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ADVANCE OF THE
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MOVEMENT

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INTRODUCTION

After coming under the jackboots of fascist dictators, the triumvirate "Axis Powers", Germany, Italy and Japan, plunged humanity in the greatest disaster—the Second World War, 1939-45. Vanquished, and the dictators sent to their graves, the three nations had their own peculiar post-war history. Italy regained her independence soon, Germany was divided up and it fell to the lot of Japan to fall totally under the domination of the U. S. occupation forces. Japan never recovered from this U. S. stranglehold, and although the "occupation" is said to have ended, U. S. forces continue to remain on the Japanese soil, under the so-called "Japan-U. S. Security Treaty."

For the Japanese people, the victims of the atomic annihilation brought on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the plans the U. S. has made for Japan are indeed ominous. Recent events in Japan show that in the task of re-building the country, the Japanese people led by the progressive forces, specially the working class, are fighting determined struggles to throw off the American yoke and to regain full national independence. The Japanese bourgeoisie which capitulated before the U. S. forces, under the latter's dictates, have been trying to rebuild the country on the old pattern—of monopoly capitalism—which brought war and ruin to the nation. The working class and the trade union movement in Japan have been opposing the degrading treaty of bondage with the U. S., entered into by the Japanese Government, and have demanded evacuation of U. S. forces. The Japanese fishery workers were, again, the first victims of Hydrogen Bomb tests and this makes the Japanese workers and their trade unions most conscious fighters for a policy of peace.

Capitalists in India, however, have taken particular

interest in presenting a totally different picture of the Japanese situation. The "high productivity" of the Japanese worker is dinned into the ears of our workers by them as worthy of emulation. Capitalists as a class have never liked the working class and in Japan too, the picture is no different. In their drive for maximum profits, they seek to impose ruthless rationalisation schemes and the trade union movement in all capitalist countries have had to wage determined struggles to defend the workers' jobs, health and livelihood. With their influence on ruling political parties, they seek to impose fetters on the workers' trade union and democratic rights and adopt repressive measures to crush the struggles for better wages and working conditions. These are common problems for us in India as well as our brothers in Japan. The bourgeoisie and its press, while they pay wholesome praise for the Japanese workers' "productivity", for obvious reasons, hide the fact that the Japanese workers have identical problems as our own and are no less militant in their struggles to ward off the employer-government offensive and to improve living standards.

In the following pages, the AITUC desires to introduce to our workers, a short resume of the problems faced by the Japanese trade union movement, which has been made available by the largest national TU centre in Japan—the Nihon Rodo Kumiai Sohyogikai, (SOHYO, for short), the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan.

This booklet contains the proceedings of the 12th Convention of the SOHYO held in August 1959. The report made to the convention by General Secretary, Akira Iwai, as well as the summary of speeches made by trade unionists on the report, give us a picture of the major problems faced by the Japanese TU movement, in the struggle for peace, national independence, better wages and decent conditions of life and work.

It would not be out of place here to refer to the aspect of productivity movement in Japan, which is the main talking point of our capitalists, and the policy of the trade unions

to the employers' productivity drive. On this Akira Iwai, SOHYO General Secretary, said:

"We have kept on emphasising that capitalistic exploitation will not be lightened by their productivity drive, but that the gap between the capitalist and working classes is sharpened as productivity is raised.

"What happened throughout last year proved the correctness of our assertion. The Japan Productivity Centre had to acknowledge that 'productivity has been increased, but labour (workload) is intensified; wages remain as they were; hours of work are lengthened and unemployment poses a serious question'.

"We have fought on the basis of our conviction that workers' demands can successfully be achieved only through constant struggles backed by consolidated unity, that the demands can never be materialised so long as workers collaborate with capitalists."

We hope this will make our capitalists less vehement in their efforts to introduce the Japanese methods of productivity drive in this country.

The SOHYO's analysis of the Japanese trade union experiences, as is evident, has rich lessons for the TU movement in our country, particularly in the field of developing unity of action on a national scale.

We hope our readers will also find interesting the report on the struggle against revision of the Japan-U. S. Security Treaty and the story of the "Matsukawa Case", a frame-up against trade unionists who dared to struggle against the American imperialists' occupation of Japan. (For us in India, this kind of frame-ups has become most familiar and the Jamshedpur case, in which trade unionists have been prosecuted for nearly two years now, is still fresh in our memory.)

The SOHYO is not affiliated to any international trade union centre—the WFTU or ICFTU. A much smaller national TU centre in Japan, the Japan Trade Union Congress (ZENRO KAIGI) is an affiliate of the ICFTU.

The material for this booklet has been collected from the *Sohyo News*, published in English by the International Department of the SOHYO, as well as from the SOHYO publication, *Present Problems of the Japanese Trade Union Movement*.

K. G. SRIWASTAVA,
Secretary, AITUC.

New Delhi,
January, 23, 1960

THE 12TH SOHYO CONVENTION

I

The 12th convention of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (SOHYO) was held for four days from August 26 to 29 at the Bunkyo Public Hall in Tokyo. The convention was participated by some 2,000 persons including 595 official delegates of the 56 member unions and 152 special delegates, plus officials of the headquarters, guests and observers.

The convention proved itself a real success. It adopted the movement policy for 1959 and decided on a policy to collect the sum of 45 Yen¹ from each union member as a fund for sending organisers to various parts of the country to help develop workers' struggles. New office-bearers were elected at the close of the meeting.

The convention was attended by Mr. Leonid Soloviev, Secretary of the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions, USSR, Mr. Ibrahim Zakaria, Secretary of the WFTU, Mr. Jean Schaefer, Secretary of the CGT (France), and Mr. Abderrahman Kiouane, representing Algerian Delegation in the Far East, who sent messages of solidarity to the convention.

Many messages and telegrams of solidarity and friendship were sent by the trade unions of the world.

Akira Iwai, General Secretary, reported on the activities of past one year and presented the draft *movement policy* for 1959 on the afternoon of the first day.

Heated discussions centred around the amendments presented by 13 member-unions, which lasted from the second day to the last day of the convention.

¹ Japanese currency, value a roximately 75 yen to an Indian rupee.

II

MOVEMENT POLICY INTRODUCED BY GENERAL SECRETARY

The following is the summary of the report and the draft action policy presented by General Secretary :

We present our draft policy while going over our activities in the past one year.

At the convention last year, we took notice of the fact that, in the face of drastic changes going on in the world for peaceful co-existence among nations, American and Japanese monopolies and their tool Kishi Cabinet are frantic in their efforts to intensify their oppression to minimise the result of the contradictions embedded in capitalism. Under such circumstances, we foresaw the sharpening of class struggles in the years to come. Series of severe struggles staged in the past one year have proved the correctness of the analysis we made in our movement policy for 1958.

We know some unions are in support of monopolistic system, advocating labour-capital collaboration. They cooperate with monopolies in their productivity drive, to involve more and more workers in the sufferings resulting from it.

They advocate "productivity drive would give birth to golden eggs. As productivity increases, wages are raised, commodity prices lowered and employment increased."

We have kept on emphasising that capitalistic exploitation will not be lightened by their productivity drive, but that the gap between the capitalist and working classes is sharpened as productivity is raised.

What happened throughout last year proved the correctness of our assertion. The Japan Productivity Centre had to acknowledge that "productivity has been increased, but labour is intensified; wages remain as they were; hours of work are lengthened and unemployment poses a serious question."

We have fought on the basis of our conviction that workers' demands can successfully be achieved only through constant struggles backed by consolidated unity, that the

demands can never be materialised so long as workers collaborate with capitalists.

We are happy to know that our actions have helped many workers, who used to believe in class collaborationism, become awakened anew with their class consciousness. Our struggles have influenced favourably many who were made blind by monopolies and collaborationists allied with them within the trade union movement.

It is quite natural that the pressure from American and Japanese monopolies and the Kishi Government is being centred to the General Council (SOHYO) which advocates that the only path for the attainment of economic demands, peace and democracy is in developing united actions and in reinforcement of solidarity of the workers as a whole.

In the present situation when American and Japanese monopolies are frantically trying to revise the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty in order to strengthen Security Treaty set-up, the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (SOHYO) has the special task to fight on as the nucleus of all the democratic forces of the country. We are pleased to note that the solidarity and unity of the workers of Japan have been consolidated in the face of growing pressure by capitalists.

Immediately after last year's SOHYO convention, five million workers and people of the country demonstrated their firm determination to defend democratic education. Powerful fighting force demonstrated at the Wakayama people's rally successfully repelled the attacks by the police and rightwing gangsters put into one. It developed into a powerful nation-wide united movement in strong opposition to the Government's enforcement of teacher's "efficiency rating" system.

