

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF JAPAN NEW PROGRAMME*

I. Sufferings of Japanese People Under American Occupation

Never in the entire history of Japan have the Japanese people been in such a dreadful plight as they are today. The war and defeat brought ruin to the people. And after the war Japan was enslaved by the American imperialists, lost her freedom and independence, lost elementary human rights. Our entire life—industry, agriculture, trade and cultural life—is now run by the American occupation authorities.

But the American imperialists brought us not only chains and slavery. They are utilising the occupation regime for the purpose of exploiting the Japanese people and extracting profits out of our country. For this purpose they have appropriated the right to control and plan our industry, agriculture, trade, our entire life—all in their own interests.

For the purpose of doing away with Japanese industry they prohibited the development of civilian industry, thereby ruining Japanese manufacturers and causing more unemployment in the country.

Forcing the exploitation of the Japanese people to the very limit, they introduced forced labour for military aims, compulsory agricultural deliveries at the lowest prices, and heavy taxes; they force high priced American goods on Japan and buy up Japanese goods at half the price on the world market.

In order to deprive Japan of the last possibility of maintaining her existence at least by foreign trade, they banned trade with China, seized Japan's entire foreign trade, Japanese finances and industry.

There are more than ten million unemployed and semi-unemployed in the country. Slave wages, insufficient to ensure even the lowest minimum standard of life, were fixed for workers. An exhausting, unbearable "labour system" prevails in the factories.

In the countryside, almost all the rice, including that essential for food, is taken away from the peasants by means of compulsory rice deliveries. Peasants are weighed down by heavy taxes to pay which they have to dispose of their land and even their children.

The intelligentsia have no freedom for scientific work. People of mental labour are made to work as "office boys" for American businessmen!

Women and girls are forced into prostitution.

Nor is this all. In addition, the American imperialists seek to involve Japan in another aggressive war in order to ruin and enfeeble our country completely. The main object of the American imperialists in the Far East is to establish their domination in Asia. But the American imperialists cannot, with their own forces, establish their domination in Asia. This is evident, for example, from the fact that the U.S. with its own forces, proved incapable of dealing even with

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such a small country as Korea. For their domination in Asia, the American imperialists need, as a base, a country that would supply military cadres, possess a developed industry and a population adequate for recruiting an army. The American imperialists consider that Japan is just such a country. For this reason they seek to involve Japan in a new aggressive war as their junior partner.

It is precisely because of this that they advocate a separate Japanese peace treaty with America, knowing full well that a separate peace can lead to war with China and the Soviet Union. It is precisely because of this that they advocate the theory of the German Nazis—a theory refuted by history,—concerning the seizure of foreign territory, declaring that there is a vast peasant population in Japan and little land, that there is a shortage of raw materials, and, consequently, territorial expansion is essential, and that this expansion calls for war and also an alliance of Japan with America against China and the Soviet Union.

But these gentlemen are deceiving the peasants. Japanese peasants have little land now because the best land has been seized by landlords and other big landowners. To secure enough land for the peasants there is no need whatever to begin a new, bloody war fraught with danger for Japan; to do this, all that is necessary is to take the land from the landlords and other big landowners and transfer it to the peasants gratis. Then, the peasants will not only have enough land, there will be even reserve land.

Thus, the American imperialists want to involve Japan in a new, aggressive war in order to ensure their own domination in Asia with the hands and blood of the Japanese.

But Japan has already experienced this path, the path of aggressive war for the seizure of foreign lands. The last war was fought, as is known, in alliance with Nazi Germany; it ended in defeat and ruin for our country. Moreover, China was weak at that time, now she is strong, and the Soviet Union is far stronger than before. What guarantee is there that alliance with the American imperialists would bring victory? Are the Americans better soldiers than the Germans?

Besides, is it not known that the Americans regard their allies not as equals but as mercenaries? Even such an ally as Britain is being strangled, plundered and kept on a hungry ration by the U.S. imperialists. We say nothing about such U.S. allies as Italy which is relegated by the Americans to the status of an inferior race. What guarantee is there that Japan, as an ally of America, will not find herself in an even worse position?

