Plenary Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Comintern in September of 1932, and Japan was included in countries in which the revolutionary situation was most imminent together with Germany and Poland, following China and Spain where the revolution had already broken out.

“(Japan) might be thrown into the situation of revolutionary crisis in the near future as the result of extreme intensification of the contradictions at home and abroad.”

Such an unscientific assessment of the situation was a factor to prevent our Party from working out a correct policy or tactics on the basis of a calm analysis of the situation and balance of power.

Secondly, the “Theses”, while criticizing sectarianism, fell into

the contradiction that more definitely formulated the "social fascism" theory, which was the biggest rootsource of sectarianism. The "Theses" regarded all the social democrats and leaders of reformist trade unions as the "chief danger for the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants", among others defined RONO TAISHU-TO and other left-wing social democracy as the "most dangerous" force by placing them at the same level with the anti-party and espionage groups and emphasized the special importance of the struggle against them.

"Social democrats and the leaders of the reformist trade unions are the chief danger for the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants. The most dangerous are the leftist social democrats (RONO TAISHU-TO, RONO-HA, the spy group of the police organized by betrayers of the Communist Party, which calls itself the RODOSHA-HA, etc.) who use revolutionary phraseology, including theoretical discussions of the proletarian revolution (Inomata, Yamakawa, etc.), in order to hide their treacherous role in the war and the workers' movement, their subservience to the monarchy and their faithful service to Japanese imperialism."

It was at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern three years later and through the subsequent development of the movement that these points at issue were settled in the international Communist movement.

Struggle against Aggression and Despotism under Violent Oppression

Immediately after the "1932 Theses" was adopted, the Party published its full text in SEKKI (July of 1932) to strive for its intra-Party study and dissemination and also tackled with the work to energetically develop the Party activity among the masses on the basis of this line. Since May of 1932 before the announcement of the "Theses", the publication of the "Course of the History of the Development of Japanese Capitalism" had begun by rallying theorists of Marxism in and outside the Party under the leadership of Eitaro Noro, and this "Course" had the contents which theoretically supported the "1932 Theses" and exerted a big influence on intellectuals, youth and students. The Party made further active efforts for the anti-war struggle and, abroad in August 1932, Sen

Katayama appealed for the support for the Japanese working people fighting against the war of aggression and the assistance to the Chinese revolution at the International Anti-War Congress held in Amsterdam and gave a profound impression on the attendance.

In order to destroy the Communist Party of Japan, which was thus strengthening its activities against the war of aggression and the police Tenno-system under the guiding star of the "1932 Theses", the Tenno-system Government resorted to literally every atrocious and mean attack by any means imaginable.

In October 1932, the Party convened a National Representatives Conference in Atami to make a nationwide preparations for carrying out the activity based on the "Theses". The Tenno-system Government, which had long planned a nationwide suppression, took advantage of this opportunity to make simultaneous raids all over the country and arrested the Party leadership and about fifteen hundred Party members, Young Communist League members and ZENKYO activists. Then in February of 1933, the next year, more than fifteen hundred people were arrested chiefly around the Osaka region and all the members of the ZENKYO central committee were put in prison. The torture on arrested Party members and Party supporters was extremely cruel. The atrocity of the outrages no less horrible than the Inquisition in the Middle Ages was done as daily acts and the police torture became increasingly so bad as many Party members were killed by it. As early as in April 1932, Shigeki Ueda, member of the Party Central Committee, was arrested by the arrangement of a spy and was killed secretly. Yoshimichi Iwata, member of the Party Central Committee (arrested in October and killed in November 1932) and Takiji Kobayashi, revolutionary writer (arrested and killed in February 1933) were also murdered by the torture of the Tenno-system police.

The successive suppressions were connected with the espionage and provocation policy of the Tenno-system Government. In order to grasp the Party organizations from within, TOKKO had since a long time ago resorted to a meanest means of making spies and provocateurs sneak into the Party. In a roundup, they left spies within the Party without fail in preparation for the next roundup and repeated one suppression after another by their arrangement. The simultaneous wholesale arrest in October 1932 was also by the arrangement of a spy sent by TOKKO into the Party. Prior to this suppression, TOKKO had gone so far as to make such a mean

scheme to make spy Matsumura, who had been made to sneak into the Party Centre, cause the so-called "Omori Gang Case"—in which the Kawasaki-100 Bank in Omori, Tokyo, was raided as a link of the alleged fund-collecting activity of the Communist Party—to damage the political and moral prestige of the Party by this meanest scheme.

After the suppression in October, 1932, the leading activists, who escaped arrest, at once tackled with the reconstruction activity, mainly around Eitaro Noro, candidate member of the Central Committee, and continued to issue SEKKI. In the meanwhile, Masami Yamamoto, who had come back from Moscow, was in charge of the Party leadership for a while, but he yielded to the enemy when he was arrested. At the same time, Naohei Taniguchi, member of the Central Committee and Editor in Chief of SEKKI, was also arrested. In May 1933, the Central Committee headed by Eitaro Noro and Kenji Miyamoto continued its indomitable efforts for expansion of the Party activity based on the "1932 Theses".

Having occupied Manchuria, the Japanese armed forces extended their aggression to Jeho Province in February of 1933 and began to prepare for their invasion of North China. The Party called attention to the danger of aggression in North China in almost every issue of SEKKI, exposed that the intention of Japanese imperialism was to strangle the Chinese revolution, colonize China and prepare for a war against the Soviet Union and warned against the expansion of the war of aggression leading the people to a miserable catastrophe.

"The final main objective of the war for plunder of North China is the decisive preparation for a war against the Soviet Union. At the same time, however, it means the direct outbreak of a large-scale interventionist war against the Chinese worker-peasant revolution. Japanese imperialism, which has occupied Peiping, attempts to raid Central China along the Ping-Han line and to strangle the development of the Soviet revolution in Central and South China with a beastlike attack.

Japanese imperialism is demanding the lion's share in the 'final partition' of China by carrying out to maximum the role of counter-revolutionary gendarme . . .

The counterrevolutionary robbery war has at home unlimitedly aggravated the counterrevolutionary violent administration over the people's masses and the robbery plunder of the workers and peasants. The people's masses are now about to be completely deprived at one

stroke of their vested rights which were still left in the smallest amount . . . Thus, should a war against the Soviet Union be launched on a full-scale and should the present robbery war be further expanded to scores of times, hundreds of times, to say nothing of scores of thousands and millions of sacrifices on the front, the number of sacrifices of forced hunger and terror in the country will countlessly increase and only a handful of capitalists and landlords will become fattest at the cost of these workers' and peasants' masses . . .

Hold mass meetings and round-table gatherings in every establishment, enterprise, or hamlet and resolve against the occupation of North China! And in order to develop this mass anti-war resolution into a powerful mass action, we must at once start to work to take up the present anti-war daily struggles most closely connected with the masses' living and to boldly organize the mass activity". (SEKKI Editorial, May 26 1933, "Organize Mass Anti-War Actions against Plunder of North China")

Based on this line, the Party attached importance to the masses' daily demands relating to war sacrifices such as against the coercive collection of donations for state-defence, for guarantee of living of the families of soldiers on the front and against landlord's confiscation of the farming land of a tenant who departed for the front, and stood at the head of them in workshops, cities and villages.

At the same time, the Party squarely confronted itself with the strengthening by the Tenno system of fascist oppression which was tied to the expansion of the war of aggression and held higher the banner of defence of freedom and democracy.

In May 1933 when the ban on the publication of the "May 15 case" news—an abortive fascist coup d'état of the year before—was lifted, SEKKI made it clear that the military fascists who advocated the overthrow of political parties, the ZAIBATSU and privileged classes, were the most extreme Tennoists and the most extreme imperialists and sharply accused the scheme of the ruling classes to encourage the fascist movement as a new bulwark of the Tenno system, to realize a Tennoist military dictatorial regime with them as a shock troop and to consolidate a system for a large-scale military adventure (SEKKI, May 11 1933).

Not only concentrating its attacks on the destruction of the Communist Party of Japan but also extending its hand of persecution to conscientious liberalists, the Tenno-system Government compelled Professor Yukitoki Takigawa of the Law Faculty of the

Kyoto Imperial University to resign in May 1933, for the reason that his criminal-law theory was a "red ideology". While the Faculty Council resisted it in concert and students of various universities started a movement to defend self-government of university and freedom of study, the Government brought pressure upon the student movement throughout the country and forcibly carried out the eviction of Professor Y. Takigawa from his post.

The Party regarded the Takigawa case as "a cultural reaction no less worse than the Hitler terror in Germany" and at once called on the workers and peasants to join hands with students, intellectuals, liberalist thinkers, scientists and men of arts to fight to repulse the cultural reaction (SEKKI, May 26 1933). At that time a trend to defend freedom of study and thought grew among intellectuals, and GAKUGEI JIYU YOGO DOMEI (Union for Defence of Freedom of Art and Science, headed by Shusei Tokuda) was organized in July 1933. This was a bud of united front of intellectuals against war and despotism and also Communist intellectuals including Yuriko Miyamoto joined it, but it could not develop in the conditions that the Party and proletarian cultural organizations were destroyed by suppression and the defeatist current was growing stronger.

The efforts to grope for united front were also made in the field of the anti-war struggle. The International Anti-War Committee established by the 1932 International Anti-War Congress in Amsterdam proposed in December 1932 to hold a Far-East Anti-War Conference against the Japanese imperialist aggression in China in Shanghai in 1933. When this plan was announced, in March 1933 the Party together with the Young Communist League, ZENKYO and Anti-Imperialist League issued an appeal in support for the Shanghai Anti-War Conference and called to form an anti-war committee in every establishment and district to rally all the people, who opposed the imperialist war, irrespective of affiliation to any political party. In September, a Japan Anti-War Conference was planned in Tokyo in response to the Shanghai Anti-War Conference, but the meeting place was brought under the police control to make the holding of the conference impossible. Before that, in parallel with organization of anti-war committees, a preparatory committee for the "KYOKUTO HEIWA TOMO NO KAI" (Far East Friends of Peace Society) promoted by Ujaku Akita, Kan Eguchi and Nyozeikan Hasegawa was formed in June, and in July, by its

appeal, the "Council of Proletarian Organizations Supporting the Shanghai Anti-War Conference" was formed with fifteen member organizations such as TOITSU-KAIGI (United Conference), SOHYO-GIKAI (General Council) and other trade unions, and RONO KYUEN-KAI (Worker-Peasant Relief Society) and HANTEI DOMEI (Anti-Imperialist League). In the first stage the Party promoted it as a positive opportunity for united front, but changed to a critical attitude halfway. Here was reflected a contradiction between the orientation toward united front based on the demand of the situation and such a line as the "social fascism" theory.

Abroad, too, Sen Katayama and other Party members energetically continued the activities against the imperialist war and for international solidarity with the Asian peoples. In 1932, when French imperialism brought heavy pressure upon the Communist Party of Indochina, our Party's representatives who were then abroad sent to the Communist Party of Indochina greetings of solidarity which expressed the determination to fight against fascism and war, jointly with the Chinese and other Parties.

Amid of these activities, Sen Katayama, who played a leading role in founding our Party and was an excellent activist of the international labour movement, ended his glorious revolutionary life of seventy-four years in Moscow in November 1933.

In this period, an event took place which left a big stain in the history of the Communist Party of Japan and Japanese revolutionary movement. It was the surrender of those who were once in the supreme leadership of the Party—such as Manabu Sano, Sadachika Nabeyama and Shiro Mitamura—to the Tenno-system power.

The Tenno-system Government, which had also in the past made Shigeo Mizuno and others capitulate in prison and form a group of renegades called the "Workers' Faction of the Communist Party of Japan" and tried to use them for party-subversion from within but this manoeuvre was undergoing a miserable failure in the face of the resolute struggle of the Party which exposed the shameful true colour of traitors. In order to destroy the Communist Party of Japan which remained to continue an indomitable struggle in the van of the Japanese people, the Government and the ruling classes now needed a new group of traitors with greater influence.

The joint trial of the March 15 case and April 16 case which ended in July 1932, sentenced penal servitude for life to Shoichi

Ichikawa, Manabu Sano, Sadachika Nabeyama and Shiro Mitamura and penal servitude for total 777 years to other 181 Party members. While the Party started preparations for the trial of the court of appeal at once, M. Sano and S. Nabeyama, who were frightened at the sentence of penal servitude for life, published, under the guidance of prosecutors, a "conversion statement" in June of 1933, from the earnest desire to be released. In the statement, Sano and Nabeyama argued that the Imperial Family was the "centre of national unity", accused the Communist Party for raising the anti-national-polity slogan of overthrowing the Tenno system, advocated "one-country socialism" under the Tenno system, supported the colonization of Korea and Taiwan and the war of aggression in China by Japanese imperialism as progress of history and thus insisted on the dissolution of the Communist Party of Japan from the stand of fully beautifying the Tenno system and its war of aggression. In July, Shiro Mitamura and Sadaki Takahashi followed them, and then Jokichi Kazama and Seigen Tanaka expressed similar "conversion" in succession. The authorities printed these conversion statements and distributed them among the accused in prison. M. Sano, S. Nabeyama and others cooperated with judges, prosecutors and jailers to increase the number of the "converts" and fell to shameful assistants of the party-subversive manoeuvres of the Tenno-system police authorities.

The Party Central Committee headed by Eitaro Noro and Kenji Miyamoto expelled these vicious traitors from the Party at once, published the fact on the SEKKI and thoroughly exposed their criminal acts.

"Resolution

Manabu Sano and *Sadachika Nabeyama* shall be immediately expelled from the Party and evicted from all the Party bodies and Party organizations for the following reason.

(Reason of Expulsion)

These two persons have yielded to the terror of the Tenno-system power, ignored the Party discipline, complied with the order of the enemy classes and started provocative acts to destroy the Party in cooperation with the Tenno-system police authorities. The 'Outline of Statement' and 'Letter to Comrades Joint Accused' published by them through the hand of the police authorities were written as instructed by the Tenno-system police authorities. In those documents they have not only denied every principle of Communism, openly demanded the secession from the Communist

International and dissolution of the Communist Party of Japan—Japan Section of the Communist International—supported the imperialist policy of war taken by the Tenno-system Government and stated the disarmament of the proletariat before the Tenno-system power, but also have already started and are continuing the active party-subversive acts. These acts of theirs are indeed party-subversive acts by provocateurs playing in the hand of the enemy classes.” (SEKKI, June 16 1933)

Party members who became indignant at the betrayal of M. Sano and others, resolutely fought against them in and outside prison. Sen Katayama, Sanzo Nosaka and Kenzo Yamamoto denounced this class crime and encouraged the entire Party from abroad.

Helped by the intimidation and leading of power and large-scale political propaganda of journalism, the betrayal of M. Sano and S. Nabeyama, who were members of the supreme leadership of the Party, became a moment to largely engender the mood and currents of defeatism in and outside the Party. Among Communist Party members in prison, too, a considerable number of them expressed the secession from the revolutionary movement, yielding to the police authorities' violent suppression. Among these “converts”, too, included were not only those who admired the war of aggression as agents of the Tenno-system power like M. Sano and S. Nabeyama and were degraded to its active cooperators, but also those who were forced to reluctantly announce the abandonment of the revolutionary movement because of immaturity of their class growth. But, whatever the reason and motive may be, it was undoubtedly a surrender to the Tenno-system despotic power and a political apostasy impermissible for the Party and revolutionary movement. Among people who expressed “conversion” at that time, those, who seriously self-criticized this error, took part, after released, in the efforts for reconstruction of the Party and revolutionary movement and returned to the Party ranks after the defeat of Japanese imperialism.

This defeatism manifested itself in various forms such as the tendency to forget to accuse the Tenno-system power and to deny the significance of the revolutionary and democratic movements for the reason of this or that shortcoming or weakness within the movement, and tendency to justify the political apostasy called “conversion” under the name of “humanity”.

Struggle for the Defence of the Party and Collapse of the Party Central Committee by Suppression

The enemy's successive suppressions, the emergence of traitors from within the supreme leadership of the Party and frequent destructions of the Party from within by spies drove the Party into the most difficult conditions. In November of 1933, Eitaro Noro, who continued the Party activity despite his illness, was arrested by the arrangement of a spy. The condition of his illness took a turn for the worse by the police torture and he ended his life in February of the next year.

The Party Central Committee headed by Kenji Miyamoto and Satomi Hakamada carried out an active struggle against spies and provocateurs, who infiltrated into the Party, in order to defend and reconstruct the Party. The Party Centre introduced the historic experience of the Comintern in the struggle for the defence of the Party to the entire Party with the article entitled "Struggle against Espionage and Provocation" ("Communist International", No. 4, 1932) and made it clear that it was "a method of the class struggle of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat" to distort the Party's political line from within and to degenerate the Party by espionage and provocation, particularly by making provocateurs sneak into the Party, that the struggle against them was an inevitable task of the Communist Party and revolutionary movement and that the basic line against provocation was to expose the discovered provocateurs openly before the broad masses so that they can no longer sneak into the revolutionary movement. As regards a series of suppressions led by spies, the Central Committee organized an investigation committee to investigate the conditions of damage sustained by Party organizations and their causes and was able to unmask a group of Kenzo Oizumi, Tatsuo Obata and other important spies who had sneaked into the Party Central Committee. The heaviest punishment of the unmasked spies was their expulsion from the Party and a measure never to allow their infiltration into the Party was taken by publishing the punishment in SEKKI. In the midst of this spy-unmasking, Kenji Miyamoto was arrested in December

1933. In retaliation of the exposure of their espionage and provocation policy, the police authorities took advantage of the sudden death of T. Obata during the inquiry to carry out large-scale false propaganda as if it were the Communist Party's planned murder case so as to arouse a public opinion against the Communist Party. But, in the subsequent trial, it was medicolegally pointed out that the death of Obata was a death by shock because of his idiosyncrasy, and the false propaganda by the police authorities was smashed to pieces.

After the arrest of K. Miyamoto, Satomi Hakamada further continued the activity as a member of the Central Committee. But a blow was further dealt to the Party by the successive suppressions and the splitting activity of the "TASU-HA" (Majority Group) faction of Isamu Miyauchi, Aki Yamamoto and others which came out in a part of the central group of ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI ZENKOKU-KAIGI-HA (National Congress Group of the National Peasants' Union) and the central group of NIHON SHOHKUMIAI RENMEI (Japan Consumers' Cooperatives Association). They slandered the Party Centre fighting against the enemy's espionage policy in spite of difficult conditions by calling it "provocateurs", conducted a mean factional activity on the pretext of "taking back the centre" and drove the Party further into difficulties. The Comintern and Sanzo Nosaka helped the Party from abroad by publishing an article to criticize "TASU-HA" in 1935, and "TASU-HA" was disorganized in July of the same year. Before that, however, Satomi Hakamada, the final member of the Party Central Committee, was arrested in March of 1935 and SEKKI glorified in the revolutionary tradition was forced to suspend its publication with the final 187 issue of February 20 1935.

Thus, the Central Committee of our Party was destroyed by the Tenno-system Government's suppression. In spite of subsequent activities of individual Communist groups and Communists or activities under the banner of the Party in prison and abroad, the Party Centre was not reconstructed and the nationwide united activity of the Party was virtually suspended for about ten years from 1935 to the defeat of Japanese imperialism. This discontinuation of the Party activity for the ten years inflicted a serious loss on the Party and revolutionary movement of Japan. It not only deprived the Japanese people of the headquarters of the liberation struggle in the most difficult period of war and oppression, but also

exerted a big negative influence over the postwar activity of the Communist Party of Japan by making impossible the systematic training of Party activists and the unified accumulation of the theory and experience of the Party.

Since then the thought control became more complete and, in 1935, even member of the House of Peers Tatsukichi Minobe's Emperor-as-organ theory, which was the main stream of the Constitution theory at that time, was regarded as a "theory of academic gangster" against the national polity and the publication of his work was prohibited. In 1936, more than thirty scholars who contributed to the "Course of the History of the Development of Japanese Capitalism" were arrested for violation of the Law for Maintenance of the Public Peace for the reason of the theoretical study of Marxism.

Amid of the suppression of even liberalists, the right-wing social democrats admired the Tenno system and further increased their approach and capitulation to the military which was the most reactionary part of the Tenno-system mechanism. The ties between the Tenno-system military fascists and leaders of SHAKAI TAISHU-TO became ever closer. In October of 1934, when the Ministry of Army issued a pamphlet entitled "Basic Principle of National Defence and Proposal for Its Reinforcement" to maintain the consolidation of the Tenno-system despotic rule under the name of "national defence state", whereas even a part of SEIYU-KAI and MINSEI-TO criticized it, General Secretary of SHAKAI TAISHU-TO Hisashi Aso openly supported it and even asserted to realize its content by the "union of the armed forces and the proletariat".

Thus, having destroyed the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan—the only Party which opposed the war of aggression and the Tenno-system's despotic rule—the Tenno-system Government and ruling classes established a system of dark rule at home and made preparations for drawing the people onto the way of expanding the war of aggression.

People's Front Movement against the Military Dictatorship and the War of Aggression of the Tenno System

Following the aggression in Manchuria, Japanese imperialism openly demanded in about 1935 that the North China region be separated from China to make the region an area under Japan's control and repeated its aggressions. Though a coup d'état of military fascists with the purpose of establishing a terrorist dictatorship of the Tenno-system military to carry out the war took place in 1936 (February 26 Case) and was repressed as a "revolt", the objective of "revolters" was steadily realized by the Tenno-system Government centered on the military. At that time such fascist countries as Germany and Italy were about to launch a new war of aggression in Europe, and the Tenno-system Government concluded the "Japan-Germany Anti-Comintern Pact" with Nazis Germany in November 1936 (Italy participated in November 1937) and, under the flagmark of anti-communism, began to take a step toward the formation of a Japan-Germany-Italy aggressive bloc to challenge peace and democracy of the world.

In this period, the Seventh Congress of the Comintern was held in July 1935 and called on the world to fight against the imminent threat of imperialist war and danger of fascism by forming a broad people's front of peace and democracy.

In the Comintern, meetings had been held since 1934 to fully reexamine the past policies in the light of the international experience of the struggle against fascism. On the basis of their conclusion, a fundamental criticism was delivered at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern to sectarianism, which so far had existed in the international Communist movement and attacked all the social democratic parties as the bulwark of the bourgeoisie, and the problem of theory and practice of the united front policy including the cooperation between the Communist Party and social democratic party was, on a full scale, raised in the new situation of rising fascism. S. Nosaka and K. Yamamoto attended this Congress as

the Japanese representatives and made a speech on the Japanese situation and struggle of the Communist Party of Japan. At this Congress, S. Nosaka was elected a member of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern in place of Sen Katayama, who died two years before, and Shoichi Ichikawa, who was fighting in prison, was also elected a member of the Executive Committee.

Prior to the Seventh Congress, S. Nosaka took the work to issue the magazine "International Correspondence" in the United States from the summer of 1934, to send it to Japan through the cooperation of progressive seamen and to help the advance of the Party and revolutionary movement and, since about the time of the Seventh Congress made every effort to introduce the decisions and ideas of the Congress into the movement in Japan and to concretize the people's front policy in the situation of Japan.

In February 1936, Sanzo Nosaka and Kenzo Yamamoto published a "Letter to Japanese Communists" under joint signature and made it clear that the most pressing present question in the situation in Japan was the offensive centered on the Tenno-system military to strengthen the Tenno system's despotic rule, to oppress the last piece of freedom and rights of the people and to set up a system of more barbarous fascist militarist rule in order to prepare for and perform a war of aggression; that the military fascists were the most reactionary and barbarous part of the Tenno-system mechanism; that the Party should, while strategically aiming at overthrowing the Tenno-system, for the present, tactically make efforts to arouse the people against the Tenno-system military fascists, who were the present main enemy; and that the most urgent aim of the policy and tactics of the Communist Party of Japan was to establish a people's front to unite the whole working people and whole democratic forces against the military, reaction and war. The "Letter" also pointed out that, as the main political slogan for this struggle, the "establishment of a democratic Japan with all the powers resting in the hand of the people and creation of a people's constitutional congress which is elected by universal, equal, direct and secret ballots of all adults and has the highest power" should be raised together with the opposition to reaction and military fascist dictatorship and that it is necessary for the Communists to boldly overcome sectarianism to work in such legal mass organizations as trade union and peasants' union and make efforts for the people's front

in cooperation with the left-wing elements in SHAKAI TAISHU-TO. While presupposing the strategic line and perspective of the "1932 Theses" as its basic prerequisite, the "Letter" had an important content to rectify a series of weaknesses such as the "social fascism" theory contained in the "Theses" by materializing the line of the Seventh Comintern Congress.

Together with the influence of the experiences in the people's front in Europe, the "Letter" of S. Nosaka and K. Yamamoto which called on the whole people of Japan to unite themselves to concentrate their attacks on the Tenno-system military fascists, encouraged individual Communists and genuine democrats working in various parts of the country and promoted their efforts for formation of the people's front.

S. Nosaka and others made Yonosuke Kobayashi, who attended the Seventh Comintern Congress as a youth representative of Japan, return home with tasks in Japan. Y. Kobayashi returned home in July 1936 and founded organizations in Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto together with Party members and activists including Takashi Okabe, endeavouring to rally Communists and to promote the people's front movement. But he was arrested in December 1937 and later the organization, too, was completely destroyed by the suppression in 1940. Apart from that, Party members in the Kansai region, who once belonged to "TASU-HA", made efforts for reconstruction of the Party organization in support for the "Letter" of S. Nosaka and K. Yamamoto in 1936 after the disorganization of "TASU-HA" faction, but this organization was also destroyed by the roundup in December of the same year.

The people's front movement exerted an influence on the left-wing social democrats as well and there took place a movement for unity of the labour front against fascism, a move of "RONO MUSAN KYOGIKAI" (Worker-Farmer Propertyless Council, formed in May of 1936) to advocate an "anti-fascist people's front" and to propose a joint struggle to SHAKAI TAISHU-TO. But SHAKAI TAISHU-TO decided the exclusion of the people's front movement at its party convention in December of the same year to oppose it.

In spite of the pent-up discontents of every stratum of the people with the war and intensified reaction, the people's front movement in Japan could not organize a mass movement and failed to gain success under the conditions at that time that the unified national leadership of our Party had been destroyed.

Full-Scale Aggression in China and World War II

In July 1937, Japanese imperialism launched its full-scale aggression in China. The Chinese people led by the Communist Party of China rallied themselves to the Anti-Japanese National United Front and arose for a resistance war against imperialism and for independence with all the might of the nation. In Japan, too, individual Communists distributed anti-war leaflets calling for opposition to the war in Tokyo, Osaka, Hokkaido and other places on the next day of the outbreak of the war and conducted anti-war activities even within troops. But under the conditions that the function of the Central Committee had been lost, their activity could not but become local and dispersive. During the war of aggression, the group of Takashi Okabe after the arrest of Yonosuke Kobayashi, group of Keihin (Tokyo-Yokohama) region led by Yoshimune Yamashiro and Shoichi Kasuga, group of Shojiro Kasuga and Tsunesaburo Takenaka in Kansai region, group of Shuichi Sato and other groups, and other Communists made efforts for reconstruction of the Party organization in respective districts and repeated such multifarious struggles as to organize various anti-war circles. But all of them were frustrated by suppression.

In order to exterminate criticism against and opposition to the war, the Tenno-system Government ruthlessly intensified its suppression. In September 1937, two months after the outbreak of the war, it unfolded a movement for "general mobilization of national spirit" to consolidate the system for thought control of the people. In December, it dissolved "NIHON MUSAN-TO" (Japan Proletarian Party, formed in February of 1937) and "NIHON RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU HYOGIKAI" (National Council of Japanese Trade Unions, formed in 1934) for the reason that they "attempted to form a people's front" and four hundred persons concerned were arrested. In February of 1938, the next year, the scholars' group of "RONO-HA" and group of the magazine "SEKAI BUNKA" (World Culture) in the Kansai region were also arrested for the same reason. With the progress of the war, the thought of aggression and reaction based on the "universe-is-one" principle was advocated and various cultural organizations including "YUIBUTSURON KENKYU-

KAI” (Materialism Study Society) and new-drama organizations were suppressed as associations to carry out the objectives of the Comintern and the Communist Party of Japan. Even the liberal scholars, men of culture and humanitarian Christians were persecuted, progressive writers were forbidden to write and dark politics, which literally strangled every progressive speech and movement, was strengthened.

In contrast, SHAKAI TAISHU-TO (Hisashi Aso, Suehiro Nishio, Komakichi Matsuoka and others), which had yielded to the Tenno system since a long time ago and cooperated in the war of aggression, expressed its attitude of admiring the war of aggression, as soon as the full-scale war against China was launched, that “the China Incident intended to build a new Far East Peace Organization with Japan, Manchuria and China as its axis and to contribute to the development of human culture by exterminating the colonization and communization of China is a holy war of the Japanese nation” (Movement Policy). RODO SODOMEI led by them also published at its national convention in October 1937 a declaration of war cooperation that during the China Incident they were determined to exterminate strike and cooperated with the Tenno-system Government to dissolve trade unions to create a war cooperation body “SANGYO-HOKOKU-KAI” (Association for Service to the State with Industry) in 1938. Needless to say, such bourgeois parties as SEIYU-KAI and MINSEI-TO, which were the predecessors of the existing Liberal Democratic Party and represented the interests of the ZAIBATSU and landlords, were active promoters of the war of aggression. In order to create a Tennoist fascist internal system in preparation for the coming Pacific War, they together with leaders of SHAKAI TAISHU-TO advocated the “Political Party Return Argument” and voluntarily dissolved themselves in 1940 and respectively became important constituents of “TAISEI-YOKUSAN-KAI” (Imperial Rule Assistance Association), an organization for cooperation in carrying out the war.

Hitler Germany started its aggression in Europe in September 1939. In September of 1940 the Tenno-system Government, in place of the former Anti-Comintern Pact, formed the “Japan-Germany-Italy Tripartite Alliance”, an aggressive military alliance of the three countries with Germany of Hitler and Italy of Mussolini. In June 1941, Germany invaded the Soviet Union and, in response thereto, Japan concentrated big armed forces on the border

area of the Soviet Union and Manchuria under the name of the “great special exercise of the Kwantung Army” to prepare to launch a war against the Soviet Union from the eastern side according to conditions. But due to the failure of the “blitzkrieg” of Hitler Germany in the face of the counterattack by the Soviet armed forces, Japanese imperialism temporarily abandoned the plan for its aggression in the Soviet Union, decided its “southward advance”, declared war against the United States and Great Britain on December 8 of the same year and extended its hand of aggression to South-East Asian countries. With the outbreak of the Pacific War, Japanese imperialism took part fully in World War II as a member of the fascist aggressive alliance and led the Japanese people to the catastrophic end.

In this period, the dark condition reached its extreme. From the next day of the outbreak of the Pacific War, new pressure was brought one after another not only on Communists but also on liberalists and humanists critical to the war, and two hundreds and scores of people were arrested even in Tokyo alone.

Under the name of “holy war” and “patriotism”, the people were deprived of every freedom, the workers, peasants and all other people were forced to work like a slave and countless honest husbands and sons were driven to the reckless war of aggression. Beside, many women, aged people and children were killed, having been exposed to U.S. armed forces’ indiscriminate bombing and the whole territory was burnt to the ground.

Indomitable Struggle of Communist Party Members and Dissolution of the Comintern

In the meanwhile, not a few Communist Party members fought on in prison in defence of the banner of the Party and revolution without yielding to every persecution and the worst living conditions, and their indomitable struggle greatly encouraged the people outside the prison. Communist Party members who did not express surrender to the enemy to the end of long imprisonment were members of the Central Committee Shoichi Ichikawa, Goichiro Kokuryo, Kenji Miyamoto and Satomi Hakamada, as well as Kyuichi Tokuda,

Jutoku Kuroki, Tsunesaburo Takenaka, Kazumi Matsumoto, Yoshio Shiga, Takaji Nishizawa and others.

The Tenno-system Government completely revised the Law for Maintenance of the Public Peace for the worse in March 1941 just before the outbreak of the Pacific War, and newly set up a "preventive detention" system to indefinitely detain a Communist Party member who had ended his unreasonable prison-term under the Law for Maintenance of the Public Peace for the reason that he "might repeat the same offence". This led to prolonged detention of indomitably fighting Communist Party members in prison irrespective of the term of imprisonment until the defeat of Japanese imperialism.

At that time when the living standard of the people was extremely lowered due to the war of aggression and they suffered from the shortage of daily necessities, the living of Party members in prison was worse and one member after another fell from malnutrition. When the bombing of the mainland by U. S. air force began, in the Sugamo Prison the cell of "unconverted" accused of the Law for Maintenance of the Public Peace was left locked during the bombing while the cages of other accused were unlocked.

In this situation, in spite of the threat of penalty including the death and imprisonment for life, Communist Party members safeguarded the Party organization to the last at the court and in prison and resolutely maintained the righteousness of Communism and tasks of the Party.

The trial of Kenji Miyamoto and Satomi Hakamada, the last leadership of the Party in the prewar days, began in July 1939 under the war-time system, in the most difficult conditions that even every relief organization to support the court struggle from outside was destroyed. The prosecutorial authorities tried to frame up the struggle of the Party leadership against spies and provocateurs into a planned murder case and used to maximum the "testimonies" of the "converts" within the then leadership for that purpose. On Yuriko Miyamoto and others who were engaged in the assistance to their court struggle from outside, as well, pressure of prolonged detention was repeatedly brought.

But, unyielding to every difficulty, K. Miyamoto and S. Hakamada not only exposed the meanest scheme of the Tenno-system police on the basis of facts in the court and proved the righteousness of the Party's struggle against spies and provocateurs, but also

fully explicated that the existence and activity of the Communist Party of Japan were a cause of justice in the interests of the Japanese people and for the sake of the progress of society and mankind. The court sentenced S. Hakamada to imprisonment for fifteen years in June 1941. K. Miyamoto became ill in prison and his trial was suspended, but since then he alone continued the war-time court struggle.

These leaders of the Communist Party never surrendered to the enemy even under the worst conditions that the revolutionary movement was put in the most difficult phase and the whole of the society was turned into something like a prison, but resolutely defended through the cause of revolution. The biggest force which supported this indomitable struggle was firm revolutionary determination to safeguard the fundamental interests of the Japanese people as well as consistent scientific conviction in the injustice of the imperialist war and the inevitability of its defeat, in the inevitability of substantial contradiction and collapse of the dark rule called the Tenno system and in the necessity of social development from capitalism to socialism, firmly basing itself on the world outlook of scientific socialism.

In the course of struggle in prison, Goichiro Kokuryo died in the Sakai Prison on March 19 1943 and Shoichi Ichikawa in the Miyagi Prison on March 15 1945. Shoichi Ichikawa, who had suffered from malnutrition and become almost unable to eat, having lost teeth, was still fighting resolutely against the war of aggression with fiery fighting spirit.

In spite of difficulties, Sanzo Nosaka and Kenzo Yamamoto continued the work to help the Communist movement within Japan from abroad. Kenzo Yamamoto was unfortunately arrested for a groundless suspicion in the Soviet Union in 1937 in connection with Stalin's error in this period, injured the health as the result and died of illness in April 1942. Stalin was a leader who played an important role in the international Communist movement, but could not avoid to commit in his activity a number of serious errors. One of his errors was the violation of the socialist legal order in the Soviet Union, and in this period foreign Communists, too, were subjected to unlawful persecutions which violated the discipline of the international Communist movement. The arrest of Kenzo Yamamoto was also one of such cases, but later it was made clear that the charge on Yamamoto was unfounded. Ryokichi Sugimoto,

too, who entered the Soviet Union across the border in Sakhalin in January of 1938 to make contact with the Comintern, was also arrested and died in the Soviet Union without fulfilling out his task.

Sanzo Nosaka went from the Soviet Union to China early in 1940 when the Pacific War was imminent, educated there the Japanese prisoners of war, formed a "NIHON-JIN HANSEN DOMEI" (Japanese Anti-War League) and made anti-war appeals to the Japanese soldiers in spite of every danger. The activity of this League gradually developed into the "NIHON-JIMMIN KAIHO RENMEI" (Japanese People Liberation League) in 1944 and adopted a democratic political programme for building a democratic Japan demanding an end of the war and peace, lasting peace, economic policy for prosperity, overthrow of the military dictatorship, free and democratic administration, improvement of the people's life, guarantee of the living of soldiers and seamen and their families and the establishment of a people's government.

At the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China held in Yen'an in April 1945, S. Nosaka made a speech on behalf of the Communist Party of Japan and made clear before the peoples of China and other allied powers the policy in all the fields of politics, economy and education of Japanese Communists for building a democratic Japan after the defeat of Japanese imperialism.

In prison, as well, the Communist Party members scientifically foresaw the imminent defeat of Japanese imperialism and began to make preparations for leading a democratic revolution after the defeat.