On September 15, last year, the General Council called on the members of the affiliated-unions not to let their children attend their schools. Excepting the well-organised actions conducted by the Japan Coal Mine Workers' Union (TANRO), the campaign turned out to be more or less sporadic in nature. However series of these struggles helped to arouse the public opinion for true democratic education.

The third meeting of the executive held on September 30 decided on the policy to further develop "anti-efficiency rating" struggle in parallel with the fights to oppose enterprise-rationalization drive, which was becoming more and more serious to many affiliated unions, and to press the Government to start negotiating collectively with the Japan Postal Workers' Union (ZENTEI). (The Postal Workers' Union had been denied facilities to bargain with the Government officials on their rights as it reelected the discharged union leaders as top officials of the union against the order of the Government not to do so.)

The General Council and the affiliated unions were preparing for the third nation-wide united action against the teachers' efficiency rating system scheduled on October 28. Then, suddenly, the Government presented the revision of the Police Law.

On October 9, the standing executive meeting was held, and the meetings of general secretaries of the member-unions and executives were held on the 11th and the 14th of October, respectively. The meetings reached unanimous agreements to set the central target of the action at the opposition to the Government's attempt for the Police Law revision.

They decided to launch powerful united "use-of-force" actions on national scale to smash the Government's attempt to pieces.

On October 24, an emergency convention was convened. The fourth nation-wide joint action on November 5 was a demonstration of the people's greatest, most powerful determination to fight in unity against the Police Bill. The action organised at that time was most gigantic in scale in the postwar labour movement.

Trade unions and democratic organisations prepared for the fifth wave of action on November 26. In the upsurge of people's movement with the General Council acting in the forefront, the Kishi Cabinet gave up its plan to revise the current Police Duties Execution Law.

It is only regrettable that we could not overthrow the Kishi Cabinet in the climax of our actions. Weakness em-

beded in our movement must be fully dealt with at this convention.

It is important to look at the development of our anti-Police Bill campaign in relation to other struggles. There were many important struggles carried out in line with the anti-Police Bill action.

The All-Japan Express Workers' Unions (SHINBUN ROREN) fought for higher wages, Oji Paper and Pulp Workers' Union fought for their trade union rights, the Japan Postal Workers' Union (ZENTEI) struggled for the resumption of negotiation talks with the Government, Nissan, Konishiroku, Nihon-Suiso, Ishiwara Sangyo workers uniting with the Japanese Federation of Synthetic Chemistry Workers' Union (GOKAROREN) fought against enterprise-rationalisation drive, and so did the Japan Telecommunications Workers' Union (ZENDENTSU). The National Railway Workers' Union (KOKUTETSU) fought also in opposition to rationalisation and the Government's attempt to sell Shime Coalmine owned by the National Railway Corporation to private coalmine capitalists.

Takamatsu Branch Union of the All Monopoly Corporation Workers' Union (ZENSENBAI) stood up against enterprise-rationalisation, while the All-Japan Garrison Forces Workers' Union (ZENCHURO) came out on actions against large-scale dismissal caused by closure of factories for 'procurement demands' of U. S. forces.

Opposition to enterprise-rationalisation was demonstrated also by the workers uniting with the Japan Coal Mine Workers' Union (TANRO), the All-Japan Federation of Metal Miners' Union (ZENKO) and the National Metal and Machine Trade Union (ZENKOKU KINZOKU).

Teachers uniting with the Japan Teachers' Union (NIKKYOSO) fought militantly against the enforcement of efficiency rating system and Government-sponsored moral education course on prefectural basis.

Printing and publishing workers organised in the National Federation of Printing and Publication Workers' Unions (ZENINSOREN) were against the rationalisation carried out at their places of work. Unloading of Swiss-

made guided missile Oerlikon was strongly resisted by dockworkers of All-Japan Dockworkers' Union (ZENKOWAN) fighting in unity with the workers of other industries.

Workers employed by middle and small-size enterprises fought for their rights and higher wages. The struggles against U. S. military bases in the country were carried out by large segment of people with workers acting as the nucleus. Such struggles were particularly powerful and persistent in the district of Hyakurigahara. Release of innocent railway workers imprisoned on the charge of derauling the train near Matsukawa Station, which is widely known as Matsukawa Case, was one of the important struggles during last year together with a nation-wide movement for normalisation of diplomatic relations with China.

At the outset of the new year, joint committees were set up on regional level to strengthen relations between lower-level organisations of affiliated unions and various organisations in respective regions. The aims of these committees were to develop wage struggle including drastic increase in wages and an establishment of an ideal minimum wage system. These joint struggle bodies stepped up the People's Grand March Against War and Unemployment, which was successfully carried out, demanding enlarged execution of social security measures.

With these points as the central themes of spring labour offensive, the sixth wave of workers' action was carried out from February 15 to April 15.

Just at the time when SOHYO member unions were fighting for higher wages, against the Japan-U. S. Security Treaty revision and for its total abrogation, the nation's general election started. The unions fought to send their true representatives to the Diet (Japanese Parliament), but the result was not a successful one as we had hoped. The distribution of the seats obtained is as follows:

Before the election:

Liberal-Democratic Party:	1,756 seats
Socialist Party:	459 „

After the election:

Liberal-Democratic Party:	1,601 seats
Socialist Party:	562 „

We obtained only 13 seats running from the national constituency, and 18 seats from local one. We must examine the case and find out why we could not achieve better result.

Remarkable advances being made by countries of socialism headed by the Soviet Union and China mark the great changes in the present world situation. The U. S. Home Ministry even has to acknowledge this fact by stating that "the capitalist structure is now in the face of a challenge by socialist structure that the latter surpasses the former from both historical and realistic points of view."

On the other hand, the great movement for national independence has spread in colonial countries in Asian and African regions, and in Latin America, shaking the imperialistic system to its foundation. The world is definitely heading for peaceful coexistence among nations.

But, at the same time, the fact that the United States tided over her economic crisis, returning to prosperity again, and that production in other capitalist countries has shown a gradual upward curve, indicate a tenacity possessed by capitalism. We realise that the economic recovery made by the countries of capitalism owes much to the sacrifices of working masses through investment of nation's capital into military enterprises, etc. Contradictions of capitalism are actually growing.

In line with such a tendency, contradictions in Japanese capitalism is growing. Unprecedented increase in production has brought the unemployment question to the fore, on one hand, and lowered the earnings of workers, on the other. Under such circumstances, capitalists are frantically seeking for a solution by accelerating military economy.

It is to achieve such an aim, that capitalists are resolutely resorting to every possible means to emasculate the trade union movement, to create discrepancies among workers, by presenting a false Minimum Wage Law or

social security measures, on one hand, and raising subscription fees of newspapers, etc., on the other.

Political attacks have been sharpened. Fascist-like domination of politics by the monopolies and the Government has come to the fore, to maintain the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty set-up.

In view of the growing oppression, we must find out ways and means, through our discussions at the convention, to organise powerful actions to win the demands of workers in close connection with the nation's important struggle against the Treaty revision or for its abrogation, for a large-scale wage raise, an establishment of a uniform 8,300 Yen minimum wage system, in opposition to enterprisementalisation and for the materialisation of shorter working hours and recovery and establishment of basic rights of trade unions and workers.

Success marked our spring offensive in that iron and steel workers' Unions (TEKKO ROREN) and shipbuilders organised in the All-Japan Ship building Workers' Union (ZENZOSEN) joined our front.

A mighty action staged by the Japanese Federation of Synthetic Chemistry Workers Union (GOKAROREN) and that of the Japan Coal Mine Workers' Union (TANRO) which launched powerful prolonged struggle in defence of trade union rights, with the workers of Mitsui Coal Mine Co. as the centre showed a forward step in the progress of industrial-level united actions. (In Japan, unions are organised on enterprise basis and it has been difficult so far to launch actions involving a number of unions in the same industry. But this weakness has gradually been solved as was seen in many successes and achievements in unity and solidarity among unions in the same industry achieved this spring.)

Workers of small and medium-sized enterprises have also done their best to defend their rights and living. This was one of the reasons for an increase in the number of participants in the SOHYO-sponsored spring struggle. The struggle was participated by some 3.92 million persons, or

an increase by 230,000 workers. On an average, wages were raised by 6.8%.

However, at the same time, we must admit that some trade unions had to unwillingly accept the compromise plan by the companies to introduce what is called "regular wage increase system." Under this system, wages are not raised until the workers reach to certain years of employment, and the rate of increase is higher for highly-paid workers than for low-paid ones.

In some enterprises, employers introduced what is called 'long-term stabilised wages'.

In view of many weaknesses we have, what is important is to make our stand clear that we are opposed to 'regular-wage increase system' and fight through to obtain real wage increases. We must make this point clear to the workers and unify our views to fight on persistently, without being swayed by compromise plans. It must be made known to the workers that our principle for 'equal pay for equal work' is essentially different from what capitalists are now advocating. It is most important to unify the views of the whole working class.

