The author of this article is head of the United Front Department of the Communist Party of Japan. The article was written in response to a request by the editors of ALR for material on the policy of the Communist Party of Japan in the struggle for the return of Okinawa and against the US-Japan Security Treaty. Written prior to the Sato-Nixon negotiations, the article correctly predicted the outcome.

THE PROGRAM of the Communist Party of Japan defines the present situation in Japan as follows:

Those who basically rule Japan today are US imperialism and its subordinate ally, Japanese monopoly capital. Though a highly developed capitalist country, Japan is now a virtually dependent country, semi-occupied by US imperialism.

In accordance with its strategy of containment of the Soviet Union, the United States built a network of military bases all over the world and sought to subordinate the countries they were situated in to its rule. As the Chinese and Korean Revolutions developed, the United States began to view Japan as the main stronghold for its aggression in Asia. They began to take measures contrary to the Potsdam Proclamation which declared

The occupying forces of the Allies shall be withdrawn from Japan as soon as these objectives have been accomplished and there has been established in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people a peacefully inclined and responsible government.

The US sought to consolidate Japan as its major stronghold in Asia by means of the San Francisco “Peace” Treaty and the US-Japan Security Treaty in 1951. At first glance, the “Peace” Treaty appeared to put an end to the United States’ occupation of Japan. In reality, however, the United States maintained direct military occupation of Okinawa which is Japan’s territory and one of Japan’s prefectures. Even today 970,000 people of Okinawa Prefecture lead a humiliating life under the occupation rule of US armed forces. The Treaty also paved the way for Japan to rearm and to join a military alliance and enabled the US to station armed forces in Japan proper. The US-Japan Security Treaty which was concluded simultaneously with the “Peace” Treaty stipulated that Japan has an obligation to offer the United States unlimited military bases and thus the United States kept in its
hands almost all the military privileges it had at the time of its full occupation of Japan. Not only can the United States set up bases in Japan wherever it wishes, but there is no restriction on the use to which the bases can be put. Such a treaty is quite unparalleled in the world.

Simultaneously with opening its aggressive war in Korea, the United States started reconstruction of the Japanese armed forces and later organised full scale land, sea and air forces — the Self-Defence Forces — under the command and direction of the US armed forces stationed in Japan. By the "US-Japan Mutual Defence Aid Agreement" concluded in 1954, this became Japan's "obligation".

In 1960 the US-Japanese ruling circles revised this US-Japan Security Treaty. The provisions concerning military bases remained intact, but in addition the Treaty imposed on Japan an obligation to reinforce her rebuilt armed forces and to carry out joint operations with US armed forces. This was in accord with a new stage of revival and strengthening of Japanese militarism. It also stipulated US-Japan economic co-operation.

The extent of US military bases in Japan as at March 1969 is as follows: Japan Proper, 148 (Air Force 47, Navy 47 including 2 for Marine Corps, Army 53); Okinawa Prefecture, 120 (Air Force 22, Navy 13, Marine Corps 17, Army 68).

The US armed forces in these bases (as of January 1968) are as follows: In Japan: Officers and men of Air Force 18,300, Ground Forces 8,000, Navy 8,000, Marine Corps 2,900 and military civilians 2,650 — Total 39,850, plus families 47,000. In Okinawa: Air Force 12,000, Ground Forces 14,000, Navy 2,000, Marine Corps 20,000 — Total 48,000.

Although Japan is a highly developed monopoly country, she does not possess colonies, nor have military bases in any other country but on the contrary she is subjected to repression by another nation. It is also a fact that Japanese monopoly capital is following the road of imperialist and militarist revival. This imposes on the Japanese people the task of fighting against the two enemies, US imperialism and traitorous and reactionary Japanese monopoly capital, to build a new Japan — independent, democratic, peaceful and prosperous.

