

PAMPHLETS TO READ

**LETTERS OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF JAPAN
IN REPLY TO THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE
SOVIET UNION**

**ON THE INTRINSIC NATURE
OF N. S. KHRUSHCHOV'S
PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE LINE**

An Article by Observer in AKAHATA, Organ of
the Communist Party of Japan

**ON THE MEETING CONVENED
IN MOSCOW FROM MARCH 1
BY THE CPSU LEADERSHIP**

Articles in AKAHATA, Organ of
the Communist Party of Japan

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OUR COUNTRY AND OUR PARTY
BY THE CPSU LEADERSHIP AND THE
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In our country, the fierce election campaign to the House of Councillors is now being fought around the "two roads" — one is the road of subordination to the United States, revival of militarism and ruin of the people's life, and the other, the road of independence, democracy, peace and a better life for which the Japanese people aim. One of the tasks which more and more distinctly emerge for the peace and democratic forces of our country in this struggle, is the question of unity. In particular, the strained situation at home and abroad — U.S. imperialism's increasingly aggravated aggression in Viet Nam; the forced conclusion of the Japan-South Korea talks; growing economic difficulties and the people's hard living; intensification of new offensive — for instance, a minor constituency system — which aims at the mal-revision of the Constitution and the revival of militarism — more strongly demands as an evermore pressing task, the consolidation of unity and cohesion of the entire democratic forces.

In such a situation, a certain advance of united actions of the broad democratic forces including the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, trade unions and so on have been found in the struggle against U.S. atomic submarines' "port call", the struggle to frustrate the Japan-South Korea talks, the struggle against the aggression in Viet Nam, etc. But they are not so advanced as to be able to meet the situation. As can be clearly seen even from only one fact that nation-wide resumption of the activity of joint struggle bodies against the Security

Treaty, there are a number of deep-rooted difficulties and questions which hamper stronger unity and cohesion. It should be regarded as the stern responsibility of our Party and the entire democratic forces of our country who desire unity and cohesion, to take up each of those difficulties and questions, in order to fight against every splitting machination, to clarify concrete obstacles which hamper unity and to patiently find their solution.

From this viewpoint, as one of the important questions, our Party cannot but help attaching importance to the question of intervention in and subversive activities against the democratic movements of our country and our Party by the CPSU leadership and the institutions and organizations under its guidance who hamper the unity and cohesion of the movement against A and H bombs and the Japan-Soviet Society and disturb our Party's unity by helping the anti-Party revisionists who have recently run Kamiyama for the elections to the House of Councillors. It is because those interventions and subversive activities by the CPSU leadership have created serious obstacles against the unity and cohesion of the peace and democratic forces of our country, tying themselves with, supporting and encouraging splitting manoeuvres of some divisionists and anti-Party revisionists of our country.

It is clear that our Party which assumes the responsibility for the development of the Japanese people's struggle and consolidation of their unity and cohesion and which also assumes a certain responsibility for the unity of the international Communist movement and the internal democratic movements, cannot leave this question as it is. So far our Party time and again has protested to the CPSU leadership against their intervention in and

subversive activities against the democratic movements of our country and our Party and demanded that they immediately stop them. But the situation has not improved at all, and even after N.S. Khrushchov's fall from power, their interventions and subversive activities still continue. In view of the pressing task of the unity and cohesion of the peace and democratic forces of our country and the gravity of the responsibility borne by our Party, in such a situation, our Party herein makes clear the latest course of events and the point at issue concerning the question.

(1)

As is well-known, the CPSU leadership headed by N.S. Khrushchov has trampled the norms of relations between fraternal Parties clearly defined in the Moscow Statement and has carried out the divisionist and big-power chauvinist policy contrary to the unity of the international Communist movement in order to force their opportunist and revisionist line including their theory of beautifying U.S. imperialism upon the international Communist movement and the international democratic movements. It is the most undisguised manifestation of their divisionist and big-power chauvinist line that the CPSU leadership has carried out splitting manoeuvres against our Party and the Japanese democratic movements; in particular that they have carried out subversive activities against our Party by openly helping the anti-Party group of Shiga, Suzuki, Kamiyama, Nakano and so on.

Through the speech of our Party delegation at the CPJ-CPSU talks of March 1964 in Moscow, our Party's reply of August 26, 1964 to the CPSU Central Committee's letter of April 18, 1964 and a series of articles, our Party criticized the grave error of the opportunist, divisionist and big-power chauvinist line of the CPSU leadership since N.S. Khrushchov; especially called the attention of the CPSU leadership by pointing out a great number of concrete facts regarding intervention, disturbance, pressure, splitting manoeuvres against our Party and the Japanese democratic movements by various institutions and organizations under the leadership of the CPSU Central Committee and demanded their reconsideration so that they would cease such actions as they are against the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. But the CPSU leadership headed by N.S. Khrushchov did not reflect on their wrong line in any way, nor did they stop the CPSU leadership and the institutions and organizations under their leadership from carrying out their wrong big-power chauvinist, subversive activities against our Party and the Japanese democratic movements.