Kenji Miyamoto, who was fighting the court struggle in the resumed trial from June 1944 under air raids, in a dignified manner explicated the position of justice and progress of the Communist Party of Japan in the trial held on November 30 and thoroughly denounced the suppression of the Communist Party of Japan based on the Law for Maintenance of the Public Peace as a medieval oppression to prevent the lawful development of history by force, concluding his last statement as follows:—

"I am convinced that the court of history based on social progress and human justice will certainly prove that we were not to be persecuted and punished in this way and that all the more the punishment with a long-term imprisonment almost equal to a virtual death was a big error."

In the course of this court struggle for six years, the trick of police to frame up the struggle for the defence of the Party from spies and provocateurs into a lynch-murder case was completely reversed by the scientific counter-evidence including the examination of all the records of proceedings obtained in difficult conditions. In spite of the extensive frame-up by TOKKO, the spy himself went so far as to state that he was a spy of the secret police, and the basic line of the then Party Central Committee that the worst penalty for a spy or provocateur was expulsion was backed by facts. It was of great significance that the false story given by the power side was defeated and the truth was safeguarded in the dark court during the Pacific War.

However, in spite of the collapse of false charge and in disregard of the accusation by K. Miyamoto, the Tenno-system court sentenced K. Miyamoto to imprisonment for life in January 1945 virtually only for the reason that he was an "unconverted" member of the Party Central Committee.

In December of 1944 just before this judgement, K. Miyamoto wrote from prison to a relative in an expression considering the censorship that the judgement by the "court of history" was near and that they should greet, with sufficient preparations, the day of the defeat of Japanese imperialism and of recovery of democratic freedom anticipated to come in the next year.

Though the Party organization was destroyed, the Communist Party of Japan was the only Party which met the defeat of war with a clear perspective in the interests of the Japanese people.

In the meanwhile, the dissolution of the Comintern was decided in June of 1943. Sanzo Nosaka approved this measure on behalf of the Communist Party of Japan.

As regards the role of the Comintern, the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 had already stressed that the development in the international situation and labour movement made it necessary for each Communist Party to display a big mobility and independency, and the Executive Committee of the Comintern also decided "to proceed from the concrete conditions and peculiarities of respective countries and, as a principle, not directly to interfere in the internal organizational problems of each Communist Party" in deciding any questions in the labour movement. The 1943 decision was a further development of this position. It was a measure taken as the result of the international unanimous confir-

mation that the historic role of the Comintern ended at the stage where the international Communist movement had achieved a great development in quality as well as in quantity through the activity of the Comintern for twenty-four years and that the existence of a unified international organization and international leadership based on democratic centralism were now rather an obstacle to the advance of each Party and revolutionary movement. The dissolution of the Comintern was the first step to open a new stage at which the self-reliant and independent position of each Communist Party should be established as the principle of unity of the international Communist movement.

CHAPTER IV

FROM THE PARTY RECONSTRUCTION AFTER THE DEFEAT IN THE WAR TO THE SEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS

The Defeat of Japanese Imperialism and the Party Reconstruction

On August 15, 1945, the Tenno-system Government accepted the "Potsdam Declaration" and surrendered to the Allied Powers. The Potsdam Declaration signed by the four nations, the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China was something to be called the common programme of the Allied Powers toward Japan which determined the foundation of their postwar Japan-policy and demanded the complete elimination of militarism and the construction of a peaceful and democratic Japan as conditions for her surrender, for instance, the elimination of the authority and influence of those who drove the Japanese people into the war of aggression; the denunciation of the territories Japan invaded, the disarmament of the Japanese armed forces; the removal of all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democracy; the establishment of freedom of speech, religion and thought and fundamental rights; the restriction on industries which would enable Japan to rearm for war. This Declaration promised that in order to make sure of the accomplishment of those basic objectives the Allied Powers would occupy Japan but that when those objectives were accomplished and "there has been established in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people a peacefully inclined and responsible government", the Allied Powers' occupying forces would immediately withdraw from Japan.

With the surrender of Japanese imperialism following that of Hitler Germany (May 1945) World War II was militarily concluded. In the World War, the aggressor bloc of Japan, Germany and Italy was defeated and the anti-fascist Allied Powers and the democratic forces of the world triumphed. This greatly changed the condition

of the liberation struggle in Japan, internally and internationally. Japanese imperialism, which was the ringleader of the Japanese people's sufferings and the worst enemy to independence and peace for the Asian peoples, suffered a serious blow and the Potsdam Declaration opened a way for the Japanese people to arouse themselves who had been tortured by the Tenno-system's despotic rule and war of aggression. At the same time it became the first step which brought the destiny of the Japanese people a new serious humiliation of the foreign-imperialist occupation rule that the main force of the allied forces, which occupied Japan with the implementation of the Potsdam Declaration as its flag mark, was U.S. imperialism, which aimed at a new world domination.

When Japanese imperialism surrendered, the Japanese people and land were in the miserable condition ruined and confused by the war, beginning with Hiroshima and Nagasaki destroyed by the U.S. atomic-bomb attacks. The industrial production in the year of the defeat went down to only 10—20% of the prewar level and traffic and transportation were in the paralysed condition. In the sorrow of having lost millions of close relatives and in the uneasiness of foreign armed forces' occupation never experienced before, the people were distressed without houses and job and suffered from want of daily necessities and hunger.

In contrast, the Japanese Government and the ruling classes such as the Tenno-family, big landlords, monopoly capitalists, high-ranking military officers and privileged bureaucrats, far and away from the people's suffering, usurped and concealed goods of the military and government and neglected production. They intently devoted themselves to avoiding to be pressed hard as war criminals and to preserving their own status. The workers, peasants and other broad strata of the people were strongly discontented with the corrupt acts of the ruling classes, militarists and war criminals, who had driven the people to the war of aggression and led them to such postwar sufferings, and began to rise to the struggle for the living and rights. The situation demanded, more strongly than anything else, the reconstruction of the Communist Party of Japan—revolutionary headquarters—to lead the broad people's struggle to accomplish a democratic revolution of the people and to aim at the realization of a peaceful and democratic Japan.

Based on the Potsdam Declaration, the Allied Forces which marched into Japan in September, 1945, ordered the Japanese

Government to abolish the Law for Maintenance of the Public Peace and the secret police and to release all political criminals. As the results those leading leaders of the Communist Party of Japan, who had undauntedly fought in prison, were one after another released from prison where they had been confined for a long period of time; October 10 Kyuichi Tokuda, Yoshio Shiga and others; October 16 Kenji Miyamoto and October 19 Satomi Hakamada; and centering around them, the open activity of the Communist Party of Japan was immediately started.

As the first step of the Party's reconstruction K. Tokuda and Y. Shiga, who were first released from prison, prepared to resume the publication of central organ AKAHATA (Red Flag, called SEKKI in prewar days; issued on October 20). In the condition that the Party Central Committee was destroyed during the War and that only Kenji Miyamoto and Satomi Hakamada survived among the members of the Central Committee in prison, Kyuichi Tokuda, Kenji Miyamoto, Jutoku Kuroki, Kim Chun-hai, Yoshio Shiga, Shigeo Kamiyama and others established the Party Expansion and Consolidation Promotion Committee to energetically tackle with the Party reconstruction in various places all over the country. On November 8, the National Conference was held to prepare a Party Congress. Then, for two days from December 1, the Fourth Party Congress was held at the Party Headquarters, Shibuya, Tokyo. The Communist Party of Japan's Congress was held for the first time indeed in 19 years after the Third Party Congress in December 1926.

The Fourth Party Congress adopted the Party's Action Programme and Constitution and elected the Central Committee composed of seven members, Tokuda, Miyamoto, Hakamada, Kuroki, Kim, Shiga and Kamiyama and seven candidate members. Thus the Communist Party of Japan was formally reconstructed. K. Tokuda was elected General Secretary.

In January, 1946, Sanzo Nosaka, who had been active abroad for a long time, returned home from Yen'an, China. For three days from February 24, the Party held the Fifth Party Congress at Kyobashi Public Hall, Tokyo, announced the "Congress Declaration", which indicated the basic orientation of the coming revolution, amended the Action Programme and Constitution, and elected 20 members of the Central Committee including S. Nosaka and 20 candidate members. The Party building work made rapid progress.

The Party membership, which amounted to 1,083 at the time of the Fourth Party Congress, increased almost seven times in three months and reached 6,847 (actually estimated to be 7,500) even if counted only those who were formally reported. And the circulation of AKAHATA (issued once every five days at that time) was announced to have exceeded 250,000 or 260,000 copies.

The postwar difficulties brought as the results of the absolutist Tenno-system's rule and the robbery war of aggression proved that the undaunted struggle waged by the Communist Party with the slogans "against the imperialist war and the police Tenno-system", "for rice, land and freedom, and the workers' and peasants' government" (1932 Theses) was really the struggle of justice which defended the true interests of the nation and people. Democratization of the Japanese politics, economy and society was placed, as the most urgent and important issue in postwar defeated Japan on the order of the day internationally, as well, in connection with the task to sweep away militarism. This proved how correct the line of the Communist Party of Japan was, which had fought for the democratic revolution centered on the overthrow of the Tenno system and the eradication of semi-feudal landownership, and made clear by facts the wrong standpoint of the right-wing social-democrats and "RONO-HA" who either opposed or avoided the task of the overthrow of the Tenno system while advocating "socialism".

Immediately after the resumption of its activity, the Communist Party of Japan demanded the complete implementation of the Potsdam Declaration and the thoroughgoing accomplishment of the democratic transformation in the new condition of the defeat of Japanese imperialism and the Allied Forces' occupation, succeeding to the prewar struggle for peace and freedom and in defence of the people's living. The "Congress Declaration" and Action Programme adopted by the Fourth and Fifth Congresses demanded the following points as the basic contents of the forthcoming democratic transformation:—the abolition of the despotic Tenno-system; the establishment of a democratic republican system whose sovereignty rests with the people; the eradication of militarism; the eradication of the parasitic landlord-system; the purge and punishment of war criminals; the disintegration of monopoly capital; the establishment of a minimum wage system and seven-hour working day system; the people's control over financial institutions and key industries and the rehabilitation by the people of land.

The party that could clearly show the basic orientation of building a peaceful and democratic Japan at the moment when Japan's new course was sought for was only the Communist Party of Japan. Around the time of the reconstruction of the Communist Party of Japan, NIHON SHAKAI-TO (SHAKAITO, Japan Socialist Party) as a united party of social democracy was founded in November 1945. Mouthpieces of the Tenno-system bureaucrats, monopoly capital and big landlords, who had driven Japan into the depths of misery, also formed NIHON JIYU-TO (JIYU-TO, Japan Liberal Party) and NIHON SHINPO-TO (SHINPO-TO, Japan Progressive Party). But any other party than the Communist Party of Japan could not show a definite programme for building a peaceful and democratic Japan to the people.

As for the question of transforming the despotic political system, both JIYU-TO and SHINPO-TO adopted a programme to "safeguard national polity" at their inaugural conventions and insisted that democracy should be confined to increased power of the Diet under sovereignty resting with the Tenno. The Socialist Party also opposed the abolition of the Tenno system and in the "draft constitution" it announced in March 1946, it based itself on the Tenno system maintenance which denied sovereignty resting with the people as can be seen from "Sovereignty rests with the state (the national community including the Tenno)" and "the supreme power shall be divided, the main part of which shall belong to the Diet and a part of which shall belong to the Tenno to retain the Tenno system". It was only the Communist Party of Japan that definitely put up the principle of sovereignty resting with the people and demanded the abolition of the Tenno system and the establishment of a democratic republican system centered on the Diet. In the "gist of a new constitution" announced in November 1945, the Communist Party already made clear the principle that "Sovereignty rests with the people. The democratic Diet administers sovereignty".

Regarding the implementation of the Potsdam Declaration, too, each party put it up so far as it went. But so large a number of cooperators of the war of aggression were included in its leadership that in the purge from the public office announced in February 1946, among members of the House of Representatives 260 out of 274 Progressive Party (SHINPO-TO) members, 19 out of 46 Liberal Party (JIYU-TO) members, and 11 out of 17 even in the case of the Socialist Party were purged as war cooperators. This situation

of the postwar political front in Japan was a direct reflection of the prewar and wartime history that every political party except the Communist Party of Japan walked along the road of the cooperation in and the capitulation to the Tenno-system's despotic politics and wars of aggression.

In this way the lines of the Communist Party of Japan adopted at the Fourth and Fifth Party Congresses correctly pointed out the basic direction, in which the Japanese politics should have marched, that is, the complete implementation of the Potsdam Declaration and thoroughness of the democratic transformation. At the same time they contained a few serious weaknesses.

One of them is that they could not have the definite assessment of the U.S. occupation forces. On October 10, 1945, when discharged from prison, the "Appeal to the People", jointly announced by K. Tokuda and Y. Shiga, characterized the occupation forces as the armed forces of the "liberation of the world from fascism and militarism" and this assessment was basically handed over to the Fourth and Fifth Party Congresses. This was a wrong assessment that understood the occupation forces only as the representative of the anti-fascist Allied Powers which put up the Potsdam Declaration and lost sight of the danger that in reality the occupation was carried out as the U.S. imperialist solo-occupation.

And as regards the method of revolution, the "Congress Declaration" of the Fifth Party Congress decided the line to "complete" the forthcoming democratic revolution "by a peaceful and democratic method" and to expect to subsequently develop into socialism by a democratic and peaceful method with the support given by the great majority of the people. At that time, it was some truth that in the new situation, in which the collapse of the Tenno-system's despotic political system was in progress and the democratic political system was being made with the Diet as its centre, a new condition unknown in prewar days was arising for the Japanese people's liberation struggle and the Party's activity, but in Japan, which was placed under the U.S. imperialist single occupation, the occupation forces with the absolute power reigned over the Diet and there was the strong possibility that when the Japanese people's movement for democratic transformation opposed the occupation forces' policy, its peaceful and democratic development might be torn up by the occupation forces' violence and coercion. In connection with the wrong assessment that regarded the occupation forces

as “liberation forces”, however, the “Congress Declaration” could not correctly view the complicated perspective of the Japanese people’s liberation struggle, but fell into the opportunist view that even under the occupation forces’ rule the accomplishment of a democratic revolution by a peaceful and democratic means was assured and even its development into a socialist revolution was possible. Here was its most serious error.

The error committed by the Fifth Party Congress in connection with the Okinawa question was also related to the error in assessing the U.S. occupation forces. Since the Okinawa Battle at the end of World War II the United States had placed Okinawa under her direct military rule and made it a special area under the U.S. armed forces’ direct administration separated from the mainland even after her occupation of Japan. The Fifth Party Congress grasped this situation as one step toward independence of the “Okinawa nation” and adopted the “Message to celebrate independence of the Okinawa nation” under K. Tokuda’s proposal. This was the mistake brought for by the union of repulsion to the Tenno-system Government’s discriminative repression of the Okinawa prefectural inhabitants since the Meiji era with non-vigilance toward the U.S. occupants’ imperialist intention.

For Thoroughness of the Democratic Revolution and for the Formation of the Democratic Front

With the reconstruction of the Party organization, the Communist Party of Japan took the lead of the people’s struggle for their living and rights and made every effort for organizing democratic mass organizations in various fields which had been destroyed under the Tenno-system’s military and police rule.

Organization of trade unions attained rapid expansion in a short period. At the end of 1945, 509 unions with a membership of 380,000 were already organized, which were close to the prewar highest level, and at the end of 1946 its figure reached 12,006 trade unions with a membership of 3,680,000. In the midst of the upsurge

of the struggle, local joint struggle bodies of trade unions and industrial national organizations were formed one after another. The Communist Party of Japan played a great leading role in organizing workers into trade unions. At the Fourth Party Congress, the Party adopted the "Resolution on the Trade Union Movement", raised the tasks of the "unified reconstruction of the trade union movement", the "formation of national single industrial unions", etc. and in particular, emphasized, for the unity of the trade union movement the importance of securing freedom of joining a political party for the trade union membership to reject the trend to demand the support for a particular party from trade unions. But Komakichi Matsuoka, Suehiro Nishio and other anti-communist, right-wing social democrats, who lent a hand in dissolving trade unions in the wake of the Tenno-system military in prewar days, virtually inaugurated NIHON RODO KUMIAI SODOMEI (SODOMEI, Japan Federation of Labour Unions) in January 1946, which succeeded to the anti-communist and labour-capital collaborationist line from prewar days, with the support for the Japan Socialist Party as a precondition while seeking for cooperation of leaders of the ZAIBATSU as well.

In opposition to the landlords who manoeuvred to escape the agrarian reform, struggles against land confiscation, for reduction and exemption of farm rent, and for renovation and democratization of village administration were extensively fought in all parts of the country. Closely coupled with those struggles, the struggle against forced rice-delivery was fought as a mass struggle on a large scale unheard-of in the history of the peasant's movement with the Party's guidance and assistance. Through the development of those struggles, organization of peasants like peasants' union made progress and in February 1946, NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (NICHINO, Japan Peasants' Union) was reconstructed. NICHINO made clear "freedom to support any party" at its inaugural convention as a democratic unified organization of the peasants. For a while in the early days, there was in the Party's line a sectarianist attitude of attaching special importance to peasant committee in each district and of denying the formation of a national organization of peasants' unions. But in December of the same year, the Party revised its attitude to actively take part in the formation of NICHINO and made clear the line to assess the formation of NICHINO at the Fifth Party Congress as the "first step toward the unity of the peasant front" and to develop it into a truly democratic unified organization to

rally wide strata of the peasants. The reconstructed NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI developed into an organization with a nominal membership of 1,200,000 and the total number of peasants organized into peasants' unions exceeded 1,800,000. They, thus, became great strength in promoting the agrarian reform. The Party also played an important role in the reconstruction and development of the BURAKU liberation movement.

On the cultural front, too, such democratic cultural-organizations as SHIN-NIHON BUNGAKU-KAI (New Japan Literature Society, founded in December 1945), MINSHUSHUGI KAGAKUSHA KYOKAI (Democratic Scientists' Society, founded in January 1946) and NIHON MINSHUSHUGI BUNKA RENMEI (Japan Democratic Cultural Association, founded in February 1946) were inaugurated one after another with active cooperation of the Party. With those organizations as its centre, the democratic cultural-movement which succeeded for the better to the achievements and tradition of the prewar proletarian cultural-movement took a step toward a great development. On the youth front, the Party led the reconstruction of "SEINEN KYOSAN DOMEI" (Communist Youth League, formed in February 1946) which succeeded to the tradition of the prewar KYOSAN SEINEN DOMEI (Young Communist League). The Party also actively supported the nationwide struggle for the democratization of the educational institution and played a great part in organizing the democratic students' self-government associations and in rallying them on a nationwide scale. ZEN-NIHON GAKUSEI-JICHIKAI SORENGO (ZENGAKUREN, National Federation of Students' Self-Government Associations) was formed in September, 1948.

In cooperation with those reconstructed democratic mass organizations the Party conducted thoroughgoing investigation of war criminals, organized the "Give us rice" struggle and the concealed-goods exposing struggle by mobilizing the masses and displayed every initiative such as the production-management-by-workers struggle which conducted production resumption and wage payment by workers themselves against capitalists' sabotage and the land liberation struggle of the peasants. The production-management-by-workers struggle was of positive significance as one of the forms of the workers' struggle in a certain period in postwar days when monopoly capital neglected production and drove the national life into confusion, and rapidly spread among a large number of enterprises. In this way the people's struggle and organization developed like

a storm with the workers and peasants in the van.

In contrast the Japanese ruling forces centered on the Shidehara Cabinet assumed a very noncommittal attitude toward implementing a series of "democratizing" orders of the occupation forces in order to preserve the reactionary ruling system. And in the economic aspect, too, they were intent on safeguarding the interests of monopoly capital and big landlords, letting alone the straitened circumstances of the people who were suffering from inflation and scarcity of goods and more nakedly revealed their attitude of the suppression of the people as seen in their oppression of the workers' production-management struggle. In order to overthrow the reactionary cabinet, to establish a democratic government and to realize the urgent tasks of the democratization of Japan based on the Potsdam Declaration and the safeguarding of the people's life, it was a pressing task to form a united front which would rally the whole democratic forces.

Since the Communist Party of Japan started its activity in October 1945, it had repeatedly proposed the formation of a democratic united front. The Party attached importance to the overthrow of the Tenno system and the establishment of a democratic republican system as the cardinal objectives of building a peaceful and democratic Japan and announced the "People's Front Programme" including the above objectives in November 1945. Taking into account the existence of the broad strata of the people who could not yet understand the importance of this objective, the Party did not take the attitude of making the adoption of the overthrow of the Tenno system a condition for the united front, but made it its basic attitude to rally all of the democratic forces and organizations into the united front even within the scope of democratic objectives they could agree upon. But the Socialist Party whose leadership was in the hands of Suehiro Nishio and other anti-communist right-wing social democrats continued to reject the joint struggle with the Communist Party.

With Sanzo Nosaka's homecoming in January 1946, the general tendency to the united front grew stronger. In the joint statement of the Party Central Committee and Sanzo Nosaka issued on January 14, the Party once again called on the whole democrats who shared the same idea with the Party to form the "democratic united front". On the part of social democrats, too, following the call, Hitoshi Yamakawa made a proposal of the "democratic popular front" and

the left-wing forces, who supported the formation of the democratic front, were formed among leaders of the national centre of the Socialist Party. At the "People's Gathering to Welcome S. Nosaka" held on January 26, all attendance of the gathering including leaders of the Socialist Party emphasized the importance of the democratic front and popular front. But at its meeting immediately after the gathering, the Socialist Party decided to take the attitude of not accepting the joint struggle with the Communist Party and at the March meeting of the Central Executive Committee it went so far as to decide to take the attitude of non-participation even in the "democratic popular front" proposed by H. Yamakawa. The "Democratic Popular League" of H. Yamakawa and others commenced its activity in March 1946 and the Communist Party actively supported its united front movement. But it hardly made any progress with only a few leaders taking part in it in their private capacity from the Socialist Party.

On April 10, 1946, the postwar first general elections were held in Japan. The Party fought the general elections with the following three main slogans: the abolition of the Tenno system and the establishment of the people's republican government; the stabilization and improvement of the people's life; and the immediate formation of a democratic front. The Party's rate of polling score was 3.8% and five Party candidates, Sanzo Nosaka, Kyuichi Tokuda, Yoshio Shiga, Toshiko Karasawa and Teru Takakura were returned. Thus for the first time since its founding the Party openly had its Diet members and opened a way to make the parliamentary struggle serve the revolutionary movement by linking it with the mass struggle outside the Diet.

In spite of the blow dealt by the purge from public office, the results of the election campaign showed the superiority of the conservative parties as a whole. Nevertheless, the political basis of the Shidehara Cabinet was greatly shaken. SHINPO-TO which was then the Government party, lost the position of the absolute majority of 274 seats before the purge from public office and fell to the second ranking party with 94 seats. JIYU-TO, an opposition party gained 139 seats, the Socialist Party 92 seats, KYODO-MINSHU-TO (Co-operative Democratic Party) 14 seats, the Communist Party 5 seats, the minor parties 38 seats and independents 81 seats. Thus the opposition parties gained an absolute majority.

The Shidehara Cabinet attempted to remain in office, but against

the background of the upsurge of the people's movement for the overthrow of the cabinet, the Socialist, Communist, Liberal and Cooperative Democratic Parties jointly formed SHIDEHARA-NAIKAKU DATO KYODO-IINKAI (Joint Committee to Overthrow the Shidehara Cabinet) on April 19 and three days after its formation, the Shidehara Cabinet finally resigned en bloc. In the quadripartite joint committee, the Communist Party's demand for a democratic front cabinet centered on the Communist and Socialist Parties with the backing of the masses and the Liberal Party's manoeuvre to form a cabinet centered on the Liberal Party with the Socialist Party's cooperation opposed each other and the Socialist Party repeated its vacillation between them.

For the first time in Japanese history, 500,000 people took part in Tokyo May Day, 1946 and adopted the 23-point resolution including "against the conservative reactionary administration and for the immediate establishment of a democratic people's government" and the "immediate formation of the democratic people's front". The Socialist Party once accepted the policy agreement with the Liberal Party. But under the pressure of such a mass struggle it came to turn down the coalition work with the Liberal Party. Thus the situation developed into such a stage as to urge which to choose a conservative cabinet with the Liberal Party as its centre or a democratic front cabinet of the Socialist and Communist Parties. The "Food May Day" of May 19 which rallied three hundred thousands of the masses proved that the nationwide mass struggle for the solution of the food shortage was developing on a new scale and also became one of the peaks of the struggle for the democratic front and its government, coupled with this earnest demand of the people. Shigeru Yoshida who was trying to form a Liberal Party Cabinet, was, at one time, almost forced to give up his cabinet-formation before the upsurge of the people's struggle. At the May 15 meeting of the Allied Council for Japan, however, U.S. Representative Dean G. Acheson made an anti-communist declaration that "The United States does not favour communism in Japan", denouncing the May Day Declaration. Following it, on May 20, the next day of the "Food May Day", Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers Douglas MacArthur denounced those struggles as "collective outrage and violence" and made a statement to ban demonstration parade, turning his back on the Potsdam Declaration. It was an open reactionary interven-

tion of the occupation forces to help the formation of a Liberal Party Cabinet, by applying pressure on the people's movement. Encouraged by this order to ban demonstration parade, the first Yoshida Cabinet was formed on May 22 and thus the period of political vacuum extended over a month marked its end. This became one of the serious turning points for U.S. imperialism to foster the reactionary forces centered on Japanese monopoly capital to make them the main pillar for its rule over Japan.

After the formation of the Yoshida Cabinet, too, efforts were continued to form the democratic front. But encouraged by the announcement of the occupation forces' anti-communist policy, the voice of the anti-communist right-wing forces within the Socialist Party gained strength. In June, the Socialist Party decided the idea of a "patriotic democratic front", which presupposed the guarantee for the Socialist Party's leadership, as a counter-proposal to the democratic front and in July the Socialist Party decided the closure of negotiations on the united front for the reason that the Communist Party did not accept that unilateral idea on the part of the Socialist Party. In that way, in spite of the overwhelming desire of the masses, the democratic front eventually came to an end without having been formed.

On the labour front, too, the sponsor group for the unity of the labour front was formed between SODOMEI and the Preparatory Committee for SANBETSU-KAIGI (Congress of Industrial Unions), taking the opportunity of May Day, but after the oppression of the Food May Day, SODOMEI seceded from the sponsor group. And in August SODOMEI held its formal inaugural convention (at the time of its formation, it was said, its membership was 850,000). On the other hand, ZEN-NIHON SANGYOBETSU RODO KUMIAI KAIGI (SANBETSU-KAIGI or SANBETSU, Congress of Industrial Unions of Japan) was formed on the basis of industrial organizations which came into being in the postwar struggle. Thus the trade-union movement was forced to be separated into the two national organizations at its postwar fresh starting point. At its inaugural convention, SANBETSU-KAIGI established "freedom to support any political party" as its basic organizational principle together with the ten-point programme, rallied 21 national trade unions with a membership of 1,560,000 which accounted for 43% of the then organized workers and became the centre of the class trade-union movement in our country.

Pressed by the democratic forces of the world and the Japanese people, the U.S. occupation forces in those days had implemented a series of "democratization" measures to a certain extent in accordance with the terms of the Potsdam Declaration. But U.S. imperialism which already had the ambition to establish its rule over Japan and to wage war of aggression against the Soviet Union and others on the basis of its world-domination policy, confined the "democratization" of Japan within the scope needed for its rule over Japan and gradually revealed the line to make the democratic revolution abortive by reviving the reactionary forces centered on Japanese monopoly capital as its junior ally. D.G. Acheson's anti-communist declaration and Douglas MacArthur's order to ban demonstration parade were its important manifestations. The Far Eastern Committee (Washington, eleven nations' participation) and the Allied Council for Japan (Tokyo, the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China) both of which were set up to reflect the will of the Allied Powers as a whole became the arena of controversies between the U.S. imperialist anti-democratic policy and the opinion of the Soviet Union and other democratic forces of the world who demanded the strict implementation of the Potsdam Declaration.

In such a situation, the bill of the new Constitution was submitted to the Diet session opened in June 1946. The draft Constitution submitted by the Government had more advanced contents than those raised by other parties than the Communist Party. Nevertheless, it retained reactionary or inconsistent clauses in that it did not specify the principle of sovereignty resting with the people, but preserved monarchism in a different form; it confined itself to the abandonment of war in general and lacked the guarantee for national independence and the safeguarding of sovereignty. In contrast, in the same month the Communist Party published the "draft Constitution of a People's Republic" from the standpoint of completing the democratic transformation and in the Diet, too, it submitted an amendment bill which demanded the specification of the principle of "sovereignty resting with the people", of "opposing war to conquer another nation" and "never taking part in war between other powers" and of material guarantee for the people's freedom and rights and fought for a more thoroughgoing democratic constitution. The Diet rejected the Communist Party's amendment bill at its subcommittee meeting. But the principle of sovereignty

resting with the people was added to the Preamble of the Constitution and the existing Constitution was approved in August, 1946 (promulgated in November). With the enactment of the new Constitution the Tenno system lost its absolutist character legally as well and was changed into a sort of bourgeois monarchism which has not such a power as it had in prewar days.

Under the reactionary policy of the Yoshida Cabinet, the people's struggle in defence of their life and rights became increasingly tense. Following the victories of the struggle against the mass dismissal of seamen and workers of the Japanese National Railways in August and September, 1946 and the October struggle centered on DENSAN (Japan Electric Industry Workers' Union) in October, the February 1st general strike, which demanded the overcoming of the crisis in the people's life, was prepared mainly by the government and public workers including KOKUTETSU (National Railway Workers' Union) and ZENTEI (Japan Postal Workers' Union) from December, 1946. SODOMEI, which hitherto opposed a united action with SANBETSU-KAIGI, could no longer turn down its participation in the joint struggle and with the holding of the People's Gathering for the Overthrow of the Cabinet in December as momentum, TOKAKU JIKKO-IINKAI (Cabinet Overthrowing Executive Committee) was formed with the participation of the left-wing group of the Socialist Party in addition to SANBETSU, SODOMEI and NICHINO. In January 1947, ZENKOKU RODOKUMIAI KYODOTOSO-IINKAI (ZENTO, National Trade-Union Joint-Struggle Committee) was formed with the participation almost all national trade unions beginning with SANBETSU, SODOMEI and ZENKAN-KOCHO-KYOTO (Joint Struggle Committee of All-Japan Government and Public Workers' Unions) and strongly asked both the Socialist and Communist Parties to formally take part in the "Cabinet Overthrowing Executive Committee" to form the democratic front. The Socialist leadership who was bent on a coalition scheme after the Yoshida Cabinet's resignation, turned down the request and took the attitude of opposing the general strike, too. Nonetheless, it was of great historical significance that the political task to pave a way to democratic politics with economic demands centered on wage increase and opposition to dismissal, by overthrowing the ringleader, Yoshida Cabinet, which stood in the way of those demands, was made a common demand on which the democratic forces including SODOMEI and the left-wing group of the Socialist

Party agreed and that a joint struggle organization was established for that purpose. Preparations for the February 1st general strike were made on a nationwide scale with the support and expectation of the broad working people.

On January 31, on the eve of the February 1st general strike, however, the U.S. occupation forces issued a statement to the effect that "Under the present poverty-stricken circumstances in Japan such a dreadful social weapon shall not be allowed to be used" and revealed its true colour as the oppressor of the trade-union movement and democratic movement by banning the general strike. Under this pressure applied by the U.S. occupation forces TOKAKU JIKKO-IINKAI and ZENTO were dissolved and the movement to rally into the democratic front which gained strength in the preparation for the February 1st was also frustrated again.

But the huge united action of trade unions for the February 1st general strike increased the trend to the unity of the labour front and having overcome the objection of right-wing leaders of SODOMEI, ZENKOKU RODO KUMIAI RENRAKU KYOGIKAI (ZENROREN, Liaison Council of All Trade Unions of Japan) was formed in March 1947. For all restrictions as a liaison council body ZENROREN played an important role in the subsequent trade-union movement as a united organization with SANBETSU, SODOMEI and about 40 other organizations affiliated embracing 4,460,000 workers (84% of the organized workers).

In the period of sudden change in 1945—47, no democratic united front was formed against the strong desire of the masses of the people. In parallel with the failure of democratic unity of the labour front, this also led to make the liberation struggle of the Japanese people difficult. The foundation of the U.S. imperialist Japan policy was the abortion of the democratic revolution in Japan and the anti-communist attack as an important pillar for that purpose greatly encouraged the right-wing social democrats' anti-communist attitude. In the light of the course of every historical event during those two years, it is clear that the greatest obstacle was anti-communism of the right-wing social democratic forces who held the leadership of the Socialist Party and SODOMEI in their hands. Every time when the people's struggle faced an important phase, they opposed the united front of the democratic forces and chose the road of collaboration and cooperation with monopoly capital and bourgeois parties. At the same time, it should be pointed out

as an important historical lesson that the Communist Party of Japan—the driving force of the democratic front—still had immature points in the united front policy and its concretization and retained prewar sectarianism in various forms and that they weakened the efforts to correctly rally all the forces of goodwill who desired the formation of the democratic front, and to oppose and effectively contain the splitting policy of the anti-communist right-wing forces.

The Struggle against the Occupation Rule and in Defence of National Independence and Democracy

In about 1947, the people's democratic revolution won victory in Eastern Europe and was rapidly developing into a socialist revolution. In Asia, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was founded in 1945 and in China the revolutionary war against the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang's administration developed on a full scale in 1947. The labour movement in capitalist countries and the national independence movement in colonies and semicolonies developed in big strides. On the contrary, as proved by the Truman Declaration in March 1947, U.S. imperialism openly unfolded the aggressive anti-communist military bloc policy with atomic bomb as its weapon in Europe, Asia as well as in Latin America in order to hold down the development of the socialist camp and the revolutionary movement in capitalist countries and began to prepare a new war of aggression in the name of the "containment of the Soviet Union". Its anti-communist splitting policy was also strengthened. Under the command of U.S. imperialism, in 1947 the exclusion of Communist cabinet ministers was coercively conducted in France and Italy where hitherto united front governments had been formed including the Communist Parties and in 1948 the trade union leaderships of the United States and Great Britain openly launched their splitting attack against the World Federation of Trade Union (WFTU).

The change in the U.S. Japan-occupation policy also became clear. At the postwar early stage the United States intended to make China ruled by Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang the stronghold of the U.S. imperialist domination over Asia and carried out the

“democratization” policy to weaken Japan from that point of view. Faced with the development of the Chinese Revolution, however, the United States quickly converted that policy into the policy to turn Japan into a new stronghold for her aggression. The United States began to reveal more nakedly her policy to push forward the establishment of her rule over Japan and the conversion of Japan into military base and at the same time to rear Japanese monopoly capital as her junior ally. In particular, since the ban on the February 1st strike, the U.S. occupation forces had openly trampled underfoot the Potsdam Declaration to embark on the all-out oppression of the Japanese people’s liberation struggle.

One of the important characteristics of the United States’ post-February-1st-strike occupation policy that cannot be overlooked is that right-wing social democracy worked as one of the important pillars for the U.S. occupation policy in such a way as the Socialist Party joined the government to become the direct executor of anti-popular policies and in the trade-union movement, too, the anti-communist “democratization” movement led and fostered by the occupation forces was unfolded.

D. MacArthur ordered to dissolve the Diet at the same time with the ban on the February 1st strike and the first general elections under the new Constitution were held in April, 1947. The U.S. occupation forces intervened in the election campaign in a very outrageous way, heaped the abuse of the “destroyer of democracy” on the Communist Party of Japan as the official view of the General Headquarters and called on the electorate not to vote for the Communist Party in order to defend “democracy”. The election campaign was fought in the midst of such violent anti-communist campaign led by the occupation forces. The Communist Party had only 3.7% polling score percentage and four candidates returned. But the Socialist Party won 143 seats and became the leading party. Of the conservative parties, JIYU-TO (Liberal Party) won 131 seats, MINSHU-TO (Democratic Party; formerly SHINPO-TO, Progressive Party) 121 seats and KOKUMIN KYODO-TO (National Cooperative Party) 29 seats. They gave up the position of the leading party to the Socialist Party. Nevertheless, the total of their seats held the absolute majority of the Diet.

After the election the Socialist Party formed a cabinet headed by its Chairman Tetsu Katayama in coalition with the Democratic Party and the National Cooperative Party. In forming the cabinet,

the Katayama Cabinet concluded the quadripartite policy agreement including the Liberal Party and besides, its hand was tied by the three anti-communist anti-popular conditions raised by the Democratic Party:—"Against the ultra-right and ultra-left", "No disclosure of important secrets" and "No action to be taken that might cause social unrest". Thus essentially it remained to be only a government on the extension of the usual Liberal Party Cabinet. Prior to the formation of the Katayama Cabinet, Mosaburo Suzuki, Kanju Kato and other leaders of the left-wing of the Socialist Party who had hitherto supported the united front including the Communist Party issued an anti-communist statement to the effect that they would "draw a line between themselves and the Communist Party" and came to turn their back on the united front.