We must carry on our fight to ban a Government-proposed Minimum Wage Law and win a real minimum wage system of 8,000 Yen for the workers of all the industries. For this purpose, we must strengthen our actions to win good labour contracts, on one hand, and actively participate in the activities of wage committees when such organs are to deal with the enforcement of a Government Minimum Wage Law.

As far as struggle for the extension of social security measures is concerned, we used to attach more importance on carrying out the workshop-level actions for this purpose. We feel the importance of actions for the workers to obtain the rights to deal with such matters, rather than leaving the question utterly to the hands of employers.

Further, we must expose to the public the wrongs done by the Government authorities in connection with execution of national annuity and social insurance measures, welfare pensions, etc. We admit that much more efforts should

have been exerted toward these ends, and feel much encouraged by the fact that the People's Grand March Against War and Unemployment was powerfully supported by various strata of the population.

In relation to the fight against nation-wide enterprise-rationalisation drive, the most important for us to do is to see through the real nature of enemy's attack through the drive. That is to say, capitalists are intensifying their exploitation through the installation of new equipments or introduction of modern techniques.

There are many temporary workers or workers employed by sub-contractors in Japan, and their conditions are extremely bad. It is to discriminate workers and split their front that monopolies are trying their best to maintain the existence of temporary workers. Therefore, it is important that regularly-employed workers should liquidate the feeling of superiority over temporary workers, or that the latter should stop sacrificing themselves for the good of regularly-employed workers, as it would only benefit the employers. The conditions of temporary workers and workers employed by sub-contractors must be raised as well; they must be organised into trade unions to attain their demands, and for improving their conditions. Therefore, our task is to reinforce the activities of regional organisers to be sent by the General Council.

It is not wise for us to wait until the enemies start attacking us. We must work out ways and means to cope with the intensification of control by monopolies through enterprise-rationalisation drive. We must study how to fight against monopolies' technical innovation and equipment scheme. It is the basic right of workers that they have paid holidays and that they can live happily without exhausting themselves by overtime work. They have a right to do these, and they must realise that. On the basis of such a conviction, workers will fight to shorten their hours of work. Study groups must be organised and their activities be intensified. The Labour Standard Law must be justly observed in every place of work. But that is not enough.

It can easily be foreseen that a large-scale enterprise-rationalisation drive will be carried out with the workers of larger enterprises as the central target. Such a drive will influence the living not only of those employed by big companies, but also of the people as a whole.

Struggle set up must be organised in full consideration of this fact. It is vitally important that temporary workers, workers employed by sub-contractors or by small or medium-sized enterprises should be brought in such struggle bodies. Besides, efforts must be made to find out and organise pressing demands of workers in certain enterprises and connect them with those of citizens in the communities concerned and workers employed in smaller businesses in that part of the region. Mass representation to local governments is one of the effective means.

It is advisable that the General Council should establish an economic policy committee on long-term basis, to study the economic demands of the people and to organise more powerful actions on regional and industrial levels.

Now we turn to the question of rights. We have never been in the days when the defence of rights posed such a serious question. To defend its interest and to reinforce military set-up, the ruling class is concentrating its attacks upon "weakening of resistance put up by the working class". A worker of Tawara Seisakujo, one of the small-enterprises, was trampled to death by the police the other day in the course of the labour dispute. Such is one small instance showing the growing oppression by force.

We have attained some good results in our fights for rights in the past, but yet far from our satisfaction. Workers' rights, though guaranteed by law, cannot be fully exercised unless workers continue their fights for them. In view of this fact, it is of vital importance that workers themselves realise the minimum standards of their rights, for instance, that (1) they have freedom of participating in trade union activities within workshops as well as outside; (2) they have right to carry on trade union activities spontaneously, eliminating any interference with trade union activities by outsiders, (3) they have right to conduct

negotiations on working conditions on equal footing with the capitalists. Our activities will make little progress unless we obtain such basic rights.

We now realise that our fights for peace, democracy and independence have assumed a political feature, as contradictions in political and economic scenes have deepened. Japanese people's fight against the Police Bill has been growing constantly and so is the anti-pact revision struggle. Unity of action has been consolidated to a great extent as was seen in the fifth wave of action staged recently for abrogation of Japan-U.S. Security Treaty.

More and more workers of Japan have begun to realise the importance of political actions to defend their interests. Here is a good example to show this. The Japan Trade Union Congress (ZENRO KAIGI), which had been unwilling to act in unity with the General Council of Trade Unions fought together with SOHYO unions.

The Government and monopolies are now frantic to create among workers an impression against struggles with political feature. This indicates their growing fear and anxiety about the growth of workers' political consciousness.

We must remember that united actions can be better developed when the actions are closely linked with the immediate demands of workers and they are backed well with political consciousness.

Struggles today, therefore, have become more political in nature. It is essential to analyse our demands and let the workers understand how they are related with the nation's politics. It is no longer necessary to pay special fee for those who are mobilised to join actions.

Another important thing is to consolidate our relations with the general public. But, the workers must be at the core of every action. Their resolute actions are the central force to draw in larger segments of people into our movement. This does not mean that we take only "high" tactics; care should be taken not to be provoked by provocateurs who are frantic to isolate workers from the general public.

Our general election campaign to send true representatives to the Upper House did not turn out a big success.

We are afraid that we may not be able to obtain the force strong enough to check the Treaty revision in the election scheduled in three years.

We must admit that, (1) generally speaking, our efforts were not satisfactory; (2) our efforts to popularise our ideas among the backward workers were not satisfactory; (3) some were inclined to participate in the activities when much election fund had been accumulated and therefore there were fair chances of success. The weakness of our activities must be corrected. Besides, it was a pity that the political parties which should stand for the interests of the working masses could not make their stands clear in their election slogans, particularly in comparison with the policies, domestic and foreign, of the Liberal-Democratic Party.

Therefore, the General Council urges the class parties to (1) clarify their policies towards the extreme poor, particularly against the Government party's rearmament policy; (2) to strengthen their leadership and reinforce organisational force, particularly of the Socialist Party.

By stating in this way, we do not intend to discriminate Communist members or eliminate Communist influence in the workshop activities. We hope that joint actions will be carried on with the Communist Party when dealing with various concrete matters.

The goals of our fights are set at (1) smashing the Government's attempt for the Treaty revision to pieces and connecting with the anti-Treaty action, our struggles in opposition to enterprise-rationalisation and efficiency rating system, for the establishment of an ideal minimum wage system and raising of wages, (2) overthrowing of the Kishi Cabinet as we strive for a ban on nuclear testing, against oppression in Okinawa, revision of the Nation's Constitution and for the normalisation of diplomatic relations between Japan and China.

In carrying out actions to maintain democratic education, care should be taken to listen humbly to the voices of the people in the communities and consider their demands in conducting actions. Active participation in Parent Teacher Association activities, as members or as officials, and

establishment of closer cooperation with teachers are quite advisable for success of our movement in this respect. Japanese workers must do their best so that true, democratic education is observed in our country.

Further, questions of autonomy in local governments, local committees, taxes, rise of commodity prices are also very acute. In the present situation, when the workers and the people as a whole are being more and more deprived of their rights to living, in accordance with the infringement of independence of local autonomies, fights for the retention of the right in local self-governing bodies can serve as a common platform for farmers, peasants and the unorganised workers.

Urgent step should be taken to oppose increase of newspaper subscription fee. We may go so far as to boycotting of some papers.

To summarise, the main targets of our future struggle are set at opposition to Treaty revision, enterprise rationalisation, unemployment, heavy taxation, and teachers' efficiency rating system and for shorter hours of work, recovery of basic labour rights, a real minimum wage system and improvement in social security measures, etc.

Lastly, we should like to draw your special attention to the following two points: (1) 50 Yen will be contributed from each member of the affiliated-unions, as a fund to send organiser-team to strengthen labour movement. Member-unions are requested to recommend organisers to the headquarters, which will make a final decision. Regional organisers are under the leadership of regional trade union councils. The tasks of such organisers are to strengthen the organisation of member-unions, organise and develop regional joint actions and work for organising the unorganised workers. Strengthening of member unions will be carried out in accordance with the craft organisation programme.

The second point is the question of labour front unification. Unification talks have come to a rupture as the Japan Trade Union Congress (ZENRO) did not want to have it continued any more. As far as General Council is

concerned, it intends to further strive for its materialisation.

The autonomy of member unions is fully respected as it has been in the past, while, at the same time, all the organisations will fight in unity against the oppression by the ruling class. Joint actions which will be organised in greater number and scope will be a basis for real unity of workers.

As for relations with international organisations, we will not support any of the two international organisations particularly, as we want to attach much more importance with the unification of domestic labour front. We will do our best to fight jointly for the common interests of workers, for instance, against imperialism and for better conditions. We believe that the mission of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (SOHYO) is to find out a common platform for the defence of our interests in the course of our daily activities. Efforts will further be made to strengthen our ties with the workers of Asian and African countries.