Last October, N.S. Khrushchov was dismissed from his post and the new leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union made a start. The new CPSU leadership, while making some corrections of the line which had been pushed forward by N.S. Khrushchov, particularly of late, has also begun to stress the necessity of unity and cohesion of the international Communist movement and to swear to make every effort for that purpose.

Despite their oath in lip service, even since the dismissal of N.S. Khrushchov, splitting manoeuvres of the

CPSU leadership and the institutions and organizations under its guidance against the democratic movements of our country and also their intervention in and disturbance of our Party have not only continued but also have been rather strengthened in more various forms.

In our reply of January 16, 1965 to the CPSU Central Committee's letter of December 3, 1964 and in a number of articles, our Party has already pointed out those serious interventions and disturbances which continue even after the dismissal of N.S. Khrushchov and has asked the CPSU leadership to reflect on themselves so as to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the international Communist movement and to improve relations between the Japanese and Soviet Communist Parties, which is a part of the former but the state of affairs has not improved at all. Yet, the question is an important question which concerns the unity and cohesion of the entire international Communist movement. Taking up latest examples of interventions in and subversive activities against the democratic movements of our country and our Party by the CPSU leadership and the institutions and organizations under its guidance, our Party will herein make clear the truth on the matter.

(2)

What question has become the main subject of the fierce polemics in the international democratic movements including the peace movement for last few years?

Internationally, it is the question of whether to fly high the banner of the struggle against U.S. imperialism which is the main force of aggression and war in the

world or to bring down the banner of the struggle against U.S. imperialism in the name of "making the movement broader". It is also the question of whether to regard the Kennedy Administration and Johnson Administration as the political agency of U.S. imperialism, lay bare its dual policy and to thoroughly fight against its aggressive policy or to regard the Kennedy Administration and the Johnson Administration as a "reasonable group" or "peaceful co-existence" group within the U.S. ruling circle, to beautify it and to place expectation on the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and other unprincipled compromises with J.F. Kennedy and L.B. Johnson; the question of whether to thoroughly support the national liberation struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples or to hold the development of the national liberation struggle in check in order to realize and maintain "U.S.-Soviet collaboration". In connection with those questions, it is the question of whether to correctly place general disarmament as one of the tasks of the international peace movement in various tasks of the peace movement or to make general disarmament, in particular "general and complete disarmament", which means complete abolition of armaments, the comprehensive and central task of the peace movement, saying that a world without war and arms will be created while the world imperialist system exists.

The most essential question of those disputed questions is, after all, the question of whether or not to take up the line of thoroughly fighting against U.S. imperialism, which is the ring-leader of world reaction, an international gendarme and the main force of aggression and war. The Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty which N.S. Khrushchov concluded with the United States,

Great Britain and the Soviet Union, was indeed a concentrated expression of the line of unprincipled compromise with U.S. imperialism. That is why the international current of modern revisionism headed by N.S. Khrushchov could not put any restriction to the nuclear war policy of U.S. imperialism, but strove to force the Treaty which is intended to prevent Socialist countries except the Soviet Union from strengthening their defence strength, the Treaty which beautifies the dual policy of U.S. imperialism, gives peoples an illusion through deceitful U.S.-Soviet collaboration and only serves to further strengthen U.S. imperialism's aggressive policy in Asia, not only upon Socialist countries and the international Communist movement but upon every field of the international democratic movements including the peace movement. The forcing of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty which is contrary to the task of total ban on nuclear weapons and nuclear tests, the task that had been unanimously upheld by the international democratic movement until then, and which is contrary to the common cause of the international democratic movements and their unity and cohesion, has created a new and great obstacle to the unity of the international democratic movements and has further widened their split.

The imposition of support for the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and the splitting manoeuvres against the Japanese peace movement and the Japan-Soviet friendship movement by the CPSU leadership with the Soviet Peace Committee and the Soviet-Japan Society under its guidance have formed an important link in the chain of the divisionist line worked out by the international current of modern revisionism.

As is well-known, at the Ninth World Conference Against A & H Bombs of 1963, while formally supporting the resolutions of the World Conference which demanded that regardless of the difference of opinion they might have concerning the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, all the peace and democratic forces unite to fight for prevention of nuclear war and prohibition of nuclear weapons and against the nuclear war policy of imperialism, the Vice-Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, Y. Zhukov secretly kept contact with the divisionists and anti-Party elements who supported the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and encouraged them. And after the Conference was over, Y. Zhukov launched his attack on the Japan Council Against A & H Bombs. Furthermore, after his return home, he published his article "Voice of Hiroshima" in PRAVDA to openly attack even our Party and to openly support "the peace rally" of the anti-Party elements and divisionists.