The Katayama Cabinet implemented none of the progressive policies which the Socialist Party publicly committed and on which the people placed their expectation, but forcibly demanded from the people such a life of austerity as the compulsion of the 1,800 yen wage-base and the "new-price-system" to promote the policy for the revival of monopoly capital at the sacrifice of the people, faithfully to the U.S. occupation policy. The Katayama Cabinet resigned en masse in February 1948 due to such an anti-popular policy and contradictions within the Socialist Party, but was also followed by the tripartite coalition cabinet with Hitoshi Ashida of the Democratic Party as premier and this time even the left-wing of the Socialist Party joined the cabinet.

With the cooperation of the Katayama and Ashida Cabinets, the U.S. occupation forces pushed forward on a full scale the policy to turn Japan into an advanced base for its aggression in Asia. In January 1948, U.S. Secretary of Army Kenneth C. Royall made a speech in San Francisco to the effect that Japan should be made a "bulwark for anti-communism" in the Far East. This was an open declaration of the kernel of the U.S. new policy for Japan. Every criticism on the U.S. occupation policy was banned in Japan, and its critic was arrested and tried at military court. All publications went through pre-censorship by the occupation forces and their suppression of freedom of speech exceeded even the Dark Age under the prewar Tenno-system's rule.

In such a situation, the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Japan was held at Kyobashi Public Hall, Tokyo from December 21 to 23, 1947. In the condition that all of the documents includ-

ing the Congress Decision which the Party published in its publications were required to go through the occupation forces' pre-censorship, it was impossible to openly criticize and oppose the occupation policy, but from the viewpoint of attaching importance to the task of national independence in contrast with the danger of prolongation of the U.S. occupation rule and of the conversion of Japan into a military base, the Party revised its Action Programme to put up highly at its beginning the slogans of the "strict implementation of the Potsdam Declaration" and the "economic restoration by the people and Japan's complete independence". Before the Congress, the Party Central Committee also held a special meeting of the delegates to stress the importance of the struggle to conclude the U. S. occupation rule and to win national independence. The Congress elected 25 members and 20 candidate members of the Central Committee. The Central Committee elected members of the Politbureau Kyuichi Tokuda, Sanzo Nosaka, Kenji Miyamoto, Yojiro Konno, Kim Chun Hai, Yoshio Shiga, Shigeo Shida and Ritsu Ito and Kyuichi Tokuda was again elected General Secretary.

Subsequently, at the Plenum of the Central Committee held in February, 1948, the Party decided the line of the formation of a Democratic National Front to assure democracy and national independence and to save the nation from ruin and brought forward it to various fields in March. In August, the Preparatory Committee for MINSHUSHUGI YOGO DOMEI (League for the Defence of Democracy) was formed by the Communist Party, the Orthodox Diet-Member Group of the Socialist Party (later RONTO, Workers' and Peasants' Party), SANBETSU-KAIGI and other democratic organizations. The Party actively worked to make influential trade unions participate in it and directly appealed at meetings of trade-union leaderships. The inaugural convention of MINSHUSHUGI YOGO DOMEI was held in July 1949. At that time with the participation of KOKUTETSU, NICHINO, ZENGAKUREN and others it became a united front organization with over 90 affiliated organizations and a membership of 11 millions and adopted the seven-point programme of the safeguarding of fundamental human rights and democracy; improvement and stabilization of the life of the people's masses; development of peace industry and democratic culture and education; earlier conclusion of a peace treaty to keep Japan's complete independence; against fascism and in defence of peace;

promotion of collaboration and unity of the whole popular forces and cooperation with the democratic forces of the world.

In those days U. S. imperialism opposed the preparation for peace with Japan by the four great powers' agreement and intended to postpone a peace conference to establish the U. S. rule over Japan as a *fait accompli*. Against this, the Party decided the "fundamental line for peace" at the Plenum of the Central Committee held in August 1948 and made clear principles of fair peace in accordance with the aim of the Potsdam Declaration and showed that it was the way to a Japan of independence, democracy and prosperity to conclude a peace treaty on this base without losing time and to make the occupation forces withdraw. This was the first announcement by a Japanese party on peace with Japan and in the line principles of a peace treaty, which were in accord with the Japanese people's interests and the interests of world peace, were basically correctly formulated.

“1. *Democracy*: the extermination of the militarist and fascist forces; the completion of democracy; the stabilization and improvement of the people's life.

2. *Independence*: the complete recovery of sovereignty. (No obligation shall be borne that will infringe upon sovereignty).

3. *Territory*: the reversion to Japan of islands which are to originally belong to Japan nationally and historically.

4. *Withdrawal of armed forces from Japan and opposition to turning Japan into a military base*: the complete withdrawal of armed forces from Japanese territory and opposition to turning Japanese territory into a military base.

5. *Denunciation of war and right to self-defence*: the denunciation of war; opposition to any condition which might involve Japan into an international dispute and the approval of Japan's right to self-defence.

6. *Economy*: guarantee for independence of the Japanese economy and improvement of the people's life and the formation of equal economic relations with every country of the world.

7. *Reparation*: the reparation that would not exceed the extent needed to prevent the militarization of the Japanese industry or that would not prevent self-reliant reconstruction and the development of peace industry.

8. *The United Nations*: Japan's participation in the United Nations, WFTU and other international organizations.

9. *Peace*: against separate peace; the conclusion of an overall peace treaty with the former Allied Powers without losing time.”

Thus, the Party put up the banner of independence, democracy, peace and safeguarding of the life against the anti-national, anti-popular policy of U. S. imperialism and the Japanese reactionary forces and continued to resolutely fight in defence of the people's interests. But the deepened split of the democratic forces and the labour front under the Katayama and Ashida Cabinets made the Japanese people's struggle extremely difficult.

Since the ban on the February 1st strike, the U.S. occupation forces not only increased their oppression of the labour movement and the democratic movements beginning with the ban on local strikes of ZENTEI in March 1948, but in July 1948 took such an outrageous act to deprive 2.5 million government and public workers of the collective bargaining rights and right to strike, both guaranteed by the Constitution, with a piece of D. MacArthur's letter and Government ordinance No. 201. This was a grave attack that decided the destiny of the trade-union movement, the central corps of the democratic movement in Japan. SODOMEI, however, advocated "to respect the import of the MacArthur's letter" jointly with the reactionary forces and instead directed the brunt of their attack at the Communist Party and SANBETSU-KAIGI. The Socialist Party, too, took the attitude that since the order of the occupation forces was issued it couldn't be helped and did not launch any struggle against Government ordinance No. 201. It was only the Communist Party and the class trade-union movement centered on SANBETSU-KAIGI and ZENROREN that impeached the occupation forces and the Government for depriving the public workers of the right to strike as the violation of the Potsdam Declaration and organized the struggle against the Government ordinance No. 201. During this struggle, the tactics of walkout was taken under the leadership of the Party, but this was a wrong tactics which separated militant workers from their workshops and weakened trade-union organizations.

On the other hand the occupation forces authorities cooperated with right-wing social-democrats with the slogans—the "free and democratic trade-union movement" and the "exclusion of the Communist Party's control over the trade unions"—and openly embarked on the anti-communist movement for the destruction of SANBETSU-KAIGI and ZENROREN. Extending over 1947 and 1948 anti-communist factional organizations called "HANKYO RENMEI" (Anti-communist League) or "MINSHUKA DOMEI" (MINDO, Democratization League) emerged in SANBETSU-KAIGI, its affiliated

organizations and KOKUTETSU and started the manoeuvre of organizational split to destroy trade unions from within under the patronage of the occupation forces and monopoly capital. At the meeting of its central committee held in January 1948, SODOMEI openly decided to unfold the "trade-union democratization movement" on a nationwide scale and seceded from ZENROREN in June to openly take the lead of the anti-communist splitting activities instructed by the U.S. occupation forces. But those splitting activities met strong counterattack of the workers and trade-unions and could not easily frustrate the trade-union movement in spite of every assistance given by the occupation forces and monopoly capital.

In opposition to the occupation forces' suppression and splitting activities, the Party continued its undaunted work among the masses, increased the masses' support, strengthened its ties with the mass organizations and rapidly increased the Party's organizational strength. AKAHATA became a daily paper from October 1947 and its circulation reached 300,000 in 1949. Building of Party branches (at that time called cell) went on in factories, mines and other establishments and also in schools and rural districts, many Party groups were also established in mass organizations and in 1949, the Party membership numbered one hundred and scores thousands.

One of the weakest points of the Party activity during this period was in that the Party was unable to establish a correct programmatic line which definitely defined tasks and perspective of the revolutionary movement. It was related to the complexity of the postwar situation in Japan.

In postwar several years, two fundamental changes took place in the situation of Japan. First was that it had become gradually evident that U. S. imperialism intended to place Japan not under a temporary occupation until the conclusion of a peace treaty, but under its prolonged rule over Japan. Second was that at home, too, in addition to the transmutation by the new Constitution from the absolutist Tenno-system to bourgeois monarchism, the postwar land reform basically disintegrated semi-feudal landlord-landownership as far as farm land was concerned and that Japanese monopoly capital, which revived in subordination to the United States, became the centre of the Japanese treacherous reactionary forces. In such a new situation, the Communist Party of Japan and the revolutionary movement had to proceed from the past revolutionary perspective centered on the abolition of the Tenno system and the agrarian

revolution to the establishment of the strategic perspective with U.S. imperialism and its junior ally, Japanese monopoly capital as new enemies. At the Sixth Party Congress, the Party examined the question of the character of the forthcoming revolution and stressed the importance of the task of national independence in its Action Programme and others, but did not go so far as to formulate it into a definite strategic perspective.

For that reason, while putting up the tasks of national independence and democracy, peace and improvement of the people's life in its actual struggle and fighting, showing the line of the national democratic united front, the Party could not make its viewpoint definite as a consistent strategic basic line. As the result, the Party could not correctly assess the important significance of MINSHUSHUGI YOGO DOMEI as a united front organization and in spite of the early announcement of the correct line for the peace question, the Party could not correctly organize the struggle for the purpose. Furthermore, indefiniteness in the strategic line often gave rise to left and right errors and vacillation in tactical guidance.

An important event in the international Communist movement in that period was the formation of the Cominform. The Cominform was founded as an information and liaison agency of the Communist-Workers' Parties of nine European countries in September 1947 and at its first conference, its task was defined as "to organize the exchange of the experience between those parties and to adjust Party activities on the basis of mutual agreement as occasion demands". But Stalin's concept that intended to found a new international leading machinery underlay the establishment of this organization and in the course of its activity a negative role to violate independence of each Communist Party and to harm the unity of the international Communist movement gradually came to the fore.

In particular, it was the most serious error that at its second conference in June 1948, it heaped abuses of "anti-communism" and "anti-internationalism" upon the home and foreign policies of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and subsequently at its third conference in November 1947 it called the Communist Party of Yugoslavia a "party which is ruled by murderers and spies" and a "direct agent of imperialism" and defined this party as an enemy of the international Communist movement. It was already made clear as an historical fact that Stalin's great-powerist intervention with Yugoslavia underlay those two resolutions. Later the Cominform came

to give leading voice and intervention to Communist Parties not affiliated with the organization and its negative characteristic was further increased.

The Communist Party of Japan resolved at that time to support the Cominform's denunciation of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia at the Plenum of the Central Committee in August 1948. This was a wrong decision which unconditionally affirmed views of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Cominform at the stage that the self-reliant and independent line was not consciously established as yet.

The 1949 Struggle and the Weakness in Party Leadership

In October 1948, the Ashida Cabinet collapsed with the disclosure of a large-scale corruption case (Showa-Denko-Case) in which even Socialist Cabinet Minister Suehiro Nishio was involved and in place of the "middle-of-the-road" coalition cabinet of the Socialist Party, the Democratic Party and others, MINSHU-JIYU-TO (MINJI-TO, Democratic Liberal Party; the Liberal Party absorbed a part of the Democratic Party and changed its name in March 1948), which was the main current of the reactionary forces, formed the second Yoshida Cabinet. In the general elections held two months later, that is, in January 1949, the Socialist Party suffered a landslide defeat, having lost the masses' support and fell down from the pre-election 111 seats to 48 seats. In contrast, the Communist Party of Japan advanced at one stroke from one million votes obtained and 4 seats in the previous elections to 2.98 million votes obtained and 35 seats, gained an important position in the Diet and proved a great advance in the ties between the Party and the masses. It expressed the criticism on and disappointment with the Socialist Party, which had become an executor of the occupation policy, as well as the expectation and confidence placed on the Communist Party of Japan—the only party that put up under the U. S. occupation rule the banner of national independence and the banner of the democratic national front. On the other hand, MINJI-TO single-handedly won the absolute majority of 264 in the House of Representatives and thereby consolidated its position for reactionary politics.

In the election, the Party put up the slogan of the "merger of

the Socialists and Communists” and called on conscientious leaders and lower organizations of the Socialist Party to join the Communist Party. This was a dual mistake that it was an unprincipled line in Party building, which did not strictly observe the condition for joining the Party but allowed dishonest elements to get into the Party, and, at the same time, destroyed the principled basis of relations between the Communist and Socialist Parties in the united front policy.

In 1949, faced with the victory of the Chinese Revolution, the postwar first crisis in the capitalist world and the advance of the Communist Party and the democratic forces at home, the U.S. imperialist Japan-policy became increasingly ferocious. With the Yoshida Cabinets' cooperation, the U. S. imperialists more rapidly pushed forward the conversion of Japan into an aggressive base, beginning with the commencement of full-scale military-base construction in Okinawa, sped up the building of the Japanese economy into the dollar-domination system and the revival of Japanese monopoly capital with the “nine economic principles” (December 1948) and a series of state-financial, financial and labour policies based on the principles and strengthened their oppression of the democratic movement by proclaiming the “Organization Control Law” (April 1949) to make the Communist Party and democratic organizations the objects of their control and by openly reviving the thought police. In particular, with regard to the workers and trade unions, they enforced administrative reorganization and industrial adjustment to dismiss several hundred thousand workers in addition to wage-cut and changes in working conditions for worse and in the reorganization and adjustment they attempted to expel at one stroke Communist members and other militant workers from establishments and trade unions. Moreover, in order to press down the resistance of the workers and trade unions the occupation forces framed up the Matsukawa case and other plot cases to propagate as if they had been the cases caused by the Communist Party and trade unions and strengthened their fascist like oppression.

This all-out violent offensive launched by the U. S. occupation forces and monopoly capital against the working class and the democratic forces was enforced while no effective counterattack was organized on the part of the people. The weakness in our Party's tactical leadership was one of its factors, but the most serious question was that they could not fight in unity against the class enemy's offensive because of the lack of the united front of the

democratic forces and the split of the ranks of the trade-union movement, which should have been the central corps of the united front, by the occupation forces authorities' oppression as well as by SODOMEI and anti-communist "MINDO". The anti-communist "MINDO" forces had abused for long the workers' struggle against the reactionary forces as "destruction of enterprises" and "ultra-left tactics" and continued the manoeuvres to disturb their struggle. And finally when the dismissal was placed on the order of the day, the anti-communist "MINDO" forces actively cooperated in it and in KOKUTETSU and ZENTEI, too, they expelled Communists and Party supporters from trade-union machineries to seize the leadership of trade unions by accepting the unreasonable dismissal. This was what exposed the anti-class role of the trade-union "democratization" movement more concretely than anything else.

At this difficult moment under the occupation rule, the Party flew high the banner of national independence, peace and the defence of the people's rights and life and fought in the van of the working class and people as the most tenacious enemy of the U.S. and Japanese ruling circles' anti-national and anti-popular policies. As the idea of separate peace to perpetuate the stationing of U.S. armed forces in Japan had been gradually made public, the Party once more decided, at its Enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee held in June 1949, the following 6-point peace programme:—

1. Purge of every war criminal and fascist element;
2. Unrestricted expansion of peace industry and clean sweep of military potentials;
3. Self-reliant reconstruction without the foreign-aid dependent policy and stabilization of the life of the people's masses;
4. Peace as early as possible and participation of representatives of the democratic forces in a peace conference;
5. Equal peace and friendly and reciprocal trading with every democratic country;
6. Complete independence and maintenance of neutrality"

and called on the Japanese people and the world's peoples for the promotion of peace with Japan based on the Potsdam Declaration. At that time, there was no other party than the Communist Party of Japan that definitely made clear to the people the attitude on the peace problem.

On the occasion of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (September 1948) and the People's Republic of China (October 1949), the Party supported it as a historical victory of the Korean and Chinese peoples and consistently demanded

from the beginning that the establishment of normal relations with those nations and friendship and solidarity between the Japanese and Korean peoples and between the Japanese and Chinese peoples be sought for.

In the situation wherein the offensive of the U. S.-Japanese reactionary forces was strengthened and intensified, the weakness in the Party's guiding line related to the strategic indefiniteness was further increased and gave the people's struggle not a little negative influence. In particular the theory of peaceful revolution under the occupation and wrong tactical-guidance based on it were further extended. As the imperialistic character of the U. S. occupation policy was made clear, the peaceful revolution theory adopted at the Fifth Party Congress came to be interpreted in a more qualified meaning as a tactical possibility of the development of the revolution and the task of national independence was also stressed, but the fundamental error that viewed the peaceful development of the revolution under the U. S. imperialist full-scale military occupation was not liquidated. Based on the unilateral and subjectivist appraisal of the results of the general elections in January 1949 and the situation at home and abroad, precisely at the moment when the U. S. occupation forces launched the all-out offensive the appraisal of the situation that now the struggle for the democratic people's power was on the order of the day was stressed in part of the Party leadership and the view that even under the occupation the establishment of the people's administration was possible was strongly set forth.

This line to establish the people's administration under the occupation was linked with the right-wing tactics to avoid the direct confrontation with the U. S. occupation forces and to reduce everything to the struggle against the Yoshida Cabinet and the reactionary forces at home. When the occupation forces issued an order of the "nine economic principles" with a view to subordinating the Japanese economy to the United States and to reviving Japanese monopoly capital thereunder, the Party took the attitude of denouncing only the Yoshida Cabinet's abuse of the "nine principles" for the reason that although the "nine principles" were correct, question was "who" would implement them "for whom". When the Yoshida Cabinet proclaimed the Organization Control Law on the basis of the occupation forces' order, the Party did not organize any struggle against it and committed the error that the Party exposed for itself the main part of the Party organization to

the enemies by registering over one hundred thousand Party members with the Special Investigation Bureau (the predecessor of the present Public Security Investigation Agency) in accordance with the provisions of the Law. On the other hand this line gave rise to such a left-wing opportunist tactics as the regional popular struggle which mechanically linked the daily demands and struggle of the masses with the question of power due to the subjectivist appraisal of the situation and force relations.

These errors and weaknesses became more serious for the reason that at that time the Party had serious shortcomings in its leading system and could not correctly establish democratic centralism and collective leadership. Kyuichi Tokuda played an important role in the postwar Party building and Party activity as General Secretary of the Party, but in its process, the trend of patriarchal personal leadership centered on K. Tokuda gradually gathered strength, the leadership by personal decision became prevalent including personnel affairs and even in the Party Central Committee the democratic and collective examination of the Party policy and line could not be ensured. This encouraged bureaucratism within the Party, allowed such impure elements as Ritsu Ito and Shigeo Shida to sneak into the leading centre of the Party and thereby became an important factor to enlarge political errors. And the objection particularly emphasized by K. Tokuda to the "stickler for theory" made strong the trend to make light of the importance of arming the Party with the theory of scientific socialism and the self-reliant and creative theoretical activity was strong and prevented the Party from boldly rectifying political and organizational errors in time, in connection with the weakness of intra-Party democracy and avoidance of frank examination of the Party's shortcomings.

It strengthened an atmosphere in the Party of demanding re-examination of the past line including the peaceful revolution theory that the weaknesses and contradictions of the Party's guiding line became clear in the experience of the 1949 struggle and it also gave rise to opposition and controversy regarding the guiding line of the mass movement. Had such a controversy been correctly organized on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, it would have rather led to the result that elevated Party's theoretical level, rectified the errors in the political line and further strengthened the entire Party's unity and cohesion. As later pointed out in the summarization of the Central Committee on the 1950

question, however, at that time, Kyuichi Tokuda's "rude and immoderate attitude in the Party leadership" became further worse and the democratic management of the Party machinery was not ensured but the opinion for rectifying the Party's shortcomings was repressed and the opposition within the leading system was led to further aggravation.

The Struggle against the Korean War and Separate Peace ; Comment by the Cominform and the Split of the Party

When the Communist Party of Japan was faced with such a complicated situation, "On the Situation of Japan", a comment signed by Observer, was suddenly announced in the Cominform organ "For Lasting Peace and People's Democracy" on January 6, 1950. The comment disclosed the plan of U.S. imperialism and the Japanese reactionary group, which turned Japan into a "basic base for military adventure" in Asia under the domination of the United States and sped up the revival of Japanese militarism, and called on the Party and democratic forces of Japan to possess a definite action programme centered on "independence of Japan, the construction of a democratic and peace-loving Japan, the immediate conclusion of a fair peace treaty, the earliest withdrawal of the U. S. armed forces from Japan, guarantee for lasting peace between nations" and to arouse themselves for the decisive struggle for its realization. Moreover, the comment mentioned that "some activists of the Communist Party of Japan" did not understand this programme but gave a wrong orientation to the Japanese working people, denounced the view that the people could seize power even under the U. S. occupation, calling Sanzo Nosaka by name and assailed this Nosaka "theory" for being an "anti-democratic, anti-socialist theory" alien to Maxism-Leninism and an "anti-patriotic," "anti-Japanese theory" which served only the imperialist occupiers. It was clear that what was criticized in the comment was not Sanzo Nosaka's personal view, but the official political line of the Communist Party of Japan.

So far as the comment in "For Lasting Peace and People's Democracy" criticized the peaceful revolution theory under the occupation, put a democratic peace, the withdrawal of the occupation forces and the construction of an independent, democratic, peaceful Japan in the main part of the action programme and pointed out the basic direction of the Japanese people's struggle against the scheme of subordination and war worked out by U. S. imperialism and the Japanese reactionary forces, it was in its contents, a positive advice to rectify the errors in the political line of the Communist Party of Japan and rendered service to establishing a correct programmatic line by solving the indefiniteness in the Party's strategy for the liberation struggle. The method of the criticism by this comment, however, lacked moderation very much in behaving as if the Cominform were an international leading machinery for the Communist Party of Japan in disregard of relations between fraternal parties after the dissolution of the Comintern as well as in suddenly raising, from without, an outrageous accusation as "anti-Marxism-Leninism", etc. without taking the method of private discussion or advice. What underlay it was Stalin's great powerism which virtually regarded the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the leading party of the world Communist movement even after the dissolution of the Comintern.

In order that the Communist Party of Japan successfully made conversion to the correct political line in the presence of U. S. imperialism which was preparing the Korean War and in the condition of its increasing oppression of the Party, a sagacious measure was required on the basis of the unity of will and solid cohesion of the entire Party. But the sudden unilateral international criticism intensified intra-Party contradictions and opposition unusually and thereby added difficulty to this conversion. On top of it, in connection with the fact that the Party could not yet establish a self-reliant international line as a whole, but the trend of unconditional confidence in Stalin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China was prevalent in the Party, this international criticism became the first step to open a way to more outrageous interventions by Stalin and others in internal affairs of the Communist Party of Japan and in that sense, became one of the biggest factors of the Party's split and confusion extended over several years since then.

Having been criticized by the Cominform's comment, the

Politbureau of the Party Central Committee adopted and announced the "Opinion on 'On the Situation in Japan'" by majority votes on January 12, but its content was wrong, without correctly understanding the question raised by the international criticism as a strategic question. There was an opinion opposing the above-mentioned Opinion in the Politbureau as well as in the Secretariat and then the Eighteenth Enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee held on January 18 adopted after two days' discussion the resolution to recognize the "positive significance" of the comment and the "general report", which stressed as the central struggle task the opposition to a separate peace and the promotion of all-round peace based on the Potsdam Declaration, and expressed the Party Centre's unanimous attitude of accepting the international criticism.

Based on this resolution of the Central Committee the Party made efforts for the guidance and development of the mass struggle and announced the appeal of the Central Committee "Appeal to the Whole People for National Independence" in March to call for unity and cohesion and joint actions of the whole patriots who aspired after independence of the fatherland and peace.

"... Against the policies of imperialism which subordinates Japan and involves her into the world war system and those of the traitorous Japanese Government in service for it, the whole patriots, should they really aspire after independence of their country, peace and security, must fight with might and main in cooperation with the peace forces of the world. There is no other way for our nation to survive.

Patriots all over the country!

Above all we wholeheartedly wish democratization and non-militarization of fatherland Japan, complete recovery of her sovereignty based on the Potsdam Declaration and stable peace among nations. For that reason, we call on the peasants, fishermen, intellectuals, minor merchants and industrialists, national capitalists and all other patriots headed by the workers, irrespective of their political views, political affiliation and differences of religion, to jointly fight against the imperialist forces violating independence of the Japanese nation and the traitorous forces at home joining hands with them."

The appeal proposed as the immediate action programme for the Japanese people a 18-point democratic national front programme and put up at its beginning the following demands for national independence:—

“Demanding that a fair all-round peace based on the Potsdam Declaration be concluded as soon as possible and demanding complete recovery of sovereignty and the immediate withdrawal of the whole occupation forces after the conclusion of a peace treaty, we aim at establishing a democratic national front government.”

This appeal issued by the Central Committee played a positive role to strengthen the struggle of the working class and Japanese people against U. S. imperialism.

For all the Party Centre's expression of its active attitude toward and appeal for the struggle for anti-imperialism and independence, the intra-Party opposition was not settled even after the Eighteenth Enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee in January. In particular, although at the Eighteenth Enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee the “Opinion” of the Politbureau was withdrawn, neither definite decision of its settlement nor candid self-criticism was made. Therefore, the intra-Party opposition around the basic attitude toward the “comment” and “Opinion” increased and developed not only into the criticism on the question of the Party's strategic line but also into the criticism on the postwar Party-leadership in general centered on K. Tokuda. In such a situation, on the one hand Yoshio Shiga in secret cooperation with some people in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union advanced flunkeyist and wrong “internationalism” and conducted an obvious factional activity such as he unprincipledly distributed within and without the Party his “written opinion” submitted to the Eighteenth Enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee. On the other hand, bureaucratic repression of the criticism from within the Party and unprincipled watching and excluding activities against those leaders who held critical opinion on the “Opinion” were conducted by K. Tokuda and some other people in a factional way and further increased the disunity in the Party. Ritsu Ito, disturber, who sneaked into the Party leadership, utilized to maximum those conditions for his party-subversion.

In the situation pregnant with the danger of outlawing the Party, the Nineteenth Plenum of the Central Committee held at the end of April, 1950 discussed the Party's immediate tasks and a draft Programme and unanimously adopted the resolution which stressed that in the face of the U. S. imperialist offensive the entire Party membership beginning with the whole Politbureau members fight in firm unity and consolidate the Party ranks by the struggle

against factionalists and party-disturbers. Immediately after that a majority of the Politbureau members beginning with K. Tokuda and R. Ito held a meeting in disregard of the decision of the Nineteenth Plenum of the Central Committee and the Party Constitution to make an arrangement that in future preparation be made for the Party's illegal organization in exclusion of Kenji Miyamoto and Yoshio Shiga who opposed the "Opinion". This was a grave error that violated the organizational principle of the Party and took the first step toward the split of the Politbureau and the Central Committee.

Even in those days, the struggle against the U. S. occupation forces and Japanese monopoly capital upsurged and with the May 30 demonstration as a start such a pressure as the ban on an assembly and demonstration in Tokyo was brought on like martial law.

On June 6 1950, D. MacArthur sent Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida a letter in which he accused the Communist Party of Japan as a "subverter of democracy" and directed to purge the whole 24 Central Committee members of the Communist Party from the public office. Next day, June 7, 17 members of the AKAHATA Editing Committee were purged. This oppression of the Party Centre was an offensive to consolidate the "home front" of the then imminent Korean War by outlawing the Communist Party of Japan. Against this oppression, the majority of the Politbureau including K. Tokuda did not take any measure to fight by holding regular meetings of the Politbureau and the Central Committee to unite the will of the Party Centre, (this could have been legally done if the 20-day grace of the Purge Directive had been utilized) but unilaterally moved into an illegal organization by excluding seven members of the Central Committee who differed in opinion. On June 7, a statement, which accepted the dissolution of the Central Committee, that "The purge of the whole members of the Central Committee, led the function of the Central Committee to virtual suspension" was unilaterally made and the provisional central leadership with Etsuro Shiino as chairman was appointed. Thus the Party Central Committee elected at the Sixth Party Congress, having its unified function destroyed with the U. S. imperialist oppression as an opportunity, was virtually dissolved.

The dissolution of the Central Committee made the Party's split decisive. It developed into a split of the entire Party, spread

to a split of several mass organizations and brought about inconsistency and confusion in guiding the mass movement.

The seven excluded members of the Central Committee, faced with such a condition, consulted to recover the Party's unity and formed ZENKOKU TOITSU IINKAI (National Unity Committee) as a legal body by excluding some Party members, whose factional activities were evident, and rallying about ten prefectural Party organizations and Party groups of several mass organizations under its leadership. The National Unity Committee repeatedly made a unity proposal to the Provisional Central Leadership from September to October 1950, but it was turned down by the Provisional Central Leadership.

In the mean time, U. S. imperialism launched a war of aggression in Korea on June 25, 1950. In Korea, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was established in its northern half in September, 1948. It was the U. S. imperialist ambition to defeat it by the U. S. "ROK" allied forces, to place the whole of the Korean Peninsula under their domination and thereby to deliver a blow to an eastern corner of the socialist camp. Simultaneously with the outbreak of the war, the whole of Japan was turned into its advanced base and the working class and people were exposed to military oppression and horrible exploitation. Thus conducted were such oppressions as ban on the publication of several thousand Party organs beginning with "AKAHATA", purge of Communist Party Diet members one after another, ban on assembly and demonstration parade, dissolution of ZENROREN, purge of Communists and Party supporters from key establishments and trade unions (Red Purge, even according to the investigation by the Labour Ministry the number of workers purged from July to November exceeded 12,000).

On the one hand, U. S. imperialism started to "release from the purge" war criminals from October, 1950 and openly began to pave the way to the revival of Japanese militarism alongside of the founding of the Police Reserve Force under D. MacArthur's directive (in July 1950).

Although the Party was in the unfortunate split condition, respective Party bodies and Party organizations openly opposed the U. S. imperialist war of aggression in Korea, actively and heroically fought in defence of peace, independence and democracy in defiance of their difficult condition, in particular, organized the resistance struggle among the military-base workers and transportation workers

and developed the signature campaign for peace. In this way they contributed to laying a foundation of the mass movement for peace and independence and to promoting the struggle to defend democracy and the people's life.

To say nothing of the Liberal Party which was then in power and a direct accomplice of the war of aggression, most of the political parties in Japan took an attitude of supporting the U. S. imperialist war of aggression in Korea. At a meeting of its central committee held in July, the Socialist Party sought for the cause of the Korean War in the "communist-camp's aggression" and decided a line to "spiritually support" the United States' action of aggression under the name of the United Nations and to fight against the Communist Party's "peace offensive" manoeuvres. SOHYO (General Council of Trade Unions of Japan), which was formed with the U. S. occupation forces' support and promotion in July 1950, took the attitude of "against the armed aggression by North Korea" and "support for the UN armed forces" in its inaugural convention. It was succession to the Party's glorious tradition since its founding that in such a situation the Communist Party of Japan resolutely flew the banner against the U. S. imperialist war of aggression in Korea in opposition to the severe oppression by the occupation forces and the Yoshida Cabinet.

Under the Party's split and confusion, however, the Party could neither give unified leadership to the mass movement nor powerfully develop struggles. Furthermore, the Party could not effectively fight against Red Purge and other oppressions. Most of the establishment branches were destroyed and the Party's leadership over the trade-union movement was extremely weakened.

In the midst of the Party's deepening split, those centering around K. Tokuda convened the "Fourth National Conference" in February, 1951 as "corresponding to a Congress" to decide immediate lines as well as a "draft new Constitution" and elected a new leadership. These decisions hammered out ultra-left adventurist lines and stressed the struggle against Party organizations and Party members, who had demanded unity, in the name of the "shattering of spy-factions".

The members of the Central Committee who had demanded the Party's unity took the measure to dissolve the National Unity Committee in October, 1950 in consideration of promotion of the unity. But in view of the attempt at unilateral legalization of the

split by the "Fourth National Conference," they reconstructed the legal body immediately after the Conference to proceed in the direction of organizing ZENKOKU TOITSU KAIGI (National Unity Congress). In this way the state of split of the Party Centre and the entire Party organization was prolonged. The Party's state of split in which the two organizations openly opposed and disputed with each other was distrusted and criticized by the masses and the Party's strength rapidly declined.

In such a situation self-criticism was begun on the errors in the past strategy and leadership within the "Fourth National Conference" leadership. Those created a chance for unity within both split sides and talks began for the unity of both sides.

At this moment, however, the second and more serious intervention from outside in the Party's internal affairs was made. The August 10, 1951 issue of "For Lasting Peace and People's Democracy" reported favourably the "resolution on the struggle against the factionalists" of the Fourth National Conference and accused the activity of Party organizations and Party members who demands the Party's unity as a factional activity to "benefit U. S.-Japanese reaction". This was an expression of the attitude that the Cominform supported the line and leadership of the "Fourth National Conference" and resulted in blocking the way to the correct unity for which talks had already begun. Those members of the Central Committee who were preparing for the formation of a National Unity Congress dissolved its organization, taking this comment in "For Lasting Peace and People's Democracy" as a chance. Following it, the "Fifth National Conference" was held. This conference was also a conference held in the same condition of the Party's split as the "Fourth National Conference" and was not a regular conference of the unified Party. At this conference the "Immediate Demands of the Communist Party of Japan—New Programme" (the so-called 1951 Programme) and the ultra-left adventurist line based thereon were adopted. These lines were all prepared in Moscow by Stalin and other's direct interference and with the CPC leadership's support.

In order to "legally" perpetuate U. S. imperialism's rule over Japan without the restrictions placed by the Potsdam Declaration and to continuously make Japan a stronghold for the U.S. aggression in Asia, U. S. imperialism and treacherous monopoly capital made in hurry preparations for a separate peace in exclusion of the Soviet

Union and China and concluded the "Peace" Treaty and the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty on September 8, 1951. Those two treaties only made Japan a sovereign state in formality and in fact placed Japan under U. S. imperialism's semi-occupation and indefinitely tied Japan to the U. S. war plan by the U. S.-Japan military alliance. Okinawa was delivered to the U. S. military occupation. The San Francisco System legalized in the two treaties was indeed "an alliance of Japan subordinate to the United States, and a system of war preparation, national oppression and continued plundering" (Programme of the Communist Party of Japan).

The attitude toward the San Francisco treaties which decided the destiny of the Japanese nation and people over a long period of time brought the nature and role of each party into relief before the people. The Liberal Party, antecedent of JIYU-MINSHU-TO (JIMIN-TO, Liberal Democratic Party) actively promoted the intrigue of the anti-national, anti-popular separate peace treaty and brought full pressure upon the movement against it of the Communist Party of Japan and the democratic forces, backed by the occupation forces' bayonets. They did not make the content of the U. S.-Japan Security Treaty public before the people to the day of the signing, but imposed the military alliance for the subordination to the United States and aggression upon the Japanese people in complete disregard of the people's will.

In spite of its split condition, the Communist Party of Japan, when the U. S. occupant specifically indicated the separate peace line, immediately made each Party body and Party organization actively organized the movement against the separate peace treaty and for an all-round peace treaty. In January, 1951, ZENMEN-KOWA AIKOKU-UNDO KYOGIKAI (Patriotic Movement Council for All-Round Peace) was formed by the Communist Party, RONO-TO, 40 trade unions including SANBETSU-KAIGI, SHITETSU-SOREN (Confederation of Private Railway Workers' Union), ZEN-ZOSEN (National Shipbuilding Workers' Union) and other democratic organizations and collected 4.8 million signatures for demanding an all-round peace treaty by its nationwide movement. In the mean time, 6.4 million signatures were collected for the Stockholm Appeal against nuclear weapons and 5.7 millions for the Berlin Appeal. Thus they became the foundation of the subsequent extensive peace-defence movement.

In the October 1951 session of the Diet convened to ratify

the San Francisco treaties, it was only the Diet member groups of the Communist Party of Japan and RONO-TO that took the attitude of opposing the two treaties as a party.

Backed by the voice against the separate peace and against rearmament of the Party and democratic forces, the Socialist Party, at its convention in January 1951, adopted the so-called "four peace principles", that is, "against rearmament, maintenance of neutrality, against offer of military bases, realization of all-round peace" in spite of its right-wing's opposition, and SOHYO, too, decided the attitude of supporting the "four peace principles" at its March convention. But when the separate peace treaty was actually signed and was going to be put to vote in the Diet, the Socialist Party could not take unified attitude but split. Its left-wing voted against the two treaties, but the right-wing which held a majority in the Socialist Diet member group, came to support the San Francisco "Peace" Treaty together with the Liberal Party and the Democratic Party.