The Japanese Communist Party assesses the position as follows: 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 US imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital who bar this road and that attains genuine independence and a far-reaching democratic transformation of politics, economy and society.
For a half-century Japanese imperialism inflicted immeasurable damage upon the Japanese and Asian peoples by its ferocious aggressive wars, such as wars of aggression in China and its escalation of the Pacific War in 1941. The Communist Party of Japan fought against the military and police rule of the absolutist Tenno system and took the lead in the struggle against the war of aggression to win a democratic transformation. Although the Party was banned, and Party members and supporters were liable to severe punishment including the death sentence, the Party together with progressive workers, peasants, and intellectuals fought on. A large number of Communist Party leaders were put in jail and not a few Communists lost their lives in the struggle. On the other hand, many social democrats avoided the struggle, supported the aggressive wars and capitulated to the rulers.

After the war, the Communist Party of Japan was, for the first time, able to operate openly and it took the lead in the movement for building this new Japan. It rebuilt trade unions, peasant organisations, youth, women and student organisations, and rapidly developed the Japanese people's huge and organised democratic movement. The Industrial Trade Union Congress (JCIU), largest in Japan, came into being under the leadership of the CPJ and with it as a mainstay the Japan National Trade Union Liaison Council which was affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions, was formed (membership 5,837,000). The Communist Party gained 3 million votes and 35 seats in the 1949 general elections to the House of Representatives. These advances by the Communist Party of Japan and the Japanese people were encouraged by the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (1948), the establishment of the People's Republic of China (1949) and the huge advance of the Asian nations' struggles for national independence.

Faced with the historical advance of the anti-imperialist forces in Japan as well as in Asia, US imperialism launched the war of aggression in Korea and hastened to conclude the San Francisco "Peace" Treaty and the US-Japan Security Treaty, with the reactionary forces of Japanese monopoly.

They saw the Communist Party and the Japanese peoples' democratic movement as their main opponents and, in June 1954, just before the war of aggression in Korea the Occupation Authorities banned all activity by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, removed Communist Diet members from their public offices, and suspended publication of the Party's central organ Akahata. Zenroren was dissolved and over 10,000 Party members and supporters were sacked from industry. Many activists were arrested and imprisoned and the Party was forced to carry
out underground activity. Faced with this serious oppression, vacillation again took place among social-democrats and some of them accepted the unlawful oppression of the trade union movement, supported the war of aggression in Korea and destroyed the unity of the labor front by forming the Japan General Council of Trade Unions (SOHYO).

In spite of numerous difficulties and obstacles, the Japanese people's struggle for independence and peace made progress. Many trade unions played a positive role in this struggle, and SOHYO revised its original line of open support for the aggressive war and anti-Communism. The struggle for removal of the US military bases in Japan and against rearmament, the movement for the complete ban on nuclear weapons, etc., united people irrespective of differences in their ideology, creed and political position.

Taking advantage of the San Francisco Peace Treaty which extended the sovereignty of the Japanese Government, the Communist Party of Japan increased its open activity, reissued its organ *Akahata* making it a daily paper, and in 1955 Party leaders again appeared before the Japanese people.

Thus, in 1960 when the US-Japanese ruling circles tried to revise the US-Japan Security Treaty, they encountered an unprecedented opposition movement by the Japanese people. The struggle against the Security Treaty developed continuously for 18 months from 1959 to the summer of 1960, assuming diverse forms such as strikes, demonstrations, meetings, signature campaigns and petitions. This wide range of activities was possible because for the first time in Japan's history the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the trade unions, peace and democratic organisations formed a united front to develop their struggle. In Tokyo, in prefectures all over the country, and in cities, towns and villages, joint bodies of action of both the Communist and Socialist Parties, trade unions and peace and democratic organisations were established. Thus wide strata of the Japanese people were united in opposition to the Security Treaty irrespective of differences in their ideology, creed and political position. The development of the people's united action unheard of in Japanese history led to the resignation of the Kishi Cabinet which had forced through the Diet the ratification of the revised Security Treaty in defiance of the people's wish.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower was compelled to abandon his visit planned to encourage the Japanese Government. This was one of the great failures in US diplomatic history.