III

The General Secretary's report on the activities of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (SOHYO) for the past one year and the presentation of draft movement policy for 1959 were followed by hot discussions by the delegates. The following is a brief summary of the discussions.

HOSOI (National Railway Workers' Union—KOKUTETSU)

First of all, we should like to congratulate the leaders of the General Council for working out a movement policy, most substantial we have had for the last few years.

However, we note the policy itself does not truly reflect the analysis of the situation. One point is this. Importance of organising a united front composed of the Socialist and the Communist Parties, trade unions and other democratic organisations is strongly emphasised in the analysis of the situation. But this point is waived in the

concrete action policy. The policy is uncompromisingly pro-Socialist Party, restricting the workers' or trade unions' freedom to choose their own political parties.

Secondly, the struggle against the Security Treaty revision is not given primary importance in the draft action policy. The question should be dealt with first and foremost importance, at the beginning of the action policy.

Question of how to struggle against the Government's punitive measures must be clearly pointed out. Last year, an extraordinary convention was held to wage anti-Police Bill action in unity, and many workers were punished on the charge of illegally taking part in the action. The draft action policy must clearly instruct us what to do for the unions whose members were unreasonably punished.

The report referred to our failure in overthrowing the Kishi Cabinet in spite of powerful action against the Police Bill. The most important reason for our failure lies in the fact that we allowed the heads of the two parties, the Liberal-Democratic and the Socialist Parties, negotiate on the question in their favour.

No concrete instructions are given to carry out actions for higher wages. The proposal lacks the definite measures. Unless we fight for large-scale increase, for shorter hours of work and improvement of sites of work as the core of the demands against enterprise-rationalisation drive, our fight may remain powerless.

We must unify our views that our goal is to raise the wage standard for the workers as a whole. Otherwise, we cannot attain wages unified on industrial level. As for the struggle for a minimum wage system, the general secretary criticised the activities of the 8-member committee on a Minimum Wage System as having been "swayed by parliamentarism." But this section should be corrected clearly as follows: "the activities of the committee was a mistake."

Now refer to the struggle against business-rationalisation drive. It will take a long time for us to really solve the question, but if the correct policy be worked out on this and the action be taken on the basis of such policy, this will

broaden the scope of our labour movement, enabling us to come out on offensive from the present defensive position.

We turn to the question of cooperation with political parties. At present, relations between the political parties and trade unions are not normalised. Both the Socialist and Communist Parties must be freely supported by trade unions. The reasons for this proposal are, for one thing, both of those parties fight in support of the policies of the trade unions, and for the second point, Japan cannot achieve her independence, tearing Security Treaty set-up to pieces, unless the Socialist and the Communist Parties fight in unity, establishing and developing united actions.

The majority of trade unions support the Socialist Party according to the decision made by union sanction. However, is it correct to restrict the freedom of workers to choose a political party to support just because it is decided so by union organ?

Nowadays, the Japanese people have possessed more or less fixed ideas that they are absolutely free to support any party. It is against this universally accepted idea that the members of unions are restricted in their right of free choice. It means to urge them to do away with their beliefs. It means to urge them to be disaffiliated with trade unions if they have an objection.

The conference of dockworkers of the Pacific and Asian region was held in Tokyo recently. We cannot understand why no appraisal is made in this report.

Lastly, does the General Council have any intention to officially decide on its attitude for unity of labour front and call upon the workers of the country to join our call?

IWAI (General Secretary):

We admit that the draft does not correctly reflect the ideas we uphold with regard to international labour situation. The point is whether our idea is correct or not. Therefore, it is quite welcome that some corrections be made to convey the correct idea.

We use the word 'organisationally independent'. By this we mean that we will do our best for the unity of the

workers of the world, regardless of their affiliation with the WFTU or ICFTU.

The dock workers' conference was supported by SOHYO member-unions. Therefore, it is quite all right to mention about it here, if mentioning is important to give a report a good appearance.

We had a word from the Japan Trade Union Congress. (ZENRO) today that it is ready to continue unification talks. Mr. Yanagimoto was sent to meet with the ZENRO staff.

As for anti-rationalisation struggle, we are willing to accept your advice in carrying out the movement in the future.

I don't think 3-member Committee for a Minimum Wage System itself is swayed by parliamentarism. Our basic principle is to develop our actions outside the Diet by involving larger segments of people. To depend much on the activities of a political party is in itself a "parliamentarism".

We don't mean to say that use-of-force actions will be carried out only when a new Security Treaty is signed or ratified. It is more important for us to strengthen our daily activities so that the force cultivated in the course of the struggle may be united to wage more dynamic action.

Last year's anti-Police Bill struggle was made successful as the Japanese workers were solidly united to smash the Bill. Above all, our force was particularly strengthened by the full-fledged support by every strata of the population. Although we used the expression 'with the workers as the core', there were differences in opinion even among trade unions. But a great many people had unpleasant experiences of the police system in the past, which made it easy for us to fight against the Police Law revision with such a consolidated unity.

Workers' demand for their rights, for better wages, etc., must be closely linked with the present action against Security Treaty revision.

We quite agree with the suggestions made with regard to fight against the Government's punitive measure upon

those who took part in anti-Police Bill movement. In view of the importance of the question, nation-wide joint action involving various sections of people must be organised to attain our aim. Anti-Security Treaty struggle must be well prepared to attain the greater force.

'Party-head talks' was mentioned as a reason to tone down the people's movement against the Police Bill, but we take the view that the situation needed them then.

We have no intention to support both the Socialist and the Communist Parties. At the same time, we don't believe that the unions' decision for a support of a certain political party infringes upon individuals' freedom of choice for a political party to support.

With regard to the point raised by Mr. Hosoi about the concrete action policy to meet with the international situation, we will try to eliminate the differences in our opinions as we develop joint actions.

KOIKE (*International Telephone and Telegram Workers' Union--KOKUSAIDENDEN*):

We would like to ask you about the plan for an Afro-Asian Workers' Solidarity Conference on the following two points: (a) We have been told that Mr. Konno, SOHYO's standing executive who visited Peking on the occasion of 1956 May Day, conveyed to the Chinese side a message of Mr. Iwai, General Secretary, to the effect that the holding of a trade union conference is meaningless if the meeting will exclude the representation by the trade unions of Taiwan and Hongkong. We want to know whether he actually said this or not.

We hear that Mr. Oki, General Secretary of the Japan Tele-communications Workers' Union (ZENDENTSU) wrote to the All-China Federation of Trade Unions to the effect that the executives of the WFTU and the ICFTU would not be invited to the Afro-Asian Workers' Solidarity Conference. We want to know why they should not be invited?

Regarding the draft anti-rationalisation policy, there are many points that are not clear to understand.

We entertain apprehensions about the composition and nature of 'a committee to work out a long-term anti-rationalisation struggle policy'. Bitter experiences of the trade unions which have been severely hit by the monopolies' rationalisation attack must be carefully studied, and steps must be taken to cope with the situation correctly. Is the projected committee composed of the representatives of member unions and scholars?

On the cooperation of political party. It is not a satisfactory reason for the trade unions affiliated with the General Council to support the Socialist Party, that the majority of the population support the Socialist Party. If the Socialist Party proves itself as a party really striving for the interest of the working masses, then, and only then, cooperation with or support for the Socialist Party by trade unions contributes to unity of people's front on broader scale.

IWAI (General Secretary):

What Mr. Koike told us must be the view taken by Mr. Chen Yu of All-China Federation of Trade Unions, and it is not what I asked Mr. Konno to tell the Chinese side. I don't know about the circumstances exactly. I don't think I sent such a message to Chinese leaders through Mr. Konno.

I don't know anything about Mr. Oki's letter.

About the rationalisation question: It is just a proposal.

As for the establishment of 'a long-term anti-rationalisation committee', care should be made not to give illusions to the rank and file workers that the establishment of the committee only would help solve this question. But to hold labour-capital negotiations on the platform of a proposed 'long-term rationalisation committee' is not dangerous.

On the fourth question, I don't mean to say that the Socialist Party should be supported just because it is supported by the majority of the people. I suppose the opinions differ in this respect, so I would like to explain my view on this question later.

* * *

Now the questions on the general report being over, the convention continued debates on movement policy.

KITAOKA (Japan Coal Mine Workers' Union—TANRO):

We want the document for the convention, particularly copies of draft movement policy, be distributed at least one month prior to the holding of the convention.

No practical and concrete steps are revealed in the draft movement policy. Rank and file workers at the collieries do want plain, clear-cut guidance.

We are not satisfied with the way in which the community activities are to be intensified.

Education and Publicity programme is said to be discussed and issued at next convention. But it is badly needed now.