At the Tenth World Conference Against A & H Bombs, the Delegation of the Soviet Peace Committee headed by Y. Zhukov, hiding themselves behind the name of "unity", positively helped the splinter rally of the "Three Prefecture Liaison Council" politically and materially from the very beginning and took the tactics to disturb the Tenth World Conference Against A & H Bombs. It is already well-known what slander and abuse they laid on our Party and the Japan Council Against A & H Bombs. And it is also well-known that, as soon as their manoeuvre was isolated, they openly withdrew from the world conference and took part in the splinter "conference" by the forces who had seceded from the Japan GENSUIKYO.

In addition, it is also a well-known fact that the Soviet-Japan Society attempted to force a joint communique sup-

porting the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty on the Japan-Soviet delegation which visited the Soviet Union from August to September 1965, sent letters not only to the headquarters of the Japan-Soviet Society, but also even to its prefectural offices, chapters and individual members throughout the country so as to obtain support for the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, and, thereby, caused all kinds of confusions within the Japan-Soviet Society.

But, such an opportunist and divisionist line, that is, the line which demands that the banner of the struggle against U.S. imperialism be pulled down, which praised J.F. Kennedy's contribution to peace and prayed silently for him, which beautifies the Johnson Administration to stake everything on the unprincipled collaboration with L.B. Johnson — the line which extolls the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty saying that it is the historical first step toward peaceful co-existence and prohibition of nuclear weapons and accelerates the split of the peace and democratic movements of various countries by forcing the Treaty upon them — such a line, faced with the escalation of the most ferocious aggression against Viet Nam by U.S. imperialism which is represented by the Johnson Administration has completely corroborated its own political bankruptcy.

He who decided large-scale military aggression in South Viet Nam, following Dulle's policy is none other than J.F. Kennedy whom N.S. Khrushchov praised. He who bombs the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, uses poison gas which even Hitler did not use and escalates the aggressive war in Viet Nam by introducing even atomic cannons into South Viet Nam is none other than L.B. Johnson whom N.S. Khrushchov praised. It is too clear

that N.S. Khrushchov's theory of beautification of Kennedy-Johnson is a serious betrayal which plays a criminal role.

The role of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty concluded by N.S. Khrushchov and his imposition of the Treaty upon the international democratic movements is also very clear. N.S. Khrushchov appraised that the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which he concluded with J.F. Kennedy, would "promote general relaxation of international tension", that it is "a step toward stronger peace" and that it "exerts decisive influence" on giving birth to U.S.-Soviet "mutual reliance". But U.S.-Soviet collaboration through the conclusion of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty let U.S. imperialism push forward further its aggression in Viet Nam and other aggressive policy in Asia with a sense of relief, "relying" on N.S. Khrushchov's U.S.-Soviet collaboration policy, and as a result, as can be seen now, it has increasingly intensified "tension" in Asia and has given serious threats to world peace. As the U.S. Administration openly states, in expectation of the unprincipled policy of compromise with the United States taken by the international current of modern revisionism centered on the CPSU leadership, U.S. imperialism enforces its most barbarous aggressive policy against Viet Nam and other Asian countries.

In such a situation, although at the beginning the CPSU leadership, which dismissed N.S. Khrushchov, openly repeated beautification of L.B. Johnson just as N.S. Khrushchov did, especially since last February when the Johnson Administration launched the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, they have begun to take a pose that repeatedly calls for strength-

ening the struggle against U.S. imperialism's war and aggression and for unity and cohesion of the peoples of various countries in this struggle.

But if the CPSU leadership sincerely thinks of unity of the peoples of various countries in the direction of thoroughly fighting against U.S. imperialism's aggression, they should naturally reflect on themselves concerning the error of their line that they avoided the struggle against U.S. imperialism, concluded the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, yielded to the demand of U.S. imperialism and walked along the road of unprincipled compromise with U.S. imperialism. And they should also assume the responsibility for accelerating antagonism within the international democratic movements and for actively lending a hand to the split of the Japanese democratic movements by forcing such a line and with big-power chauvinism forcing support for the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

Yet, far from reflecting on themselves, the CPSU leadership and the Soviet Peace Committee and the Soviet-Japan Society under their guidance continue to strengthen their splitting manoeuvres against the Japanese peace movement and the Japan-Soviet friendship movement.

(3)

Let us begin with the fact of the splitting manoeuvres of the CPSU leadership and the Soviet Peace Committee under their guidance against the Japanese movement against A and H bombs and peace movement.