The 1960 struggle against the Security Treaty delivered a big blow to the US-Japan military alliance and strengthened the pos-
sibility of abrogating the Treaty. But the US-Japanese ruling circles worked out a new policy, aimed at destroying the united front. They worked on leaders of the people's forces (except the Communist Party), particularly of the Japanese Socialist Party and SOHYO to win them away from the united front. Edwin Reischauer, US Ambassador to Japan, became a promoter of this new policy. He called the Communist Party of Japan "classical Marxists", regarding it as the "real enemy".

Anti-communism is deep-rooted among leaders of the Japanese Socialist Party and SOHYO and this was extensively utilised. This new policy had some effect and led to a falling-off in joint struggles against the Security Treaty. However the Communist Party of Japan and progressive workers firmly relied upon the Japanese people's earnest demand for independence, peace and democracy, and on the experience of their struggle to oppose the "port-call" in Japan of US nuclear-powered submarines, introduction into Japan of nuclear weapons, conversion of Japan into a nuclear base, nuclearisation of Japan, the Japan-"ROK" Treaty, the United States' aggression in Vietnam, and the Japanese Government's co-operation in and support for it.

In particular, since Japan has become a stronghold for the United States' aggression in Vietnam and since the US military bases in Japan, especially in Okinawa have become lift-off bases for the US air force, the struggle of the Japanese democratic forces against the aggression in Vietnam is an internationalist duty of the Japanese people. On the initiative of the CPJ a campaign was started to raise funds to support and assist the Vietnamese people by donating one day's wages and in about five months over 140 million yen ($US386,000) were collected which enabled us to ship aid goods to Hanoi in 1968. Advanced trade unions frequently fight, by means of boycott and strike, against transportation of munitions to US forces for their aggression in Vietnam.

Women's and peace organisations often appeal to US soldiers in English "Don't point guns at the Vietnamese people", "Stop the unjust war of aggression in Vietnam". Christians also take part in this appeal campaign. Intellectuals held the Tokyo trial to pass judgement on the United States' aggression and crimes in Vietnam and extensively expose those concrete facts at home and abroad. The struggle against the aggression in Vietnam and against the use of Japan for this purpose — such as the disposition of B52 bombers in Okinawa, and the establishment of a US forces field hospital in Tokyo — spread all over Japan. Thanks to such a background, SOHYO and other influential trade unions in Japan were able to carry out a simultaneous strike against the aggression in Vietnam.
In 1967, a municipal election was held in Tokyo (population, 11 million) where one tenth of the total population of Japan lives. The Communist Party of Japan together with the Socialist Party put forward a joint candidate in opposition to the candidate jointly recommended by the Government party (the Liberal Democratic Party) and the right wing social democratic party (the Democratic Socialist Party) and the united struggle resulting from agreement on policy and organisation led to victory. Subsequently, in 1968, three elections were held in Okinawa under the US occupation — the election of Chief Executive of the RYUKYU Government, the election of the Legislature and the election of mayor of Nawa City, the seat of the Government.

Having learned from the municipal election in Tokyo, the democratic forces for return to the fatherland again waged a joint struggle and defeated the Liberal Democratic Party which was supported by both the US and Japanese Governments. The elections in Tokyo and Okinawa demonstrated that unity is indeed strength and that the US and Japanese reactionary forces cannot resist this strength of unity.

STRUGGLES FOR 1970

In June 1970, the "fixed term" of the US-Japan Security Treaty will be over, as indicated in Article 10:

... after the Treaty has been in force for ten years, either party may give notice to the other party of its intention to terminate the Treaty, in which case the Treaty shall terminate one year after such notice has been given.

This means that from June 1970 on, Japan's present offer of military bases to the United States, the joint operations system of both the US and Japanese armed forces and the US-Japan military alliance are not assured of their continued existence. If a political crisis is brought about a collapse of the whole system may take place.

Continuation or abolition of the US-Japan Security Treaty, which is the root source of the Japanese people's sufferings, constantly influences the character and policy of the Japanese Government directly. If the Japanese people reproduce the great united front which they demonstrated in the 1960 struggle against the Security Treaty, and in the elections in Tokyo and Okinawa, to overthrow the Liberal Democratic Government and to establish a democratic government, then a realistic and very concrete prospect will be opened to pave a way to abrogate the US-Japan Security Treaty and to turn Japan's course in a new direction.