IWAI (General Secretary):

The draft policy should really be distributed earlier. But the preliminary draft has been circulated two months ago.

I would suggest you to carefully read the text of the draft programme on the measure to reinforce struggle set-up. We cannot under-estimate the role played by community-level joint struggle bodies. From this standpoint, it is very important to achieve labour-peasant cooperation.

We have tried to have the education and publicity programme prepared in time for the convention, but in vain. What is in our mind is to check up union organ papers to improve the contents and establish short trade union courses to train leaders and activists.

KUNIYASU (Japan Postal Service Workers' Union—ZENTEI):

It was proposed in the draft that one of the tactics to be taken in the struggle for the defence of rights is to make strict check-ups on the working conditions and demand the management for the full execution of the regulations. The check-up struggle will succeed only when conditions of various workshops are fully examined and strong actions

be taken to fulfill the aim. The draft points out the establishment of a committee for the defence of rights, or a committee to uncover violation of regulations. We want to know about the definite plan about the check-up action and the role to be played by such committees.

What do you want to do by establishing activists' groups or labour-peasant youth groups? What relations do they have and role do they play with regard to the youth or women union members in the present situation, when youth or women's sections are not yet set up in the majority of trade unions?

The special location allowance for Government and Public Service workers have made no increase for the last few years. We want to know about the plans you have in this respect, and what steps will be taken to develop the action.

In connection with the question of shorter hours of work. If the workers obtained 8-hour day as the result of their fight, engagement in overtime work will "waive their rights". The draft deals little with the future struggles to defend workers' achievement in this connection.

Workers are fighting with the Government and Public Corporation workers as the centre for the ratification of the ILO Convention 87 and the deletion of Item 3, Article 4 of the Public Corporation Labour Relations Law. The recent development of the struggle shows that the Japanese workers have become more and more conscious of the importance of uniting themselves on industrial level, rather than enterprise-unit system. However, the Council of Public Service Workers' Unions has a tendency not to broaden the scope of the struggle and wage united actions with the workers of other industries. What steps are prepared to overcome such difficulties?

ANNO (Standing Executive):

Demands for improved working conditions should be organised into actions by rank and files on workshop basis. And while such demands are being organised, workers should be encouraged to check up the conditions that are

not fit with the regulations prescribed by labour contracts or the Labour Law.

We are planning to send organiser team to different parts of the country, at the end of September, help workers check the working conditions at their places of work and develop such lower-level actions. Leaflets will be circulated to help them organise actions.

Such actions should be promoted to enlighten the consciousness of rank and filers, farmers as well as people in the community, for their rights. Such action will be developed in close relation with the fight against the Security Treaty set-up, which will reach the peak in October.

The Government fixes the wages of Government and Public servicemen low to maintain its low wage policy. Therefore, to make the workers realise this fact will enhance their consciousness, both in cities and local communities and organise actions to develop them into a nationwide powerful movement.

Persistent efforts are needed to make workers realise their right to earn enough by 8 hours of work, or by shorter hours of work. And then, the demand must be organised into an action on industrial basis.

Amendment of Item 3, Article 4 of the Public Corporation Labour Relations Law and ratification of ILO Convention 87 have been regarded as questions that affect the conditions of civil enterprise workers as well. This question is very important, and, therefore, this question must be powerfully pushed by the workers, regardless of their trades or union affiliation. It is not a question limited to the Council of Public Service Workers' Union (KOROKYO) or civil enterprise unions.

UTSUNOMIYO (Standing Executive):

Graduates of schools are mostly employed by small or middle-sized enterprises, or as temporary workers in larger companies. This results in decrease in the number of young workers organised in youth sections of trade unions. To cope with this, efforts should be made to recruit more youth

into youth sections within trade unions, while calling upon young workers employed in small or middle-sized enterprises and the agricultural youth, to help them organise into groups of active youth in respective communities.

* * *

Then, the conference chairman proposed to start discussions on movement policy.

OKI (All Telecommunication Workers' Union—ZENDENTSU):

Cooperation with political parties and verbal attacks on the work done by the central executives should not be the key problems high-lighting the convention.

Struggle to increase the wages of Government and Public servicemen should be carried out by workers at workshops. It is necessary that the solution does not depend too much upon the activities of the Public Enterprise Labour Relations Committee.

It is not right that our anti-rationalisation struggle was carried out in line with the agreement with the managements.

The central targets of next year's spring labour offensive will be set at increasing wages and shortening hours of work. These actions must be organised industrially.

YOSHIZAKI (Japan Coal Mine Workers' Union—TANRO):

Rank and filers fighting in the growing intensity of rationalisation drive are looking forward to have their immediate demands discussed at the convention. They want concrete ways and means to obtain higher wages discussed at the convention. For them, question of cooperation with political parties seems not so pressing as other immediate demands.

This autumn, we must fight against teachers' efficiency rating system in Hokkaido. And wages must be raised, too.

The General Council is planning to send organiser team. We want such organisers as would live with miners months and organise their actions with them. They don't want those who are satisfied with visiting collieries, giving

messages of solidarity, and doing nothing else. We cannot understand why some people that urge us to fight more actively oppose to raising 50 Yen per person as organisers' fund.

YAMAMOTO (Japan Teachers' Union—NIKKYOSO):

We agree in principle with the draft policy. One point that we want to know is how the workers in other industries would fight against the attacks upon the nation's education. We have presented an amendment in this connection.

Workers must resort to use-of-force actions in order to recover their right to strike. The draft deals with many points, for instance, consolidation of joint actions with peasants and farmers, or against enterprise-rationalisation, but it lacks concrete measures to develop them. Ways and means to broaden the scope of activities should be studied and clearly indicated in the draft.

MATSUO (National Metal and Machine Trade Union—ZENKOKU KINZOKU):

The most pressing demand of the workers employed in smaller enterprises is to increase their wages, to achieve a minimum wage system to guarantee their living. We need to examine our past activities, study merits and demerits we had in the past. That will make our future actions more effective.

For instance, the meeting of the representatives of affiliated unions held on November 4 could not foresee the result of anti-Police Bill united action waged on the following day.

It seems that the negotiation talks between the heads of the conservative and the Socialist Parties for normal Diet procedures, after the Police Bill battle, acted as a basis for the establishment of a so-called 8-member committee.

The draft policy lacks concrete ideas and suggestions how to correct fundamental weaknesses of the General Council by sending 300-organiser team. We cannot clearly understand what the central leadership means by 'funda-

mental weakness'. The draft policy does not make clear what steps are to be taken to improve relations between the General Council and local organisations. We cannot quite understand how the General Council would do to **unite trade unions on industrial basis.**

As for future plans, we hear that the 6th wave of united action will be conducted at the end of October. We propose here to wage a powerful rally on September 8 in protest against the death of Brother Hanawa, who was killed by the police clash the other day.

Lastly, we urge the General Council central leadership to democratise union management.

OTA (President of the General Council):

Some pointed out the lack of effective guidance by **central leadership** as a reason for the stagnancy of labour movement. However, efforts were made to lead the labour movement to right direction as decided at the conventions. It is my opinion that "low-toned spring labour offensive" was due to the following two weaknesses.

First of all, it came from the fact that some 12 million workers employed in smaller enterprises are still unorganised. Secondly, monopolies came out on offensive after their recovery from depression. However, we were **not well prepared with the refreshed energy of monopolies.** We have experiences to make showdowns in the days before they regained their force. This is why we failed in obtaining more than one-third of the total seats in the Diet.

The only way to overcome such weaknesses is to unite our actions for our common demands. Then, how should we organise actions in unity?

The 8-member committee was set up in the situation in which it was necessary for the progressive forces to check the Government's attempt to put off Diet proceedings and **have the Government-proposed Police Bill rammed through the Diet forcefully.**

At that time, it was important to establish a powerful body including the Japan Trade Union Congress (ZENRO). The 8-member committee on a minimum wage system was

set up in this way. However, we stuck to the principle of a uniform minimum wage system to eliminate wage differential among enterprises and raise the wage level uniformly.

Some pointed out that 50 Yen will be collected to send a large group organiser-team as the central leadership is weak in organising actions.

But we think that the living of organisers must be well financed to organise a showdown with powerful monopolies. It may be quite difficult to pick up talented organisers from among trade union members. We think it necessary for us to train workers as good organisers in our day-to-day battles.

IKENOYA (National Federation of Paper and Pulp Industry Workers' Union—KAMIPA ROREN):

We express our opinions on the question of dispatch of organisers and labour unification problem.

Monopolies are sitting comfortably with their legs crossed, so to speak, over the suffering of smaller-sized enterprises. Many trade unions affiliated with our Federation are those of medium or small-sized enterprises. Their fights are difficult and toiling. Besides, there are many who are not yet organised into trade unions. Sincere activities of the regional organisers will be much appreciated to eliminate gaps between the unions. We support the draft policy on this point.