The "1951 Programme" and Ultra-Left Adventurism

It brought a new condition for the development of the Japanese people's struggle for independence and democracy that the San Francisco Treaty went to effect and the U.S. imperialist full occupation came to an end and moved to the condition of semi-occupation.

In March, 1952, when the Yoshida Cabinet submitted to the Diet an anti-subversive activity bill as a "post-independence measure for public peace", the voice was aroused in every field to accuse it as a reversion of the Law for Maintenance of the Public Peace and the trade unions with SOHYO as their centre counterattacked the bill by three times of general strike. Altogether several million organized workers took part in this strike.

In the midst of the strike the "Bloody May Day" incident took place. Since June, 1950, the occupation forces and the Yoshida Cabinet had banned the use of the "JINMIN HIROBA" (People's Plaza, Imperial Palace Plaza) for May Day or other assemblies. On this day, a part of the demonstration parade that took part in the Central May Day assembly protested against this unlawful

measure taken by the occupation forces and the Yoshida Cabinet and marched to the "People's Plaza". Against this demonstration parade, the police authorities attacked with several thousand strong armed police force, after having peacefully introduced the demonstration parade into the "Plaza". One worker and one student were killed by revolvers of the police force and this attack caused over one thousand heavily and slightly wounded people. This incident was one of the reflections of the massive indignation and protest against the occupation rule and separate peace.

Subsequently, struggles of the democratic forces and trade unions for independence and peace, for living and rights were fiercely fought in such forms as the strikes of TANRO (Japan Coal Miners' Union) and DENSAN (Japan Electric Industry Workers' Union) in 1952, the struggle against the Uchinada military base and the struggle against the dismissal at Mitsui mine in 1953, the struggle at Muroran Factory of Nippon Kokan K. K. in 1954, the movement against A and H bombs and the movement for the restoration of diplomatic relations between Japan and the Soviet Union and between Japan and China. Each Party organization and Party member always devotedly worked in the van of these struggles and made efforts to reconstruct the destroyed establishment branches, by strengthening the Party's ties with the masses, jointly with those Party members who were driven out of trade unions and establishments by Red Purge.

In spite of the devoted efforts made by individual Party organizations and Party members, however, the ties between the Party and the masses were markedly weakened in this period. Its biggest cause was that in the split condition of the Party, organizations under the leadership of K. Tokuda, S. Shida and others adopted the ultra-left adventurist line and tactics, following the wrong recommendation given by some foreign Parties. Its main point was that from the standpoint that in order to defend the people's interests and to liberate the people there was no other way than to oppose the armed U.S.-Japanese reactionary forces' rule with military force, the development of the protracted resistance and self-defence struggle in urban and rural districts, and construction of the people's self-defence organizations and mountain village strongholds were made its central task. And the adventurist activity based on this line concentratively manifested itself from the end of 1951 to July of 1952. This ultra-left adventurist line damaged the Party's prestige among the masses, destroyed the

Party's organization and inflicted an extremely big damage on the Party and revolutionary cause, coupled with the U.S.-Japanese reactionary forces' suppression and the Party's split. The seriousness of the Party's damage inflicted by it was straightforwardly proved by the support for the Party in general elections, which sharply decreased from 2,980,000 votes in January, 1949 to 890,000 votes in October, 1952 and 650,000 votes in April, 1953. The Party's 36 members of the House of Representatives in 1949 completely lost their seats in the 1952 general elections, following the purge conducted by the occupation forces since 1950 and in the 1953 general elections the Party barely gained only one Diet seat.

Underlying the error of ultra-left adventurism in this period was, first of all, the "violent revolution only" theory of the 1951 Programme. The 1951 Programme defined the perspective of the revolution in Japan as "it is wrong to think that Japan's liberation and democratic transformation can be achieved by peaceful means" and completely denied the possibility of the peaceful development of revolution. This meant that the Party fell into another extreme mistake from mechanical repulsion to the error of the "peaceful revolution under the occupation" the Party committed in early postwar days. It was a one-sided definition which overlooked that particularly the change in the situation in Japan since the conclusion of the San Francisco Treaty produced the possibility of peaceful transformation as a historical and theoretical possibility.

Secondly the mistake of ultra-left adventurism had a connection with the mechanical application of the experience of the "people's war" in China. At that time, against the background of the historical victory of the Chinese Revolution, the trend to unreasonably generalize the experience of the Chinese Revolution, which built the People's Liberation Army and its strongholds and won the victory by the protracted armed struggle, as the road to the liberation of the people in all colonial and dependent countries gained strength on an international scale. Foreign Parties, which intervened in the internal affairs of the Communist Party of Japan, identified Japan, a highly developed capitalist country, with former colonial countries in Asia for the reason that Japan was under the U.S. imperialist rule and demanded that the "people's war" line in China be applied to Japan. In this respect, the 1951 Programme itself took the viewpoint of simply regarding the Japanese revolution as a revolution of the colonial-dependent-country type, in

disregard of the aspect that Japan was a highly developed capitalist country. This viewpoint was also linked with the error in the agricultural and peasant question of the 1951 Programme which overlooked the change in the situation in the rural areas after the land reform and made the anti-feudalistic land-reform as the main task in the rural areas. The ultra-left adventurist line which stressed the construction of mountain-village strongholds, the self-defence struggle and the self-defence organizations, was the result that stemmed from the flunkeyist acceptance of the intrusion by foreign Parties in disregard of Japan's situation.

This fundamental error in the basic line of the revolutionary movement produced many mistakes in the guiding line of the political struggle. One of the most serious mistakes among them was that the prewar "social fascism" theory was virtually revived, unconditionally defined the whole of the social democratic forces as "counterrevolutionary traitors" and the sectarianist tactics to concentrate attacks on the Socialist Party was widely taken up. On the other hand a right-wing error was also produced that overestimated internal contradictions of bourgeois parties and regarded their anti-main current groups as an ally of the democratic forces. The concentrated manifestation of these errors was the "recommendation of M. Shigemitsu for Premier" in 1953. When a premiership contest went on between Shigeru Yoshida of JIYU-TO (Liberal Party) and Mamoru Shigemitsu of KAISHIN-TO (Progressive Party) after the elections in April, 1953, SOHYO proposed all opposition parties to recommend M. Shigemitsu for premier for the reason of blocking the emergence of the Yoshida Cabinet. The Communist Party supported this proposal and, at the same time, accused both factions of the Socialist Party, which were going to recommend their own persons for premier, for divisionism that helped the establishment of the Yoshida Cabinet. This "recommendation of M. Shigemitsu for Premier" turned up in combination of the wrong assessment of KAISHIN-TO with the thought of the "main blow" to the Socialist Party.

It annulled occupation laws which forced the Communist Party to carry out semi-illegal activities and produced the condition for the Party to recover the open activity, coupled with the new advance of the peoples' struggles at home and abroad, that Japan was made a sovereign state, though only in formality, by the San Francisco Treaty. But the Party bodies under the leadership

of K. Tokuda and others, though reissued "AKAHATA" in May, 1952, could not boldly push forward the transition to the open activity due to such wrong trends as ultra-left adventurism and sectarianism.

The errors in the guiding line beginning with ultra-left adventurism and vacillation to the left and right in the policy increasingly accumulated intra-Party contradictions politically as well as organizationally. Sigeo Shida and others who seized the centre of the leadership in their hand attempted to suppress those contradictions by a stronger factional personal leadership system and bureaucratism and took various hard-hitting measures against those critics of wrong lines and politics. Therefore the situation became ever graver and amid of such a situation, then General Secretary Kyuichi Tokuda died in Peking in October, 1953 where he took refuge.

Later among leaders of the Party bodies under the leadership of K. Tokuda and others, the examination of the Party activities since 1950 and strict mutual- and self-criticism based thereon were conducted and under certain cooperation with the members of the Central Committee who had demanded the Party's unity, the direction of a new switchover was prepared to solve the Party's split condition and to overcome ultra-left adventurism and other errors. The intensification of intra-Party contradictions, the masses' criticisms and criticism and practice made by Party members, who were closely tied to the masses, and conscious people were also an undeniable factor which produced this switchover.

Toward the Recovery of the Party's Unity

The "Sixth National Conference" held in July, 1955 could not help but being an abnormal conference which retained the historical restrictions since the Party's split, but became an important step forward to the Party's switchover in a number of points.

The resolution of the "Sixth National Conference" openly criticized the line of ultra-left adventurism and sectarianism which emerged at the time of the split and stressed the construction of the Party armed with the Marxist-Leninist theory. It also made it the immediate biggest task to overcome the Party's disunity and

made clear the orientation of rectifying patriarchal personal leadership which dominated the Party life and of establishing intra-Party democracy and collective leadership. The "Sixth National Conference" elected a new Central Committee which included both split sides. In this way the "Sixth National Conference" became an important stage in settling the Party's split condition since 1950, recovering certain unity, correcting confusion caused by ultra-left adventurism and other errors and opening a path for a unified Party activity and also in turning the Party activity to an open activity condition to meet the new condition under the San Francisco system. In its construction and preparation, however, it had the character of continuation of irregular "national conference" convened by one side in the period of the Party's split. As for the content of the resolution, too, it contained many important points at issue such as, beginning with the point that the investigation of the process and cause of the Party's split completely remained to be a future problem, the wrong position that as for the 1951 Programme which was the rootsource of a series of errors it reaffirmed that its "every definition is perfectly correct" and made the acceptance of the 1951 Programme the basis of the Party's unity.

The entire Party's subsequent three-year efforts to prepare a new Congress — the Seventh Party Congress — with the certain unity of the Party Centre achieved by the "Sixth National Conference" as a footing, were necessary for the Party to fundamentally settle the confusion since 1950, to establish a correct political line and to recover the truly Party-like unity.

At the time when the Party started the switchover of the Party activity based on the "Sixth National Conference", the great change was in progress in the situation at home and abroad. The U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Korea suffered a big blow by the Korean people's heroic struggle helped by China and the Soviet Union and a ceasefire was realized in 1953. Indochina, too, based on the victory of the peoples of Indochina over French imperialism, the Geneva Agreements, which promised independence of Vietnam and Laos and peace, were signed in July, 1954. As can be seen from the Asian-African Conference in 1955, the movement for world anti-imperialist peace, independence and democracy showed a great upsurge against the background of the formation and consolidation of the socialist world system and the collapse of the

colonial system and was becoming a huge obstacle to the U.S. imperialist war policy. U.S. imperialism intended to reconstruct its system of war and aggression with West Germany in Europe and Japan in Asia as the most important strongholds, and had strongly demanded from post-“peace” Japan the extension of a number of military bases and the full-scale promotion of rearmament in preparation for an atomic war.

In Japan, the revival process of monopoly capitalism was in rapid progress under the San Francisco system and Japanese monopoly capital, which regained its strength, more actively pursued the revival of Japanese militarism and imperialism with the U.S. imperialist rule and assistance. In December, 1954, the Yoshida Cabinet collapsed with the shipbuilding scandal case as a direct moment and was replaced by the Hatoyama Cabinet, in whose policy the demands of Japanese monopoly capital, which revived in subordination to the United States, were reflected more strongly than ever. On the one hand while seeking for the elevation of Japan’s international position by the restoration of Japan’s diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, Japan’s affiliation to the United Nations and trade with China, the Hatoyama Cabinet, on the other, vigorously pushed forward the extension of U.S. military bases and the policy to turn Japan into a base of aggression and to revive Japanese militarism such as large-scale build-up of the Self-Defence Forces with the six-year plan, more closely cooperating in the U.S. imperialist war plan. In particular, it was the most serious challenge to the people that the Hatoyama Cabinet openly put up the policy to revise the Constitution for the worse and attempted at the implementation of a minor constituency system to acquire two thirds of the Diet seats necessary for that purpose.

On the political front SHAKAI-TO (Socialist Party) which split into the left and right groups regarding its attitude toward the San Francisco Treaty in 1951, held conventions to merge in October, 1955. It left an important obstacle to the unity of the democratic forces that in the programme adopted at the unification convention the Socialist Party specified its anti-communist position that “Communism virtually trampled underfoot democracy, denied man’s personality, freedom and dignity and thus became an existence incompatible with socialism by democracy” and that “We will overcome communism and carry out a socialist revolution democratically as well as peacefully”. In November of the same year, the “conservative

merger" of JIYU-TO (Liberal Party) and MINSHU-TO (Democratic Party) was accomplished and JIYU-MINSHU-TO (JIMIN-TO, Liberal Democratic Party) was formed. This was intended to consolidate the political system for the fulfilment of reactionary policies by securing an absolute majority of a single party in the Diet. At the same time the Government and the financial circles strove to take that opportunity to stress a "two-party system" of the Liberal Democratic and Socialist Parties and to make it a moment to make the Socialist Party "healthy and sound", to isolate the Communist Party and to split the democratic forces.

After the "Sixth National Conference", while making efforts for the Party's unity on a nationwide scale, the Party fought in the van of the struggle of the working class and the democratic forces, proposed the people's movement for the restoration of diplomatic relations between Japan and the Soviet Union, and between Japan and China and also extensively called on democratic parties and organizations for united actions to frustrate a minor constituency system and to oppose the revision of the Constitution for the worse. In March, 1956, the Government submitted a minor constituency system bill to the Diet, but the struggle against the bill upsurged in and outside the Diet and the united action including the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and RONO-TO was established in such forms as the joint struggle within the Diet and joint speech meetings. Thereby the Government was finally driven so far as to give up its passage. Against the scheme to turn Japan into a military base of aggression, the Party actively worked for the struggle against the extension of military bases in Sunagawa and other places. Against the M. Price Recommendation which aimed to turn Okinawa into a permanent base for atomic war, the Central Committee issued a statement in June, 1956 to demand the immediate suspension of the extension of the base and land confiscation and also demanded that the Government "should immediately start formal diplomatic negotiations with the United States on the denunciation of Article 3 of the Peace Treaty and reversion of Okinawa and Ogasawara to Japan".

In such a struggle, the Party went into the first Diet election campaign — the House of Councillors elections — in July, 1956 after the "Sixth National Conference". When the Party was in split, the unprincipled election tactics was taken considerably in a part of the Party to unilaterally withdraw the Party's candidate and

recommend other party's candidate in the name of "united election" without any policy agreement in connection with the trend to make light of the Diet struggle stemming from ultra-left adventurism. In the House of Councillors elections, the Party made the past error clear and actively fought the election campaign by establishing the fundamentals of the election tactics, for instance, in principle to put up the Party's own candidate in every constituency and to make it an undoubted prerequisite to establish a policy agreement and a united front when the Party recommends a united candidate of the democratic forces. As a result the Party had two candidates elected and gained over 1,140,000 votes (in local constituencies) which were the result several times exceeding the previous election outcome.

As for the Hatoyama Cabinet's negotiations with the Soviet Union, the Party consistently demanded the immediate restoration of diplomatic relations, criticizing the Government's attitude of delaying the restoration of diplomatic relations for the reason that the territorial question was not settled yet. At the same time, in the statement of the Central Committee issued in August, 1956 the Party frankly pointed out that the territorial question between Japan and the Soviet Union like the Kurile Islands question was a question "to be properly settled on the basis of historical and natural conditions in the future when Japan gets out of the condition of subordination to the United States and becomes a peaceful, independent and democratic Japan".

The Hatoyama Cabinet resigned in December, 1956 after the realization of the restoration of Japan-Soviet diplomatic relations and the Kishi Cabinet was formed in February, 1957 after the short-lived Ishibashi Cabinet. From the beginning of its formation, the Kishi Cabinet dodged the people's demand for national independence under the cloak of Japan's "independence" and "equality" to start negotiations with the United States in attempt to reorganize and consolidate the San Francisco system by the revision of the U.S.-Japan military alliance. The Party immediately exposed the Kishi Cabinet's scheme concretely, led struggles of every stratum of the people and every field in such a way as they would develop into a great movement for revision and abrogation of traitorous treaties and national independence, propagated the demand for the overthrow of the San Francisco system and organized the movement to overthrow the Kishi Cabinet.

Striving for the development of the people's struggle against U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital, the Party tackled, with might and main, the complicated and difficult task to win the Party's genuine unity on the basis of the correct line.

The situation the Party faced after the "Sixth National Conference" was extremely serious and difficult. With the "Sixth National Conference" as a turning point, members of the Central Committee and members of the Politbureau elected by the Sixth Party Congress recovered certain unity and in spite of the restrictions caused by the complicated conditions after the split, the political and organizational leadership of the Party Centre basically proceeded in the more correct direction. The work to recover the Party's unity made progress on a nationwide scale and alongside of the progress, fresh democratic mood which developed Party members' creativeness also gained strength. The split and confusion since 1950 grossly ruined the Party's organizations all over the country. Beginning with the pressure of the settlement of the Party bodies abnormally enlarged during the period of underground activity, financially, too, the Party was placed in an extremely difficult condition. In the process of making efforts for the Party's unity, in part of the Party there emerged the unprincipled liberalist and decentralist trend to disregard the Party discipline of democratic centralism on the ground of criticism against the past errors. All sorts of revisionist trends to capitulate to the influence of various bourgeois, social democratic thought and to discard the revolutionary viewpoint of scientific socialism, also gained strength in part of the Party.

Shigeo Shida and Etsuro Shiina who were elected members of the Central Committee at the "Sixth National Conference", were found to have taken degenerated acts impermissible for Party leaders in their Party life during the time of the Party's split. S. Shida fled, abandoning his task before the Party started to investigate the matter, and attempted to disturb the Party by organizing an anti-party faction, falsifying as if the reason for his desertion had been a difference of political opinion. The Party Centre expelled him from the Party to smash his manoeuvre.

The Party carried on the Party reconstruction activity, fighting against those various difficulties and wrong trends and started the discussion on the summarization of the split question since 1950. As for the Programmatic question, too, it became clear through

the Party activity after the "Sixth National Conference" that the 1951 Programme contained definitions and unilateralizations which did not agree with the reality of Japan. At a number of its plenums in 1956, the Party Central Committee pointed out a number of most important points in the error of the 1951 Programme, decided to work out a new Programme at the next Congress and called for the entire Party's discussion for this purpose. The entire Party's efforts to strictly observe the organizational principle and the Party Centre's fully thought-out leadership were demanded in order to make the complicated intra-Party discussion on the summarization of the 1950 question and the establishment of a new Programme while strengthening the Party's unity in the face of the U.S.-Japanese reactionary forces and sparing no effort for tackling the people's struggle.

The revisionist trend within the Party was further aggravated in connection with the new situation that took place in the international Communist movement. In February, 1956, the 20th CPSU Congress was held. At this Congress several questions were raised about the errors of the CPSU foreign and home policies at the time of Stalin's leadership (he died in March, 1953). Then, in April the Cominform dissolved itself, issuing a statement which stressed the need for each Communist Party to "develop its own activity in accordance with national peculiarity and condition". At this time, internationally the modern revisionist current manifested its new strength and the revisionist trend in Japan, seeking for its ground in internationally raised "theories" and propositions, gradually grew into a current of revisionism and opportunism with a certain system.

In connection with the criticism on Stalin and the Hungarian incident in October, 1956, the reactionally forces at home and abroad made them an opportunity to activate their anti-communist campaign anew and in the midst of the anti-communist growing stronger, a part of the student Party members yielded to the anti-communist offensive, gave way to Trotskyism, and fell into the counterrevolutionary forces who attempted at subversion against the Party and split of the democratic forces.

While strengthening the struggle against wrong trends in and outside the Party and smashing all sorts of subversive activities against the Party, the Party carried forward its preparation for the Seventh Party Congress. It was the most important task

imposed on the Congress to decide the Party's new Programme and Constitution by concentrating the entire Party's discussion, to scientifically summarize the 1950 question and to solidly win the Party's political, theoretical and organizational unity of the Party with a correct line. The preparation for the Congress was made by the cooperation of the Central Committee elected by the "Sixth National Conference" and members of the Central Committee elected by the Sixth Party Congress.

CHAPTER V

THE SEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS AND THE EIGHTH PARTY CONGRESS

Historical Significance of the Seventh Party Congress

In September 1957, the Central Committee made public the draft Programme and Constitution (the draft Party Charter) to be submitted to the Seventh Party Congress. Then, in November of the same year a joint meeting of the Central Committee, members and candidate members of the Central Committee and members of the Control Commission elected by the Sixth Party Congress was held and adopted and made public the summarized document on the "1950 question". Then such measures were taken for a successful congress as to issue a special magazine DANKETSU TO ZENSHIN (Unity and Advance) in order to ensure the entire Party's democratic discussion on those questions.

As for the draft Programme there were a considerable number of opposite opinions within the Central Committee. The announced draft Programme defined Japan's present situation as follows:—"It is U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital, which is in subordinate allied relations with the former, that basically rule Japan today. While being a highly developed capitalist country, Japan has become a virtually dependent country semi-occupied by U.S. imperialism". Proceeding from the above definition, it characterized the coming Japanese revolution as a "people's democratic revolution" whose main tasks are complete independence of the nation, thoroughgoing democracy and the elimination of treacherous and reactionary monopoly capital's rule and made clear the perspective of the stage-by-stage and uninterrupted development of the revolution in view that "This very revolution in Japan, which is at the stage of highly developed monopoly capitalism, has the task to pave the way to the basis of transition to socialist transformation". As for

the course to the revolution, the draft Programme rejected the "violent revolution only" of the 1951 Programme, while turning down the "inevitability of a peaceful revolution" by peaceful means as unconditionally assured and made clear the principled standpoint of pursuing to the last the possibility to accomplish the revolution by peaceful means and yet of keeping necessary vigilance to the enemy's move to block this road by violence. Those points were the achievements, at which we arrived by basing ourselves on the scientific summarization of the experience of the postwar revolutionary movement and by creatively applying the Marxist-Leninist theory to the situation in Japan. With regard to the definition of Japan's present situation, however, most of those like Shojiro Kasuga, Tomochika Naito and others who opposed the draft Programme regarded Japan as a basically independent imperialist power. As for the character of the coming revolution, too, they based themselves on the theory of anti-monopoly socialist revolution and insisted on the strategic line which avoids the struggle against U.S. imperialism. As for the course to the revolution they maintained, for the reason of the favourable development of the international situation, that "peaceful revolution", which makes use of the parliamentarism, be formulated as the only way to socialism. Active discussion was continued mainly on those points at issue in the Party organs and the magazine "Unity and Advance".

In the mean time, in November, 1957 an international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties was held in Moscow on the occasion of the celebration in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution and adopted the "Declaration" of the Communist and Workers' Parties of twelve Socialist nations and the "Peace Appeal" of 64 Communist and Workers' Parties. Our Party delegation (Yoshio Shiga and Korehito Kurahara), too, participated in the meeting of 64 Communist and Workers' Parties. It was the first time that representatives of the Communist Party of Japan, whose international exchange had been so far prevented by the U.S.-Japanese ruling circles' unreasonable obstruction, openly took part in a meeting of the international Communist movement. The Permanent Presidium of the Central Committee resolved to support those two documents and a series of revolutionary principles formulated in the "Declaration" had a content which was basically in accord with the standpoint of the Party's draft Programme.

The Seventh Party Congress was held at Nakano Public Hall and Shinagawa Public Hall, Tokyo, from July 23 to August 1, 1958. It was the Party Congress held 11 years after the Sixth Party Congress. The Congress adopted, with the overwhelming majority, the Political Report, Action Programme and Party Constitution submitted by the Central Committee and elected a new Central Committee.

In the Political Report, the Congress gave a detailed summarization of the Party's split in 1950 and the course of subsequent events and pointed out that the direct and largest cause of the Party's split was the activity to exclude leading cadres and unilateral dissolution of the then Central Committee, both of which were not based on the Constitution, by the majority of the then Politbureau and from this unfortunate experience of split the following five lessons have been drawn:—

(1) Confronted with whatever situation, it is the primary task for every Party member to defend the Party's unity and cohesion, in particular, the unity and cohesion of the Central Committee.

(2) For that purpose, to strictly exclude patriarchal, personal leadership and liberalism and decentralism which disregard the discipline, to strictly observe the Constitution in whatever case, to regularly hold the specified Congress and other Party conference and meeting and to maintain the principle of democratic centralism and collective leadership.

(3) To make the best effort for the cohesion of the Central Committee as well as the cohesion between the Centre and local organizations.

(4) Based on the bitter experience that the Party's split ruined the normal development of mass organizations, to make efforts not to bring out the Party's internal affairs to the outside of the Party but to settle them within the Party.

(5) To make efforts to wipe out the trend to make light of the Party's ideological building and theory, and for the entire Party headed by the Party Centre to organize the study of the Marxist-Leninist theory and to raise the Party's political and theoretical level.

The Party also confirmed the expulsion of Ritsu Ito who capitulated to the enemy and betrayed the Party in the prewar days and continued the criminal activity of disturbing the Party for a long period of time in the postwar days.

As for international relations regarding the 1950 question, in view of the then restrictions, no detailed appraisal was made public.

The summarization of the 1950 question, however, became the most important moment in establishing the Party's self-reliant and independent position that for the Japanese revolutionary movement the Communist Party of Japan bears the self-reliant responsibility and opposes whatever foreign party's intervention. The summarization document adopted by the Central Committee in advance of the Congress already pointed out such errors of international interventions at that time that the comment in the January issue (1950) of the "For Lasting Peace and People's Democracy" "lacked modesty and prudence in its method of criticism" and that the comment in its August issue (1951) "became one of the important factors for the incorrect solution of the split question" due to its wrong unilateral judgement over the Party's internal affairs.

While the Party was preparing for the Seventh Party Congress, N. S. Khrushchov and some leaders of the Communist Party of China told the Party representatives attending the meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of 64 countries their negative opinion on openly summarizing such a complicated internal matter of the Party as the 1950 question at a Party Congress. Yoshio Shiga approved of the opinion, but Korehito Kurahara did not. And on the ground of this matter Yoshio Shiga and Takaji Nishizawa opposed the summarization of the 1950 question at the Congress. The Central Committee, however, firmly held its self-reliant attitude to reject their objection and gave a bold and candid summarization to the 1950 question at the Seventh Party Congress. In this way, the Seventh Party Congress was able to basically settle the Party's abnormal state since the Sixth Party Congress and to lay down the unshakable foundation for the Party's unity and cohesion with the firm determination never to repeat such an error as the Party's split.

The Constitution adopted by the Congress was one that was based on the lessons drawn from the past serious experience including the 1950 question and was self-reliantly prepared after the two years' discussion, critically succeeding to the international experience. The adoption of the Constitution became the basis to defend the Party's unity and cohesion and to ensure principled Party life and Party building.

The Congress also decided the immediate political line against the two enemies, U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital and for peace, independence, democracy and better life.

The draft Programme of the Central Committee was discussed at the Congress and its subcommittee's meeting for long hours. At the Congress the majority supported the draft Programme. Nevertheless, since the disagreement on such important points as the definition of the present situation and the character of the revolution was not settled, no vote was taken on the draft Programme but it was only approved as the draft to be continued to discuss under the leadership of a new Central Committee and its final decision was carried over to the next Congress. The Seventh Congress adopted the part regarding the fundamentals of the Action Programme in the draft Programme and also decided to abolish the 1951 Programme.

Due to the then historical restriction, incorrect points regarding the appraisal of the basic contradiction of the world and the appraisal of the international status of the Soviet Union were contained in a part of the Congress decision. The Congress, however, took the important first step of building a powerful, militant and revolutionary Party by self-reliantly and boldly examining the shortcomings possessed by the Party, by laying down the foundation of unity and cohesion and by shaping the basic, political line to meet the present condition of Japan. The Congress became not only a historical Congress for the development of our Party, but also an extremely important Congress for the whole of the revolutionary movement of the Japanese people fighting against the two enemies.

The Congress elected 31 members of the Central Committee, 6 candidate members of the Central Committee and 7 members of the Central Control and Audit Commission, and the new Central Committee elected Sanzo Nosaka Chairman of the Central Committee and Kenji Miyamoto General Secretary of the Central Committee.

Since the Seventh Party Congress, the Central Committee has attached importance to the task to build a powerful mass vanguard Party, appealed the establishment of Party life and Party strength expansion to the entire Party and promoted them tenaciously.

At the Third Plenum of the Central Committee held in November 1958, the Party proposed the entire Party the "Establishment of Party Life and the Party-Strength Expansion Movement" and adopted as the standards for the establishment of Party life the following three targets:—**1.** To hold a branch meeting regularly. **2.** The whole Party members should read "AKAHATA" and **3.**

to fully pay in time the Party due and organ subscription fee. In March, 1959, Sunday AKAHATA was issued as a mighty weapon to expand by leap the ties between the Party and the masses.

The Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee held in the summer of 1959 proposed an epoch-making Party-strength doubling movement for a mass vanguard Party with a membership of several hundred thousands on the basis of the lessons drawn from the local elections and House of Councillors election in the same year and sent every member of the entire Party a letter calling for the Party's expansion and consolidation. The revisionist elements like Shojiro Kasuga and Tomochika Naito, who deserted from the Party later on, opposed the Party-strength expansion movement at this Plenum of the Central Committee, insisting that the cause of the delayed development of Party strength lies in the wrong basic line of the Party or that if the Party actively tackled with the mass movement the Party would grow spontaneously. The Central Committee rejected their wrong view by the tenacious discussion and established the basic line that while actively tackling the immediate mass struggle, the Party purposefully pursue Party-strength expansion as an independent task. Moreover, at the first national activists' meeting held in August, 1960, the Party Centre stressed it as the fundamental of the Party's guidance and activity to advance by firmly standing on the "two legs" of the mass struggle, i.e. stronger ties with the masses and Party building, i.e. Party-strength expansion. Those cleared up the important law of Party building by firmly upholding the Marxist-Leninist principled viewpoint that the political and class awareness of the masses does not spontaneously grow and became an important support for the Party's subsequent development.

The movement made a great development thanks to the entire Party's energetic efforts and at the end of 1960 the target of doubling Party-strength was approximately achieved. Party life was also renovated and the Party style that decisions of the Party Congress and Party Centre shall be put into practice without fail became stronger.

At the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee in March, 1960, the Party also decided a new line on NIHON MINSHU SEINEN DOMEI (Democratic Youth League of Japan) and opened a new phase in the development of the youth movement. The Democratic Youth League, succeeding to the movement of the Communist Youth

League, started as NIHON MINSHU SEINENDAN (Japan Democratic Youth Organization) in May, 1951 and later it changed its name to the Democratic Youth League of Japan in November, 1956 and continued its activity. The Democratic Youth League which had the membership of only 1,500 at the time of the Seventh Party Congress developed into an organization having rallied 50,000—over thirty times of the membership in 1958—young people in three years up to the Eighth Party Congress in 1961 and came to possess a great strength as the centre of the unity of the youth front.

The Struggle against the Revision of the Security Treaty; and the United Front

The greatest struggle with which the Party and the Japanese people were confronted after the Seventh Party Congress was the struggle against the revision of the Security Treaty in 1959 and 1960.

Negotiations between Japan and the United States for the revision of the Security Treaty were opened on a full scale with then Foreign Minister A. Fujiyama's visit to the United States in September, 1958. In order to reinforce the system of war of aggression and national suppression in the Far East and to make Japan more strongly a tool for its policy of aggression, U.S. imperialism actively embarked on the revision of the Security Treaty and in January, 1960, both the Japanese and U.S. Governments signed the new Security Treaty in Washington. The Government and the Liberal Democratic Party propagated that the revision of the Security Treaty aimed at improving the former Treaty's character subordinate to the United States. The signed new Security Treaty was nothing but a subordinate-to-U.S. and aggressive military alliance treaty that left unchanged the U.S. armed forces' semi-occupation of Japan and conversion of Japan into a military base, in addition, imposed upon Japan newly the obligation of reinforcement of her military power and of U.S.-Japan joint operations and put Japan even under an obligation of her cooperation with the United States in the economic aspect. It increased the danger of involving Japan, against the Japanese people's will, in a war of aggression designed by U.S. imperialism.

Already at the Third Plenum of the Central Committee held in November 1958, immediately after the opening of the negotiations, the Communist Party of Japan exposed the nature of the negotiations for the revision of the Security Treaty that the negotiations were taking such a dangerous course that "Not only the essence of the San Francisco system—a system of war and subordination—is maintained, but also Japan is more firmly tied to the U.S. strategic system, particularly militarily", and thereby made clear the significance of opposing the revision of the Security Treaty. Then the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee in January, 1959 decided the policy for Japan's neutrality and contraposed the road of peace and neutrality that Japan should secede from the U.S.-Japan military alliance without joining any military alliance to the road of subordination to the United States and the aggressive military alliance that the U.S. and Japanese ruling circles were about to impose on the Japanese people. And the Party called on the people to make every possible effort to prevent the revision of the Security Treaty and actively fight to abrogate the Security Treaty and to realize a Japan of independence, peace and neutrality.

"The neutral policy is a policy to secede from whatever military alliance and not to join whatever military alliance. At the same time it is a policy to establish equal and friendly relations with all countries of the world. It follows that Japan will make it her state policy to establish genuinely equal and honourable U.S.-Japanese relations as an independent country after abrogating the Security Treaty, removing U.S. military bases from the whole of Japanese territory and making U.S. armed forces withdraw and to establish friendly and amicable relations with every state irrespective of its social system without joining whatever military alliance. It is because by such a policy it is possible to secure Japan's independence and security and to contribute to the maintenance of world peace. Such a course is in accord with the direction of the development of the world situation and the Japanese people's aspiration and Japan's interests."

Prior to the struggle against the revision of the Security Treaty, an important advance of the joint struggle of the democratic forces was won in the struggle in autumn of 1958 against the proposed amendment of the Police Duties Execution Law for the worse by the Kishi Cabinet. The Socialist Party adhered to such a sectarianist line as to organize the National Council against the Change of the Police Duties Execution Law for the Worse excluding the Com-

munist Party, but in almost 40 prefectures in the country joint struggle organizations including the Communist and Socialist Parties were formed and SOHYO (General Council of Trade Unions of Japan) went on large-scale strike twice backed by the advance of the joint struggle of the democratic forces.

Based upon this achievement, and taking the joint struggle inclusive of both the Communist and Socialist Parties in the movement for the restoration of Japan-China diplomatic relations as an important moment, the "National Council for the Prevention of the Revision of the Security Treaty" was formed as a joint struggle organization of democratic organizations inclusive of the Communist and Socialist Parties in March, 1959 and became the driving force of the historical struggle against the Security Treaty. In starting this joint struggle organization, the Socialist Party, SOHYO and others clung to the end to the sectarianist attitude of opposing the Communist Party's formal participation in the Leading Member-Organization Committee of the above National Council and eventually our Party was placed in an unjustifiable discriminative position that our Party was left in the status of observer in the Leading Member-Organization Committee.

Even after the formation of the National Council for the Prevention of the Revision of the Security Treaty, the trend to become passive to the struggle for the prevention of the revision of and for the abrogation of the Security Treaty, to regard the "Security Treaty as burdensome", was considerably deep-rooted among the democratic forces, linked with opportunism which makes light of the struggle against U.S. imperialism and the task of national independence. The Party played a great leading role in extensively organizing the propaganda activity among the workers, peasants and other strata of the people, in correctly linking demands and struggles of those strata with the struggle against the Security Treaty and in concentrating the whole people's energy on the struggle against the revision of the Security Treaty. From the first stage of the struggle against the Security Treaty, our Party also called on the democratic forces to uphold high the demand for the return of Okinawa to Japan as a task inseparable from the overthrow of the San Francisco System, but the Okinawa question did not become a common task of the joint struggle organization against the Security Treaty due to a negative attitude in some quarter.

With this united front organization—the joint struggle organization against the Security Treaty as a pillar, the Japanese demo-

cratic forces and people unfolded a durable and unprecedented-scale struggle extending over one and a half year against the revision of the Security Treaty which aimed at the reorganization and consolidation of the U.S.-Japan military alliance. In this struggle, the anti-communist right-wing social-democrats of the Nishio group split the Socialist Party to form MINSHU SHAKAI-TO (MINSHA-TO, Democratic Socialist Party) and betrayed and disturbed the struggle against the Security Treaty to come to the U.S.-Japanese ruling circles' expectation. The Trotskyites, who occupied the ZENGAKUREN (National Federation of Students' Self-Government Associations) leadership, also repeated anti-communist and provocative manoeuvres. But they could not impede the advance of the struggle of the working class and people. In the centre, one hundred and scores of organizations representing the organized democratic forces of several millions including the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, SOHYO, CHURITSU-ROREN (Liaison Council of Independent Unions) and ZEN-NICHINO (Liaison Council of Japan Farmers' Unions) took part in the National Council for the Prevention of the Revision of the Security Treaty. Furthermore, 2,000 local joint struggle organizations were formed throughout the country and those national and local united fronts of democratic organizations became the pillar of the united actions of the Japanese people repeated 23 times against the revision of the Security Treaty. In spite of such important weaknesses as the non-participation of ZENRO-KAIGI (Japan Labour Union Congress) in the struggle and the negative attitude of the trade unions of some important enterprises, the working class played the role of the central unit for the united actions in the struggle against the Security Treaty. In particular, it manifested an important advance in the consciousness and militancy of the working class that in June 1960, millions of workers centered on National Railway workers three times went on political strike.