Those forces who withdrew from the Japan Council Against A & H Bombs (Japan GENSUIKYO), formally formed the "National Council Against A & H Bombs" on February 1 of this year, which opposes Japan GENSUIKYO, and then Y. Zhukov and other leaders of the Soviet Peace Committee made close contact with the central figures who prepared the splinter organization and actively assisted its formation.

Y. Zhukov also helped Yuichi Yoshikawa who was kicked out from the Japan Peace Committee, to form a center to oppose the Japan Peace Committee. When they visited Japan in August last year, they already consulted with Yoshikawa, encouraged his splitting activity and made a promise of material aid. They invited him to Moscow toward the end of last year to hold more concrete consultation.

A certain leader of the Soviet Peace Committee has boasted even of expelling some Japanese directors from the World Peace Council (it clearly means those people who have most actively contributed to the peace movement of the world and Japan) and of letting representatives of the "National Council Against A & H Bombs" take part in the World Peace Council. This proves that leaders of the Soviet Peace Committee handle the World Peace Council like their own private property.

In connection with the preparation for the "World Conference for Peace, National Independence and Disarmament" to be held in Helsinki in July of this year, the secretariat of the World Peace Council allowed representative persons of the "National Council Against A & H Bombs" to participate in the preparatory committee for the World Conference. As an organization which has consistently played an active role in the peace movement

of the world and Japan and also as a formal and sole affiliated organization of the World Peace Council in Japan, the Japan Peace Committee opposed the participation of an organization, which the Japan Peace Committee do not support, in the preparatory committee for the World Conference, in order to achieve genuine development and independent unity of the Japanese peace movement. And the Japan Peace Committee recommended that if any organization other than the Peace Committee is invited, representatives of the Japan GENSUIKYO and the Japan Peace Council of Religious People, both of which are authoritative organizations at home and abroad, be invited. But the Secretariat of the World Peace Council rejected the recommendation, saying that if it were to invite the representatives of the Japan GENSUIKYO, it would have to invite representatives of the "National Council Against A & H Bombs." Nevertheless, the Secretariat invited the general manager of the "National Council Against A & H Bombs" and anti-Party elements in the capacity of representatives of SOHYO. The subterfuge that those are the measures taken by the Secretariat of the World Peace Council and the Soviet Peace Committee has no concern whatever about it, does not hold good. Y. Zhukov, etc. have kept contact for a long time with the central figures who organized the "National Council Against A & H Bombs" in order to work out the plan.

But the world's peoples who truly desire world peace and fight for the prohibition of nuclear weapons are opposed to the split of the movement against A and H bombs which has a history of some dozen years and are advancing in support of the Japan GENSUIKYO as well as a World Conference Against A & H Bombs to be held

under the auspices of the Japan GENSUIKYO. At the Fourth Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference which was held in Winneba, Ghana from May 10-16, 1965 rallying representatives of 70 Afro-Asian countries, the following "Resolution on the Eleventh World Conference Against A & H Bombs" was unanimously adopted: —

"The Japanese people who have thrice been victims of U.S. imperialists' nuclear weapons, initiated their movement against A and H bombs and have hitherto succeeded in developing it into a huge and militant movement, getting the most friendly collaboration of the Afro-Asian peoples.

"This year, the Japan Council Against A & H Bombs in Japan will convene the 11th Conference Against A & H Bombs in Japan, upon the basis of the general line successfully attained in the 10th Conference last year.

"Considering that this coming Conference will undoubtedly contribute to mobilize all our forces against U.S. imperialists' aggression in Viet Nam, the Congo, Dominica, etc. and will thus deal another telling blow to imperialism headed by the U.S., and believing that it will usher in a massive action of our people to realize a World Summit Conference to negotiate the total abolition and destruction of nuclear weapons and conclude a treaty to prohibit the usage of nuclear weapons,

"The Fourth Conference of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity held in Winneba in May 1965 fully supports the coming 11th Conference Against A & H Bombs in Japan. It requests the Permanent Secretariat and all the participants here to do their best to make the 11th World Conference a big success."

Certain leaders of the Soviet Peace Committee not only withdrew from the Tenth World Conference Against

A & H Bombs to take part in the divisionists' conference, but also still carry on splitting manoeuvres against the Japan GENSUIKYO, in collusion with leaders of the "National Council Against A & H Bombs" and also in collusion with certain leaders of the World Peace Council who moves as their baton commands. This action of certain leaders of the Soviet Peace Committee is never compatible with the stand of the resolution of the Fourth Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference which supports "the Eleventh World Conference Against A & H Bombs to be held on the basis of the general line which was successfully attained at the Tenth World Conference last year".

