

# SOCIAL-FASCISM IN JAPAN

(Conclusion)

By AKI

Thus, the Social-Fascists had the audacity to dissolve all the organisations of the revolutionary opposition of Dseno representing 70 per cent. of the members (about 25,000 people). This police method could not but excite discontent, even among those prefectural organisations, which had been regarded by them as their invincible strongholds. For instance, in the Niigato prefecture (the most powerful bulwark of the Social-Democrats) the revolutionary opposition has now organised in its ranks twice as many members as those supporting the official leadership. A strong opposition has developed also in the prefectures of Akita, Saitama, etc., in short, in practically every prefecture in which there were none but supporters of the Social-Democratic leadership in the past.

Mcantime, the landless and poor Japanese peasant masses, shaking off the age-old yoke, are taking up the struggle for land. This is shown by the data on the growth of the number of peasant conflicts in recent years:

Years	Number of disputes	Number of tenants participating
1929	2,293	81,958
1930	2,109	58,565
1931	2,689	?

The peasant movements supported by the revolutionary workers, are everywhere culminating in bloody clashes with the armed detachments of the police and the reactionary organisations.

Lately, since the outbreak of the robber war, the peasantry have begun to make frequent raids on the police stations. Hundreds of unorganised and poorly-armed peasants participate in these raids. The number of peasant conflicts has also been growing.

In this situation the idea of the violent seizure of the lands (an agrarian revolution) is rapidly spreading among the toiling peasantry of Japan. The undisguised demagoguery of the Government about "aid" to the village, and the treacherous work of the Social-Fascists and Fascists will not succeed in diverting the Japanese peasantry from the path of agrarian revolution. In the process of the struggle the influence of the Communist Party and of the Revolutionary opposition of Dseno as well as the idea of a union between the workers and peasants are rapidly growing.

The conditions and prerequisites of the agrarian revolution in Japan are rapidly maturing. This movement, which is directed primarily against the parasitic landlord class of Japan, closely inter-

weaves with the struggle against the bourgeois-landlord bloc, the military-police monarchy and the yoke of monopolistic capital. Not only the landless peasantry, but also the smallholders and the toiling land owners are being drawn into the powerful revolutionary movement in the village. Under these conditions, the Japanese proletariat gains a solid foundation and an ally in the future worker-peasant revolution in the great masses of the village: the poor and middle peasants. There can be no doubt that we are face to face with a bloc between the working class and the toiling peasantry against the bloc of the bourgeoisie and landlords in Japan. To-day, when the great masses of the toiling peasants are being attracted to the movement, and the capitalists and landlords are attempting to divert the peasant unrest into the channel of the counter-revolution with the aid of their Fascist and Social-Fascist lackeys, the mass agitation of the Communists in the village for the confiscation of the landlords' estates without compensation (against the landlords), for the complete annulment of the indebtedness of the toiling peasantry (against usurious and monopolistic capital), for freeing the toiling peasantry of the military-police taxes (for a worker-peasant Government) plays a tremendous rôle.

The Communists to-day must urge the toiling peasants, in spite of the bourgeois-landlord and Social-Fascist slogans of "aid" to the village and a partial moratorium, "not to pay rent, debts and taxes, to resist the seizure of their land and property." To this end the Communists must organise peasant committees and a peasant self-defence against the landlords and judicial-police violence, and advocate an agrarian revolution.

The Japanese Communists have achieved several successes in their struggle against the Social-Fascists and Fascists. But this is still entirely insufficient in the present situation. The incorrect strategical line of the C.P. of Japan has played into the hands of the enemies in the past. The underestimation of the forces of the military-police monarchy and the too-simplified approach to every political event, from the point of view of the allegedly "Fascist dictatorship of finance capital," without a correct and concrete Leninist analysis of the relationship of the class forces in Japan, are features of this. This has also led to the underestimation of the importance of the agrarian revolution in the future revolution, and the land question, the forces and revolutionary rôle of the peasantry, particularly the middle peasants. The Japanese Communists are actively

rebuilding their strategical and tactical line in the spirit of the theses of the Comintern.