On the basis of the Action Programme decided at the Seventh Party Congress, and outstanding recovery of the Party's fighting strength and action strength after the Party Congress, the Party strenuously worked in the van in the establishment and district to make an important contribution to the development of the struggle against the Security Treaty. The Party fought against the wrong trends within the democratic forces to avoid the struggle against U.S. imperialism, reasoning that the main enemy is Japanese monopoly capital or to introduce anti-communism to disturb the

democratic development of the joint struggle, defined the course of the struggle against the two enemies and worked for the development of the unity of the democratic forces and the united action of the people with the consistent united front policy. From the viewpoint of developing the mass struggle continuously, the Party proposed gathering, meeting, demonstration, political strike and general strike suited to each stage and also proposed a Diet-petition movement and a grand signature campaign for obtaining a majority of the electorate. With regard to Trotskyites' ultra-left adventurist provocative and disturbing activities, too, our Party resolutely fought against them by exposing the counter-revolutionary role of the Trotskyites in contrast with the vacillating trend of the Socialist Party and others who easily aligned themselves with them. Those activities made by the Party played an important role in correctly advancing the struggle in opposition to the enemy's oppression and the Trotskyites' provocation.

The struggle against the revision of the Security Treaty could not prevent the new Security Treaty from being ratified. In the face of the upsurge of the nationwide struggle, however, U.S. President D. D. Eisenhower's scheduled visit to Japan became impossible and the Kishi Cabinet also collapsed immediately after the ratification of the Treaty. This historical struggle created the condition for a new development of the people's liberation struggle by raising political consciousness of the working class and the people and by strengthening the conviction in the united strength of the democratic forces. In view of the fact that nine years ago when the San Francisco system was established the Japanese working class and people could not effectively organize a struggle against the system, the development and results of the struggle against the Security Treaty precisely proved the growth of the strength and ability of the Party and democratic forces in those nine years.

Through this struggle the Party strengthened its ties with the people's masses, was forged and drew great lessons. It firmly rallied the whole Party organizations around the Central Committee and strengthened the Party's unity that the correctness of the Seventh Party Congress decisions and the Central Committee's guidance was proved by the entire Party's practice.

The Miike struggle, which was fought simultaneously with the struggle against the Security Treaty, was a struggle that formed a peak of the struggle against the "rationalization". The Miike

workers who were faced with monopoly capital's offensive of the dismissal of designated 1,200 workers continued a heroic struggle over a long period of time, backed by the whole democratic forces rallying themselves around the joint struggle bodies against the Security Treaty and fought, displaying undaunted class militancy, against such an offensive of monopoly capital and the Liberal Democratic Government in one body as scores of thousands of armed policemen, rightist gangsters, Naval Self-Defence Force, class trial and false mediation of the Central Labour Committee. The Party made every effort in order to develop this struggle as a joint struggle of the whole people. The Central Committee instructed Party organizations throughout the country to work for the Miike struggle and dispatched altogether several thousand activists to the site to organize mass-scale assistance. Although they could not prevent the dismissal due to the enemy power's violent oppression and vacillation of social democratic leadership, this struggle constitutes a brilliant page in the struggle history of the working class of Japan.

After the ratification of the new Security Treaty was forcibly made, the Party issued an appeal "Let's Unite under the Banner of Patriotism and Justice!" at the Eleventh Plenum of the Central Committee in July, 1960, called on the people to further extend and strengthen the national and local joint struggle bodies against the Security Treaty and, at the same time, proposed that the people should form a "democratic coalition government against the Security Treaty" by the coming general elections and mass actions. This was an epoch-making proposal which made clear the course of the united front government based on the immediate central objectives from the position of defending the unity of the democratic forces in the then condition that even if there was no agreement among the democratic forces on the whole objectives of the National Democratic United Front they could agree upon the opposition to the Security Treaty.

In place of the Kishi Cabinet which collapsed the Ikeda Cabinet was formed in July, 1960, and general elections were held in November of the same year. The case of the assassination of Chairman of the Socialist Party Inejiro Asanuma, which took place on the eve of the election campaign, vividly showed the danger of militarism and political reaction under the new Security Treaty and, at the same time, became a moment for the right-wing current within the Socialist Party to gain strength. The result of the

election campaign as a whole proved the advance of the forces, which jointly fought the struggle against the Security Treaty, beginning with the Communist Party having obtained 1.15 million votes and three seats in the House of Representatives.

The Eighth Party Congress— the Programme of the Communist Party of Japan Adopted

The development of the situation and the people's struggle after the Seventh Party Congress greatly matured the condition for solving the Programme question to establish the entire Party's political and theoretical unity. The correctness of the basic viewpoint of the draft Programme and the error of the "imperialist independence theory" and the "anti-monopoly socialist revolution theory", which opposed the draft Programme, were verified on the basis of the entire Party's practice such as the struggle against the Police Duties Execution Law, the Miike struggle beginning with the historical struggle against the revision of the Security Treaty and most of the Party members, who had some doubt about the draft Programme, also positively changed their attitude to actively support the draft Programme with confidence.

The theoretical and practical development of the international Communist movement in that period also backed up the correctness of the basic viewpoint of the draft Programme.

In November, 1960, a conference of representatives of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties was held in Moscow and the "Statement" and "Appeal to the Peoples of All the World" were unanimously adopted. From the Communist Party of Japan Satomi Hakamada, Tomio Nishizawa and Itaru Yonehara attended the conference with General Secretary Kenji Miyamoto as their head. At that time, much discussion was made on the appraisal of U.S. imperialism, the placement of the struggle against it and other matters at the conference of representatives and its preparatory meeting. Through active discussion the trend to make light of the aggressiveness of U. S. imperialism was basically overcome. The adopted "Statement" as a whole formulated propositions based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism regarding a series of fundamental

problems with which the world Communist movement and revolutionary movement were faced. Based on the political view established through the programmatic controversy and the experience of the revolutionary movement in Japan the delegation of the Communist Party of Japan took part in the discussion, fought against all sorts of wrong views, proposed many amendments and thereby played a certain positive part in establishing the revolutionary principles of the "Statement". Thus, many propositions formulated in the "Statement"—the role of U.S. imperialism as the "chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme.....enemy of the peoples of the whole world"; the emphasis of the international significance of the struggle against it; the formulation of the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic revolution in "some non-European developed capitalist countries which are under the political, economic and military domination of U.S. imperialism"; the viewpoint that on the question of the forms of transition of revolution, whether revolution takes a peaceful form or non-peaceful form is determined by concrete historical conditions, in particular, eventually by the enemy's attitude—were completely in accord with the position taken by the Party's draft Programme.

The "Statement" also confirmed, on the basis of the historical experience of the international Communist movement, that "All the Marxist-Leninist Parties are independent and have equal rights" and definitely formulated that it is a new shape of proletarian internationalism in our time to realize the internationalist cohesion of the Communist movement on the basis of each Party's independence, equality and self-reliance. Grounded upon the Party's own experience and the conclusion drawn therefrom, the Communist Party of Japan opposed the majority decision system and the establishment of a permanent machinery proposed by some Parties and made a positive contribution to the international formulation of those principles.

On the one hand, reflecting the progress of the internal discussion, the 1960 "Statement" contained, though in part, such an improper proposition as to call the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the "universally recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement". At that time, too, the Party held the definite opinion that it would give a rise to the understanding that there is a "rear guard" in contrast with a "vanguard" to give a party the assessment of "vanguard" and lead to a contradiction with the

principle of equality of each fraternal Party and assumed a critical attitude toward those propositions.

In spite of the verification by the Japanese people's struggle and the entire Party's practice and of the theoretical development of the international Communist movement having proved the correctness of the viewpoint of the draft Programme, Shojiro Kasuga, Tomochika Naito and the like representing the revisionist trend within the Party continued to cling to the last to their dissenting opinion.

In July, 1958, immediately after the Seventh Party Congress, the Party Central Committee set up the Programmatic Problem Subcommittee including those opponents to the draft Programme like S. Kasuga and others and General Secretary K. Miyamoto was in charge of the Subcommittee. From 1958 to 1961, meeting of the Subcommittee was held 29 times and at three Plenums of the Central Committee, too, democratic discussion was thoroughly made for 22 days in all. Voice of the opponents to the draft Programme was fully guaranteed. For instance, even if the Sixteenth Plenum of the Central Committee in March, 1961 is taken alone, Shojiro Kasuga spoke 47 times and Tomochika Naito 68 times. Through all those discussions, all of the grounds for dissenting opinions of S. Kasuga and others were refuted. On the contrary they tightened their factional union secretly behind the Party, further systematized their opportunist theory which avoided the struggle against U.S. imperialism's rule over Japan and expected peaceful concessions from monopoly capital and began to organize all sorts of factional activities to disseminate their theory within the Party. At its Plenum held in March, 1961 the Central Committee conducted its final discussion on the Programmatic question and confirmed the basic correctness of the draft Programme submitted to the Seventh Party Congress as the conclusion of the discussions extended over two years and a half. The Central Committee decided the draft Programme to be submitted to the Eighth Party Congress after having given necessary supplements and enriched descriptions to the draft Programme in order to meet the subsequent development of the situation. Six members of the Central Committee including Shojiro Kasuga and Tomochika Naito and two candidate members of the Central Committee opposed that decision.

Later Shojiro Kasuga and others further increased their factional

activity in disregard of Party discipline and some of them carried on even such an anti-party act as to attack the Party's draft Programme in the Socialist Party organ "SHAKAI-SHINPO" (Socialist News) in collusion with the anti-communist right-wing elements within the Socialist Party. But they became isolated not only in the Central Committee, but also in the entire Party which was advancing in the mass struggle and Party building. When their complete isolation became clear on the eve of the Eighth Party Congress they themselves deserted from the Party by publishing a statement to slander the Party just before the Party Congress and degraded to open anti-party elements. The Party resolutely expelled them in accordance with the Party Constitution.

The historical Eighth Party Congress was held at the Setagaya Ward Hall, Tokyo from July 25 to 31, 1961, in the midst of the U.S.-Japanese ruling circles' obstruction of fraternal Party representatives' participation in the Congress and their vehement anti-communist campaign which made use of even the anti-party elements' manoeuvres. The Congress unanimously adopted the new Programme and Political Report based thereon, both of which the Central Committee submitted to the Congress.

The Programme adopted by the Congress was a scientific guiding star for the liberation of the Japanese people which succeeded to the indomitable revolutionary tradition of the Communist Party of Japan and was won by applying Marxism-Leninism to the situation in Japan on its own responsibility.

As for the present condition of Japan, the Programme made it clear that Japan had not been able to recover her genuine independence by the San Francisco "Peace", but was still in the state of a virtually subordinate nation semi-occupied by U.S. imperialism while being a highly developed capitalist country and defined that it was the biggest historic task of the Japanese working class and people to overthrow the San Francisco system for the present, the two enemies'—U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital—rule, to establish genuine independence and democracy.

The Programme positively assessed national, democratic energy of the people to realize genuine independence and democracy. At the same time the Programme grasped it not within the framework of mere reform, but as the task of fundamental transformation and definitely pointed out the perspective of Japanese revolution that proceeds from the achievement of the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly

democratic revolution, of the democratic revolution of the people—from the construction of a Japan of independence, democracy, peace and neutrality to a socialist revolution. “The road to socialism as the historic mission of the working class can be opened with certainty only through a revolution that overthrows the anti-national, anti-popular rule of the forces centered on U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital who bar this road and that attains genuine independence and far-reaching democratic transformation of politics, economy and society”. The Programme indicated that the basic strength of revolution was in “a powerful and broad united front of the people to oppose the rule of U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital, that is, a National Democratic United Front”. The National Democratic United Front will be formed under the leadership of the working class, and on the basis of the workers-peasants alliance, by rallying the working citizens, intellectuals, women, youth, students, minor enterprisers, and the whole people who love peace and their fatherland and defend democracy. It will be also formed by fighting against reactionary parties and factions and by consolidating co-operation and cohesion of democratic parties and democratic people based on pressing common tasks irrespective of differences of their world outlook. The Programme also defined that the National Democratic United Front constitutes the basis of the democratic power of the people and that the people’s government which would build a new Japan was not the administration of the Communist Party alone, but naturally a united front government to be jointly formed by democratic parties and that even at the socialist stage the Communist Party would attach importance to the cooperation with “all parties, groups and people who support the line of building socialism”. It is only the Communist Party of Japan among political parties that specifies the establishment of the united front and the united front government as the Party’s basic line.

The Programme clarified that the building of a mighty mass vanguard party which deeply takes root in the broad sections of the people centered on the working class is indeed the decisively important condition for guaranteeing the development of the National Democratic United Front and the victory of the Japanese revolution. “A pre-condition of decisive importance for the development of the National Democratic United Front consists in expanding and consolidating our Party, strengthening its political leadership and

building a powerful mass vanguard party”.

Based on the concrete analysis of the situation of Japan, the Programme stressed the importance for the National Democratic United Front forces to actively hold Diet seats and to fight in union with the mass struggles outside the Diet, and indicated the perspective of turning the Diet from “a tool for reactionary rule” into “a tool serving the people” by holding a stable majority in the Diet and of thereby establishing a united front government legally. At the same time, the Programme correctly pointed out that the basic strength which realizes this perspective—the basis for the formation of the National Democratic United Front Government in defiance of the obstruction to be raised by U.S. imperialism and the Japanese reactionary forces and the achievement of the task of independence and democracy by further strengthening this Government into the revolutionary power—lies in the “broad unity of the democratic forces and the advance of mass struggles for the aims and tasks of the forthcoming democratic revolution of the people”.

With regard to a future new Japan in which the people would be the master of the country, the Programme made it clear that from the standpoint of self-reliantly applying the principles of scientific socialism to the conditions in Japan it would by no means be a mechanical imitation of the experience of a foreign country but have characteristics suitable for Japan’s historical conditions politically as well as economically. For instance, concerning the question of a future political system, the Programme specified that an independent and democratic Japan would take the form of a people’s republic with the “Diet as a supreme state-machinery of the country in name and reality”, and that as a matter of course it would be taken over in a more developed form by a socialist Japan and regarding the method of socialist building, too, it pointed out the orientation, which would be in accord with the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people, that “with regard to the toiling peasants, urban working citizens and minor enterprisers, the Party will pay due consideration to their interests and endeavour to lead them to a socialist society with a full understanding”.

The Programme defined the ultimate ideal society at which the Communist Party of Japan aimed—what the Communist society is. Communist society is to sweep away unemployment and poverty from society by exterminating every exploitation of man by man and eventually to realize a society which does not need whatever

violence and whatever coercion including state power—a community of genuinely equal and free men. The Communist Party of Japan is the only political party in Japan that specifies in its Programme that it aims at the extermination of “organized and systematic violence and all violence against man in general”.

On the international situation, the Programme definitely pointed out that “U.S. imperialism has become the chief bulwark of world aggression and reaction, the biggest international exploiter, an international gendarme and a common enemy of the peoples of the whole world” and posed the international united front of national liberation and peace against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism as the current basic task of the world’s anti-imperialist democratic forces.

With the adoption of the Programme at the Eighth Party Congress the Communist Party of Japan and the Japanese people obtained a scientific-socialist compass which would indicate the road of the people’s liberation, the correct course of the Japanese revolution in whatever complicated situation. The Party’s general line based on this Programme was later formulated as the “Four Banners” at the Third Plenum of the Central Committee, July 1962 to be easily understood. They are, the first, the banner of the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic revolution; the second, the banner of the National Democratic United Front; the third, the banner of the construction of a politically, ideologically and organizationally solid and mighty Communist Party of Japan; the fourth, the banner of the international united front of national liberation and peace against imperialism headed by the United States.

The Congress also shattered into pieces revisionism and opportunism represented by Shojiro Kasuga, Tomochika Naito and the like and their anti-party activities and thereby raised the Party’s political, organizational and ideological cohesion to a new stage. On that basis, the Congress decided the tasks to build a mighty mass vanguard party with a membership of several hundred thousands and to form the National Democratic United Front and a concrete line for that purpose.

The Congress elected a central body composed of 60 members and 35 candidate members of the Central Committee and 8 members of the Central Control and Audit Commission and set up the system for a new advance of the Party activity based on the Programmatic line. At the First Plenum of the Central Committee

Sanzo Nosaka was elected Chairman of the Central Committee and Kenji Miyamoto General Secretary.

Through both the Seventh Party Congress and the Eighth Party Congress which won a new advance on the results of the former one, the Communist Party of Japan built the starting point to a new development.

CHAPTER VI

FROM THE EIGHTH PARTY CONGRESS TO THE PRESENT

Characteristics of the Situation in the 1960's; the Ninth Party Congress and the Tenth Party Congress

The situation with which the Communist Party of Japan faced in the 1960's after the struggle against the Security Treaty was extremely complicated and difficult at home and abroad.

Under U.S. President J.F. Kennedy, U.S. imperialism made it the immediate basic line for its world domination policy to strengthen the dual policy to pursue the policy of aggression and war under the mask of "peace" and "progress" and to invade and crush one by one the socialist countries and national-liberation movements in Asia beginning with Indochina while taking a "rapprochement" policy for the Soviet Union. L.B. Johnson, who became J.F. Kennedy's successor after his assassination in November, 1963, took over this defeat-in-detail policy to launch the military attack against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in August, 1964 and started to rush along the road of ferocious escalation of the war of aggression in Indochina.

Against this escalation of the aggression which U.S. imperialism carried out, taking advantage of the disunity of the international Communist movement, a united counterattack of the anti-imperialist forces of the world was strongly demanded. In spite of the unanimous affirmation of the 1960 international meeting which impeached U.S. imperialism as the "main force of aggression and war" and the "chief bulwark of world reaction", however, the opportunist and revisionist currents, which beautified U.S. imperialism, increasingly gained strength within the international Communist movement which should have been in the van of the counterattack. These currents praised J.F. Kennedy and L.B. Johnson as "peaceful statesman" of good sense and march along the wrong road to

attempt at "collaboration with the United States" at the sacrifice of the interests and unity of the Socialist camp and the world anti-imperialist forces. Moreover, they attempted to force this line of beautification of U.S. imperialism upon the whole of the Communist movement and peace movement of the world and further aggravated the disunity of the international Communist movement by openly attacking Communist Parties which did not align themselves with that line. N.S. Khrushchov and others repeated unjustifiable interventions with the Communist Party of Japan and particularly after 1964 they set about such a great powerist reckless action that they supported and assisted the anti-party factional activity of Yoshio Shiga and the like who blindly followed them and openly launched a subversive attack against the Communist Party of Japan.

In the situation in Japan, several great changes were in progress after the struggle against the Security Treaty.

The Ikeda Cabinet and Sato Cabinet (formed in October 1964), which succeeded to the Kishi Cabinet, faithfully responded to the U.S. imperialist requests and pushed forward the implementation of the new Security Treaty as the most preferential task, for instance, the acceptance of the "port-call" of U.S. nuclear-powered submarines (1964), disposition of nuclear-carrying fighter-bombers in Japan, the forcible conclusion of the "Japan-'ROK' Treaty" which is linked with the plan of a Northeast Asian Military Alliance (1965), successive build-ups of the Japanese Self-Defence Forces, the consolidation of the "U.S.-Japan joint operations" set-up as can be seen from the "Three Arrow Operations", attempts to enact a political party law and a minor constituency system, both of which open the way to the one-party despotism of the Liberal Democratic Party and a revision of the Constitution for the worse. Japan was literally turned into an advanced base for the war of aggression where U.S. planes and warships went in and out with a masterful air to sally forth to Vietnam. In the economic aspect, too, policies to promote the "high-rate growth" of monopoly capital by generally mobilizing state finance and state apparatuses with the "income-doubling plan" advertised with fanfare as a big draw were enforced over the whole fields of Japan's economic life and new impoverishment of the national life such as abnormal high prices, environmental disruption, crisis of agriculture and fishery and aggravation of the urban problem became a grave factor that threatened the national life from its very foundation in addition to the usual difficulties in the national life like low

wages, low income and poor social security. The development of the situation most strongly demanded the united struggle of the democratic forces, which further advanced the experience of the struggle against the Security Treaty, for independence, peace and democracy as well as for the safeguarding of the national life.

The U.S.-Japanese ruling circles who got a telling blow by the struggle against the Security Treaty, however, drew out their becoming lessons from it and made great efforts for working out, as one of their basic lines, the disruption of the unity of the democratic forces, particularly the division between the force centered on the Communist Party and the forces of the Socialist Party and SOHYO to isolate the Communist Party. For this purpose, U.S. imperialism sent E. Reischauer as U.S. ambassador to Japan to continue to assist right-wing leaderships of the Democratic Socialist Party and ZENRO-KAIGI which had already taken the anti-communist, pro-U.S. line and also to concentrate their efforts on fostering the anti-communist, pro-U.S. right-wing current even among the Socialist Party, SOHYO, CHURITSU-ROREN and men of culture who fought the struggle against the Security Treaty. This manoeuvre was called the "Kennedy-Reischauer line".

The right-wing current, which seized the leadership of the Socialist Party in such a situation immediately after the struggle against the Security Treaty, brazen-facedly increased its anti-communist, sectarianist trend to disregard the lessons drawn from the struggle against the Security Treaty, to turn their back on the joint struggle of the democratic forces and to put a monopoly system of the Socialist Party's leadership in operation in every movement. This current joined hands with the anti-party revisionists who had been expelled from the Communist Party, used their revisionist "theory" for its theoretical pillar and advocated such reformist, opportunist lines as line of the "positive neutralism" which identified socialism with capitalism, saying "Be friendly with both of the United States and the Soviet Union", the "anti-monopoly struggle argument" which made light of the question of the Security Treaty and Okinawa and other anti-imperialism-independence tasks and dissolved everything into the struggle against monopoly capital, the "structural reform theory", which avoided frontal confrontation with the U.S.-Japanese reactionary forces and placed an expectation on good-intentioned concessions on the part of the Government and monopoly capital, and started to bring them into the peace movement,

democratic movement and trade-union movement.

The increase in strength of the anti-communist right-wing trend in the Socialist Party leadership led to such a serious situation that at the moment when the people and the democratic forces directly faced a series of tasks, on which their strength should be concentrated under the new Security Treaty, the joint struggle organizations since the struggle against the Security Treaty were virtually destroyed. The joint struggle organization against the Security Treaty started again as the "National Council against the Security Treaty and for Peace and Democracy" in March, 1961 after the Security Treaty was ratified and became the pillar for nationwide united actions to smash the political violence prevention bill (SEI-BO-HO), to oppose the "Japan-'ROK' Treaty", to prevent nuclear-powered submarines' "port-call" and to oppose military bases. But as the leaderships of the Socialist Party and SOHYO introduced the "split" question of the movement against A and H bombs into this organization, it eventually fell into the condition of functional suspension in September 1963. In spite of the subsequent efforts made by the Party and the democratic forces to resume its activity, this united front organization, which had worked for the long period of four and a half years since its formation in March, 1959 and had played a great historic role in the Japanese people's struggle, ended in virtually closing its history and since then the Japanese democratic forces have not yet been able to have a united front in place of it — a nationwide scale, durable and unified joint struggle organization.

The disunity and split of the democratic forces were further aggravated by great powerist interventions of a certain foreign Party linking themselves with the anti-communist right-wing social democratic current at home. Anti-communism of the Democratic Socialist Party and KOMEI-TO (established in 1964)—the "middle-of-the-road" parties, which newly appeared on the political front of the 1960's, also became a new factor for complicating the situation against the background of the splitting attack made by the U.S.-Japanese ruling circles to isolate the Communist Party of Japan.

Extremely serious was the responsibility imposed on the Communist Party of Japan for the correct development of the Japanese people's struggle and for an active contribution to the international anti-imperialist struggle. The Party, which, through the two Congresses — the Seventh Party Congress and the Eighth Party Congress — decided the scientific Programme that accurately indicated

Japan's future course, the direction of the people's struggle and won the political, theoretical and organizational unity, strenuously fought for the correct advance of the peoples' struggles of Japan and the world, flying high the "four banners" of the Party Programme and fighting against the opportunist, divisionist current at home and abroad.

The Party attached special importance to the ideological activity to overcome the wrong thought and "theories" brought by the right-wing social democrats and anti-party revisionists into the democratic movement and labour movement and strengthened the activity to make it clear among the broad masses that the line of the struggle against the two enemies — U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital, the line of the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic revolution, the line indicated by the Party Programme was indeed the road to the liberation of the Japanese people. At the same time, the Party took the lead of the activity for class-democratic consolidation of the trade-union movement and the people's struggle for their earnest demands and strenuously fought against splitting manoeuvres and for the realization of the people's united action and united front. The Party also took a resolute attitude of smashing N.S. Khrushchov's great-powerist intervention and the anti-party activity of its blind followers, Yoshio Shiga and others and fought in defence of self-reliance of the democratic movement and revolutionary movement in Japan.

Those activities carried out by the Party played an important role in keeping the advance of the struggle of the democratic forces and the people and developing their united actions in opposition to the U.S.-Japanese reactionary forces' attacks of oppression, conciliation and split, the anti-communist splitting manoeuvres to respond to them and the great-powerist interventions. The error committed by the Party in the April 17th strike in April, 1964 inflicted not a little damage on the Party and the cause of revolution. The Party rectified this error, which departed from the Programmatic line, by delving into its ideological rootsource at the Plenum of the Central Committee in July.

In such a situation the Ninth Party Congress was held with attendance of 1,061 delegates at the Ota and Setagaya Ward Inhabitants' Halls, Tokyo for one week from November 24 to 30, 1964. With the achievement of Party building since the Eighth Party Congress the Party practically recovered in organizational strength from the blow dealt by the Party's split in 1950. At the time

when the Ninth Party Congress was held the Party had the membership of one hundred and scores of thousands, the Daily AKAHATA circulation of almost two hundred thousands and the Sunday AKAHATA circulation of six hundred thousands.

By analysing the development of the situation at home and abroad for three years after the adoption of the Programme, the Congress made it clear that every analysis concretely demonstrated the correctness of the Party's line based on the Programme and the error of such arguments advanced by revisionists and right-wing social-democrats at home and abroad as "imperialist independence", "one enemy" and beautification of U.S. imperialism. The Congress more concretely indicated the political line with a view to uniting the whole democratic forces, to rallying the people into the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly united front by opposing every manoeuvre of divisionism and anti-communism and fighting against right and "left" opportunism. Moreover, by making a full analysis of the complicated situation within the international Communist movement, the Congress resolutely accused the international current of modern revisionism, its great-powerist interventions and the betrayal of its blind followers Yoshio Shiga and others and clarified the Party's international line for the genuine unity of the international Communist movement and the victory of Marxism-Leninism.

The Ninth Party Congress elected a powerful leadership consisting of 67 members and 42 candidate members of the Central Committee and 9 members of the Central Control and Audit Commission. The new Central Committee elected Sanzo Nosaka its Chairman and Kenji Miyamoto General Secretary.

After the Ninth Party Congress, the Party and people gained successive advances in the struggle against the U.S.-Japanese reactionary forces. The House of Councillors election and the Tokyo Metropolitan Assembly election were successively held in 1965. The Party confronted the Liberal Democratic Party in the van of the whole democratic forces. In the House of Councillors election, the Party won Chairman Sanzo Nosaka's return with the highest polling score in the Tokyo local constituency and two Party candidates' return with high scores in the national constituency. In the Tokyo Metropolitan Assembly election the Party increased the Party's assemblymen from two to nine at one stroke and at the same time made a success of making the Liberal Democratic Party fall into a minority party with less than one third of the assembly

seats. The scheme of the Shiga group to block the Party's advance also ended in a miserable failure.

In the joint struggle of the democratic forces, a joint struggle of the Central Executive Committee and the National Executive Committee was also realized in the struggle against nuclear-powered submarines' "port-call" at the end of 1964 and in the struggle against the aggression in Vietnam in summer, 1965 and became an important force which supported the nationwide development of the struggle of the democratic forces. In the united action of political parties, the "Liaison Council for the Defence of the Constitution and for Shattering the Minor Constituency System" of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and KOMEI-TO was formed in March, 1966. In this way, in spite of the U.S.-Japanese ruling circles' strenuous manoeuvres since the struggle against the Security Treaty to divide the democratic forces and to isolate the Communist Party, on the whole the efforts to isolate the Liberal Democratic Party and to unite the democratic forces gained a certain success. This proved by facts the correctness of the Party's united front policy.

Internationally the Party made efforts to criticize and overcome every trend to beautify U.S. imperialism and yet attached importance to the formation of the anti-imperialist international united front against the aggression in Vietnam and strove for its realization. The situation around this question was further aggravated by the Mao Tse-tung faction of the Communist Party of China who advocated the "anti-U.S., anti-Soviet united front" with both the United States and the Soviet Union as the world's peoples' common enemies of the same rank from somewhere around 1965—66 and began to flatly oppose the anti-imperialist international united front and to openly advance a split of the international Communist movement. The Mao Tse-tung faction demanded that the Communist Parties and the anti-imperialist forces of the world all should follow their leadership flying the banner of the "Mao Tse-tung thought" and should accept the "anti-U.S., anti-Soviet United Front" and the "People's War Almighty" and indiscriminately launched attacks on those parties, who did not follow them, for being "revisionist" and "counterrevolutionary". In particular, after the rupture of the talks between the Communist Party of Japan and the Communist Party of China in 1966, they concentrated their attack on the Communist Party of Japan and attempted to overthrow the Communist Party

of Japan by organizing Takaji Nishizawa, Kuraji Anzai, the Fukuda-Harada group in Yamaguchi Prefecture and other anti-party blind follower elements. These great-powerist interventions were so extremely criminal as to cause serious difficulties for the struggle of the Communist Party of Japan and the Japanese people against U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital.

The Tenth Party Congress was held at the Setagaya and Ota Ward Inhabitants' Halls, Tokyo from October 24 to 30, 1966. The Congress was attended by 957 delegates. The Party basically fulfilled the Party-strength expansion plan decided at the Ninth Party Congress and greeted this Congress with the membership of almost 300,000 and the organ circulation of one million several hundred thousands.

The Congress further concretized, in the light of the development of the entire Party's activity and the situation for two years since the Ninth Party Congress, the line to develop the people's struggle, to expand and consolidate the basic mass organizations of various strata of the people like trade union and peasants' union and thereby to proceed to the establishment of the National Democratic United Front. The Congress analysed the achievements and experiences gained by the joint struggle of the democratic forces, further enriched the lessons for developing the united action and united front and profoundly made clear lines deeply rooted in the peculiarities of the present condition in Japan over the whole fields of the Party activities such as the mass struggle, parliamentary-election struggle, ideological-theoretical struggle and Party building.

The Congress once again summarized the history of the postwar development of the Party and definitely formulated principled lessons for the future advance of the Party such as the significance of upholding the correct political line based on the Programme, the question of the establishment of Party life based on the organizational principle of democratic centralism and collective leadership and the importance of maintaining the self-reliant and independent position.

In the situation where the Mao Tse-tung faction's intervention with the Party and democratic movement in Japan was launched, the Congress attached importance to the struggle against the dogmatist, sectarianist trend in addition to the struggle against the modern revisionist current and pointed out that the self-reliant and independent position and the "struggle on the two fronts" were

gaining more importance for the advance of the cause of the Japanese people's liberation struggle as well as for the historical cause to win the Marxist-Leninist consolidation and genuine unity of the international Communist movement.

The Congress elected the central body consisting of 88 members and 49 candidate members of the Central Committee and 7 members of the Central Audit Commission. Successively Sanzo Nosaka was elected Chairman of the Central Committee and Kenji Miyamoto General Secretary.

At this Congress hidden microphones secretly installed in the assembly hall were found from two places one after another. Later, too, hidden microphones were frequently discovered and they tell that the U.S.-Japanese ruling circles resort to whatever base means to continue their subversive activities against the Communist Party of Japan.

In the period that followed the Tenth Party Congress, the Security Treaty and Okinawa question was brought to the fore as the scheme to aggressively consolidate the U.S.-Japan military alliance by linking the automatic prolongation of the Security Treaty with the reversion of "administrative rights" over Okinawa came to the surface of the Japanese people's struggles. The Party literally played a forerunning and leading role in indicating the line and policy prospect of this struggle as well as in promoting the united front of the democratic forces fighting the struggle.

In 1969 the joint struggle of the democratic forces advanced so far as to realize a joint struggle in a united executive committee system with the opposition to the Security Treaty and the complete reversion of Okinawa as its common demands. Though a joint struggle on a local scale, a progressive joint struggle organization based on a definite policy and organizational agreement was formed in the 1967 Tokyo Metropolitan gubernatorial election and became a new original model for the durable and united joint struggle of the progressive forces — united front. Those advances were an important fruit borne by the Party's strenuous efforts for the united front and the tenacious struggle against all sorts of anti-communist currents and were also brought with the backing of the political and organizational development of the Communist Party of Japan which was the driving force of the united front.

The Party developed itself into a powerful party with the membership of nearly 300,000 and the organ circulation of one

hundred scores of thousands in its organizational force, continued to win a rapid advance in a number of elections in its Diet force and thus grew a party which had an important voice in the real politics at the national level as well as at the local level. The Party's development and its stronger unity thus gained delivered a telling blow at the anti-communist scheme of the U.S.-Japanese reactionary forces as well as at the ambition of the great-powerist interventionists and anti-party blind-follower elements who aimed at the overthrow and subversion of the Communist Party of Japan.

For all difficulties at home and abroad, the Party defeated the concentrated anti-communist attack by the indomitable activity in the 1960's and succeeded in gaining historical achievements, which were of precious significance for the cause of the Japanese revolution, in the field of the mass movement and united front, in the field of building a mass vanguard party and in the field of the Party's political advance into the Diet. At the same time the Party made not a little contribution to the cause of the unity of the international Communist movement and the anti-imperialist forces of the world.

In the above, the situation and the Party activity in the 1960's were outlined. The Party's advance during this period becomes increasingly clear when viewed a historical development in each field of the Party activity and struggle.

The Self-Reliant and Independent Position and the Struggle on the Two Fronts

What the Party first faced in the international arena is the intensification of controversies and disunity within the international Communist movement and the question of the intervention of the CPSU leadership headed by N. S. Khrushchov. Relations between the two Parties of Japan and the Soviet Union, which became so aggravated by this intervention as to have once fallen into the virtually ruptured condition, later took the course of normalization of relations through the talks between the two Communist Parties of Japan and the Soviet Union in 1968. The course of events of the intervention and the struggle against it cannot be obliterated from the record, being an important historical fact in the Party history.

From the stand of demanding uncritical blind following after the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, N. S. Khrushchov and

others made all sorts of interventions with internal affairs of the Communist Party of Japan. In August 1963 when the Communist Party of Japan expressed its self-reliant critical attitude toward the conclusion of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, they launched open attack calling by name to ever intensify their pressure and intervention, carrying Zhukov's article "Voice of Hiroshima" in Pravda.

Since the very beginning of the international controversies, the Party had made clear its consistent position of the struggle to oppose the U.S. imperialist aggression and war and maintained the self-reliant and independent attitude of not following any foreign party and of not allowing any party's intervention. In the situation where the intervention became stronger, the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee (Eighth Party Congress) held in October, 1963 deeply examined particularly the international situation and the question of the international Communist movement in addition to the immediate political issues.

The resolution of the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee characterized the dual policy of U.S. imperialism as the defeat-in-detail policy which "to take the attitude of meeting the 'rapprochement' with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for the present on the one hand, and on the other, takes advantage of the disunity within the international Communist movement to carry on their attempt to strangle separately the national liberation movements in Asia and Latin America and the plot to wage aggressive wars against Asian socialist countries — China, Korea and Vietnam mainly with the 'China containment' policy" and stressed the importance for the international Communist movement and the world's anti-imperialist forces to fight in correct unity against the U.S. imperialist policy of domination, aggression and war. It was already pointed out by Lenin that the imperialists took the policy of defeating their enemies one by one as a means to attack the world's working class and progressive forces. The indication by the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee regarding the U.S. imperialist defeat-in-detail policy accurately grasped the essential feature of the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression and war since the Kennedy administration and its correctness was splendidly demonstrated in the development of the situation for about ten years since then.

The Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee specially adopted the "Decision on the Problems of the International Communist Movement" and made it clear that the Party's self-reliant and

independent attitude meant not a neutral and passive attitude toward the controversial questions of the international Communist movement, but an attitude of actively seeking for truth, and contributing to the genuine international unity by fighting against wrong trends and decided the resolute attitude of not allowing any foreign party's intervention.

“Our Party's self-reliant and independent attitude is one that on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of the basic standpoint of our Party Programme which illustrates the basic course of a Japanese revolution and also of the revolutionary principles of the two programmatic documents of the international Communist movement, principledly and self-reliantly pursues and correctly copes with the questions which are in polemics within the international Communist movement. It is never the neutral, reconciliatory, indifferent and passive attitude toward the questions in controversy. It is the attitude which clarifies on each question what is right and what is wrong and pursues truth to the last end.