UCHIYAMA (General Confederation of Private Railway Workers' Union—SHITETSU SOREN):

This year we could not fight for higher wages so militantly as we had expected. There may be many reasons for that, and one of them is that we failed in creating a feeling of trust and conviction in the leadership and uniting the will to fight among lower-level unions. It was because there was weakness in the way the actions were instructed.

Some people take the stand that there is no need of organising a body which acts as a core to defend peace. They say that peace activity can be carried out along with trade

union activities. But it is not right. We believe that a group or a circle for peace should be established within trade unions to actively fight for peace.

KUROSE (Miscellaneous Workers' Union—IPPANGODO):

We who have actually participated in organising workers can see how it is important to have trained organisers sent to every part of the country. Placement of good organisers on the spots where they are badly needed contributed a great deal in the past, for instance, in the fight against efficiency rating system or in consolidating the regional organisations. We have many instances to show the fruit of the activities of such organisers. Sometimes, workers employed in small enterprises, where there are less than ten employees, are led to unite themselves into trade unions. Recruiting workers into trade union movement is a most urgent step in the present situation, when the Japan Federation of Employers' Associations attaches much importance to this drive. They are afraid that the relations between the workers of large and small enterprises, or ties between the organised and the unorganised are consolidated.

For fear of closer ties among workers, employers resort to various measures to split them. Therefore, we fully support the proposal of the headquarters to dispatch organisers.

IWAI (General Secretary):

In opposition to the rise of newspaper subscription, (1) we will urge the Fair Trade Commission to submit a clear-cut recommendation on this point to the Government, (2) trade unions and other organisations headed by the Federation of Consumers' Organisations will negotiate with the newspaper agencies, and (3) we will consult with the special committees on this question for appropriate opposition measures including boycotting.

Relations with the Socialist Party: As the National Federation of Iron and Steel Workers' Unions (TEKKOROREN) and the National Council of Local and Municipal Government Workers' Unions (JICHIRO) suggested, any

contacts with the Socialist Party will be conducted through the SOHYO headquarters in the future. It means that individual contacts will not be made between the party and affiliated unions hereafter. A political bureau will be set up with 87 Diet Representatives.

Some entertain apprehensions that the establishment of such a bureau may yield danger of creating some segments quite apart from the demands or activities of affiliated unions. We believe, however, this method is desirable because (1) such a body can unify the views of member-unions prior to negotiating with the Government. We experienced differences of opinions in the past, among the member-unions, for instance when we urged the Government to improve the Law for the Fixed Number of Personnel in the Administrative Organisations.

We judged that it is better to contact with the Socialist Party not directly from the General Council but through the projected political bureau in order to improve the present status of the party.

Mr. Uchiyama suggested us to set up a peace organisation within the trade union. I wonder if it is a kind of a 'circle' or a 'group'. It won't be appropriate to have another organ set up within the union. We will discuss the question and let it be known later.

We have proposed a fund collection campaign half an year ago. We don't mean to say that every one is free either to contribute to it or not. But that is not what we aim at.

About the regional joint struggle set-up to cope with the Government's enforcement of teachers' efficiency rating system, we appreciate the work done in Kochi Prefecture. There is no denying, however, that the links with the broader section of people are not yet satisfactorily consolidated.

By the word 'independent', we mean to say that 'we will actively support the principle of peaceful coexistence'.

We have received many amendments for the draft policy from the affiliated unions.

The paragraphs on the world situation will be re-examined and improved in line with the proposals made by the Japan Teachers' Union (NIKKYOSO), Japanese Federation of Synthetic Chemistry Workers' Unions (GOKAROREN) and National Federation of Paper and Pulp Industry Workers' Unions (KAMIPA ROREN).

As far as the basic principle of the movement policy is concerned, the point stressed by the Japan Coal Mine Workers' Union (TANRO) will be taken into consideration.

The main targets of our fight will be the opposition to Security Treaty revision and rationalisation drive and attainment of higher wages, a minimum wage system, defense of rights, and we add opposition to efficiency rating system as pointed out by the Japan Teachers' Union (NIKKYOSO). This proposal by the Japan Teachers' Union (NIKKYOSO) was strongly supported by standing executives. So we will add that in, as approved by the convention.

The proposal by the National Federation of Iron and Steel Workers' Unions (TEKKO ROREN) on wage question will be studied further. Other proposals on this question will be added in the document.

Amendment on the struggle for a real minimum wage system will be accepted in principle. Amendment will be made on anti-rationalisation struggle in line with the discussion at the meeting.

We will attach much importance to all the ideas and proposals made in connection with the question of peace, independence and democracy.

As for the question of cooperation with political parties, we will discuss it further and let it be decided now.

Policy on labour-peasant cooperation will be based on the principle of SOHYO's organisation programme.

The principle of collecting the fund for setting up a 300-man organiser team is approved, but each member union is expected to bring the question back to its own organ for detailed proposals.

IV

DECLARATION ADOPTED BY THE 12TH CONVENTION OF THE SOHYO

Fully realising the responsibility for acting as a core which represents the workers of Japan, and for fulfilling the tasks imposed by the working masses who love peace and liberty, we workers uniting with the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (SOHYO) have completed our 4-day discussions of the 12th annual convention.

At present, we are confronted with an acute situation, which may seal the fate of the nation. The Government is attempting to revise the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty to enable Japan to arm her with nuclear weapons and send her troops overseas.

In domestic scene, there is a trend heading for militarism and fascism. Rationalisation, infringement of rights—all these are the attacks by monopolies and their Government who are desperate to tone down resistance put up by the workers.

The convention held in such a serious situation made clear the stand taken by the General Council to crush the Government's attempt for Treaty revision by the 'use-of-force' actions by all the workers, destroy the Treaty set-up, achieve national independence and build a country of peace and political independence.

The convention adopted a policy pledging to fight on with the following demands as the main goals: achievement of a large-scale wage increase for all the workers of the country, opposition to the rationalisation as demanded by the Japan Coal Mine Workers' Union (TANRO), shorter working hours, establishment of an ideal minimum wage system, ratification of ILO Convention and recovery of rights as demanded by the Japan Postal Workers' Union (ZENTEI) and other Government and Public Corporation workers, and defence of democratic education, etc.

The policy taken by the Kishi Cabinet and the monopolies runs counter to the trend of the world for peaceful co-existence as revealed in the exchange of visits of Eisen-

hower and Khrushchov. They are isolated from the general trend of the world, where the superiority of socialist structure is proved unshakable.

If we carry out our actions on the basis of this realisation and continue our fight with courage and conviction, we will make an immense advance.

'Stagnated labour movement will come back on offensive' when innumerable number of unorganised workers as well as workers of smaller enterprises are recruited into labour front and the cooperation with various segments of the people, particularly with peasants and farmers, can be achieved in carrying out practical activities.

Taking this into our consideration, we believe that the dispatch of organiser team will have a favourable result in the future. We recall our recent experience that our call for joint action was powerfully and unhesitatingly responded by the conscious people of the country when the General Council decidedly came out on actions to smash the Government's attempt to revise the Police Law.

Fully convinced of people's support for our actions, as was shown in our recent experiences, we must fight to the last ditch from autumn to spring next year.

Now the working class is not fighting only to defend interest. Their action is closely related to the future of the Japanese nation, and even to peace and prosperity of Asian and African countries.

Difficulties we suffer at the places of work are exactly difficulties and miseries of the Japanese people as a whole. Fully conscious of this fact, we must stand firm in the raging storm of attacks by the opposition.

Unity and solidarity of the workers uniting with the General Council are the basis for the unity of all the workers of the country. This is what truly guarantees a victory of democratic force.

Here we pledge ourselves to start our activities anew by finding out difficulties suffered by workers at every nook and corner, helping them to overcome such difficulties in their just demands and strengthening the set-up to fight for them. We are determined to fight on until we score a

final victory and pledge ourselves to launch a powerful action on the basis of the fruitful results we attained from the discussions at this convention."

August 29, 1959

The 12th Annual Convention of
the General Council of Trade
Unions of Japan (SOHYO).