No, what Japan needs is not the path of a new war, but the path of peace and cooperation with the peace-loving countries, above all, with China and the Soviet Union. The path of war is disastrous for Japan, disastrous for her freedom and independence. Only along the road of peace and co-operation with other states, along the road of free development of her industry and agriculture, along the road of free development of internal and foreign trade, can Japan find freedom and independence, economic prosperity and cultural advance. Co-operation with other states, without the occupation regime, will give Japan everything essential for the prospering of her economy: market for her goods, raw materials for industry, food, etc.

II. Yoshida Government—Moral-Political Pillar of American Occupation

But it is impossible to deliver Japan from the American occupation regime, from slavery and oppression so long as the Yoshida Government exists in Japan. It is impossible because all orders of the occupation authorities for oppression and exploitation are carried out as orders and laws of the Japanese Government and Japanese Parliament. And since the Yoshida Government and Parliament are elected bodies, which allegedly express the will of the Japanese people, a false impression is created that the orders of the occupation authorities for oppression and exploitation

are carried out with the consent and approval of the Japanese people.

The Yoshida Government is a screen for cloaking the oppression and exploitation countenance of the occupation authorities..

The occupation authorities need this screen without which it would be extremely difficult for them to rule Japan. If the occupation authorities came forward with decrees of their own for exorbitant taxes, compulsory rice deliveries, etc. directly and openly, without hiding behind the screen, they would undoubtedly evoke indignation on the part of the Japanese people, and would have to let up their orders and even have to annul them. But since the orders of the occupation authorities are given the form of laws and decrees of the Yoshida Government, it turns out that moral and political responsibility for them is removed from the shoulders of the American authorities and placed on the shoulders of the Japanese Government, on the Japanese Parliament and finally, on the Japanese people who elected these bodies. Clearly, this situation facilitates in every way the position of the occupation authorities, enabling them to continue with "calm conscience" to rule our country.

The Yoshida Government is the moral-political pillar of the occupation authorities in Japan.

Certainly, if Japan were headed by another government, by a national-liberation democratic government unwilling to be a screen and a pillar for foreign oppressors, the occupation authorities would be in a bad way, and would have to cut short their stay in Japan. But since Japan is headed by the anti-national, reactionary Yoshida Government, ready to serve both as screen and pillar for the foreign oppressors, the occupation authorities are not badly off in Japan, and are ready to prolong their stay in Japan for ever and ever.

Speaking about the Yoshida Government we have no intention at all of identifying it necessarily with the person of Yoshida. Certainly, it is not a matter of individuals. Today the reactionary liberals advance Yoshida as Prime Minister; tomorrow they may advance someone else from the same "liberal"-reactionary milieu. But that would not change matters. Speaking of the Yoshida Government, we have in mind those reactionary and anti-national forces in Japan which support and inspire the "liberal"-reactionary party and the Yoshida Government. These forces include the Emperor of Japan, the old reactionary military clique, the privileged bureaucracy, landlords and capitalist monopolies, that is, all who exploit or foster the exploitation of the Japanese people. The Yoshida Government represents the interests of these reactionary forces.

The specific feature of the present situation in Japan is that the interests of these reactionary forces, far from being contradictory to the interests of the American occupationists, on the contrary, coincide with them. And precisely because their interests coincide with those of the American occupationists, the Yoshida Government is willing to act as screen and pillar for the occupation authorities in Japan.

It is not only the American occupationists that are interested in prolonging the occupation regime; the reactionary forces in Japan inspiring the Yoshida Government, are also interested in this, considering that the occupation regime is the best means of keeping the Japanese people in subjugation. Therefore, the Yoshida Government is a government of national enslavement of Japan in the interests of the American imperialists.

It is not only the American occupationists that are interested in plunging Japan into a new war; the reactionary forces of Japan directing the Yoshida Government are also interested in this, because they believe that war is the best means for enrichment of the landlords, capitalist monopolies and the privileged bureaucrats. Consequently, the Yoshida Government is a government of war and ruin of Japan.

It would be profoundly erroneous to think that it is possible to deliver Japan from the occupation regime and secure her national liberation while leaving the Yoshida "liberal"-reactionary Government intact. To abolish the occupation regime it is necessary, above all, to deprive it of its moral- political pillar which the Yoshida Government represents. This will be the first and decisive step along the path of liberating Japan from the occupation regime.