Certain leaders of the Soviet Peace Committee continue to pose as if they support both "fairly," saying that they strive for unity of the "two organizations against A and H bombs", that is, the Japan GENSUIKYO and the "National Council Against A & H Bombs." But the "National Council Against A & H Bombs" which is the successor to the "Three Prefecture Liaison Council" is indeed nothing but a splinter organization which was formed by those who rejected the correct policy of the Japan GENSUIKYO and the Ninth World Conference Against A & H Bombs — the policy that unity of action will be observed regarding the task on which all can agree — deserted from the Conference because their own view was not supported and held the splinter conference.

Never making light of a new splinter organization having emerged within the movement against A and H bombs in Japan, we strive for genuine unity of the movement against A and H bombs in support of the line of the Ninth and Tenth World Conferences Against A & H Bombs. How can we defend unity by supporting and yielding to the

divisionist opinion which attempts to destroy the principle of united action — the soul of unity? As is taught by every past international experience regarding united action and united front, it is impossible to win and defend unity, without fighting against divisionism. In case of our movement against A and H bombs, the policy to support the “two organizations” and to call for their “unity” is to unprincipledly mediate between the correct unity line and wrong divisive line, to obscure the principle of unity won by the World Conferences Against A & H Bombs in their struggle against divisionism and to lead to weakening of the movement as a whole. Unity and split cannot be supported simultaneously.

Moreover, the policy which the delegates of the Soviet Peace Committee superficially upheld to support the “two organizations” and to “fairly” support unity and split is actually an instrument of “divide and rule” to rule both of them by taking advantage of disunity in the movement against A and H bombs of Japan, an instrument of splitting manoeuvres to force with big-power chauvinism the line of the Soviet Peace Committee upon both organizations and to destroy the organization which does not obey the line and to help opportunism and splitting manoeuvres of the divisionists. That has been clearly proved by the course of events regarding the Tenth World Conference Against A & H Bombs of last year and the later events. The Soviet delegates who attended the last World Conference, first of all, regarded even the Japan GENSUIKYO as another “splinter organization” under the pretext of “unity” thereby placed it in the same category as the divisionists’ organization and attempted to attend both “world conferences” under the auspices of respective organizations. The Japan GENSUIKYO and

the overwhelming majority of delegates who took part in the World Conference Against A & H Bombs, naturally criticized such an unprincipled claim by the Soviet delegates for ruining unity of the international movement against A and H bombs. When the policy “to attend the two conferences” found no support and it became completely clear that the policy was a divisionist line against the principle of the international democratic movements, a section of foreign delegates centered on the Soviet delegates did not change their policy of attending the splinter conference, but on the contrary, withdrew from the World Conference Against A & H Bombs and went so far as to attend the splinter conference. It is clear that their “unity” was betrayal of genuine unity and cohesion and only acting in concert with the divisionists. As already pointed out, that a section of leaders of the World Peace Council including those of the Soviet Peace Committee do not make representatives of the Japan GENSUIKYO take part in the preparatory committee meeting in Helsinki in this coming July, but instead make virtual representatives of the “National Council Against A & H Bombs” take part, proves that their divisive manoeuvres are far from being rectified and are rather being strengthened in the face of the Eleventh World Conference Against A & H Bombs.

What do such divisive manoeuvres against the movement against A and H bombs and peace movement of Japan mean?

In the present-day situation, it has become impossible even for the international current of modern revisionism to openly call L.B. Johnson and his group either “reasonable group” or “peace co-existence group”, to extoll the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty as an important step

toward relaxation of international tension, to insist on "World peace through U.S.-Soviet cooperation", to oppose hoisting the banner of the struggle against U.S. imperialism and to subordinate the national liberation struggle to "general disarmament" or to "peaceful co-existence". But these splitting manoeuvres clearly reveal that they still uphold the line of divisionism to deliver blows at the true unity forces, in collaboration with the forces of various countries in the field of the international democratic movements, the forces which support the Khrushchov line that goes on extolling even L.B. Johnson.

(4)

Another example of the divisionist line of the CPSU leadership who, in order to force their wrong line upon other fraternal Parties and democratic forces, try to split democratic organizations by utilizing some elements within the democratic forces of the particular country is the open splitting manoeuvre made by the Soviet-Japan Society under the guidance of the CPSU leadership against the Japan-Soviet Society of our country.

Within the Japan-Soviet Society, there have been splitting manoeuvres by certain people since some time ago. Especially, in case of the Soviet Union's nuclear tests in September 1961 and in case of the conclusion of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in August 1963, splitting manoeuvres against the Japan-Soviet Society were intensified by those people. Nevertheless, that the unity of the Japan-Soviet Society was maintained until recently is because the overwhelming majority of members of the

Society including our Party members, upheld the correct basic policy for unity of the democratic forces that hasty conclusion be avoided on the point of disagreement and action be taken for the point of agreement. Our Party's patient efforts for this purpose is very clear in the light of the historical development regarding the question of the Japan-Soviet Society.