The self-reliant and independent attitude toward the international Communist movement is the course to self-reliantly promote a Japanese revolution, bearing the full responsibility to the Japanese working class and working people and the course to contribute to the truly sincere international cohesion between fraternal Parties, to the higher political, theoretical cohesion on the basis of independence and equality.”

The Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee also pointed out that the development of the situation made the struggle against modern revisionism increasingly more important and that attention be constantly paid to a manifestation of dogmatism and sectarianism which had the “characteristic of mechanical copy of other parties' experience and view” so that it would not spread and thus made clear the principled attitude of the struggle on the two fronts.

In order to settle the aggravation of relations between the two parties of Japan and the Soviet Union as private affairs based on the principle of independence and equality, the Communist Party of Japan dispatched a delegation headed by member of the Presidium Satomi Hakamada to Moscow in March, 1964 to hold talks between the two Parties, but the talks ended without any positive result. On top of it, immediately after the talks the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sent a letter dated April 18 to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan and poured decisive abuses and slanders of “alienation from Marxism-

Leninism” and “deviation from the agreed line of the international Communist movement” upon the CPJ leadership and its line. It was mentioned in the letter that “The imperialists have lost the material basis for conducting their ‘positions-of-strength’ policy” and “the imperialists are compelled to agree to peaceful coexistence among states” and thus a series of wrong views, which beautify U.S. imperialism, were formulated in it.

In the mean time, members of Presidium Yoshio Shiga, Ichizo Suzuki and others, who kept in contact with the Soviet Embassy secretly from the Party, voted for the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and moreover took an act of open treachery to attack the Party by announcing an anti-party statement when the Diet took a vote on the ratification of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. The Party Central Committee immediately expelled them from the Party to smash their manoeuvres. Shiga and others formed an anti-party organization “Voice of Japan” to continue their subversive activity against the Party. As soon as Shiga and others flew the banner of their anti-party activity, the CPSU leadership openly supported and encouraged them in Pravda and others on the same day and it was followed by the unilateral announcement of the April 18th letter attacking the Communist Party of Japan in the middle of July. Furthermore, toward the end of September when members of the Central Committee Shigeo Kamiyama and Shigeharu Nakano started their subversive activities against the Party in collusion with Shiga, Suzuki and others, the CPSU leadership again openly supported them. In this way the CPSU leadership embarked on the worst great-powerist intervention to attempt to disturb the Communist Party of Japan with the anti-party blind-follower faction as an instrument.

Faced with such a situation the Party sent the CPSU Central Committee a reply toward the end of August to minutely refute the letter and published it. In this reply and a number of articles the Party showed the resolute attitude of not allowing the CPSU leadership’s intervention and subversive activity against the Party and, at the same time, positively clarified criticisms on wrong opinions and views regarding a number of theoretical questions related to the controversies within the international Communist movement.

At that time, one of the very important questions affecting the unity of the international Communist movement was the question of an international conference of the world’s Communist and Workers’

Parties. As international differences of opinion extended, in part, such a wrong opinion as to bring them to a conclusion by "a majority of vote" by holding an international conference or to "take a collective measure" was presented. In contrast the Communist Party of Japan decided, at the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee in October, 1963, the attitude of opposing the impetuous holding of an international conference which might fix the split and of holding an international conference for unity with full prior preparations and published this attitude. Toward the end of July, 1964, however, an attempt to decide arbitrarily the holding of an international conference and a "drafting committee" for it without having necessary consultations and accord of opinions among Communist Parties was made by some parties. It is clear that such a way of doing would lead to further extension of the disunity of the international Communist movement and a decisive split. In October 1964, the Party published an AKAHATA editorial entitled "International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties Should Be Held Not for Split but in Favour of Unity" to call on the whole fraternal parties to make efforts, for the present, to realize an international conference to win the unity of action of the international Communist movement against the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression and war while opposing such a unilateral plan to hold an international conference and continuing controversies in pursuit of the truth.

The situation wherein U.S. imperialism increasingly intensified its aggression in Asia with the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty as a smoke screen and embarked on the open challenge to the Socialist camp by invading the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the south-east outpost of the Socialist camp in August, 1964 dealt a big blow to the argument of the revisionists at home and abroad who had beautified U.S. imperialism.

N. S. Khrushchov was dismissed from the posts of the CPSU First Secretary, member of the Presidium and Prime Minister in October, 1964.

The Ninth Party Congress held in November of the same year fully supported the resolute attitude of the Party Centre which did not allow the great-powerist intervention.

The Congress emphasized the importance of thoroughly maintaining the self-reliant and independent position as well as the position of the struggle on the two fronts in winning the genuine

unity and cohesion of the international Communist movement. It is because, as can be seen from the error committed by the Party in connection with the April 17th strike question in the same year and trend in part of the Party organization in Yamaguchi Prefecture, “modern dogmatism”, which absolutized the contentions and line of the Communist Party of China to uncritically introduce them into the line of the Party in Japan for the reason of the struggle against the modern revisionist current, emerged as an important weakness in part of the Party. The subsequent situation really demonstrated that this indication given by the Congress was a very timely and appropriate warning.

The Congress also firmly held the attitude of giving definite criticisms to the CPSU leadership’s interventions and yet aiming at the realization of joint actions of the international Communist movement including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the anti-imperialist struggle.

**For the Formation of
the Anti-Imperialist International United Front
against the Aggression in Vietnam,
the Struggle against the Great-Powerist Intervention**

Faced with the serious situation of U.S. imperialism’s full-scale expansion of the war of aggression in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam after the Ninth Party Congress, the Party pointed out that the struggle to support and assist the Vietnamese people in opposition to the aggression in Vietnam was indeed the urgent task of the international Communist movement and the whole world’s anti-imperialist democratic forces and repeatedly called on the world to form and consolidate the anti-imperialist international united front for that purpose. At various meetings of the international democratic movement, too, the Party actively made efforts for the realization and consolidation of the joint struggle of the whole world’s anti-imperialist democratic forces.

Before the task of the formation of the anti-imperialist international united front, the bankruptcy of the beautification of U.S. imperialism became evident but a new obstacle was coming to the

fore at that time. It means that the contention of an "anti-U.S., anti-Soviet united front" in opposition to the international united front, virtually identifying the Soviet Union with U.S. imperialism, was pushed forward in the line of the Communist Party of China which formerly had an aspect of a positive critic against the line of N.S. Khrushchov and others.

In order to reach a private correct settlement of this question through frank and comradely talks with the Communist Party of China, the Communist Party of Japan dispatched a delegation headed by General Secretary Kenji Miyamoto to Vietnam, Korea and China in February and March, 1966. Respectively with the Vietnam Workers' Party and the Workers' Party of Korea joint communiques were issued which stressed the formation and expansion of the anti-imperialist international united front as an important urgent task.

On the occasion of this first formal visit of the CPJ delegation to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, head of the delegation Kenji Miyamoto, at the welcome assembly held in Hanoi on February 19, pointed out that the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam was being carried on taking advantage of the disunity of the international Communist movement and stressed that an effective counterattack be inflicted upon the aggressors with the united strength of the world's anti-imperialist democratic forces.

"U.S. imperialism has dared to carry on such an atrocious aggression not only because it is the nature of imperialism, but also because they are taking advantage of the present difficult conditions of the international democratic movements and international Communist movement. It is because the opportunist and divisionist line of modern revisionism has made the international united struggle of all the anti-imperialist, democratic forces retreat and created many difficulties in recent years. If the world forces of anti-imperialism, national-liberation and peace should correctly overcome these obstacles and fight more effectively against U.S. imperialism in unity, the aggression of U.S. imperialism would surely be defeated more successfully."

In China, however, the CPC delegation which attended the talks, maintained the so-called "anti-U.S., anti-Soviet united front" with both the United States and the Soviet Union as common enemies and strongly opposed the idea of striving for the unity of the whole world's anti-imperialist forces including the Soviet Union. In this way the talks between the two parties of China and Japan ended

without reaching any agreement of their opinions. In the talks the Chinese side also took an attitude of absolutizing the armed struggle as the only way of the revolutionary movement.

Mao Tse-tung and other interveners of the Communist Party of China dogmatically defined the Communist Party of Japan as revisionism, because the CPJ delegation did not follow the Chinese side's opinion, and launched a large-scale campaign immediately after the CPJ delegation's return to Japan to force their own line upon the Japanese democratic movements and revolutionary movement in opposition to the Communist Party of Japan. In this campaign they did not confine themselves to the question of "anti-U.S., anti-Soviet united front", but demanded that the revolutionary movement of Japan take the "people's war" line in Chinese style and accept the deification of Mao Tse-tung and the absolutization of the "Mao Tse-tung thought" and instigated the blind follower elements in the Party like Takaji Nishizawa and Kuraji Anzai in the Central Committee and Fukuda and Harada in Yamaguchi Prefecture to start the subversive activity against the Party.

The interveners in the Communist Party of China openly demanded that Japanese democratic mass organizations like the Japan-China Friendship Association, Japan Congress of Journalists and Japan A.A. Solidarity Committee take the position of opposing the Communist Party of Japan and when the demand was not accepted they made Toshio Kuroda of the Socialist Party and other blind-follower elements secede from those organizations to form separate splinter organizations. The so-called "Japan-China Friendship Association (Orthodox) Headquarters" is a splinter organization which was formed with such an intervention in October, 1966.

In such a situation the Tenth Party Congress held in October, 1966 fully analyzed the situation at that time when "left-wing" opportunism—dogmatism, sectarianism which emerged in the process of the struggle against the modern revisionist current, grew rapidly and was becoming a great threat to the whole of the international Communist movement and once again stressed that the "struggle on the two fronts" be correctly carried on. The Congress also summarized historical lessons of the postwar development of the Party and made it clear that the Party's self-reliant and independent position was one that was backed up by the Communist Party of Japan's own experience and had been consistent since the Seventh Party Congress. The Congress accused the great-powerist inter-

vention of some foreign forces linked with opportunism of both wings as "the most shameful act against the spirit of socialism and proletarian internationalism".

But from the consideration to hope private settlement of the matter, the Congress did not make criticism on the Chinese interveners calling by name nor did it refute them. The Congress reaffirmed the basic attitude toward relations with foreign Communist and Workers' Parties that even if there were differences of opinion on some important issues, as long as they did not take an intervening and subversive attitude toward the Communist Party of Japan and Japanese democratic movement, the Party would make every possible effort to collaborate with them in the struggle against a common enemy.

Despite the reasonable and moderate attitude of the Communist Party of Japan the Chinese side's interventions increased recklessly even after the Tenth Party Congress. At the end of February, 1967, a raid on the Headquarters of the Japan-China Friendship Association was caused by the blind follower elements, who deserted from the Japan-China Friendship Association and some young Chinese residents in Japan and their intervention went so far as to destroy the democratic movement by direct violence. Furthermore, the interveners invited betrayers Takaji Nishizawa and others, who had been expelled from the Party, as guests to Peking and openly encouraged their anti-party activity. They advocated the so-called "four enemies" which regarded the Communist Party of Japan as a "common enemy of both the Chinese and Japanese people" by putting it at the same level of U.S. imperialism and the Sato Cabinet and called on the "Japanese people" for the struggle against the Communist Party of Japan. In 1967 an outrage unprecedented in the history of the international Communist movement took place that candidate member of the Presidium Ichiro Sunama who resided in Peking as representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan and AKAHATA correspondent were collectively lynched at Peking Air-Port.

Affirming that it was impermissible for the international Communist movement as well as for the Japanese revolutionary movement to keep silence any longer, the Party published a series of articles "Conclusive Reply to the Disruptors" (AKAHATA, August 21, 1967), "The Mao Tse-tung Line of Today and the International Communist Movement" (AKAHATA, October 10, 1967) and others

to fully criticize unreasonable great-powerist interventions and barbarous acts and, at the same time, to openly criticize errors in principle of the line underlying them.

On the other hand, even after then, Shiga and other anti-party elements did not cease their subversive activity blindly following foreign interveners. In the House of Councillors election in June, 1965 they put up Shigeo Kamiyama as a candidate against Chairman Sanzo Nosaka in order to obstruct Chairman S. Nosaka's return in Tokyo local constituency and moreover they meanly used the name of the Communist Party of Japan to steal away a part of votes for the Party. But the result of the election campaign showed their miserable defeat with only 35,000 votes for Kamiyama in contrast with Chairman S. Nosaka's return gaining the highest number of votes over 620,000 and thus a telling blow was delivered at their intrigue.

In the mean time, at the request of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, talks between the two Parties of Japan and the Soviet Union were held in Tokyo in January-February, 1968. At the talks, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union expressively confirmed that from now on they would have nothing to do with the anti-party elements of the Shiga group and agreement was reached on taking the direction of the normalization of relations between the two Parties which had been in the state of virtual rupture since 1964. Even since then, however, relations between the Shiga group and the Soviet Union had not been completely liquidated, but in April, 1970 even an event took place that those connected with the Soviet Embassy in Japan openly attended one of anti-party meetings of the Shiga group to encourage them. Regarding this new intervention, controversies went on between the two Parties in July and August, 1970 and the two-Party talks were held in Moscow in March, 1971 to settle this matter. At the talks the Soviet side promised to take a concrete measure not to repeat such an incident and it was decided to make efforts to remove obstacles to the normalization of relations between the two Parties.

In August, 1968 an unheard-of abnormal event in the history of the international Communist movement took place that armed forces of the Soviet Union and other four socialist powers invaded Czechoslovakia to occupy the whole land. Since some time ago the Party had definitely expressed that whatever question might exist in the line of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia it had

to be solved by the Czechoslovak Party and people themselves and that no other Party had the right to intervene in it. Faced with this situation, the Party published a statement and article to express its view of opposing the invasion by armed forces of the five powers and demanding the immediate withdrawal of the five powers' armed forces and suspension of every intervention.

While continuing the principled struggle against great-powerist intervention with the Communist Party of Japan, the Party kept making serious efforts for the realization of an international urgent task, that is, the international united action to support and assist the Vietnamese people. In May, 1968, calling on the whole anti-imperialist democratic forces of the world, the Party advocated an "international conference of the anti-imperialist democratic forces of the five continents". This appeal was internationally greeted with a great response and sympathy.

"Now that the situation around Vietnam faces a new and serious development, is the time to jointly and sincerely search for an effective form which can rally the whole anti-imperialist democratic forces to the international united action to oppose U.S. imperialism's aggression in Vietnam and to support and assist the Vietnamese people.

As one of the effective forms, the Communist Party of Japan attaches importance to the early holding of an international conference in such an appropriate form as can rally the peoples of the five continents of the world and the broad anti-imperialist democratic forces in order to strengthen the anti-imperialist struggle mainly focussed on the opposition to U.S. imperialism's aggression in Vietnam and support for and assistance to the Vietnamese people and calls on the whole world's anti-imperialist democratic forces to make joint efforts to realize it."

At the same time, the Party strongly maintained that an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties should be held when necessary conditions were arranged for it by a method of serving the unity, and took a critical attitude toward the "consultative meeting" in Moscow, March, 1965 and the "Moscow conference" held by a number of Parties in June, 1969 as a conference which did not render service to the unity.

What the struggle in the international arena of the Communist Party of Japan in the 1960's brought to the cause of the Party and revolution was tremendous.

Firstly, the self-reliant and independent position which the

Party established through the painful experience like the 1950 question became the entire Party's flesh and blood through the ordeal of the struggle against both wings' great-powerist interventions and the Party's unity consolidated its unshakable foundation. Those who followed the interveners and became their shameful instrument were only an extremely small number of blind follower elements and speculative elements and the scheme of intervention and party-subversion was successfully defeated. The self-reliant and independent position of the Communist Party of Japan, which did not follow any foreign force and self-reliantly bore the responsibility for the Japanese people and to the revolutionary movement, drew a large number of people's support and sympathy, raised the Party's prestige and extended its influence.

Secondly, the resolute struggle of the Communist Party of Japan which opposed great powerism and defended the cause of the international Communist movement made clear internationally the harm of great powerism and urgency of its overcoming and was of great use for the cause of recovering the unity of the international Communist movement with the principles of every Party's self-reliance, independence, and equality.

The tenacious efforts of the Communist Party of Japan for the formation of the anti-imperialist international united front against the aggression in Vietnam, consistently attaching importance to the Vietnam question as the focus of the international confrontation between imperialism and the anti-imperialist forces became one of the important forces to overcome the skilful development of the U.S. imperialist dual policy and influences of all sorts of opportunist views, to indicate the correct direction of the anti-imperialist forces' struggle and unity and to positively develop the situation.

Thirdly, in the struggle against both wings' opportunist and revisionist currents the Party developed many-sided theoretical, ideological activities. The Party thoroughly criticized wrong views and profoundly elucidated the principled position of Marxism-Leninism in a number of problems such as appraisal of U.S. imperialism, the significance and role of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the character and tasks of the peace movement, the democratic revolution in a developed capitalist country, state-monopoly capitalism and reformist "structural reform", the significance of the Diet and election campaign in the revolutionary movement, the "people's war omnipotence" and ultra-left adventurism,

social-democratic parties and the united front, peaceful coexistence and the national liberation struggle, the anti-imperialist international united front, relations between the anti-imperialist struggle and anti-revisionist struggle, the cause of scientific socialism and the principle of national self-determination, the rootsource of great-powerism and its overcoming and unity of proletarian internationalism and patriotism. This increased the entire Party's theoretical arming with the theory of scientific socialism and not only contributed to the correct development of the Japanese revolutionary movement but also made positive contribution to the theoretical advance of the international Communist movement.

Fourthly, strictly observing the standards of relations between fraternal Parties the Party greatly developed relations of international friendship and exchange with Communist and Workers' Parties of the world. In the period after the Seventh Party Congress, the Party published a number of joint communiques with the Communist Party of the United States, the Italian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Indonesia, the Communist Party of Australia, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of China, the Workers' Party of Korea, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the French Communist Party, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Vietnam Workers' Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Romanian Communist Party and the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and held talks with other Communist and Workers' Parties. The Party also dispatched its representative to the "Problems of Peace and Socialism" and actively took part in a number of international theoretical conferences held by its editorial department and other fraternal Parties.

In this way this period was a period of an epoch-making development of its international activity in the Party history.

The Party's Advanced Role in Showing the Future Course of Japan

At home, sharpness of the confrontation between the two roads around the course of Japan increased under the new Security Treaty. While other parties took all sorts of vacillating attitude, the Communist Party of Japan correctly pointed out the tasks and direction of the people's struggle and Japan's course to be taken and displayed

advanced leadership as a vanguard party of the working class, as a genuine party of the people and nation in the whole course of the situation and struggle in the 1960's.

The first question, which showed the Party's pioneering role, was that the Communist Party of Japan consistently flew high the banner of the abrogation of the U.S.-Japan military alliance, that is, the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty as the fundamental question which defined Japan's future course.

From the very day when the new Security Treaty was coercively established, the Party regarded the abrogation of the new Security Treaty as the central task for the overthrow of the San Francisco system and the transformation of Japan's politics and made every effort to develop the struggle of the democratic forces and people against the Security Treaty and for its abrogation.

“The struggle at the new stage of the struggle against the Security Treaty should be fought all-roundly and to the last against the policy and attack of the enemy in coercive implementation of the Treaty, and at the same time we ought incessantly to conduct necessary struggles to frustrate the Security Treaty, the U.S.-Japan military alliance as its substance and, more broadly, the San Francisco system, and create the conditions for the abrogation of the Treaty.

The struggle against the Security Treaty and for its abrogation, for the abrogation of all the traitorous and reactionary treaties and agreements and to win the neutrality, peace and genuine independence of Japan, remains the main political task for the present, though it has to be fought for a long time.” (Political Report of the Central Committee to the Eighth Party Congress)

The Party also stressed the struggle for the reversion of Okinawa to the fatherland and the struggle for the people of Okinawa to acquire the franchise as one of the imminent and cardinal tasks of the struggle against the U.S.-Japan military alliance and for Japan's neutrality and independence and continued its tenacious efforts to include the demand for the reversion of Okinawa in common aims of the joint struggle against the Security Treaty.

“Okinawa and Ogasawara (the Bonin Islands) are the Japanese territory where the Japanese people live and if they become battle fields, it means that Japan is a theatre of war. . . . The Party must support the struggles of the people of Okinawa, who are persistently waging a dauntless struggle under indescribable humiliation and suppression under the military occupation by U.S. imperialism, and

must strive to develop the struggle for the return of Okinawa to the fatherland into a struggle of the whole Japanese nation.

The people of Okinawa, who are the population of a Japanese prefecture, are naturally entitled to claim membership in the Japanese Diet. Our Party must fight at the head of the movement claiming seats in the Japanese Diet now going on in Okinawa, which is a part of the struggle for national independence of Japan against U.S. imperialism". (ibid.)

At the Ninth Party Congress in 1964, the Party predicted that 1970, when the term of the Security Treaty expired, would be "one focal point in the confrontation between the two roads—the abrogation or continuation of the Security Treaty" and that the U.S.-Japanese ruling circles were taking into consideration not only a "re-revision" of the Treaty but also its "automatic prolongation" in 1970 and emphasized the struggle based on the position of actively winning the abrogation of the Security Treaty, together with the unconditional and complete reversion of Okinawa, as the immediate prime task.

In contrast, the Socialist Party leadership who jointly fought the struggle against the Security Treaty in 1960, though putting up the demand for the abrogation of the Security Treaty as a policy of the party, kept taking a passive attitude toward the movement and joint struggle against the Security Treaty because of its right-wing position of trying to avoid the task of the struggle against U.S. imperialism as much as possible and opposed the Okinawa question to be made a common aim of the joint struggle against the Security Treaty. The attitude of the Socialist Party leadership, who led the National Council against the Security Treaty to virtual functional suspension in 1963 and stubbornly opposed the resumption of the joint struggle against the Security Treaty thereafter, was the most concrete manifestation of such a passive attitude.

In the second half of the 1960's negotiations were started between the U.S.-Japanese ruling circles on the direction of the U.S.-Japan military alliance in the 1970's. At the Sato-Johnson talks in November, 1967, a plan was worked out to reorganize and consolidate the U.S.-Japan military alliance by linking the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty with the reversion of the administrative rights over Okinawa. This plan was materialized in the Sato-Nixon talks and the U.S.-Japan Joint Statement in November, 1969 and arrangement was made to retain the Okinawa base in the condition

of “concealed nuclear weapons, free sortie and introduction of nuclear weapons in emergency,” to work out “Okinawanization of the mainland” and to consolidate the “U.S.-Japan joint operation” set-up with the whole of Japan as a base for aggression directed at Vietnam, Korea and China. In the mean time the Nixon Administration formed in 1968 adopted the Nixon doctrine—a new strategy which reinforced the defeat-in-detail policy since J.F. Kennedy with the effective mobilization of military strength and economic power of its allied and dependent countries and further softening of its China and Soviet policies by skilfully making use of the disunity of the international Communist movement—and the situation around Japan as its stronghold in Asia became increasingly serious.

In the face of this new machination worked out by the U.S.-Japanese ruling circles to make an attempt at aggressive consolidation of the U.S.-Japan military alliance with the Okinawa question as lever, the Party published an article on the Party’s policy for Okinawa in November, 1967, to criticize the fraud of the “reversion of Okinawa with military bases attached” of the Liberal Democratic Party and the Democratic Socialist Party and to make it clear that the demand for immediate, unconditional and complete reversion of Okinawa which took the course of the overthrow of the San Francisco system was indeed the way to the fundamental settlement of the Okinawa question based on the people’s stand. Then in January, 1968, the Party announced its security policy for the overthrow of the U.S.-Japan military alliance and the realization of the reversion of Okinawa to the fatherland—for a Japan of independence, peace and neutrality. In this policy, the Party appealed it to broad strata of the people that today when the Japanese people stood at the important crossroads of destiny in the face of the U.S.-Japanese reactionary forces’ machination to extend and consolidate the Security Treaty in 1970, the joint struggle of the democratic forces with the abrogation of the Security Treaty and the reversion of Okinawa as its main task was an urgent task.

Even at this stage, however, the Socialist Party leadership strongly opposed the joint struggle with the abrogation of the Security Treaty as its main task for the reason that if a “political alternative of either the maintenance of the Security Treaty or the abrogation of the Security Treaty” was forced upon the masses a really strong 1970 struggle would not make a success. On the Security Treaty ques-

tion, the Democratic Socialist Party and KOMEI-TO, which advocated the cause of “progressive middle-of-the-road”, advanced “revision of the Security Treaty” and “gradual dissolution of the Security Treaty” both of which virtually accepted the retention of the U.S.-Japanese military alliance. On the Okinawa question, too, they were inclined to the “reversion of Okinawa with military bases attached” and took an attitude of evading the fundamental question of overthrowing the U.S.-Japan military alliance.

The Party not only attached importance to the question of the abrogation of the Security Treaty as the people’s struggle task, but also made great efforts for active elucidation of the contents of the security policy. In the security policy announced in January, 1968 the Party made minutely clear the road to a Japan of independence, peace and neutrality and her security plan including the self-defence question after winning genuine independence. Later the Party continued to announce a realistic perspective of the denunciation of the Security Treaty taking advantage of the notification of “termination” based on Article 10 of the Security Treaty, the concrete content and form of the neutrality policy of an independent Japan after the abrogation of the Security Treaty and a perspective of her security and foreign economic policy. On the occasion of the Nixon-Sato talks in November, 1969, the Party issued, on the same day, a statement of the Presidium of the Central Committee to analyze the content of the U.S.-Japan joint statement beginning with the “reversion of Okinawa with concealed nuclear weapons and free sortie” and made clear the direction of policy confrontation.

Thus, at the important time when the two roads—the U.S.-Japan military alliance or the abrogation of the Security Treaty and a Japan of peace and neutrality—around the security question were going to be contested for the course of Japan in the 1970’s, the Party, in advance of any other party, exposed and accused the nature of the machination of the U.S.-Japanese ruling circles, flew high the banner of the abrogation of the U.S.-Japan military alliance and peace-neutralization and bore the responsibility for presenting a realistic and effective means to certainly get rid of the U.S.-Japan military alliance and the road to “independence, peace, neutrality and self-defence” to defend Japan’s sovereignty and security in all complicated situations. This pioneering activity of the Party greatly contributed to the extension of support among the people for the peace-neutrality policy and as shown by several public opinion

surveys, a situation that a majority of the people aimed at peace and neutrality and opposition to military bases for U.S. armed forces was brought about at the end of the 1960's.

Attitude toward the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Indochina was also one of the most important questions in the 1960's, affecting Japan's future course.

Taking the opportunity of the conclusion of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963, beginning with the right-wing current in the Socialist Party, the beautification of U.S. imperialism which, dazzled by the dual policy of J.F. Kennedy, explained as if "relaxation of tension" and "peaceful coexistence" had become the general trend of world politics, gained strength within the Japanese democratic forces, as well. Based on facts, the Party criticized its error to clarify the importance of opposing the war policy of U.S. imperialism which directed its main attack at Asia. The correctness of this indication given by the Party was backed up by the actual action of U.S. imperialism which launched its aggression in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in August, 1964.

U.S. imperialism went on to atrocious escalation of the war of aggression such as the opening of continuous bombing of the North in 1965 and a large-scale dispatch of U.S. ground force into South Vietnam and Japan was turned into its advanced base. Taking a serious view of the situation, the Party issued statements of the Central Committee several times to call on the whole democratic forces to rise to the whole people's protest struggle. The Third Plenum of the Central Committee (Ninth Party Congress) in February, 1965, accused the United States' war of aggression in Vietnam as a "grave challenge to the peace forces of the world" and denounced it as the worst crime in its submissive-to-U.S. policy that the Sato Cabinet became a direct accomplice of the war of aggression in Vietnam immediately after its formation. In the House of Councillors election held in June, 1965 the Party regarded "whether to follow U.S. imperialism's aggression in Vietnam and rule over Japan or to resolutely fight against it" as a touchstone to judge of each party being really the people's friend or not and fought the election campaign with this touchstone as the first issue.

The attitude of the Communist Party of Japan who attached importance to the struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam and the Sato Cabinet's cooperation in the war as the primary task for internationalist solidarity was of important pioneer-

ing significance for the Japanese people's struggle. Regarding this question, not only the Democratic Socialist Party and KOMEI-TO advocated "In a quarrel both parties are to blame" to acquit the aggressor, but also every time when a turning point appeared in the situation the wrong trend to make light of the Vietnam question came to the fore within the democratic forces with underlying opportunism which avoided the struggle against U. S. imperialism. "Vietnam—an exception", which regarded the Vietnam war as only an exception of peaceful coexistence in the world as the "U. S.-Soviet collaboration" developed, and the "U. S.-China confrontation", which regarded the confrontation between the United States and China as being the focal point of our time and the war of aggression in Vietnam as only its preparatory stage, came to the open. After Johnson issued a statement of the partial suspension of the bombing of the North in April, 1968 a part of the democratic forces was caught by "post-Vietnam" which insisted that now the Vietnam question would be settled with it and that the China question became the most preferential task or by "unconditional cease-fire" which place the aggressor and aggressed at the same level. The Party did not lose time to criticize those mistakes but made concretely clear the seriousness of the U. S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam, its intension to continue the war of aggression and the responsibility to be borne by the people and democratic forces in Japan which became a stronghold of the aggression and strove to organize the struggle against the aggression and for support for and assistance to the Vietnamese people. The October 21st strikes since 1966, the fund-raising campaign to support and assist the Vietnamese people and other struggles in Japan against the aggression in Vietnam made certain progress. It was clear that the Party's consistent view and efforts were its important driving power.

In the national life, too, the Party predicted that the road to the solution of a large number of questions such as low wages and "rationalization", environmental disruption, prices and the agricultural question could be open not by the collaboration with monopoly capital and the Liberal Democratic Government, but by the struggle against U.S.-Japanese monopoly capital's rule.

When the Ikeda Cabinet embarked on the "high-rate economic growth" policy with the slogan "doubling income", it was only the Communist Party of Japan that pointed out its anti-popular

nature in the interests of monopoly capital and took an attitude of clearly opposing it from the outset. Other parties announced their respective "high-rate growth" plans and took an attitude of contesting a speed of economic growth with the Liberal Democratic Party.

As the "high-rate economic growth" policy made progress the ruin of and pressure upon the national life became so serious that the voice for a new future course of Japan gained strength from the side of the economic life, too. Aiming at the complete overthrow of U.S.-Japanese monopoly capital's rule, the Party published radical policies to meet the people's urgent demands on the urban problem, prices, environmental disruption and agricultural problem and took the lead of the struggle of various strata of the people to safeguard their lives and living. In those policies the Party showed a perspective of the fundamental change in the economic policy and, at the same time, consistently stressed the importance of winning reforms possible even under the existing establishment. In January, 1967 the Party proposed a traffic measure for safety of children attending schools and kindergartens. The policy won the support of extensive strata of the people and was rapidly materialized in progressive self-governing bodies and other places. As for the environmental disruption question, too, the Party proposed in September, 1969, that every car should be equipped with a poisonous gas eliminating device to prevent exhaust gas pollution and that stronger restriction should be put on driving cars into dangerous zones and pressed the Government and the automobile enterprise for their implementation. The pertinence and timeliness of this proposal made by the Party are clear in the light of the present aggravation of exhaust gas pollution.

In the question of democracy, too, the Party particularly attached importance to the reactionary scheme of the Liberal Democratic Government in connection with the retrogressive revision of the Constitution such as the political violence prevention bill and a minor constituency system and consistently took the initiative in waging the struggle to crush the scheme by overcoming trends, which emerged in part of the democratic forces, to make light of the intrigue and to take a passive attitude from a party-tactical calculation. It was the achievement linked with such positive efforts made by the Party that in 1966 a joint struggle to smash a minor constituency system and to prevent the retrogressive revision of the

Constitution was formed among the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and KOMEI-TO.

Opinions, propositions and policies raised by the Party from the viewpoint of aiming at the realization of genuine democratic politics with sovereignty resting with the people—the proposal of the establishment of real political fund control to sweep away grafts and corruptions, for instance, prohibition of political donations from monopoly capital (1966), the proposal of the university policy which showed the democratic control and management of university with the participation of the whole university constituents and other basic direction for the democratic settlement of the university problem (1968), the proposal of democratic renovation of the Diet which fundamentally criticized the undemocratic present conditions of the Diet steering and demanded democratic steering worthy of the “supreme organ of sovereign rights” (1969), the view on the guarantee of political democracy in an independent and democratic Japan and in a socialist Japan including the question of plural parties (1969) and the investigation of the obstruction by KOMEI-TO and SOKA GAKKAI of speech and the press (1969—70)—were of great significance as a guiding star for its struggle to oppose the revival and consolidation of militarism and to defend and establish democracy.

It was thus one of the great historic achievements won by the Party through the struggles in the 1960's that tasks of independence, democracy, peace and neutrality put up by the Party with the overthrow of the San Francisco system as its centre were not confined to the Party's programmatic tasks but became the most real focal points of the daily confrontation between the Japanese people on the one hand and the U.S.-Japanese ruling circles and the Liberal Democratic Government on the other and that the direction of the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly struggle pointed out by the Party Programme was becoming the general trend of development of the struggle waged by the Japanese people and democratic forces by defeating all sorts of opportunism.

Activities for Democratic Consolidation of Mass Organizations

The Party actively tackled with the activity to expand and consolidate the people's struggles and mass organizations in various

fields.

In the trade union movement, opportunist lines like evasion of the anti-imperialist struggle and the "structural reform" were directly introduced into trade unions in the early stage of the 1960's by the right-wing current of the Socialist Party and, together with the proposal of "trade unionism in Japanese style" with the characteristic of making light of political tasks of the trade union, they caused a serious setback of the movement. During this period, it was sharply exposed what a serious question it was for the trade union movement that SOHYO and other trade unions were in the framework of supporting the Socialist Party and were in the condition for the political line of the Socialist Party to be directly brought into them as trade unions' line. On the basis of Party building in stronghold establishments, the Party fought to defend class position of the trade-union movement from opportunism and anti-communist sectarianism. Based on the line of the Programme, the Party stressed the direction of the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly struggle, the correct combination of the economic struggle and political struggle, importance of the united front of the democratic forces, correct relations between the political party and trade union and so on. This strenuous effort made by the Party became a great force in defending the positive tradition of the struggle against the Security Treaty and the Miike struggle in opposition to the current inclined toward the right-wing and in making clear the direction of class advance of the trade-union movement.

The Party also attached importance to the fact that trade unions, which to be the central unit of the unity of the democratic forces, as a whole had many weaknesses stemming from the guidance by social-democratic parties and were in the condition that they could not meet the need of the situation and the demands of the mass of workers and at the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee (Eighth Party Congress) in October, 1962 the Party pointed out the points at issue of the present state of affairs of trade unions and made clear the Party's basic direction of the trade-union policy including class consolidation of trade unions and the perspective of the unity of the labour front. This decision minutely pointed out that especially it was a serious mistake violating the principle of trade union and the worst cause of weakening the fighting strength and unity of trade unions that social democratic parties forced upon trade unions narrow partisanship which placed them under the obli-

gation to support a particular political party and made it clear that its overcoming was the immediate important task to consolidate trade union from class point of view and to unite the labour front. This was an important remark which pointed out the fundamental weakness in common not only with trade unions, but also with several other fields of the mass movement in Japan and indicated the direction of the democratic development of the mass movement.

The decision of the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee also pointed out that it was impossible to assess SOHYO itself as a nucleus of the unity of the labour front so long as SOHYO was in the condition of being within the serious framework of supporting the Socialist Party, and the Party stressed that the Japanese labour movement should not take a passive attitude of "dependence on SOHYO" but work with "the standpoint of the whole working class, including the problems at issue of DOMEI-KAIGI (Japanese Confederation of Labour), CHURITSU-ROREN and all other trade union organizations and broad range of unorganized workers".

During the spring labour offensive in 1964, the Party committed the error in guidance of opposing the April 17th strike for which trade unions were making preparation. This was the event which took place while not a few members of the Presidium of the Central Committee including General Secretary Kenji Miyamoto were abroad and the collective leadership of the Presidium was weakened. A part of the Party leadership at home at that time departed from the line of the Programme, that is, the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly united front, and replaced it with the unilateral line of the "anti-U.S. patriotic united front" which Mao Tse-tung of the Communist Party of China demanded from the then struggle of the Japanese people. And regarding the strike plan of the spring labour offensive they assessed it only from the side of the struggle against U.S. imperialism, made light of the economic struggle of the workers against monopoly capital and finally made it their virtual greatest objective to avoid the strike by erroneously defining the strike as a "provocative strike schemed by U.S. imperialism" on the grounds that there were pro-U.S. leaders among the trade-union leaders who planned the strike. This was the error committed by the combination of the departure from the Programmatic line caused by flunkeyist following after a foreign party leader's demand with a number of wrong trends in leading the labour movement such as the neglect of the economic struggle.