In order to secure national liberation for Japan it is necessary, above all, to overthrow the reactionary-"liberal" Yoshida Government and replace it with a new, people's government.

This will be a government of national liberation of Japan.

This will be a government of democratic transformation of Japan.

This will be a government of peace and establishment of peaceful relations with all peoples.

This will be a coalition government representing the interests of all progressive and liberation forces in Japan.

III. Inevitability of National-Liberation Democratic Revolution

From what has been said above it follows that the people of Japan cannot live a decent life and breathe freely under the present reactionary system. This means that the present reactionary system must be abolished, and substituted by a new, national-democratic system.

Consequently, what Japan needs is serious revolutionary change.

The Communist Party of Japan will demand that the new national-liberation democratic government, which must replace the present reactionary-"liberal" Government will realise and enact the following changes and transformations in the spheres of the foreign and internal policy of Japan.

FOREIGN POLICY

1. Conclusion of an overall peace treaty in accordance with the Potsdam Declaration and guaranteeing: the national independence and sovereignty of Japan.

2. Abolition of the occupation regime in Japan and speedy withdrawal of all occupation forces from Japan.

3. Establishment of peaceful relations and free economic and trade co-operation with all states, and in the first instance, with those states standing for peace.

4. Preservation of peace and prohibition of war propaganda.

STATE STRUCTURE

5. Abolition of Imperial rule and proclamation of a democratic republic.

Imperial rule brought Japan into World War Two which ended in defeat for Japan. It is now trying to involve Japan once more in a new, even more disastrous, war. The people of Japan can only benefit by liberating themselves from Imperial rule.

The Japanese State should be headed by a President freely elected by the people and changed every 4 years.

6. The creation of a one-chamber parliament and right of recall of deputies.

7. Right to elect and be elected to Parliament for all citizens above the age of 18, irrespective of residence, property, sex and nationality. An electoral law providing for proportional representation.

8. Establishment of people's democratic system of local government.

9. Guarantee freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of press, assembly, trade unions. The right to strike and street demonstrations.

10. Guarantee free development of civilian industry and free enterprise with exemption for

industrialists and merchants from unjust taxes.

11. Introduction of a progressive income tax.

12. Abolition of racial and national discrimination.

13. Introduction of compulsory education up to the age of 16 at State expense.

14. State aid to victims of the war, ex-servicemen, repatriates, war invalids, orphans and to the families of those who died in the war.

PEASANT QUESTION

15. Confiscation of all landlord land and the land owned by the Imperial Family and by holders of large estates renting land to peasants, transferring these lands, without compensation, to the peasants for distribution among them.

The "Land Reform" proclaimed by the occupation authorities is a reform for wealthy people, since it gives land to the peasants not free of charge but for purchase. It is, therefore, perfectly understandable that this "Land Reform" gave nothing whatever to the majority of peasants who lack the money with which to buy land. The mistake of the "Socialist Party" is that it conceals from the people this grave defect of the "Land Reform" and still continues to laud it. The peasants need not an imaginary "Land Reform", but a real, revolutionary land reform, which would transfer all landlord land, without compensation, to the peasants, including not only arable land but hill and forest sections and all waste and unused lands. Only such a reform can satisfy the peasants and enable them to get onto their feet.

16. Free water supply to the peasants for irrigating their fields and transfer to them of rights to irrigation facilities.

17. Creation of new irrigation systems on a scientific basis for the needs of the peasants.

18. State aid to peasants bringing virgin land under cultivation.

19. Ensure for peasants long-term low interest credits for the purchase of farm implements and erection of farm buildings.

20. Tax reduction for poor peasants and annulment of their tax arrears.

21. Annulment of debts of poor peasants and fishermen due to money-lenders, to the banks and the State.

22. Abolition of compulsory sowing and compulsory food deliveries. Abolition of the ruinous low prices for agricultural products and fixing of delivery prices that would enable the peasants to continue their work. Establishment of independent, agricultural producer co-operatives.

23. Abolition of the semi-feudal fishing rights and transfer of fishing rights to independent fishing organisations.

24. Fishermen to be supplied with fishing tackle, materials and money in the form of low-interest credits. Abolition of the extortionate system of payment to fishermen for the catch.