Nevertheless, that certain forces within the Japan-Soviet Society again actively began their splitting manoeuvres and finally this year they formed splinter organizations such as the "Japan-Soviet Exchange Society" and the "Japan-Soviet Friendship Society" within the Japan-Soviet friendship movement, is because the Soviet-Japan Society and people of various Soviet agencies in Japan persistently worked upon them. Such approaches on the part of the Soviet Union have connection with the CPSU leadership's imposition of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty on our Party and the democratic forces and also of their own views on the international democratic movements.

The leadership of the Soviet-Japan Society who attacks the Japan-Soviet Society, and certain people who unprincipledly follow them and cause confusion within the Japan-Soviet Society disseminate the excuse that the Japan-Soviet Society has become anti-Soviet. But, the Japan-Soviet Society, as an organization in which various people with different political creeds and thought take part for the purpose of friendship of the two peoples of Japan and the Soviet Union, only did not agree with the imposition by the Soviet-Japan Society of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and the CPSU leadership's views on the question of the international Communist movement, in order to be faithful to its aims and to main-

tain its unity. If they call this an "anti-Soviet action" against friendship between the two peoples of Japan and the Soviet Union, the Japan-Soviet Society must always support the view of the Soviet Government and the CPSU leadership and to obey their orders and to abandon its own independence. This sort of thing is clearly of no use for genuine friendship between the Japanese and Soviet peoples.

As stated before, when the Soviet-Japan Society leadership sent their request for support of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty even to local chapters of the Japan-Soviet Society and individual members so as to shake the Japan-Soviet Society from below, the board of the permanent directors of the Japan-Soviet Society, on the basis of its unanimous resolution sent the following letter in the name of the then chief director, Shichiro Matsumoto: — "In order to further develop mutual understanding and amity between the Japanese and Soviet nations, it will never be for the interests of both Societies, that one party request that the other support a certain view on such a political question as the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty" (February 8, 1964). It is indisputable that in the then circumstances that there were serious differences of opinion within the Japan-Soviet Society regarding the appraisal of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty; the above attitude was the only one that could defend unity of the Japan-Soviet Society and could also defend the friendly relations between the Japan-Soviet Society and the Soviet-Japan Society. It is worthy of special note that the resolution was unanimously adopted including Communists, Socialists and non-party members and in addition it was sent in the name of Shichiro Matsumoto who later organized

the "Japan-Soviet Friendship Society" to oppose the Japan-Soviet Society.

The leadership of the Soviet-Japan Society and certain people who unprincipledly obey them accuse "Our Party's Attitude toward the Japan-Soviet Society", the article which vice-chief of our Party's United Front Department, Comrade Mitsuhiro Kaneko published in AKAHATA (November 5, 1964), for being "anti-Soviet" or for "slandering the Soviet-Japan Society leadership". But Comrade M. Kaneko's article is one that pointed out that the Soviet-Japan Society leadership's big-power chauvinist imposition is indeed against friendship between the Japanese and Soviet peoples and again supported the above correct attitude which the board of permanent directors of the Japan-Soviet Society had unanimously passed. Those people who attack Comrade Kaneko's article only call it "impolite", "anti-Soviet" or an "insult", but do not criticize on the basis of any concrete proof. This proves that they cannot refute his article with regard to its contents since it gives fair and righteous opinion on the basis of concrete facts.

The Soviet-Japan Society leadership and the Soviet Union's agencies in Japan have carried on innumerable interventions, disturbance and splitting manoeuvres for the purpose of making the Japan-Soviet Society obey their baton. The following will make it more clear.

As early as April 1964, Vice-President of VOKS, E.V. Ivanov who as the head of the Soviet-Japan Society delegation attended the Eighth National General Assembly of the Japan-Soviet Society expressed his dissatisfaction with the policy line unanimously adopted by the Eighth National General Assembly of the Japan-Soviet Society to the SOHYO leaders after the General Assembly was

over and called for their opposition to the Japan-Soviet Society.

In July 1964, Guvanov, the chief of the Soviet Trade Representation in Japan asserted to a certain Japanese company's president that he should either carry through reorganization of the Japan-Soviet Society or withdraw from the Japan-Soviet Society.

In July 1964, the Soviet Delegation headed by Y. Zhukov, Vice-Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee who attended the divisionist Conference against A and H bombs under the auspices of the "Three Prefecture Liaison Council", attended a meeting mainly organized by some anti-Party elements and vacillating elements within the Japan-Soviet Society and wholly attacked the Japan-Soviet Society in order to agitate its reorganization. The former Chief Director Shichiro Matsumoto who visited the Soviet Union from the end of August 1964 to the beginning of October of the same year at the invitation of the Soviet-Japan Society, openly launched his splitting activities in the name of "constitutional improvement" of the Japan-Soviet Society after his return from the Soviet Union.