This error was rectified by the Presidium comparatively quickly, yet it delivered a very serious blow to the Party's force in trade unions. Not only this matter was immediately used by the right-wing social democrats to maximum to attack the Party but also this error injured the workers' confidence in the Party, covering the whole of the trade-union movement including national unions of private enterprises.

The Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee (Eighth Party Congress) in July, 1964 published the bold self-criticism of the error in the April 17th question and the summarization by the Presidium to further develop the Party's trade-union policy. With this decision as "a weapon for higher struggle" the entire Party made strenuous efforts for an advance of the trade-union movement with fresh determination.

The Party attached importance to the overcoming of its lag in the trade-union movement and decided at the Third Plenum of the Central Committee (Ninth Party Congress) in October, 1965, the line for every Party organization to put up the following slogan and to tackle with the trade-union movement. "One trade union for one Party cell; Class, democratic consolidation of every trade union; Trade union and the Party in every factory and office; Peasant organization and the Party in every village".

It was the decision of the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee (Tenth Party Congress) in March, 1968 that had epoch-making significance for the development of the Party's trade-union policy. Based on the scientific analysis which delved the historical summarization and present condition of the prewar and postwar trade-union movement, this decision made clear the detailed trade-union policy extending over the whole of the fundamental points at issue of the present condition of the trade-union movement and the direction of their overcoming; the immediate struggle tasks; the unity of the labour front and the united front of the democratic forces; activities based on workshops and the establishment of trade-union democracy; policy activity and class-educational activity; industrial-wide united struggle and questions in struggle guidance such as unity of principledness and flexibility; organization of unorganized workers; consolidation of the Party's organizational position based on Party building in establishments.

In the situation where manoeuvres of DOMEI and IMF-JC (Japanese Council of International Metalworkers' Federation) to

reorganize the labour front into the right-wing trend were increasing, this decision pointed out the four immediate tasks to advance the genuine unity of the trade-union movement.

“1. In the whole front of the trade unions including SOHYO, DOMEI and CHURITSU-ROREN, to strengthen the activity for class, democratic consolidation of the trade unions to remove the obstacles which hinder the class unity of the workers and trade unions. Especially to remove the framework of ‘support for a particular party’ and to establish the principle of the freedom to support any party and freedom of the political activity.

2. On the basis of the workers’ earnest economic, political demands, to promote the united actions of the trade unions of various trends without premise of anti-communism, nationally, industrially and locally.

3. To oppose the opinion and action of anti-communism, divisionism and labour-capital collaborationism which obstruct the united actions of the workers and trade unions and to overcome them on a mass scale.

4. To organize broad unorganized workers on the basis of the class, democratic principles of the trade union.”

This policy which concretized the line of the Programme became a policy guiding star showing the whole of the trade-union movement the perspective of advance and victory together with individual policies for wages, “rationalization” and labour agreement questions and industrial-wide policies announced by the Party.

Through those activities the Party pushed forward Party building in establishments and could recover to a certain extent from the Party’s lag in the trade-union movement. Although the trade-union movement was still as a whole under the leadership of the social-democratic forces, the current supporting the united front came to hold a certain weight in the movement as could be seen from the “appeal for the unity of the whole democratic forces” issued by 38 trade unions in November, 1969 and an extensive response called forth by it and the system that obligated trade unions “to support a particular party” also gradually came to show aggravation of its contradiction.

The Party also strove to extend and consolidate democratic mass organizations among broad strata of the people such as peasants, working citizens, women, youth and students and intellectuals.

In the rural area the Party attached importance not only to organizing peasants' unions but also to organizing agricultural and rural workers and poor peasants into rural trade unions and in March, 1965 the National Federation of Rural Trade Unions was formed. Since 1964, the Party made special efforts to consolidate the Party's activity in the rural area by setting up the "Rural Activity Month", but organization of peasants into democratic peasant organizations still remained to be at a very low level all through the 1960's.

In the women front "SHIN-NIHON FUJIN-NO-KAI" (New Japan Women's Association), as a single national mass organization of women, was formed in October, 1962 by the efforts of the Party, leaders and activists of the democratic women movement and came to play a big role for the unity of the women front and the advance of women's struggle. At the end of the 1960's SHIN-NIHON FUJIN-NO-KAI, which started with a membership of 33,000, grew the largest women's organization in Japan with a membership of about 100,000 for an organization of women with individual affiliation. The mothers' movement which started in 1955 made a great development in the 1960's, defending itself from various splitting trends.

The Democratic Youth League also continued to make a great development and by the Eleventh Congress of the Democratic Youth League in November, 1969, it developed to an organization rallying about 200,000 young people whose number amounted to four times as many as that in 1960 and became the central existence of the youth-students' movement. The students' movement suffered from such a big blow as the dissolution of ZENGAKUREN due to the disturbing activity of the Trotskyites at the time of the struggle against the Security Treaty. The Party fought against manoeuvres of the Trotskyites and anti-party revisionists and strove for the democratic reorganization of the students' movement jointly with democratic students. Thus at the end of 1964 ZENGAKUREN was reorganized after the formation of "HEIMIN GAKUREN" (National Students' Liaison Council against the Security Treaty and in Defence of Peace and Democracy) in 1962. Reorganized ZENGAKUREN soon organized a majority of university students' self-government associations and developed into a national organization which represented the Japanese students' movement both nominally and virtually. In February, 1968 it regained the representation in the International Union of Students which the Trotskyites stole

into their hand up to that time.

The Trotskyite anti-communist groups, which were in utter confusion for a while after the struggle against the Security Treaty, came to life with the Mao Tse-tung group's support and so greatly extended their provocative outrages like the Haneda case (1967) that the struggle against them became a very important task not only for the youth front but for the whole of the democratic movements in the latter half of the 1960's. The Party consistently accused the Trotskyite violent groups as the anti-communist, counter-revolutionary force destroying the democratic movements and maintained the attitude of not allowing their intervention in the democratic movements. In contrast, in 1965 when the "Anti-War Youth Committee" was formed with cooperation of the Socialist Party and SOHYO the Socialist Party leadership let the Trotskyite groups like the "Tripartite ZENGAKUREN" and the "Revolutionary Marxist ZENGAKUREN" join it either formally or as observer. At the party convention of 1968 the Socialist Party leadership called them an "ally" to demand cooperation with them. In this way, over a considerably long period of time the Socialist Party leadership took an attitude of encouraging the Trotskyites' disturbing activities.

In the university democratization struggle and the struggle against the university bill which were fought from 1968 to 1969 the Party showed a correct policy for democratization of university and in the aspect of organizing the struggle the Party became the driving power to advance the struggle by isolating the Trotskyite and submissive-violent groups, who were left at large by the Government and the Liberal Democratic Party, and by rallying broad strata of the people who were safeguarding self-government and freedom of university.

Among the working citizens, the National Federation of Commercial and Industrial Associations, which organized minor businessmen, developed into an organization with a membership of one hundred and scores of thousands at the end of the 1960's (two hundred and scores of thousands as of 1972). At the same time progress was made in nationally organizing the Society for Safeguarding Living and Health, tenants' unions, democratic medical organizations and self-reliant minor enterprisers' organizations.

New mass organizations in various fields were formed, for instance, in 1965, "Japan Scientists' Conference", a unified national organization of democratic scientists; "Japan Democratic Literature

League”, a new national organization of the democratic literature movement; the League for Reversion of Okinawa and Ogasawara; the Liaison Council for Prevention of Retrogressive Revision of the Constitution and New Japan Athletes’ Association and in 1967, “BUNDANREN” (Liaison Council of Cultural Organizations). They indicated an important organizational advance of the Japanese democratic movement which increased its strength with those new mass organizations respectively constituting a part of the conscious democratic forces.

The Party also consistently attached importance to the struggle against oppression and the court struggle which the Party fought jointly with broad strata of the masses as the question of democracy and supported court struggles such as the Matsukawa, Sugo, Ome, Ashibetsu and many other cases and led them to victory.

In the movement against A and H bombs and the international friendship movements, the struggle against divisionism which was linked with both wings of great-powerist interventions was one of the most important questions during this period. The Party fought to exclude interventions of foreign forces and to maintain the self-reliant unity of the democratic movement in Japan. The standards of international solidarity and exchange which the Japanese democratic movement newly confirmed in this struggle—the standards of basing itself on independence, equality and non-intervention in each other’s internal affairs, particularly respecting independence each other and promoting exchange in accordance with common desire and interests—made clear the principled prerequisite for developing the international friendship movement on the unshakable basis.

Upholding the Banner of United Front

One of the keynotes running through the entire activity of the Communist Party of Japan in the 1960’s was the struggle for the united action and united front of the democratic forces in opposition to all shades of opportunism and anti-communist sectarianism.

The struggle against anti-communist sectarianism concerning the united front came out, first of all, around the question of the continuation of the joint struggle organization against the Security Treaty after the struggle against the Security Treaty. As for the joint struggle organization against the Security Treaty, the Communist Party held, from the beginning, an opinion that it be retained

not only at the stage of the prevention of the revision of the Security Treaty but for the abrogation of the Security Treaty, and made efforts for that purpose. After the ratification of the Security Treaty, however, mainly the Socialist Party took the line to virtually suspend activities of the joint struggle organizations against the Security Treaty at national and local levels. In this situation, our Party consistently demanded reorganization of joint struggles and also removal of political discrimination against the Communist Party, which was a serious shortcoming of the National Council. On the contrary, the Socialist Party insisted that the National Council be so reorganized that it might become a link of the chain of the Socialist Party's movement for "the safeguarding of the Constitution, democracy and neutrality" and that the Socialist Party's leading position would be kept as a setup. Though it was clear that the struggle against the Security Treaty was in fact carried on with the Communist and Socialist Parties and SOHYO as its axis, the Socialist Party opposed to the last the removal of political discrimination against the Communist Party. Thus, as the results of protracted stagnation and discussion, the joint struggle organization against the Security Treaty resumed its activity as the "National Council against the Security Treaty and for Peace and Democracy" in March, 1961. Though this National Council against the Security Treaty could not make the Socialist Party and others retract their unreasonable demand for the Communist Party to remain an observer in the Leading Member Organization Committee, it played an important role in the Japanese people's struggle as the joint struggle organization including the Communist and Socialist Parties and SOHYO which bore the responsibility for the "abrogation of the Security Treaty, prevention of the retrogressive revision of the Constitution and defence of Japan's peace, independence and democracy" (the statement on the occasion of its inauguration) and fought through twenty times nationwide united actions of the democratic forces based on its tasks during the period up to 1963, beginning with the struggle to shatter the political violence prevention bill in 1961.

After the victory of the struggle against the political violence prevention bill, the activity of the National Council against the Security Treaty was repeatedly suspended due to the sectarianist attitude of the Socialist Party leadership which turned its back even on the joint struggle of the National Council on the pretext of the antagonism in the movement against A and H bombs. The very

antagonism in the movement against A and H bombs was caused by the fact that from the viewpoint of "positive neutralism", the Socialist Party opposed the confrontation with the nuclear-war policy of U.S. imperialism and tried to force the protest against the Soviet Union's nuclear tests and "opposition to any nuclear tests by any country" as the "principle" of the movement. Each time the Party criticized the error of divisionism and strengthened local joint struggles to resume the activity of the National Council in the struggle against the "Japan-'ROK' Treaty" and other struggles. Among these activities, it became an important driving force for the united front that the Party and the advanced democratic forces, demanding the resumption of activities of the joint struggle organizations against the Security Treaty, took the lead of the struggle to actively organize the people's actions, centred on the October 21st national united action in 1962. In spite of strenuous efforts of the Party and the advanced democratic forces, however, the National Council against the Security Treaty finally suspended its functions in September 1963. The Socialist Party, together with the SOHYO leadership, demanded at the Ninth World Conference against A and H Bombs in the summer of the same year that the conference should support the "opposition to any nuclear tests by any country" and the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, but when their unilateral demand was rejected they declared their secession from GENSUIKYO (Japan Council against A and H Bombs) and the World Conference against A and H Bombs. And on the pretext of this "split" made by themselves of the movement against A and H bombs, they insisted on putting an end to the activities of the National Council against the Security Treaty with the 12th united action on September 1 and suspended its function.

In contrast with it, the Party upheld the principled attitude of uniting all the forces able to unite themselves on the basis of the people's earnest demands, demanded "immediate and unconditional resumption of the joint struggle against the Security Treaty" in cooperation with the advanced democratic forces who rallied round district and local joint struggle organizations and yet promoted the advanced democratic forces' own advanced activities and made efforts for the advance of the people's united actions demanded by the then situation, beginning with January 26th national united action centred on Yokota Air Base in 1964. The Party's error concerning the April 17th question weakened its efforts for unity for a while.

In this respect, too, it inflicted a loss on the Party and the democratic forces.

The development of such a serious situation as seen in the launching of U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam and turning of Japan into its advanced base, U.S. nuclear-powered submarines' "call" at Japanese ports, the conclusion of "Japan-'ROK' Treaty" and the progress of the scheme of a minor constituency system, revealed by facts the error of the opportunist line, which turned its back on the struggle against U.S. imperialism, and the error of anti-communist sectarianism, which hampered the joint struggle of the democratic forces. The on-the-spot joint struggles at Sasebo and Yokosuka against the "port-call" of nuclear-powered submarines, which started in December 1964, became the first step for the resumption of the democratic forces' joint struggle which had been suspended for over one year. At the national level, however, the democratic forces' joint struggle was not realized, and two executive committees, that is, the "Central Executive Committee", which rallied 130 organizations including the Communist Party of Japan, and the "National Executive Committee" centred on the Socialist Party and SOHYO were formed and a situation lasted that they respectively organized campaigns against the "port-call" of nuclear-powered submarines. From the beginning, the "Central Executive Committee" took up "immediate resumption of the joint struggle against the Security Treaty" and the "establishment of a joint struggle system of all the democratic forces" as its consistent slogans and played a role as an important driving force of the united action and united front of the democratic forces.

Faced with the full-scale escalation of the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam in 1965, the Party at once demanded that the joint struggle organizations against the Security Treaty at national and local levels should resume their activities. Through these efforts and with a call by five men of culture including Yoshio Nakano as a turning point, at the national level, too, the so-called "one-day joint struggle" against the aggression in Vietnam came to be held in the form of joint struggle of the two executive committees, in June and July 1965.

This joint struggle further advanced in the struggle to shatter the "Japan-'ROK' Treaty" in autumn 1965; and in the tense situation where the Sato Cabinet submitted the "Japan-'ROK' Treaty" to the Diet for its ratification and repeatedly forced to take votes,

it carried out nationwide united actions five times. These united actions were very much belated, having been formed only after the Treaty was submitted to the Diet for ratification, and their contents, too, had many weaknesses; nevertheless they became an important force to support the nationwide struggle centred on political strikes of the National Railway and other workers. Furthermore, faced with the bombings of Hanoi and Haiphong by U.S. imperialism in 1966, the joint struggle of all the democratic forces against the aggression in Vietnam was resumed and played the role of a driving force to score a success in the nationwide strike on October 21. A part of right-wing social democrats beginning with the ZENTEI (Japan Postal Workers' Union) leadership conducted all sorts of manoeuvres to check this joint struggle from their anti-communist sectarianist stand, but failed to curb the advance of the joint struggle.

The Tenth Party Congress held in October 1966, analysed the experience of the united front movement up to the time and drew lessons for the advance of the united front.

1. For the Party and the conscious democratic forces to take up the vital tasks and the people's demands in the situation at home and abroad and take the lead of pushing forward advanced activities to organize an independent movement and other activities, combining them with persevering efforts for the realization of the united action of all the democratic forces.

2. To make clear the real enemy through the people's own political experience and rally all the forces that can be rallied in order to isolate the enemy as much as possible.

3. To strengthen the entire Party's efforts to overcome the Party's lag in the trade union movement, and specially concentrate our strength on the activities to enhance broad trade unions to the correct position of the united front.

4. To reject the interference of foreign forces which are connected with the errors of both wings, modern revisionism and dogmanism-sectarianism, and maintain the self-reliant cohesion of the Japanese democratic movements.

5. To positively pose the orientation of the establishment of a Democratic Coalition Government as the prospect of the development of the united action and united front and to make it the people's conviction.

In April 1967, an important advance that gave a fresh perspective for the united front movement was won through the gubernatorial

election in Tokyo. On the occasion of this election, candidate R. Minobe asked our Party to support him, consented to the agreement on the "policy and joint struggle system" concluded by the Communist and Socialist Parties and expressed his determination to make efforts for its realization. On the basis of this agreement between the Communist and Socialist Parties, broad democratic organizations and individuals rallied around the joint struggle organization called the "Association for a Clean and Progressive Metropolitan Administration", and returned R. Minobe, defeating the anti-communist coalition candidate of the Liberal Democratic and Democratic Socialist Parties, to put an end to the postwar Liberal Democratic metropolitan administration extended over twenty two years. This experience of the progressive united front in Tokyo became a model for subsequent election joint struggles in many regions. It had an important significance not only for a local joint struggle in an election but also for the development of a nationwide united front, in respect to the concretization of the democratic forces' joint struggle system based on a clear policy agreement as well as organizational agreement and in respect to the point that the agreement made the most of such principles as (1) unity based on agreed points, (2) joint struggle standing on equal footing, (3) defence of self-reliance and (4) non-recognition of participation of disturbing forces, which had been established through the joint struggles in those several years.

Particularly, this lesson was made the most of in the three big elections in Okinawa in autumn 1968. The forces for return to fatherland in Okinawa rallied around the united front and elected progressive Chief Executive C. Yara under the U.S. occupation, delivering a serious blow to the U.S. imperialist rule over Okinawa. The Party was refused by the U.S. occupants to sail to Okinawa but supported the election campaign of the united front forces by every possible means.

In spite of the advance of the united front in the gubernatorial election in Tokyo and other regions, the united action at the national level faced many difficulties. In particular, in case of the assault incident on the headquarters of the Japan-China Friendship Association by young Chinese residents in Japan and other people, the Socialist Party abused the Communist Party and other democratic forces as "anti-China", supporting the assailants, and called Trotskyite terrorist groups "allied forces" to take an attitude

of virtually approving their disturbing activities. This added a new obstacle to the other obstacles to the united actions. The Party criticized those trends violating the unity. At the same time, the Party asserted that the democratic forces should draw lessons from the joint struggle in the gubernatorial election in Tokyo to widely advance the united action of the democratic forces from the then condition of the intermittent "one-day joint struggle" to the united front for the overthrow of the U.S.-Japan military alliance. In June 1968 the Party advocated in a concrete manner that the broad democratic forces opposing the Security Treaty should establish a powerful joint struggle organization based on the following policy and organizational agreements which the Party proposed to the Socialist Party, SOHYO and many other democratic organizations.

1. This joint struggle shall be based on a policy agreement which contains opposition to the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty and the complete return of Okinawa as one of its important central tasks.

2. This joint struggle organization shall conclude a definite organizational agreement on the range of its constituents, its management and other things and rally every organization and individual who takes self-reliant and democratic position. It shall not allow the participation of any disturbing group or provocative-destructive element who intends to destroy the united front.

The Socialist Party rejected the proposal on the ground that it narrowed the range of joint struggle to make the opposition to the Security Treaty a prerequisite for the joint struggle and that the exclusion of the disturbing forces was a "denial of the basic thought of joint struggle". The joint struggle of the democratic forces, however, advanced step by step, taking up such political tasks as the opposition to the aggression in Vietnam, the opposition to the "port-call" of U.S. nuclear-powered submarines, the abrogation of the Security Treaty, the complete return of Okinawa and the frustration of the university bill.

And in the October 21st struggle of 1969 on the eve of 1970, a united gathering promoted by the united executive committee was for the first time organized on the Security Treaty-Okinawa question, in place of the "joint-struggle in bridge" system held by the two executive committees up to that day. In its "confirmed items" the united executive committee definitely decided to make

the abrogation of the Security Treaty and the immediate, unconditional and complete return of Okinawa their common central demands, not to recognize the participation of the “organizations which obstruct the development of the united actions” such as the Trotskyite groups and the Anti-War Youth Committee and to “pursue the possibility of durable joint struggle in the future”. The establishment of unified joint struggle in such a form was the first event since the joint struggle organizations suspended their activities in 1963 and this struggle system was succeeded to even in the struggles after 1970. This was far from the establishment of the durable and unified joint struggle organization demanded by a large number of democratic forces, but an important step forward won by the strenuous efforts of the Party and the conscious democratic forces and with the people’s desire for unity.

Rapid Advance of the Party and the Establishment of the Organizing Policy

With the advance of the struggle of the Party and the democratic forces in the 1960’s, the cause to build the Communist Party of Japan, which is the advanced driving force and the biggest subjective condition for the liberation struggle, achieved a rapid advance.

Firstly, in the election campaigns which are the most important form of the political struggle in the present political condition in Japan, the Party won an uninterrupted advance by breaking down the Liberal Democratic Party’s and other forces’ concentrated anti-communist campaigns and, in the ten years in the 1960’s, increased its political weight in the Diet and local assemblies by several times.

During these years, elections to the Diet were held four times to the House of Representatives (December 1960, November 1963, January 1967 and December 1969) and three times to the House of Councillors (July 1962, July 1965 and July 1968), that is, seven times in all. The Party increased in every election the number of its seats, the number of votes obtained and the rate of votes obtained and the number of Diet members of the Communist Party, which were only three in total in both Houses (one in the House of Representatives and two in the House of Councillors) at the beginning of the 1960’s, increased by seven times to twenty one members (fourteen in the House of Representatives and seven in the House

of Councillors) at the end of 1969. With regard to the number of votes obtained, the Party had support of about one million votes (1.012 million in the 1958 elections to the House of Representatives and 0.999 million in the local constituencies in the 1959 elections to the House of Councillors) in the last elections in the 1950's, but at the end of 1969 it gained over three million votes, more than three times as many as 1958.

In every election campaign, the Liberal Democratic Party regarded the Communist Party of Japan as its main enemy and poured on the Party thoroughgoing anti-communist propaganda, such as "the Communist Party for violent revolution", "the Communist Party for the destruction of parliamentarism". In the general elections in 1967, it advocated a policy agreement with opposition parties with anti-communism as its common basis, in attempt to confront the Communist Party by means of an anti-communist front to be formed with anti-communist middle-of-the-road parties. As if to respond to it, the Democratic Socialist Party adopted a line of forming an "anti-communist coalition" front with the Liberal Democratic Party. KOMEI-TO, too, with the 1968 elections to the House of Councillors as a turning-point, switched over from its past joint struggle with the Communist and Socialist Parties to strengthening an attitude of approaching anti-communism and the Liberal Democratic Party. Interventionists of China and all shades of anti-party elements also brought about mean obstructions to our Party's election struggles.

The Party's rapid advance in the election campaigns, however, delivered a great blow to these anti-communist plans. In the elections to the House of Councillors held in July 1968, in particular, the Party won three more seats besides one from the contested constituency and the number of votes obtained in local constituencies reached 3.57 millions exceeding the previous polling score by about one million votes. Then, in the elections to the House of Representatives held in December 1969, too, the Party increased the number of its seats from 4 before the election to 14 with such a rapid advance that the number of votes obtained increased to 3.2 millions exceeding the previous results by one million. Either of these results greatly surpassed the record of the number of votes obtained in the 1949 elections to the House of Representatives for the first time in about twenty years. This was a notable result as an indicator which proved an extension in the Party's political influence.

In local assemblies, too, the Party marked a striking advance

in the two simultaneous local elections throughout the country in April 1963 and April 1967 and in interim elections of every year. The number of assemblymen in local self-governing bodies increased by over eight hundred, that is, over two times, in ten years from 740 at the time after the simultaneous local elections in 1959. Thus, at the end of 1969, 1562 members of the CPJ's assemblymen were active in local self-governing bodies throughout the country. The fact that in addition to Kyoto Prefecture with twenty-years' history of the progressive administration, Tokyo metropolitan administration newly took the first step on the way for a progressive self-governing body on the basis of the progressive united front was of great significance in the reform of local politics, together with the CPJ's acquisition of mayoralty in Shiojiri city (1967) and town headmanship in Yamanouchi town (1968) both in Nagano Prefecture.

Such an advance of the Communist Party formed a marked contrast to other parties' rise and fall, extended its right to speak in politics at national and local levels and really proved that the confrontation between the Liberal Democratic Party and the Communist Party was becoming one of the axes of the confrontation in the 1970's between the two roads around Japan's future course.

Secondly, the Party also made a remarkable development in its organizational strength in the 1960's. The Party strength, which was the membership of about 80,000 and organ circulation of about 350,000 at the time of the Eighth Party Congress in 1961, went up to about 150,000 members and nearly 800,000 copies at the time of the Ninth Party Congress in 1964 and further to nearly 300,000 members and about 1,500,000 copies at the time of the Tenth Party Congress in 1966. These figures surpassed far greater than the postwar highest level attained by the Party before the suppression and split in 1950 and meant that the Communist Party of Japan had developed into a party with the most powerful organizational strength among Japanese political parties and had grown up one of the Parties standing in the forefront in respect to organizational strength among the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries of the world.

What supported and guaranteed the Party's political and organizational rapid advance was the correctness of the Party's programmatic line and political line based thereon, both of which the entire Party made the guiding star for its activity, the Party Centre's

consistent efforts which clarified the way to build a powerful mass vanguard party under the condition of a highly developed capitalist country, Japan, by creatively applying the Marxist-Leninist theory on Party building and the entire Party's devoted endeavours based on its organizing policy.

The Eighth Party Congress decided the line to work out the "Comprehensive Two-Year Plan for the Party Strength Expansion and Ideological, Educational Activities" to carry out Party building. It was the first experience in the Party history to put up the aims in figures and work for Party building with a plan. Since then, the Party has adhered to the line of purposeful and systematic Party building always with a plan for the expansion of Party strength, study and education while consistently developing the contents of the plan according to the situation and conditions, and fought against opportunist spontaneism in Party building. It was proved by the actual performance of the Party strength expansion in the 1960's that the line accorded, in particular, with the law of the development of the Party of scientific socialism in a developed capitalist country.

The Party made efforts for making the entire Party understand, as the fundamental for the Party activity, the "two-leg activity" to actively work for the mass movement and uninterruptedly pursue in that work the task of Party building as an independent task. "Dwarfed" Party-activity, which virtually abandoned the task to build the Party, often appeared when an election campaign was imminent or a mass struggle upsurged, but consistent efforts were made to overcome the erroneous trend and to make the "two-leg" activity take root in the Party. And when such a lag as an organ-circulation decline took place for some reason, the Party did never leave it unattended but overcame it by the entire Party's special efforts as a special "activity month" to attain an increase in circulation. Through these activities, the independent efforts for Party building and the planned and purposeful activity became a part of the consistent and revolutionary tradition of the Communist Party of Japan.

In establishing the "two-leg activity", it was of important significance that the Ninth Party Congress formulated the three points of view for the mass struggle, namely, "to fight by uniting three tasks, that is, achievement of demands, growth of the masses' consciousness and stronger organization, and expansion of the Party

strength with a view to developing toward a united front". Later, to them added was "respect for social class morals" at the Eleventh Party Congress in 1970, and they were established as the principles of the mass struggle to which the Party should consistently adhere in any event.

It constituted one of the most positive characteristics of Party building since the Seventh Party Congress, which made the most of the lessons drawn from the 1950 question, to take up both the quantitative expansion of Party strength and the ideological, educational activities as the two inseparable sides of Party building. In order to systematically promote the education activity, the Second Plenum of the Central Committee (Eighth Party Congress) in December 1961 decided the establishment of such a educational system as to open Party schools at national, prefectural and district levels, to make self-study of Marxism-Leninism a task to be fulfilled by every Party member and to designate literatures for that purpose. In February, 1962, the Central Party School was founded and in May a list of "designated literatures for self-study" was made public. In October 1967 the "qualification-test system for tutors at various levels" was established on the basis of the decision of the Central Committee. It widely opened the way to fostering a large number of education cadres enough for building a mass vanguard party with a membership of several hundred thousands, and became a driving force for the entire Party's study and education activities to give birth to about 13,000 qualified tutors in about two years up to the Eleventh Party Congress in 1970.

The line to build the Party in every stratum of the people, while putting an emphasis on the working class and peasantry, was also a positive line in accord with the programmatic line for rallying the overwhelming majority of the people to the National Democratic United Front. From this viewpoint of uniting a majority of the people, the Party attached special importance to the elimination of no-Party's establishment and no-Party's village. And particularly the Third Plenum of the Central Committee (Ninth Party Congress) held in 1965 instructed the entire Party to materialize it with the slogan "Trade union and the Party in every establishment; Peasant organization and the Party in every village". In the "month to increase organ subscribers in commemoration of the forty-fifth anniversary of the Party's founding" in 1967, too, the Party also raised it as one of the specially important tasks to make

efforts to eliminate no-Party's land with fresh fiery frontier-spirit.

With regard to the organ paper activity, too, the Party pointed out its special importance in the revolutionary movement in Japan to stress the "Party activities centred on the organ paper activity". "The central organ of the Party is a propagandist, agitator and organizer and at the same time a compass to show constantly the daily course for the Party and the people, and a blood vessel which links the Party Centre with the entire membership and a bond which ties our Party to the masses, for the sake of the whole mass struggle including the political, economic and ideological struggles and activities for the united front and for the sake of building a powerful Party. Therefore, the organ paper activity has a special task and nature as an artery of the Party connecting our whole activities to realize the four banners, the general lines of the Party". (Decision of the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee in 1962, Eighth Party Congress). From this viewpoint, the Party made the organ circulation increase a constant task and, at the same time, proposed the "five-point improvement movement" (1963) and "new five-point improvement movement" (1967), making efforts for the establishment of a network for swift, accurate and safe organ-delivery and subscription collection and for the improvement of ties with readers. At the end of the 1960's, an epoch-making cause in the history of the international Communist movement was basically established that a Party in a capitalist country issues about 1.5 million copies of daily and Sunday organ papers, and delivers each copy to readers in their houses. It was supported by the devoted activity of countless organ paper activists who displayed persevering and indomitable heroism.

What the Party Centre paid particular attention to concerning the question of the Party's organizing activity and guidance, was to establish a scientific, reasonable and militant guidance so that every Party member would be active with positive and revolutionary initiative and that the Party's entire potentiality would be displayed. The decision of the Second Plenum of the Central Committee in December 1961 (Eighth Party Congress) connected "firmness of the principled and timely general leadership based on the decisions of the Party Centre" with "concrete and individual leadership in accordance with consciousness and ability of Party organizations and members" in concretizing the decisions and stressed it as the fundamental of the guidance to grasp concretely and develop every

possibility possessed by every Party member and warned the entire Party of simple-minded general leadership.

“Each Party organization or member has always its or his own potentials and wish and hope for action. The task of a Party body in leadership is to grasp these conditions concretely, find out the hidden potentials and extend and develop actions. In raising funds or in increasing new organ-readers, it is not correct for a Party body to impose on lower organizations a uniform norm as is often seen, without giving concrete guidance but limiting itself within general leadership. A Party body should make such a guidance so that the collective discussion of a cell may clarify its conditions and potentials and have a concrete task and the whole members can undertake it, displaying their initiative. Because, such uniform, simple and general leadership will obstruct the development of the genuine voluntary positiveness and initiative, without drawing out big potentials, and it will not strengthen democratic centralism, which has been established and got stronger as a conscious discipline, but on the contrary may undermine it unconsciously”.

The Third Plenum of the Central Committee held in October 1965 (Ninth Party Congress) once again warned the entire Party of “one-sidedness and standardization, which are unable to correctly put the Party’s policy into a concrete shape in concert with the real condition of the masses and cells, and of bureaucratic trend to fall in perfunctory and administrative guidance” and demanded that the entire Party should make systematic efforts for such questions as to elevate the political and organizational strength of branch (cell), the basic organization of the Party and to build branches that can materialize the Programme and decisions of the Party self-reliantly and carry out all-round and planned activities self-consciously. This decision on the consolidation of branch activities was further materialized at the National Meeting of Chairmen of Prefectural Committees held in May of the next year and was formulated as the line of “all-round, conscious cell-activity in which all the cells have policies and self-reliant plans and all the members share the tasks”. The Third Plenum of the Central Committee took up the question of secession and falling-off from the Party of a Party member with good faith, too, and pointed out, as one of big causes, bureaucratism of “the guidance which a number of Party members with good faith can not but remark ‘I can not follow’” by uniformly imposing heavy tasks upon every Party member. Thus, the Party attached importance to the overcoming of bureaucratic guidance

which discouraged initiative of branches and Party members.

With regard to anti-party factionalism, the Party took a resolute attitude toward any of its manifestations and firmly defended and consolidated the unity of the Party based on democratic centralism. The struggle against the anti-party revisionist elements of the Shojiro-Kasuga-and-Naito faction, the struggle against the anti-party elements, Shiga, Suzuki, Kamiyama, Nakano, etc. submissive to N.S. Khrushchov, and the struggle against the Mao Tse-tung submissionist elements of Takaji Nishizawa, Anzai, etc. and the Fukuda-and-Harada faction—these struggles became, far from delivering blows to the Party, a turning point for the Party to forge itself more tenacious as a revolutionary vanguard party cemented with the theory of scientific socialism as well as with conscious disciplines.

The guiding lines which the Party established in its guidance in election campaigns in those years also constitute an important part of the creative development of the organizing policy in the condition of Japan. In the elections to the House of Councillors in 1962, the Presidium criticized the tendency to reduce the election campaign to a mere activity to obtain votes as “dually dwarfed election campaign”, and stressed that election campaign should not be confined to the activity to secure usual Party supporters and to “reap” the influence of the Party’s daily mass and political activity, but aim at a new increase in the number of Party supporters by massive political-propaganda activity among broad range of voters and that the “two-leg activity” be maintained in the election campaign, too, and the “election campaign be fought as a struggle between political parties by strongly pushing forward Party strength expansion”. This became the Party’s basic attitude in fighting subsequent election struggles.

Furthermore, after the elections to the House of Councillors in 1965 and the elections to the Tokyo Metropolitan Assembly the Party so drastically developed its policy activity that the Party did not confine itself to mere general exposure or propaganda of its basic policies but upheld active and constructive policies to meet the demands and interests of the masses including questions of international politics and diplomacy and the people’s earnest economic demands and fought election campaigns by connecting those policies with mass propaganda activity among all the households. These policies, which creatively materialized the Party Programme and

the decisions of Party Congresses, made quite clear the policy superiority only a party of scientific socialism could possess and became an important force for the advance of the Party in the following points:—that they showed the realizable and most realistic policies while taking a definite direction of breaking down the U.S.-Japanese reactionary forces' rule; that they promptly took up questions raised in the development of the situation as well as in the living and struggle of the people's masses and worked out in advance the way to settle them and that they were reasonable and plain policies capable of winning support and sympathy of the people. The policy activity of the Party exerted a great effect on the whole of election campaigns and increasingly gave recent election campaigns a character of a political battle among parties with policies in the front.

What should be pointed out as one of the most important characteristics in the Party life in this period, to be exact, the Party life of the Communist Party of Japan since the Seventh Party Congress (1958) is that every Party Congress and Plenum of the Central Committee has been regularly held on the basis of the Party Constitution and managed democratically and that the line and policy of the Party have been decided by the regular leading bodies of the Party, that is, the Congress and the Central Committee, and have been materialized by the collective leadership of the Presidium elected by the Central Committee. This is the principled earnest for the entire Party's unity under the Central Committee.

During this period, the Party made consistent efforts to preserve experienced senior leaders of the Party, to boldly promote young and capable staffs and to foster cadres who support the development of the Party.

The Eleventh Party Congress with the Perspective for the Political Progress in the 1970's

The confrontation between the anti-communist, reactionary forces marching along the way of the U. S.-Japan military alliance in subordination to the United States and the revival of militarism and imperialism on the one hand, and the democratic forces seeking for a peaceful and neutral Japan on the other, was further intensified at the threshold of the 1970's. And the first arena of

the political struggle in the 1970's was the Kyoto gubernatorial election in April, 1970.

In the election, the Government and the Liberal Democratic Party openly called the Communist Party "the main enemy in the 1970's", formed an anti-communist, reactionary tripartite coalition with KOMEI-TO and the Democratic Socialist Party and literally made every effort for overthrowing the Ninagawa democratic prefectural administration which lasted for twenty years based on the united front. But by the strenuous efforts of the Party and the democratic forces, the united front forces defeated by a wide margin the anti-communist tripartite coalition, which fully mobilized the power of money and power, in the election called "the initial battle in the 1970's". This victory dealt a great blow to the plan of the U.S.-Japanese ruling circles, the Government and the Liberal Democratic Party which intended to steer through the 1970's by the formation of the anti-communist coalition front and, at the same time, made clear at home and abroad that the united front, which had been asserted by the Communist Party, was the force which would open the political perspective in the 1970's.