The US-Japanese ruling circles are already taking steps to avoid this situation. Fearing to revise the US-Japan Security Treaty
again and to extend the “fixed term” of the Treaty, they have decided to automatically extend the Treaty as it is. And taking advantage of the Japanese people’s demand for the return of Okinawa they are trying to conclude, through secret negotiations the “guarantee for free lift-off of US armed forces from Japan including Okinawa after its reversion.” That is, behind the words of the “reversion of the administrative rights in Okinawa” they are devising a cunning scheme to virtually revise the US-Japan Security Treaty by guaranteeing the US armed forces in Japan proper the same freedom of action which the US armed forces in Okinawa have exercised under the US administrative right.

Needless to say this is closely related to open introduction of nuclear weapons into Japan, and conversion of Japan into a nuclear and aggressive base. In other words it is intended to virtually Okinawanise the whole of Japan in return for reversion of Okinawa.

At the same time the Japanese Government is going to carry out the fourth large-scale reinforcement of the Japanese armed forces with 5,000 billion yen (1,350 million dollars) expenditure in five years. Taking into account the development of Japan’s productive power which now ranks third in the world, following the United States and the Soviet Union, President Nixon’s new Asia policy aims at making Japan the centre of the anti-communist military alliance in Asia. In supporting this policy, Japanese monopoly capital will drive Japan’s militarist and imperialist revival to a more dangerous new stage in subordination to the United States.

Thus there are clearly two courses open to the Japanese people. One is the course currently pursued by the Liberal Democratic Party of continuing the US-Japan Security Treaty together with deceptive reversion of Okinawa — the course of the militarist and imperialist revival under the consolidated US-Japan military alliance and in subordination to the United States.

The other is the course which the Communist Party and a large number of the Japanese people intend to take. It is the course of abrogation of the US-Japan Security Treaty and immediate, unconditional and complete reversion of Okinawa — the course of independence, democracy and peace.

The Democratic Socialist Party and KOMEI (Clean Government) Party argue as if there is a third intermediate course between those two. The Democratic Socialist Party advocates revising the US-Japan Security Treaty to accept an “emergency stationing” of US armed forces, and the KOMEI Party accepts virtual extension of the Security Treaty under the name of “gradual dissolution”. Such a third course is nothing but a supplement to the first
course since it is designed to keep under anti-communist influence people who are increasingly discontented with the Liberal Democratic Party. They hope to save the Liberal Democratic Party from political crisis when it becomes a minority party in the Diet, by their participation as middle-of-road parties in a coalition government under the leadership of the Liberal Democratic Party.

Thus the test of a democratic party in Japan is whether to allow the Liberal Democratic Government to continue or to fight in unity to establish a democratic government which will realise the abrogation of the Treaty.

For this, formation and consolidation of the united front of the democratic forces in our country, including the Communist Party and Socialist Party, are an indispensable task. The Communist Party of Japan has consistently called for the formation of the united front of the whole democratic forces with abrogation of the US-Japan Security Treaty and complete reversion of Okinawa as its central task. In order to unite the whole democratic forces, the four standards which emerged from experiences of the struggles in the 1960's should be observed.

The first standard is that while democratically discussing differences of opinion arising from differences in ideology, creed and political position, the whole democratic forces unite themselves and their actions, for the present, for the tasks that are agreed upon as urgent in the fight against the US-Japanese ruling circles.

The second standard is that parties and organisations which take part in the joint struggle should mutually acknowledge positions of equality. Unless member organisations taking part in the joint struggle have equal rights democratic development of the joint struggle and democratic unity between member organisations cannot be secured.

The third standard is that in order to defend the independence of the democratic movement in Japan the whole democratic forces in Japan should be in accord. There is the bitter experience of the 1960's when a split took place in several fields of the democratic movement. An important factor in the split was that a particular socialist great power made unlawful intervention in order to foist its own opinion on the movement.