In October 1964, the Soviet-Japan Society invited to the Soviet Union the "Socialist delegation of the Japan-Soviet Society" headed by Mr. Toshiharu Okada. What was their purpose when the Soviet-Japan Society invited only the delegation of Socialists within the Japan-Soviet Society? It is clear from what was told to them on the part of the Soviet Union.

According to the "Report" made by the "delegation visiting the Soviet Union", the Vice-President of VOKS, E.V. Ivanov set afloat pure false rumours to the "delegation" on October 9, that "profits of the Japan-Soviet

School and the Japan-Soviet Tourist Bureau, etc. go into the pocket of the Communist Party of Japan and are utilized for anti-Soviet propaganda", openly slandered our Party and stated that they should decide either to expel members of the Communist Party of Japan from the Japan-Soviet Society or to bid good-bye to the Japan-Soviet Society.

E.V. Ivanov told the Socialist group within the Japan-Soviet Society whom the Soviet Union invited, that the position of the Permanent Director Muraichi Horie would be taken by Tadao Inoue (who later on betrayed the Japan-Soviet Society and the Communist Party of Japan), that someone of the Japan Socialist Party had a good plan which should be put into practice, that a policy of some SOHYO man within the Japan-Soviet Society be carried out, that from the national and local leaderships of the Japan-Soviet Society certain people (clearly meaning members of the Communist Party) be expelled, that organizational struggle be started in the center and districts from now on in order to command a majority in the next general assembly or that there is a more simple way to issue a statement that the Soviet-Japan Society has no dealings with the Japan-Soviet Society.

At that time, the Soviet-Japan Society raked up our Party's betrayers such as H. Toshima, Y. Yagasaki, K. Shimizu, etc., who were engaged in activities at the local chapters of the Japan-Soviet Society and were then already punished by suspension of Party activity or expelled from our Party, to invite them to the Soviet Union and hold consultations with them about disruptive activity against the Japan-Soviet Society.

If those facts are not intervention, disruptive activity and against the Japan-Soviet Society, what else can they

be? There is no room to doubt that the Soviet-Japan Society leadership treats the Japan-Soviet Society as if it were a "Japan Chapter of the Soviet-Japan Society", nakedly interferes in the internal affairs of the Japan-Soviet Society and destroys unity of the Japanese democratic forces.

More important is that intervention, disturbance and splitting manoeuvre against the Japan-Soviet Society by the Soviet-Japan Society have been further strengthened and have become more open since the start of the new CPSU leadership.

Certain elements who completely failed in their attempt of "constitutional improvement" of the Japan-Soviet Society, formed "the Japan-Soviet Exchange Society" in February of this year and further formed the "Japan-Soviet Friendship Society" in April. The course of the disturbing activities against the Japan-Soviet Society which were forcibly made by those people contrary to will of the board of directors and of the overwhelming majority of members of the Japan-Soviet Society is just as planned by the Soviet-Japan Society leadership.

Those who have directly led the splitting manoeuvres against the Japan-Soviet Society and the Japan-Soviet friendship movement in accordance with the Soviet-Japan Society leadership's plan are certain people of the Soviet Embassy in Tokyo. It is already an open secret that certain people of the Soviet Embassy in Japan gathered our Party's betrayers (for instance, Ichizo Suzuki takes part in the founding preparatory committee of the "Japan-Soviet Friendship Society" and Shigeo Kamiyama was elected its director) and some elements of the democratic forces to powerfully promote the

activity to form the "Japan-Soviet Exchange Society" and the "Japan-Soviet Friendship Society".

For instance, "Today's Soviet Union", a bi-monthly magazine issued by the Public Relations Section of the Soviet Embassy in Japan conspicuously carries articles celebrating the founding of such splinter organizations as the "Japan-Soviet Exchange Society" and the "Japan-Soviet Friendship Society". According to the article of the May 1, 1965 issue which was entitled "Birth of New Japan-Soviet Friendship Organization" and which reported the general assembly of the founding of the "Japan-Soviet Friendship Society"; the Vice-Chief Director of the Soviet-Japan Society F. Constantinov addressed this Society which was founded by some directors who withdrew from the Japan-Soviet Society saying "I am very pleased to see many veterans of the Japan-Soviet friendship movement" and that "We warmly welcome your strong desire to extend the rank of genuine friends for the Soviet Union". At the reception to celebrate the founding of the Japan-Soviet Friendship Society, the Soviet Ambassador to Japan, Vinogradov gave an address stating "I congratulate you on the founding of the new Society and hope for the success of the activity of the Society".