NEW OFFICIALS ELECTED BY THE 12TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE SOHYO

President	: Kaoru Ota (GOKA) Japan Federation of Synthetic Chemistry Workers' Unions
Vice-President	: Mitsuo Fujioka (TANRO) Japan Coal Mine Workers' Union
"	Akira Imamura (NIKKYOSO) Japan Teachers' Union
"	Masato Honda (SHITETSU) General Federation of Private Railway Workers' Unions
"	Tomitaro Kaneda (ZENKOWAN) All-Japan Dock-works' Union
"	Yoshinobu Kadoma (TEKKO ROREN)
General Secretary	: Akira Iwai (KOKUTETSU) National Railway Workers' Union
Vice-General Secretary	: Takehiro Ebitani (TANRO) Japan Coal Mine Workers' Union
Head of General Affairs Dept.	: Yoshio Minami (ZENNORIN) All Agricultural Ministry Workers' Union
Head of Financial Dept.	: Tomezo Endo (SENBAL) All Monopoly Corporation Workers' Union
Head of Organization Dept.	: Mankichi Kato (GOKA) Japanese Federation of Synthetic Chemistry Workers' Unions
"	Yoshiyuki Kitagawa (ZENKOKU KINZOKU) National Metal and Machine Trade Union
Head of Youth Dept.	: Tokimasa Yashiro (ZENRINYA) All Forestry Agency Workers' Union.
Head of Unemployment Dept.	: Katsutaka Yuasa (ZENNICHIJIRO) All Japan Free Workers' Union
Head of Women's Dept.	: Makiko Yamamoto (ZENTEI) Japan Postal Workers' Union

Head of Government and Public Corporation Dept.	: Masaji Oi (KOKUTETSU) National Railway Workers' Union
Head of Political Dept.	: Yoshio Yanagimoto (GOKA) Japan Federation of Synthetic Chemistry Workers' Unions
"	: Seiyo Takezaki (JICHIRO) National Council of Local and Municipal Government Workers' Unions
"	: Bunichiro Sano (ZENCHURO) All Japan Garrison Forces Workers' Union
Head of Struggle Dept.	: Seiichi Suzuki (KAMIPA) National Federation of Paper Pulp Industry Workers' Unions
"	: Masaru Anno (ZENTEI) Japan Postal Workers' Unions
"	: Shigeru Ishikawa (TANRO) Japan Coal Mine Workers' Union
Head of Social Security Dept.	: Nobuo Shioya (ZENKO) All Japan Federation of Metal Miners' Unions
Head of International Dept.	: Shigeru Tanehashi (SHITETSU) General Federation of Private Railway Workers' Unions
Head of Education and Publicity Dept.	: Masao Komori (ZENDENTSU) Japan Telecommunications Workers Union
"	: Tadayoshi Yamanaka (NIKKYOSO) Japan Teachers' Union
SOHYO's Lawyers' Group	: Isao Naito

THE "MATSUKAWA CASE"

Story of the 10 year-long struggle of the Japanese working class against an international frame-up

Having covered some 150 kilometers in demand for the acquittal of the defendants of Matsukuwa Case, some 15,000-men processions which had come from various parts of the country streamed into Tokyo in four groups on August 10. The processions each led by the defendants, marched to the Supreme Court building where the final judgment was to be given.

The Supreme Court building had been surrounded, from the night before, by some 2,000 workers and the citizens who were too anxious about the ruling to wait for it at their

places of work or at home. "To maintain public peace", some 1,000 policemen were mobilised, who stood in a close human wall against the anxious people. The police were stationed not only around the Supreme Court building, but also along the streets where the 15,000 men—Matsukawa paraders—were going. They were ready at any moment to jump at the marchers and clash with them.

The marchers halted on the streets suddenly. It was just ten o'clock, when the fate of the 20 defendants were to be finally decided. Anxiety, hope and confidence for their innocence were lit large on their faces. They felt as if they could count the beating of their hearts. Workers and people of the country, young and old, rushed to the radios. The attention of the telecasters, broadcasters and pressmen was centred to the announcement of the Supreme Court judgment. Just at that very moment, nothing else seemed to be in their minds. Every one of the country was holding his breath in their anticipation.

It was just at that moment, 3 minutes after 10, that the much-awaited ruling by the Grand Tribunal was handed down before a packed gallery.

"The original verdict shall be reversed and the case be referred to the Sendai Higher Court for a retrial."

Now the four defendants were saved. Surrounding the defendants who choked with tears of joy, the workers and the people broke into cheers with extreme joy. A difficult 10-year-long fight for justice, for the defence of 20 victims of the international political frame-up case plotted by the ruling class has made a gigantic step for a final victory.

The workers and the people of the country who participated in the fight for the defence of the victims would never forget the excitement they felt on that day. August 10 marked a bright page in the history of democracy of Japan, giving Japanese working class enormous courage and conviction in their action.

* * *

This derailment case happened in a small village of northern part of Japan, at the early dawn of August 17,

1949, when the country was under the military control of the U.S. forces. It is evident that the case was a political frame-up worked out by U.S. imperialists who were frantic to oppress the Japanese workers who were the central force of the fight for rights, democracy and peace, in order to carry out their war policy.

A total of 20 workers including 10 National Railway workers and 10 electric workers were arrested in succession.

The judicial authorities—police, prosecutors and the judges put into one—stifled or hid the evidences to prove the innocence of the defendants. A young worker was subjected to a severe inductive cross-examination and torture to make a false confession. They compelled many witnesses to commit perjuries. In this way, they sentenced the four defendants to death and the others to heavy punishments at the first and second trials, in spite of the fact that there was no definite evidence to prove them guilty excepting the “confession” made by a few defendants.

We should say this is something like trials by witches in the mediaeval age; or a political trial.

Matsukawa incident when it happened, dealt a severe blow to the workers of Japan. The trade union movement which had risen spontaneously after the war began to be stagnated, and in the following year, the Korean War broke out. It seemed that the intention of the ruling class scored a brilliant success. No, on the contrary, the fight of the workers seeking for the truth, peace, human rights and democracy have made steadfast progress in the face of difficulties.

Their fight started from the exchange of letters between the defendants and the workers supporting them outside the thick walls of the prison. Some 130,000 letters were written by the defendants and some 65,000 letters received by them. Only this will clearly show the solidarity among the 20 defendants and the supporting men and women. Powerful solidarity is the core of the 10-year-long struggle of the Matsukawa defendants. Their families set up Matsukawa Family Group, and walked all over the

country, appealing the innocence of their sons and husbands to the people.

The cries for the truth by the defendants and their families moved the conscious men and women. In 1953, the annual convention of National Railway Workers' Union (KOKUTETSU) passed the resolution to support and help the defendants, which was followed by the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (SOHYO), the most gigantic national organisation of the workers of Japan, which approved the similar resolution at its convention. The General Council viewed that the case was a direct oppression of the working class of Japan and that the General Council was tasked to help the defendants to clarify their innocence. When the General Council resolved to help them at the convention, the relief movement began to develop rapidly.

Some 5,000 men participated from all over the country in the on-the-spot investigations, covering some 8,000 kilometers in all. The truth was made known to them, whose anger for those who destroy truth is ever growing. They spread to various parts of the country, and hundreds and thousands of relief bodies were set up on workshop and regional levels. These people acted as the nucleus of the movement for the human rights and democracy.

Writers such as Mr. Kazuo Hirotsu and many other men of culture have stood up to defend the conscience and justice of Japanese people. In particular, Mr. Hirotsu's sincere appeal based on 5-year-long detailed analysis of the case moved hundreds and thousands of people.

The solidarity extended by the workers of overseas countries, including a sum of 12 million Yen sent by them has given a courage not only to the defendants but also to all the workers of the country.

Supported by the working class solidarity within and outside the country, the fight for the defence of truth developed in consolidated unity on national level, and now marked a gigantic step for a final victory.

* * *

Fighting in unity for truth and peace, for the acquittal of all the defendants, people won a verdict to refer the case to the lower court for a retrial.

However, it should be noted that some judges, the Chief of the Supreme Court included, advocated the minority opinion that the appeal by the defense should be rejected, and that the defendants were guilty. They say that it is not necessary to have evidences to judge people, that the "conspiracy" was worked out by the defendants although trustworthy, no trustworthy evidences are left. Chief Judge Tanaka said to the effect that it would take some four or five years more to retry the case, and therefore, "it would be better to declare them guilty immediately, as the authority of judgment would fall by retrial at the lower court." We have found out in him the true colours as a "judicial murderer".

The Sendai Higher Court has already decided upon the judges responsible for the retrial, and the procurators' office is ready to come back on offensive again. The situation does not warrant optimism.

However, the Japanese workers have a strong confidence in their victory. The Council for the Matsukawa Case has decided on their policy for the future struggles as follows :

1. To start an active campaign to let the general public realise the significance of the recent ruling, the contents of the verdict, and also what is meant by the minority opinion among the judges.

2. To carry out a movement to collect a sum of 5 million Yen as a fund to organise a set-up in preparation for the struggle at the time of the retrial. The 5 million Yen will be collected within this year.

3. To produce a film on the Matsukawa case.

Publicity by a film would be very effective. However, as it costs some 40 million Yen to produce a film, it has been unable to produce one although it has been badly wanted. At the threshold of a new stage, we have decided to collect the sum of 40 million widely both from within and outside the country as a fund to make a long-desired film.