Following the victory in Kyoto, the democratic forces won another victory in the struggle for the united action and united front on June 23, 1970 when the term of the Security Treaty expired. Secretary General of the Socialist Party Saburo Eda announced a view in opposition to the united action on that day but was forced to withdraw his view in the face of the firm determination of the democratic forces to seek for the abrogation of the Security Treaty and a peaceful and neutral Japan. On June 23, the united action in the form of unified executive committee spread not only in Tokyo but throughout the country; 220,000 people rallied around the central meeting in Tokyo and 2 million people rallied around the united action in about 400 districts in 25 prefectures throughout the country and the other independent actions of the conscious democratic forces in districts and prefectures. It was an historic united action on the largest scale since the struggle against the Security Treaty ten years ago.

To these advances by the unity of the democratic forces, the anti-communist forces attempted at all sorts of new challenges. The Democratic Socialist Party announced an "opposition coalition" plan with the prerequisite of anti-communism following the defeat in the gubernatorial election of Kyoto and KOMEI-TO expressed its

attitude of aligning itself with the plan. It was clear that the plan intended to indirectly reinforce the Liberal Democratic politics by forming a new anti-communist coalition front in place of the bankruptcy of open anti-communist tripartite coalition with the Liberal Democratic Party and, in particular, to turn the Socialist Party to the right and to hinder the progressive united front.

Enjoying great concerns and expectations at home and abroad as a political force which would open a fresh perspective in the 1970's, the Party held the Eleventh Party Congress in the Tokyo Social-Education Hall (in Tachikawa City) and the Setagaya Ward Inhabitants' Hall for a week from July 1 to 7, 1970. The number of delegates was 947 and they consisted of workers-74.1%, peasants-6.0%, working citizens-5.5%, intellectuals-12.7% and others.

The Congress clearly indicated the course for Japan to march forward in the 1970's, based on the summarization of the struggles by the Party and the people in the 1960's.

The Congress reaffirmed that the Vietnam question had been extended by the U.S. imperialist intervention in Laos and aggression in Cambodia to the Indochina problem, "which is a focal point of international confrontation between the imperialist and anti-imperialist forces on a new scale", and, at the same time, brought to light the nature of the Nixon doctrine which kept pursuing "the defeat-in-detail policy with Asia as its main battlefield", in a new form such as the policy to demand that its allied and dependent countries should share more military and economic burdens, and "the rapprochement policy" with China and the Soviet Union. And while emphatically pointing out that the establishment and consolidation of the anti-imperialist international united front to oppose the U.S. imperialist aggression in Indochina and to support and assist the three peoples of Indochina remained to be "the most urgent international task for all the anti-imperialist, democratic forces", the Congress emphasized the importance for the international Communist movement and world anti-imperialist, democratic forces to firmly uphold the banner of defending the right of nations to self-determination in the struggle against the U.S. imperialist new strategy.

"A key to foil the deceptions which cover imperialism's interferences and interventions is to expose its hostility to and infringement upon the right of nations to self-determination. The establishment of the right of nations to self-determination, including the

right to free choice of a social system, is one of the world-historic tasks of our time. Needless to say, the class struggle and the revolutionary movement in each country are successful only on the premise of the principles of self-determinations of nations that a revolution in one country is the affair of its people, and, only in this way, the genuine internationalist solidarity of the working class and oppressed nations can be strengthened in their common cause for peace, social progress and national liberation". (Resolution of the Congress)

The Congress clarified that the Nixon doctrine and the U.S.-Japan joint communique in November 1969 based thereon were seeking for a new stage of the aggressive consolidation of the U.S.-Japan military alliance in subordination to the United States and the revival and consolidation of Japanese militarism under that alliance and that "U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism, which is being revived and strengthened as a subordinate ally with the former, are the common enemies of the Japanese and Asian peoples", calling upon the nation to take the way to peace and neutrality—to genuine independence to put an end to the U.S.-Japan military alliance—as the course for Japan in the 1970's around the Security Treaty question.

Analyzing the intensification of economic contradictions caused by the abnormal "high-rate growth" in subordination to the United States and the trend in the political front together with the Security Treaty-Okinawa question and, based on that analysis, the Congress pointed out that the 1970's was "an era of confrontation between the anti-communist, reactionary forces which aim at subordination to the United States and the revival of militarism and imperialism in that condition on the one hand, and the democratic forces which aim at a peaceful and neutral Japan on the other", that the confrontation between the Liberal Democratic Party and the Communist Party would be the centre of that confrontation, and that the conditions in the 1970's had such a perspective that the progressive united front could overthrow the Liberal Democratic Government and establish a democratic coalition government to put an end to the reactionary rule of the conservative parties which lasted for the postwar 25 years.

Based on the present situation that the Japanese democratic forces had great differences of opinion on the evaluation of independence and subordination of Japan but basically agreed on the

tasks of peace and neutrality, the Congress raised an orientation of the united front for peace, neutrality, democracy and better life, and proposed the following five tasks to be jointly carried out regarding the policies at home and abroad of a democratic coalition government to be established on the united front—(1) the abrogation of the Security Treaty and the complete return of Okinawa, (2) peace and neutralization of Japan, (3) opposition to a retrogressive revision of the Constitution and the establishment of democratic politics, (4) safeguarding of the people's life and implementation of an independent economic policy and (5) the democratic development of education and culture.

As regard to the attitude to the Diet of the Communist Party of Japan, the Congress once again made clear the attitude of "people's parliamentarism" which attached importance to genuinely democratic and progressive representative system and elucidated the Party's principled position of consistently defending the parliamentary system, freedom of speech, expression, the press, assembly and association including the existence of plural parties and freedom of their activities, giving a finishing blow to the manoeuvres of anti-communist forces, who had taken advantage of these questions. The Congress emphatically stressed that while making the universal law of the social development the guiding star in marching along the way to socialism, it was an indispensable task to make a "research for new possibilities to meet the conditions in an advanced capitalist country".

"A revolution in an advanced capitalist country has not yet been actually realized on this globe. Therefore, this is truly a new field of great human groping and practice. There will be a new complexity as well as a new possibility. It is an important duty of our Party to the people and truth to make every effort to search for the way of social transformation and socialist construction courageously and wisely with the least sacrifice on the basis of science of liberation of the people, liberation of the working class, respecting the democratic orientation of the people's majority." (Report of the Central Committee to the Congress)

The Party greeted the Eleventh Party Congress with the Party strength by about 10% increase in membership, by about 25% increase in daily AKAHATA circulation and by about 21% increase in Sunday AKAHATA circulation in comparison with the time of the Tenth Party Congress. Based on the results of the Party building

in the 1960's, the Congress affirmed that the Party faced a new historic stage at which the Party should develop itself into a political party that exerts an active influence on the real politics in Japan and, in order that the Party develops into the core corps of the Japanese democratic forces in name and reality and has a powerful political and organizational strength capable of really carrying out political reforms, it proposed to the entire Party the following four aims in Party building :—

(1) Literally to build a Party with a membership of several hundred thousands and organ circulation of several millions and with indomitable Party organizations in every stratum of the people and to establish living organic ties between the Party and tens of millions of the people.

(2) To have a Diet group with at least scores of Diet members and an assembly group in every local self-governing body and rapidly strengthen the Party's voice in politics both at national and local levels.

(3) To enhance the theoretical and political level of the entire Party so that every Party member can master the theory of scientific socialism and the Party line and leading bodies at all levels and branch organizations can play a leading role as the Party with regard to various political questions and in the mass movements.

(4) To establish a Party style based on genuine proletarian humanism and morally, too, win the confidence of the broad range of the people in the social and political life.

The Congress summarized deeply and fully the experiences of Party building for ten and several years since the Seventh Party Congress and drew out therefrom many lessons and guiding principles to pave the way to a new stage in the Party's development, such as the question of attaching importance to the Party's quantitative expansion and qualitative consolidation, the question of the historic significance and lesson of the Party strength expansion movement, the question of reasonable active leadership and conscious discipline, the question of the establishment of Party life, which properly shares tasks by taking the condition of each Party member into consideration and is not only militant but also modest and reasonable.

The Congress affirmed that the correctness of the position and viewpoint taken by the Party with regard to problems in the international Communist movement had been fully proved in the development of the situation and indicated, as the central tasks concerning

the international responsibility of the Communist Party of Japan, four points as follows:—

1. To develop the revolutionary movement in Japan to its maximum.

2. Continuously to strive for strengthening the international united front of the anti-imperialist, democratic forces against the aggression in Indochina.

3. To play a more active role for the overcoming of opportunism of both wings and big-powerist interferences linked with it, and for the realization of true class collaboration and unity of the international Communist movement.

4. To uphold the standards of relations with other Parties decided at the Tenth Party Congress, (a) to further develop solidarity with fraternal Parties who are in friendly relations with our Party, (b) even if they have serious differences of opinion from ours, to make every possible effort to normalize relations with other Parties on the basis of agreement on the struggle tasks against the common enemies, so far as they observe the standards of relations between fraternal Parties, and (c) to assume quite a strict attitude toward the interferences with our Party and the democratic movement in our country.

The Congress decided the revision of the Party Constitution including the changes in the Party's central mechanism. From the viewpoint of turning the Party into an organization easy of access for the broad masses and capable of being the people's warm blood and fresh, the Congress changed the name of the basic organization from cell to branch. The Congress elected 110 members and 46 alternate members of the Central Committee and 9 members of the Central Audit Commission. Sanzo Nosaka was elected Chairman of the Central Committee; Kenji Miyamoto Chairman of the Presidium, Satomi Hakamada and Masayoshi Oka Vice-Chairmen of the Presidium; and Tetsuzo Fuwa Chief of the Secretariat.

The Eleventh Party Congress was open to press people through almost all its sessions for the first time in the Party history and the Party's line and policy decided there aroused extensive response and sympathy among the people as what threw light upon the course of Japan in the 1970's.

Greeting the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of the Party, the Communist Party of Japan Sets out for a Fresh Rapid Advance

The situation at home and abroad and the people's struggle for two years since the Eleventh Party Congress has proved from every angle the correctness of the policy and perspective shown by the Communist Party of Japan to the people at the Eleventh Party Congress and made the role of the Communist Party of Japan ever greater in the real politics in Japan.

Firstly, in the two nationwide election campaigns—the simultaneous local elections throughout the country in April, 1971 and the House of Councillors elections in June, 1971—both of which were fought successively after the Party Congress, the Communist Party defeated ferocious anti-communist campaigns and further extended the people's support for it.

In the simultaneous local elections the Party increased by over 600 seats in local assemblies at one stroke and came to have over 2,300 local assemblymen all over the country. In particular, in the elections to the prefectural assemblies, the Party had 105 successful candidates, that is, three times of those of the pre-election time and came to occupy the second-ranking position among the opposition parties in the local politics, surpassing both parties of KOMEI-TO and the Democratic Socialist Party in its number of votes obtained and the number of seats. The number of CPJ local assemblymen steadily increased in the subsequent intermediate elections and eventually exceeded 2,500 in May, 1972.

In the House of Councillors elections, too, the Party had 6 successful candidates as compared with 3 seats in the contested constituencies. The Party was supported by about 4.88 million voters, exceeding the previous results by about 1.3 millions, in the local constituencies of the House of Councillors elections. In this election, it was only the Communist Party of Japan that advanced in all of the number of seats, the number of votes and the rate of polls. As the results, the Party established the CPJ Dietman group with ten

members and with the “right to negotiate” in the House of Councillors and the CPJ Dietman group consisting of altogether 24 members in both Houses.

The Party’s rapid advance in the election campaigns is a manifestation of the support given to the policy and activities of the Party, which squarely confronted the U.S.-Japanese ruling circles and the Liberal Democratic Party to defend the people’s interests and was a driving force for the political reform and progressive united front. Thus political weight of the Party became increasingly greater in the national politics as well as in the local politics.

Secondly, concerning the political question related to the future course of Japan and the question of the mass movements in various fields, further clarified was the leading role of the Communist Party of Japan as a vanguard Party of the working class—a genuine party of the nation and people.

In particular, important was the forerunning role played by the Party in the struggle against the U.S.-Japan Okinawa Agreement which became the biggest focal point of political confrontation from 1971 to 1972. The Liberal Democratic Party and the U.S.-Japanese ruling circles tried to win the support of the public opinion by stressing the significance of the “reversion of the administrative rights” over Okinawa and to isolate the Communist Party and others as the forces “opposing the reversion”. But the Party foiled the LDP’s scheme by contraposing to it an agreement for the complete reversion of Okinawa really aspired by the people and impeached the humiliating and aggressive contents of the U.S.-Japan Okinawa Agreement by precisely bringing the whole affairs of the U.S.-Japan secret negotiations to light in April, 1971, on the eve of the announcement of the Agreement. Furthermore, on the occasion of the signing of the U.S.-Japan Okinawa Agreement on June 17, though any other opposition parties than the Communist Party could not yet decide their definite attitude to the Agreement, the Communist Party of Japan issued a statement of the Presidium of the Central Committee on the same day of the announcement of the Agreement and put up clearly the banner against the U.S.-Japan Okinawa Agreement, calling on all the progressive forces and all the patriotic forces in Okinawa and the rest of Japan to rise up for the struggle in unity. Following it, the Fifth Plenum of the Central Committee held in July, 1971, advocated a joint struggle of all the forces who took the position of opposing the ratification of the Okinawa

Agreement, demanding the complete return of Okinawa and opposing the Security Treaty and widely proposed it to the Socialist Party, KOMEI-TO and every democratic organization.

It was quite clear that together with the investigating activity conducted by the CPJ Dietman group which profoundly clarified the actual state of the U.S. bases in Okinawa, the firm attitude taken by the Party was an important driving force in rallying broad public opinion to the side of criticism on and opposition to the U.S.-Japan Okinawa Agreement against the LDP's intention and in realizing the united action linking Okinawa with the mainland of Japan for the so-called Okinawa Diet in autumn.

After the Party won the CPJ Dietmembers' right to travel to Okinawa in April, 1970, the Party actively contributed to the struggle on the spot of Okinawa in cooperation with the Okinawa People's Party. The Party made efforts for the victory of the Okinawa People's Party and the progressive united forces in the elections for participation in national administration in November, 1970. In combination with these activities, the Party held for the first time in Okinawa the "People's University" based on scientific socialism under the joint auspices with the People's Party in August, 1971, promoted the activity in September to establish the system to deliver Daily AKAHATA on the same day as in the mainland and inaugurated the Preparatory Prefectural Committee of Okinawa of the Communist Party of Japan on the occasion of the reversion of the "administrative rights" in May, 1972 to take the first step for Party building in Okinawa.

Thirdly, the development of the political situation for these two years proved that the progressive united front advocated by the Communist Party of Japan was indeed the only broad way for the political reform in Japan.

While making efforts for the establishment of the local united front in the field of local politics, the Party advocated the three political standards for the united front to change the national politics in January 1971 — (1) To break with the U.S.-Japan military alliance and work for a neutral Japan, (2) To break down the administration in the interests of big business and carry out administration that will safeguard the people's lives and living, (3) To oppose the full revival and consolidation of militarism and aim at the establishment of democratic steering of the Diet and democracy — and proposed that all political parties, organizations and individuals who could agree

upon these three points should rally themselves to the united front.

The Democratic Socialist Party and KOMEI-TO confronted the proposal with their plan for anti-communist “reorganization of opposition parties” and the Socialist Party took a very vacillating attitude between the two oppositions—the progressive united front or the anti-communist opposition front.

But it has been already proved by real politics that the progressive united front is the really progressive current which will be able to carry out the cause of political reform in the 1970's by organizing the expectation and support from most of the people. At the beginning the Socialist Party took the attitude toward the gubernatorial election in Tokyo of dissolving the “Association for a Clean Progressive Metropolitan Administration” — progressive united front organization, which continued its activity since 1967, in order to cooperate with both parties of KOMEI-TO and the Democratic Socialist Party, but later it withdrew the line in the face of the criticism of the Communist Party and the united front supporting forces. And the progressive united front has been established in many regions including 16 prefectures since 1970 and won victories in elections for heads of such local self-governing bodies as Kawasaki, Tachikawa, Kamakura and other regions beginning with the five gubernatorial elections in Kyoto, Tokyo, Osaka, Okinawa and Saitama. At present, progressive united heads with the Communist Party as their government party take the reins of local self-governing administration in many regions with a population of over 30 millions.

At the level of national politics, the Socialist Party preferred the joint struggle with the Democratic Socialist Party and KOMEI-TO which aim at an anti-communist front to the united front with the Communist Party and in the struggle on Okinawa, too, the Socialist Party took from the beginning of the struggle the dual tactics of the “JSP-KOMEI-DSP joint struggle” in the Diet and the “JSP-CPJ joint struggle” outside the Diet. Here lies one of the important reasons why the united action of the democratic forces in the Okinawa struggle, for all its mass upheaval, could not get out of the framework of a pile of “one day joint struggles”. But this struggle clearly brought the unprogressive character of the “JSP-KOMEI-DSP joint struggle” to light before the people.

What became ever clearer through the two election campaigns and the Okinawa struggle was the historic importance of the

progressive united front for the cause of political reform in Japan and further the literally decisive significance of the rapid advance of the Communist Party of Japan, which is a consistent driving force for the progressive united front, for the realization of an advance to the progressive united front by overcoming various obstacles such as obstructions by anti-communist parties and groups as well as the negative tendency within the Socialist Party.

Fourthly, with regard to the foreign policy of the Communist Party of Japan, too, its correctness has been proved in the complicated development of the international situation and its importance in the politics at home and abroad is becoming greater.

The visit to four countries and talks conducted in 1971 by the Party's delegation headed by Chairman of the Presidium K. Miyamoto proved that the opinion maintained by the Communist Party of Japan on the following matters had already become a common viewpoint upon which many Communist and Workers' Parties could unanimously agree: the position of the Vietnam question as the focal point of international confrontation at present and as the prime task of international solidarity, the importance of the international united front to support and assist Vietnam and necessity to search for an effective form of an international conference at the anti-imperialist democratic forces' level. In February, 1972, the "World Assembly for Peace and Independence of the Peoples of Indochina" was held at Versailles in Paris and achieved epoch-making success with the participation of representatives from 84 countries in the world beginning with those from three countries in Indochina. Though it was not a perfect one, it was a fruit borne by the Communist Party of Japan's efforts for years with a view to holding an anti-imperialist international conference of the five continents.

One of the important events in the international situation was R. Nixon's visits to China and the Soviet Union in 1972, which U.S. imperialism conducted with the intention to produce conditions for boldly carrying on the war of aggression in Vietnam without worrying about its relations with China and the Soviet Union. In connection with this, new-fashioned beautification of U.S. imperialism, which embellishes the aggressor as a promoter of "peace", gained strength at home and abroad even among the anti-imperialist democratic forces. Immediately after the announcement of Nixon's plan to visit China in July 1971, the Party issued a number of verbal statements and articles to bring Nixon's wicked intention to

light and to assert that the anti-imperialist democratic forces at home and abroad should decisively strengthen the struggle to support and assist the Vietnamese people by overcoming all shades of beautification and acquittal of Nixon. In the situation where all other opposition parties than the Communist Party welcomed Nixon's visit to China and the Soviet Union as a step toward "relaxation of tension", the correctness of the assessment and prediction given by the Communist Party of Japan who impeached Nixon was at once proved by the U.S. imperialist ferocious escalation of aggression.

It has also become ever clearer in two years after the Eleventh Party Congress that the self-reliant and independent attitude of the Communist Party of Japan has very important significance for the whole of Japanese politics. Taking advantage of the growing trend of the restoration of diplomatic relations between Japan and China as a means for their intervention, the interventionists of the Communist Party of China more openly revealed their true colour as a great-powerist interventionist, who intended to force their scheme upon the Japanese people and democratic movements, not only by supporting the anti-party blind follower elements' subversive activities against the Party, but also by embarking on the formation of a political front against the Communist Party of Japan, using even anti-communist social democrats, anti-communist middle-of-the-road parties and even a part of the Liberal Democratic Party, and by applying pressure even to the press to curb any criticism on their home and foreign policies. The incident of the "RENGO SEKIGUN" (United Red Army) corroborated what would be brought into Japan by the interventionists' intrusion of the armed struggle line of "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun". The Party sharply criticized "social-colonialist" ambition, which underlies these interventions by the Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai group to rule over other parties and other nations and clarified that such a resolute attitude as not to allow any great-powerist intervention was necessary for the Japanese people to pave the way for the future by their own strength.

With regard to the restoration of diplomatic relations between Japan and China, the Communist Party of Japan was the only party that definitely opposed the LDP Government's reactionary policy for China and, at the same time, showed the broad way for the restoration of diplomatic relations between Japan and China with the prerequisites of self-reliance, equality and noninterference in each other's internal affairs of the Japanese and Chinese peoples.

Fifthly, with regard to Party building, the Party has won a great advance in these two years toward a rapid advance in the 1970's.

As the results of the entire Party's efforts in the great movement for Party building with three tasks in the second half of 1970, the movement for the intensive expansion of Party strength in the second half of 1971 and the grand movement for a rapid advance of the Party in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Party's founding after May, 1972, the Party greeted the commemorative day of the fiftieth anniversary of the Party's founding with the biggest organizational strength in the Party history (membership—about 300,000, the circulation of daily *AKAHATA*—five hundred and scores thousands, the circulation of Sunday *AKAHATA*—about 1.9 millions) which far exceeded the level at the time of the Eleventh Party Congress.

In the field of the ideological and educational activity, the Party particularly attached importance to the movement that every Party member reads through the decision of the Congress and the Central Committee. Epoch-making results were obtained that in the movement with three tasks after the Congress 75% of Party members read through the Congress decision and that in the study and education movement in summer of 1971 85% of Party members read through the decision of the Fifth Plenum of the Central Committee.

What particular importance should be attached to is that in this period the Party won another development of the organizing policy for building a mass vanguard party — a party of the Leninist type — in the Japanese condition at the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee held in December, 1971, and that the Party took a great stride to improve its organizing activity and to establish the Party's lawful activity system on the basis of activities of the branch. The great results in the grand movement for the rapid advance of the Party were achieved based on this foundation and, in this sense, it has a great significance in preparation for a "new historical rapid advance of the Party" (Decision of the Eleventh Party Congress) in the 1970's.

In the midst of such a political, theoretical and organizational advance, the Communist Party of Japan greeted the commemorative day of the fiftieth anniversary of the Party's founding — July 15, 1972, and the decision of the Sixth Plenum of the Central Com-

mitee held in December, 1971, states on the historic significance of the fiftieth anniversary of the Party's founding as follows:—

“For these fifty years since its founding, the Communist Party of Japan has devoted to the liberation struggle of the Japanese working class and people with the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism—scientific socialism—as its theoretical basis. It is a brilliant revolutionary tradition characterizing the activity of the Communist Party of Japan for half a century to have defended the banner of peace and freedom, the banner of national independence and international solidarity, against every war of aggression and national oppression, to have fought for realization of the true democratic policies under the sovereignty resting with the people without being afraid of sacrifice and persecution even under the despotic rule of the Tenno system and to have continued its indomitable struggle to safeguard the fundamental interests of the working people beginning with the workers and peasants and to liberate the Japanese people from every exploitation and oppression even under whatever difficult conditions. Among the political parties in Japan, there is no other party than the Communist Party of Japan that can thus take pride in its consistent history before the Japanese people.”

As the fruits of its indomitable activity covering half a century, the Communist Party of Japan has at present about 300,000 Party members, about 2.5 million copies of the organ circulation and nearly 5 million Party supporters, and grown a party which plays an important role in the Japanese people's struggle as well as in the real politics. Internationally, too, the Party has developed into one of the most influential parties among the Communist Parties in capitalist countries. These are, however, only an elementary result, in the light of the Party's historic tasks to accomplish the anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly democratic revolution to construct an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral Japan and successively to seek for the liberation of the Japanese people from every exploitation and poverty, that is, the realization of a socialist and Communist society.

On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Party's founding, it is the responsibility of the Communist Party of Japan for history and the future course of the Japanese people to profoundly learn from the historic lessons, to succeed to and develop the Party's revolutionary tradition, to uphold the line of the Party Programme tested in historic ordeals, to win another rapid development of the

Party on the basis of the results achieved through the struggles of half a century and to make efforts with might and main for the realization of a new course of Japan within the 1970's.

(Special Issue of AKAHATA, July 18, 1972)

LIST OF JAPANESE WORDS AND ABBREVIATIONS

1. Parties and Organizations

A (Prewar)

GAKUGEI JIYU YOGO DOMEI, Union for Defence of Freedom of Art and Science

GAKUSEI RENGOKAI (GAKUREN), Federation of Students

GAKUSEI SHAKAIKAGAKU RENGOKAI (GAKUREN), Students' Social Science Federation

HANTEI DOMEI, Anti-Imperialist League

HYOGIKAI ㊦ NIHON RODO KUMIAI HYOGIKAI

KAIHO UNDO GISEISHA KYUENKAI, League for the Relief of Victims in the Liberation Movement

KENSEI-HONTO

KENSEI-KAI

KENSEI-TO (later, SEIYU-KAI)

KOP ㊦ NIHON PURORRETARIA BUNKA RENMEI

KYOKUTO HEIWA TOMO NO KAI, Far East Friends of Peace Society

KYOSAN SEINEN DOMEI ㊦ NIHON KYOSAN SEINEN DOMEI

MINSEI-TO

MINSHU-TO ㊦ SHAKAI MINSHU-TO

NAP ㊦ ZEN-NIHON MUSANSHA GEIJUTSU DANTAI KYOGIKAI or ZEN-NIHON MUSANSHA GEIJUTSU RENMEI

NICHINO ㊦ NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI

NICHIRO-TO ㊦ NIHON RONO-TO

NIHON-JIN HANSEN DOMEI, Japanese Anti-War League

NIHON-JINMIN KAIHO RENMEI, Japanese People Liberation League

NIHON KYOSAN SEINEN DOMEI (KYOSAN SEINEN DOMEI), Japan Young Communist League

NIHON KYOSAN-TO, Communist Party of Japan

NIHON MUSAN-TO, Japan Proletarian Party

NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (NICHINO), Japan Peasants' Union

NIHON NOMIN-TO, Japan Peasants' Party

NIHON PURORRETARIA BUNKA RENMEI, Japan Proletarian Cultural League (KOP)

- NIHON RODO KUMIAI HYOGIKAI (HYOGIKAI), Japan Trade Union Council
- NIHON RODO KUMIAI DOMEI, Japan Trade Union League
- NIHON RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU HYOGIKAI, National Council of Japanese Trade Unions
- NIHON RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU KYOGIKAI (ZENKYO), Japan National Council of Trade Unions
- NIHON RODO SODOMEI (RODO SODOMEI or SODOMEI), Japan General Confederation of Labour
- NIHON RON-TO (NICHIRO-TO), Japan Workers' and Peasants' Party
- NIHON SHAKAISHUGI DOMEI, Socialist League of Japan
- NIHON SHAKAI-TO, Japan Socialist Party
- NIHON SHOHIKUMIAI RENMEI, Japan Consumers' Cooperatives Association
- NOMIN-RODO-TO, Peasants' and Workers' Party
- PURORETARIA KAGAKU KENKYUSHO (PUROKA), Proletarian Sciences Research Institute
- RODO KUMIAI KISEIKAI, Association for the Realization of Trade Union
- RODO KUMIAI SORENGO, General Confederation of Trade Unions
- RODO-NOMIN-TO (RONO-TO), Workers' and Peasants' Party
- RODOSHA-HA, Workers' Faction of the Communist Party of Japan
- RODOSHA-NOMIN-TO, Workers'-Peasants' Party
- RODO SODOMEI ㄣ NIHON RODO SODOMEI
- RONO-HA, Workers' and Peasants' faction
- RONO KYUENKAI, Worker-Peasant Relief Society
- RONO MUSAN KYOGIKAI, Worker-Farmer Propertyless Council
- RONO TAISHU-TO
- RONO-TO ㄣ RODO-NOMIN-TO
- SANGYO-HOKOKU-KAI, Association for Service to the State with Industry
- SANGYO RODO CHOSASHO, Industry and Labour Research Institute
- SEIJITEKI JIYU KAKUTOKU RONO DOMEI, Workers'-Peasants' League for the Acquisition of Political Freedom
- SEIYU-KAI ㄣ KENSEI-TO
- SEIYU-HONTO
- SEKIRAN-KAI, Red Surging Society
- SENKI-SHA, SENKI Publishing House
- SENSO HANTAI DOMEI, Anti-War League

- SHAKAI-MINSHU-TO, Social-Democratic Party
 SHAKAI MINSHU-TO, Social Public Party
 SHAKAISHUGI KENKYUKAI, Society for the Study of Socialism
 SHAKAISHUGI KYOKAI, Association for Socialism
 SHAKAI TAISHU-TO, Socialist Mass Party
 SHIN FUJIN-KYOKAI, New Women Society
 SHINKO KYOIKU KENKYUSHO, New-Emerging Education Research
 Institute
 SODOMEI ㊦ NIHON RODO SODOMEI
 SODOMEI KAKUSHIN DOMEI, League for Renovation of the General
 Confederation of Labour
 SOHYOGIKAI, General Council
 SUIHEI-SHA ㊦ ZENKOKU SUIHEI-SHA
 TAIRO HIKANSHO DOSHIKAI, League of Comrades for Noninter-
 vention in Russia
 TAISEI-YOKUSAN-KAI, Imperial Rule Assistance Association
 TAISHI HIKANSHO DOMEI, League for Nonintervention in China
 TAISHU-TO ㊦ SHAKAI TAISHU-TO
 TASU-HA, Majority Group
 TOITSU-KAIGI, United Conference
 YUAI-KAI, Friendship Society
 YUIBUTSURON KENKYUKAI, Materialism Study Society
 ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI (ZENNO), National Peasants' Union
 ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI ZENKOKUKAIGI-HA, National Congress
 Group of the National Peasants' Union
 ZENKOKU RODO KUMIAI DOMEI (ZENRO), National Federation of
 Trade Unions
 ZENKOKU RONO TAISHU-TO, National Worker-Farmer Mass Party
 ZENKOKU SUIHEI-SHA (SUIHEI-SHA), National Levelling League
 ZENKYO ㊦ NIHON RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU KYOGIKAI
 ZENKYO SASSHIN DOMEI, League for Renovation of ZENKYO
 ZEN-NIHON MUSAN SEINEN DOMEI, All-Japan Proletarian Youth
 League
 ZEN-NIHON MUSANSHA GEIJUTSU DANTAI KYOGIKAI, All-Japan
 Council of Proletarian Arts Organizations (NAP)
 ZEN-NIHON MUSANSHA GEIJUTSU RENMEI, All-Japan Proletarian
 Arts League (NAP)
 ZEN-NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI, All-Japan Peasants' Union
 ZENNO ㊦ ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI
 ZENNO ZENKOKU KAIGI, ZENNO National Congress

B (Postwar)

- BUNDANREN, Liaison Council of Cultural Organizations
 CHURITSU-ROREN, Liaison Council of Independent Unions
 DENSAN, Japan Electric Industry Workers' Union
 DOMEI ㄟ DOMEI-KAIGI
 DOMEI-KAIGI (DOMEI), Japanese Confederation of Labour
 GENSUIKYO, Japan Council against A and H Bombs
 HANKYO RENMEI, Anti-communist League
 HEIMIN GAKUREN, National Students' Liaison Council against the
 Security Treaty and in Defence of Peace and Democracy
 JIMIN-TO ㄟ JIYU-MINSHU-TO
 JIYU-MINSHU-TO (JIMIN-TO), Liberal Democratic Party
 JIYU-TO ㄟ NIHON JIYU-TO
 KAISHIN-TO, Progressive Party
 KOKUMIN KYODO-TO, National Cooperative Party
 KOKUTETSU, National Railway Workers' Union
 KOMEI-TO
 KYODO-MINSHU-TO, Cooperative Democratic Party
 MINDO ㄟ MINSHUKA DOMEI
 MINJI-TO ㄟ MINSHU-JIYU-TO
 MINSHA-TO ㄟ MINSHU SHAKAI-TO
 MINSHU-JIYU-TO (MINJI-TO), Democratic Liberal Party; the Liberal
 Party absorbed a part of the Democratic Party and changed its name
 MINSHUKA DOMEI (MINDO), Democratization League
 MINSHU SHAKAI-TO (MINSHA-TO), Democratic Socialist Party
 MINSHUSHUGI KAGAKUSHA KYOKAI, Democratic Scientists' Society
 MINSHUSHUGI YOGO DOMEI, League for the Defence of Democracy
 MINSHU-TO, Democratic Party; formerly SHINPO-TO, Progressive
 Party
 NICHINO ㄟ NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI
 NIHON JIYU-TO (JIYU-TO), Japan Liberal Party; antecedent of
 JIYU-MINSHU-TO
 NIHON MINSHU SEINENDAN, Japan Democratic Youth Organization
 NIHON MINSHU SEINEN DOMEI, Democratic Youth League of Japan
 NIHON MINSHUSHUGI BUNKA RENMEI, Japan Democratic Cultural
 Association
 NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (NICHINO), Japan Peasants' Union
 NIHON RODO KUMIAI SODOMEI (SODOMEI), Japan Federation of
 Labour Unions

NIHON SHAKAI-TO (SHAKAI-TO), Japan Socialist Party
 NIHON SHINPO-TO (SHINPO-TO), Japan Progressive Party
 RENGO SEKIGUN, United Red Army
 RONO-TO, Workers' and Peasants' Party, formerly the Orthodox
 Diet-Member Group of the Socialist Party
 SANBETSU ㄟ ZEN-NIHON SANGYOBETSU RODO KUMIAI KAIGI
 SANBETSU-KAIGI ㄟ ZEN-NIHON SANGYOBETSU RODO KUMIAI KAIGI
 SEINEN KYOSAN DOMEI, Communist Youth League
 SHAKAI-TO ㄟ NIHON SHAKAI-TO
 SHIDEHARA-NAIKAKU DATO KYODO-IINKAI, Joint Committee to
 Overthrow the Shidehara Cabinet
 SHIN-NIHON BUNGAKE-KAI, New Japan Literature Society
 SHIN-NIHON FUJIN-NO-KAI, New Japan Women's Association
 SHINPO-TO ㄟ NIHON SHINPO-TO
 SHITETSU-SOREN, Confederation of Private Railway Workers' Unions
 SODOMEI ㄟ NIHON RODO KUMIAI SODOMEI
 SOHYO, General Council of Trade Unions of Japan
 SOKA GAKKAI
 TANRO, Japan Coal Miners' Union
 TOKAKU JIKKO-IINKAI, Cabinet Overthrowing Executive Committee
 ZENGAKUREN ㄟ ZEN-NIHON GAKUSEIJICHIKAI SORENGO
 ZENKANKOCHO-KYOTO, Joint Struggle Committee of All-Japan
 Government and Public Workers' Unions
 ZENKOKU RODO KUMIAI KYODOTOSO-IINKAI (ZENTO), National
 Trade-Union Joint-Struggle Committee
 ZENKOKU RODO KUMIAI RENRAKU KYOGIKAI (ZENROREN), Liaison
 Council of All Trade Unions of Japan
 ZENKOKU TOITSU IINKAI, National Unity Committee
 ZENKOKU TOITSU KAIGI, National Unity Congress
 ZENMEN-KOWA AIKOKU-UNDO KYOGIKAI, Patriotic Movement
 Council for All-Round Peace
 ZEN-NICHINO, Liaison Council of Japan Farmers' Unions
 ZEN-NIHON GAKUSEIJICHIKAI SORENGO (ZENGAKUREN), National
 Federation of Students' Self-Government Associations
 ZEN-NIHON SANGYOBETSU RODO KUMIAI KAIGI (SANBETSU-KAIGI
 or SANBETSU), Congress of Industrial Unions of Japan
 ZENRO-KAIGI, Japan Labour Union Congress
 ZENROREN ㄟ ZENKOKU RODO KUMIAI RENRAKU KYOGIKAI
 ZENTEI, Japan Postal Workers' Union
 ZENTO ㄟ ZENKOKU RODO KUMIAI KYODOTOSO-IINKAI
 ZEN-ZOSEN, National Shipbuilding Workers' Union

2. Periodicals

A (Prewar)

DAINI MUSANSHA SHIMBUN, Second Proletarian Paper

HEIMIN SHIMBUN, Commoners' News

HEISHI NO TOMO, Friend of Soldiers

KAIKYUSEN, Class Struggle

MARUKUSUSHUGI, Marxism

MUSANSHA SHIMBUN, Proletarian Paper

NOMIN UNDO, Peasants' Movement

RODO SHIMBUN, Labour News

RONO, Workers and Peasants

SEKAI BUNKA, World Culture

SEKKI, Red Flag; illegal central organ of the Communist Party of Japan

SEKKI, Red Flag; later renamed KAIKYUSEN — Class Struggle; propaganda and theoretical organ periodical

SENKI, Fighting Flag

SHAKAISHUGI KENKYU, Study of Socialism

SOBIYURU MASUTO, Rising Mast

ZEN'EI, Vanguard

B (Postwar)

AKAHATA, Red Flag, called SEKKI in prewar days; central organ of CC CPJ

DANKETSU TO ZENSHIN, Unity and Advance

SHAKAI-SHINPO, Socialist News