The fourth standard is to exclude those elements who oppose the united front. One of the important obstacles to the advance of the Japanese people's struggle in the 1960's was that the ultra-left groups — Trotskyites, anarchists and others — constantly interfered in and manoeuvred against the democratic movement, and those ele-
ments which came into being as a result of great-power chauvinist interference, have joined with them.

The ultra-leftists call the united front of the whole democratic forces a “Communist-Socialist reactionary bloc” and openly call for the “overthrow” of the “established leadership” of the Communist and Socialist Parties. And those elements who blindly follow the Mao Tse-tung faction declare that the Communist Party of Japan is one of the “four enemies’ together with US imperialism, “Soviet social imperialism” and Japanese monopoly capital. The small group of anti-Party revisionists which blindly followed N. S. Khrushchov also form an anti-communist common front with the ultra-leftists.

Although the united front is urgently needed, it has not been realised because the leaders of the Japan Socialist Party which makes almost the same demands as the Communist Party of Japan on the policy of abrogation of the US-Japan Security Treaty and complete reversion of Okinawa, turn their back on the united front and stubbornly reject the call of the Communist Party of Japan. As a result of their anti-communism, the Socialist Party leaders use the groundless argument that the situation in Japan is not sufficiently matured to form the united front; they also use the pretext of consolidation of “independence” before uniting, without making any serious effort for the joint action of the whole democratic forces. In addition, they accept the ultra-left groups as if they were a part of the “progressive” forces and thus virtually condone their ultra-left blind acts.

On April 28th, 1969 — the “Okinawa Day” — the Japan Socialist Party felt compelled to approve of the agreement for carrying out the united action of the whole democratic forces jointly with the Communist Party of Japan without allowing the intervention of these elements. Criticism against the Japan Socialist Party which turns its back on the united front is becoming stronger. In the latest elections to the Tokyo Metropolitan Assembly the Socialist Party got only 24 seats, having lost 23 seats from the pre-election 45 seats, while the Communist Party of Japan gained 18 seats against a pre-election 9 seats. This is an expression of popular criticism of the Socialist Party. Our Party only desires that the Socialist Party should learn from the experience of the Japanese people, and listen to their demands to stand on the side of the unity of the Japanese people — the united front.

In 1961, the Communist Party of Japan at its Eighth Party Congress, adopted the Party Program, which set out the prospect for the Japanese revolution. This Program has become a weapon
to advance the cohesion of the entire membership and the progressive forces of Japan. In the 1960's our Party has drawn vanguard elements of the Japanese working class and the working people to rapidly consolidate its ranks. At present, its membership is 300,000, and the circulation of its central organ *Akahata* exceeds 1,800,000.

In the 1960's, proceeding from the adoption of the Party Program which scientifically explains the prospect of the Japanese revolution and the Party's tasks, our Party has clarified radical and concrete policies regarding important tasks demanded by the Japanese people and situation, such as the question of Japan's security and the reversion of Okinawa, questions of prices and livelihood, the universities and education, the urban question, etc.

The CPJ has rapidly expanded its influence among the people and support for the Party has spread in the whole of the trade union movement, in peace and democratic movements. But the Party's organisational expansion and an increase in the circulation of the Party organ have not been brought about spontaneously even though the Japanese people's struggle has made advances. Expansion of the Party will not take place unless the Party itself tackles it. The CPJ regards the expansion of the Party as its own independent important task and has reached its Party strength of today by surmounting all sorts of difficulties and making every effort.

It is an indispensable condition for forming the united front of the whole democratic forces to raise the Party's political, ideological and organisational strength so as to increase its influence in every field of the people's movement.

It is the Party which indicates concrete and radical policies to the masses on the basis of the clear-cut prospect of the Japanese revolution (the Program), it is the Party which convinces the masses and raises their political awareness, which constantly gives ideological and scientific explanations, which removes obstacles to the united front and conducts mass discussion and examination. Without the Party there would have been no advance of the Japanese people's cohesion and advance of the united action and united front of the whole democratic forces.

As June 22nd, 1970, approaches, the day when the fixed term of the US-Japan Security Treaty terminates, the political confrontation between the US-Japanese ruling circle and the Japanese people is developing, shaking the political situation in Japan to its foundations.