4. To extend and strengthen the relief organisations for the purpose of further publicising the truth about the Matsukawa case.

5. Some 250 lawyers have been selected.

We have furnished an effective set-up to deal a blow against the prosecution.

All the workers uniting with the Council for the Matsukawa Case are now ready for the future struggle with the 20 defendants fighting in the forefront.

(From SOHYO NEWS, October 10, 1959)

ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE REVISION OF THE JAPAN-U.S. SECURITY TREATY

We feel we must emphasise the struggle against revision of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty as one of the most important targets of the series of current struggles fought by Japanese workers.

(1) Progress of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty

The San Francisco Peace Treaty was signed in September, 1951. The Treaty, however, was concluded with the United States and other Allied countries, but not with Soviet Russia, China, as well as India. The Allied countries have put off signing the peace treaty with these countries.

The Japanese nation since then has stoutly opposed this one-sided peace treaty because of the view that a tie-up with the American camp only, when there are two parallel camps—the U.S. and Soviet Russia—means dragging Japan into the Cold War. And it is because the nation has a stand that not only the conclusion of the Treaty violates the spirit of the Constitution which provides for eternal neutrality, but also would lose the nation's real independence.

Ignoring the opposition of the public, the Japanese Government, however, has dared to put into effect the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty while the innocent Japanese nation was quite unaware.

By this treaty, Japan has agreed to endorse the U.S.

Forces to offer convenience and cooperation in any military action to be taken against Korea and China, as much as when Japan was forced to do under the occupation of the Allied Forces.

By this treaty, accordingly, the whole area of Japan became U.S. bases on the Asiatic front and Japan was also forced to take subordinate status to the U.S.

Having changed the title of the U.S. "Occupation" Forces to "Security" Forces by the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, Americans still requisition 604 military bases in Japan just like they held before. Various incidents—frictions between the Japanese public and the U.S. Forces around those places—have been reported in these days.

Supported by workers, struggles against the establishment of U.S. military bases—the Sunakawa case in the Tokyo area for instance—have been fiercely fought by farmers who have been dispossessed of their land. The statistics of cases involving human rights, to begin with the case of an American soldier who shot a Japanese to death without any cause, as well as murders, robbery, rape, assaults, show a total of 15,452 cases during the period between 1953 and June, 1956.

Strong ill-feeling harboured against the present situation: Japan has never ceased to demand abrogation of the controversial Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, the return of U.S. bases, and the evacuation of U.S. Forces.

Such demands not only coincide with the spirit of the Japanese Constitution but are also righteous demands for securing real independence and peace for Japan. Supporting the righteousness of such nation-wide demands wholeheartedly, the workers have bolstered their struggles at every opportunity and everywhere.

The Tokyo District Court declared in March 1959, that the stationing of U.S. troops in Japan was a violation of the Constitution of Japan. This verdict is legal justification for our insistence.

Despite our struggles and the court's verdict, the Kishi Government is still seeking an opportunity to revise the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty in order to solidify relations

with the U.S., as much as promote military cooperation between the two countries. Negotiations between the U.S. and Japanese authorities on this matter have been continued since the end of 1958. The Japanese Government aims, eventually, to step up the implementation of the Treaty.

(2) *Recent Trends Concerning the Security Treaty Revision Problem*

Pledging to submit the revision bill to the ordinary session of the Diet, scheduled next spring, Prime Minister Kishi has indicated that he would go to the United States by all means to conclude the Treaty.

Meanwhile, the American side is blackmailing the Japanese people as indicated in U.S. Ambassador MacArthur's speech before the Yokohama Rotary Club. The speech is partly quoted as: "It is not good to attempt to worsen the amicable relations between the U.S. and Japan."

What is the substance of the proposed new pact—the pact that they are rushing to such a hasty conclusion?

The points are :

1. The existing "land-lease pact" is to be slid into a "military alliance for mutual defence"; that is, it will be changed into the so-called "Japan-U.S. Destiny Community" or "Japan-U.S. Fidelity-to-Death Alliance".

2. It will pave the way for the introduction of nuclear weapons into the Self-Defence Forces. It will consequently create again the conscription system. This is because the *de jure* obligation upon Japan to reinforce the strength of military forces as the result of the Vandenberg Resolution of the American Congress will be in force again by the revision of the Treaty. This is also related to the retrogressive revision of the Constitution of Japan.

3. Not only in order to contribute to Japan's security but also "to the peace and security of the Far East", the revision will justify the continuance of the stationing of the U.S. troops in Japan. It will, substantially, form a military

alliance of the "NEATO"—Northern East Asiatic Treaty Organisation—a military alliance of Japan, Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines and the U.S.

4. It provides, furthermore, that if U.S. Forces stationed within the area under Japan's administration are attacked, the action will be taken as an attack against Japan. Being obliged to take joint measures with the U.S., Japan consequently cannot avoid sending overseas units of the Self-Defence Forces. Thus Japan would be dragged into war.

5. The Government explained that there is no need to worry that nuclear weapons might be brought into Japan or that military operations may take place in which Japan might be involved, because they would write into the Treaty that there will be "prior consultation" in such cases. The point is that, however, no veto can be provided for such a dependency.

6. The validity term of the Treaty will be ten years. For this long period the nation will be forced to live under the dangerous structure of the newly designated security pact. It can be said that the ten years, under the current "breath-stopping" treaty, could mean "for ever".

7. Economic cooperation, as designated by the monopolies, will lead Japan to the furtherance of her subordination to the U. S., politically, militarily, and economically.

Why do the U.S. and the Kishi Cabinet hurry to bring in such an extremely dangerous Security Treaty?

It is because:

To invade Asia, utilising Japan's advanced industrial power and military potentialities, the American expansionists consider that it is necessary to knit the bonds of allied relations between the U.S. and Japan—relations which will make up Japan to be the leader nation of Asia. Furthermore, from the military point of view, we can say that, the strategy to meet with the situation as the occasion may demand has been taken by them.

The progress of changing strategy in the U.S. would be by-passed here, but we have to say a word about the existing Self-Defence Forces of Japan. The Forces are, in short,

fulfilling their role as an auxiliary of the U.S. Forces—a link in its military strategy.

As you know, Japan is a defeated country but, having a far-advanced economic structure, she is a capitalistic country. She has lost her colonies by the lost war but the index of her production in the fields of industry and mining reached as much as 2.7 times higher than the prewar record in August, 1959. Her exports, on the contrary, have only attained their prewar level. Therefore, it is in a fair way the cause of increasing contradictions between Japan's production and market.

Japan's monopolies want to capture markets in South-east Asia. For that reason, they have to shelter under the influence of the United States. In order to win the international race it is required to produce merchandise with its cost down to the minimum. This is the cause of Japan's low wage, low rice price policy and rationalisation drive.

The root of the rationalisation offensive taken by capitalists which has been reported in various fields of industries, in coal mining, for instance, is quite similar to the idea of the "military alliance" plotted in the revision of the Security Treaty.

Standing on the basis of the alliance with its subordinate conditions under the U.S., the Kishi Government, representing the monopolies of Japan, is simply aiming at the restoration of militarism and dreaming about the old days of "The Greater Asiatic Co-Existence Sphere". The Security Treaty Revision, Rationalisation Policy, Enmity toward China Policy—this whole series of reactionary policies has been put forth only by the Kishi Cabinet—the cabinet which has always planned to depend upon and to knit the bonds of the alliance with the U.S.

Prime Minister Kishi once declared that the pact was to be signed in July, but then changed his statement to "be signed in September". He next said "within this year." He then began to say that "we have not decided yet whether it would be done within the year or in January of next year"

That is because the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party

has internal conflicts. The Kono faction has reaffirmed its strong stand, stating "Our insistence that the validity term of the Treaty should be flexible must be carried out to its utmost. In case our stand is not accepted by the Party, we will hold over our attitude toward this problem." Returning from his three-and-a-half-month world trip covering 27 countries including the U. S., Great Britain and Soviet Russia, Mr. Takeo Miki asserted: "It must be made clear that the veto is to be involved in the article of the "prior consultation" in order to refrain from supposed conflicts in the Far East". Mr. Matsumura is touring China to talk with Chinese leaders. Needless to say, Mr. Ishibashi is critical of this revision project.

The thing to be cautious about, however, is that such contradictions are within a family—the Conservative Party. We have no reason to be optimistic. The success of the development of a unified nation-wide campaign, with workers as the core, will enlarge the contradictions within the Conservative and bring a favourable picture to the peace-loving people.

It is because of the prevailing public opinion and the unified campaigns held seven times since April 1959, being initiated by the workers, that we could check the signing of the Treaty, forcing the Government to delay it.

It can be declared that whether we can check the conclusion of the treaty depends upon the success of the unified campaign, with workers' strikes as the centre, which is to be extended for the 8th, 9th and additional innings.

THE END