25. Extension of general labour laws to agricultural labourers and fishery workers.

LABOUR QUESTION

26. Establishment of a minimum wage for workers and employees in industry and introduction of equal pay for equal work, irrespective of sex and nationality.

27. Introduction of an 8-hour day for all workers, and a 6-hour day for underground workers.

28. Introduction of four-watch system for seamen.

29. Introduction of annual paid vacation of not less than two weeks.

30. Introduction of social insurance for all kinds of disability and also for unemployment, at the expense of the state and capitalists.

31. Abolition of semi-feudal forms of exploitation, namely: the system of prison cells in

enterprises, compulsory hostel residence, system of contracts, the system of apprenticeship and conscription of manpower. Prohibition of heavy, injurious and dangerous labour for women, children and juveniles.

32. Guarantee of free development for workers' trade unions and the right of the trade unions to conclude collective agreements with the owners of enterprises.

Such, then, are the immediate demands advocated by the Communist Party of Japan, realisation of which will deliver the people of Japan from enslavement and impoverishment.

IV. Forces of Revolution—United National-Liberation Democratic Front

It would be a serious mistake to think that a new national-liberation democratic government will arise of its own volition, without difficulties, in a peaceful way, that the "liberal"-reactionary Yoshida Government will relinquish its post voluntarily, without struggle, and make way for a new democratic government. Such an assumption would be altogether erroneous. On the contrary, the Yoshida Government will fight might and main to retain power in their hands, preserve the occupation regime and keep the Japanese people in bondage. For this it has the police, troops, the help of the occupation authorities, the help of landlords, big capitalist monopolists, and finally, the help of the Emperor and his circles. As is known, the Yoshida Government is already waging this struggle against the Japanese people, driving the Communist Party underground, arresting the leaders of the workers and peasants, and wrecking the peasants and workers trade union organisations from within.

Things will not change for the better even in the event of a parliamentary election not giving the Yoshida Government a majority: what is much more likely is that the Yoshida "cabinet" will be replaced by a "cabinet" of some other reactionary who will pursue the policy of Yoshida and things will remain exactly as they were.

No, the peaceful way of liberation and democratic transformation of Japan is the way of deception.

In order to secure a serious improvement in the life of the workers and peasants, in order to free Japan from bondage, and the Japanese people from impoverishment, it is necessary to organise a serious revolutionary struggle of the people against the reactionary forces in Japan, against the "liberal"-reactionary Yoshida Government. Hence, it is necessary to overthrow the "liberal"-reactionary Yoshida Government, pave the way for a new, national-liberation democratic government, and, in this way, prepare the conditions for the liquidation of the occupation regime.

There is no other way.

The main forces in this liberation struggle will be the workers and peasants who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population of Japan. This will be an alliance of the workers and peasants of Japan—the indestructible force of the Japanese people. The workers will help the peasants, as their allies, in their struggle for land. The peasants will help the workers, as their allies, in their struggle for radical improvement in the life of the working class. This will be an alliance of the main forces of town and countryside, which, united in joint struggle, will decide the fate of the Yoshida Government and the occupation regime.

The workers and peasants are not the only classes which will deem it necessary to unite their forces against the reactionary forces in Japan. The handicraftsmen and small traders, suffering from the occupation regime and the reactionary laws of the Yoshida Government, will join forces with the worker-peasant alliance. Small and medium businessmen, and also a considerable part of the Japanese manufacturers and merchants also suffering from the occupation regime and

the reactionary laws of the Yoshida Government, will, likewise, join this alliance. All progressive forces in Japan, irrespective of social status, and all the more or less progressive political parties and all the progressive intelligentsia, because they want to see Japan free and independent, living its own independent, economic, political and cultural life, will join this alliance.

This will be a united national liberation democratic front of all progressive forces in Japan, fighting for a free and prospering democratic Japan. ,

The Communist Party of Japan regards the consolidation and extension of this front as an urgent task.

The Communist Party of Japan calls on all progressive forces in Japan, and, in the first instance, on the workers and peasants, to start work immediately in order to strengthen and extend the united national-liberation democratic front.