The second defect of the Japanese Communists in the struggle against the Social-Fascists is their inability to correctly apply the united front policy from below. The Japanese comrades urge in the press and on the platform the fight against the Social-Fascists in the united front from below, but this is insufficient. It is necessary to take the initiative into our own hands to carry out the united front policy. It is necessary to draw a line of distinction in deeds between the masses, and the Social-Democratic leaders, and the tactical manœuvres of the "left" and right Social-Fascists to create a united front of struggle. It is necessary to strike a blow at the most sensitive and vulnerable spots of the enemies, rather than follow in their wake. In reality, however, it frequently happens that our comrades establish their line of tactics only on those questions which are advanced by the Social-Democrats and, as a result, our organisations follow in the wake of the enemy. A striking illustration is provided by the struggle of the revolutionary opposition within Dseno, and the struggle against Rono Karabu. In this struggle the revolutionary movement of Japan has scored several victories. But, at the same time, this struggle also provides the Japanese Communists with very valuable experience. In the first case, the struggle flared up around the question of the obligatory support of Ronon Taishuto, which was prescribed by the leaders of Dseno (the National Peasant Union) from above. The revolutionary militants of this Union conducted an active struggle against the "left"-reformist leaders of the union, and gained the support of about two-thirds of the membership of this union. This was a great victory for the Party. At the same time, the basic distinction between the reformist and revolutionary wings lay in their attitude towards the agrarian revolution, the land question and the organisation of the peasant struggle. This aspect remained long in the shade, and was not stressed in the policy of the revolutionary wing. As a result the reformist leaders were not sufficiently exposed, and the broad unorganised masses of the peasantry were not attracted into the struggle. This mistake is now being corrected. In the second case, the Communists frequently limited themselves to general criticism of Rodo Kurabu and the manœuvres of the "left" reformists, while the main initiators of the organisation of the movement against Rodo Kurabu were the same "left" Social-Democrats. Despite the considerable growth of the influence of the revolutionary opposition, it cannot be said

that the united front policy has been applied very efficiently. On the contrary, as a result of losing the initiative, and failing to expose the "left" reformists, this latter being chiefly limited to words, instead of our concrete programme of the united front being opposed to the "lefts," the "left" reformists again succeeded in aligning a large number of workers with them. These examples should suffice to characterise the whole situation.

The third factor interfering with the broader development of the struggle against Social-Fascism on the part of the Communist Party is the weak, indefinite, and sometimes belated struggle against the Social-Democratic deviations within the revolutionary movement. The most characteristic example of this is provided by the economic tendencies which have lately been growing in the mass revolutionary organisations, and which expressed themselves in a weakening of the fight against the imperialist war and for the defence of the U.S.S.R., against the arbitrary rule of the military-police monarchy, for freedom of strikes, speech, press, and the right to organise on the part of the workers and peasants, etc., by the revolutionary trade unions and peasant organisations. The explanation given to this weakening of the struggle is approximately as follows: "Political demands should not be included in the programme of action of the trade unions," or "The struggle against war and police arbitrariness can be organised only by the Communist Party, while the peasant organisations must limit themselves to the struggle for economic demands." The comrades advocating such views do not understand that the war and the arbitrary police rule are directly related to the life of the masses, that the struggle against the war and arbitrary rule constitute the task, not only of the Communist Party, but also of all the revolutionary organisations led by the Party. The case of the agent-provocateur Ma . . . ra also gave the Party a valuable lesson, signalling the importance of responding to anti-Party deviations without any delay. These Social-Democratic deviations within the revolutionary movement are all the more dangerous now that the ruling classes and their Social-Fascist lackeys are strengthening the war preparations against China, and the U.S.S.R., and increasing the repressions not only against the revolutionary organisations, but against all forms of mass struggle.

The mass revolutionary organisations must not literally repeat what the Communist Party says,

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of course, must under no circumstances duplicate its work. The Communists within the trade union and peasant organisations must learn to pursue a true Communist line in them. They must co-ordinate the struggle for the daily demands with the basic political slogans, subordinating their work to the tasks of the struggle for the power. The Japanese Communist Party which is heroic-

ally leading the struggle against the imperialist war and the bourgeois-police monarchy, will then succeed in solving the problems confronting it, undermining the mass base of the Social-Democracy in the labour movement, winning a majority of the working class, and securing the development of mass battles for a revolutionary solution of the war and economic crisis.