Just as the Soviet Peace Committee talks about the movement against A and H bombs and peace movement of Japan, the Soviet-Japan Society leadership similarly says that it will support all the Japan-Soviet friendship organizations in Japan and strive for their unity. The organization that has inherited and developed the traditions of the Japan-Soviet friendship movement which had been forging ahead without submitting

to every oppression and obstruction by the reactionary forces through the movement in the pre-war Soviet Friends' Society and the post-war Japan-Soviet Friendship Society, is the Japan-Soviet Society. While they themselves have disturbed the Japan-Soviet Society and split the Japan-Soviet friendship movement and delivered a great blow to friendship between the Japanese and Soviet peoples, they say that they will support all Japan-Soviet friendship organizations including those which have emerged as a result of their disturbing and splitting activities and will strive for their unity. This conceals their intention to "divide and rule" the Japan-Soviet friendship movement and to make it unilaterally follow in the wake of the line of the Soviet-Japan Society. As the course of events clearly reveals, the Soviet-Japan Society has abused its role as one of the two parties in the Japan-Soviet friendship movement, and in collusion with the divisionists, they isolate those people who have most energetically striven for friendship between the Japanese and Soviet peoples. This is really the method which has nothing to do with genuine Japan-Soviet friendship as well as with unity of the democratic movements.

Same as the case of the movement against A and H bombs, to "divide and rule" under the name of "unity", after all, will further promote the resistance of the conscious democratic forces who have hitherto devoted themselves to the Japan-Soviet friendship and will surely end in failure.

The extraordinary event that the Soviet-Japan Society leadership is very eager to split the friendly organization of the other party has proved the true colour of the Japan-Soviet friendship movement in the mind of the Soviet-Japan Society leadership.

The reason why the Soviet-Japan Society leadership takes a hostile attitude toward the Japan-Soviet Society is that the Japan-Soviet Society did not support the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty as requested by the Soviet-Japan Society, but upheld the principled attitude to defend unity of the Society and that the Japan-Soviet Society maintains an independent attitude without obeying the unjust command by the Soviet-Japan Society. A Japan-Soviet friendship organization in the mind of the Soviet-Japan Society leadership is, after all, an organization which is to support the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, to support the line of modern revisionism of N.S. Khrushchov, etc. and to be centered on those people who will always follow in the wake of the Soviet-Japan Society's command. This is to change the Japan-Soviet friendship organization whose principle is to rally all the people who desire friendship between the Japanese and Soviet peoples irrespective of political creed and thought, into an organization which excludes those people with a certain particular view and rallies only those people who have another particular or opposite view. Needless to point out that this is only to destroy the principle of the international friendship movement and to hamper the development of genuine friendship between both the Japanese and Soviet peoples.

The splitting manoeuvres by the Soviet-Japan Society leadership against the Japan-Soviet Society have again revealed that opportunism and divisionism of the CPSU leadership have not yet basically changed but have gone so far as not to be ashamed of even ruining the Japan-Soviet friendship movement and splitting the international friendship organization in order to push forward their wrong line.

(5)

More important is that in defiance of our Party's frequent protests the new CPSU leadership even now continues to violate the norms concerning relations between fraternal Parties set forth in the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement and to help the subversive activities against our Party by Yoshio Shiga, Ichizo Suzuki, Shigeo Kamiyama, Shigeharu Nakano, etc.

With the sole purpose of attacking our Party and obstructing the successful election of Chairman Sanzo Nosaka to the House of Councillors, Shiga and his company, in collusion with the Naito group and the Kasuga group, chose Shigeo Kamiyama to run for the House of Councillors from the Tokyo constituency. The CPSU leadership joins hands with those fellows and lends a hand for their attack by any means upon our Party.

The Naito group and Kasuga group are a handful of renegades who already formed a faction in opposition to our Party's Programme prior to our Party's Eighth Congress and deserted our Party and constantly since then have carried out subversive activities against our Party and splitting manoeuvres against the democratic movements.

The group of Shiga and Suzuki attempted to basely mask their traitorous anti-Party actions, saying that "It is for the purpose of defending our Party's Programme and Constitution" when they launched their attack on our Party with the CPSU leadership's support and help. But, now they have become intimate with the Naito group and Kasuga group who were against the Party Programme and have openly taken a stand against the Programme. Under the CPSU leadership's support, all

those betrayers got together to make Shigeo Kamiyama run for the House of Councillors in order to obstruct the successful election of Comrade Sanzo Nosaka, Chairman of the Central Committee, who has a long revolutionary career. This is no accident. This nakedly reveals that for them as well as the CPSU leadership who helps them, not only the Communists' discipline but also the Programme and policy are out of the question and the destruction of the Communist Party of Japan, the leadership of Japanese revolution is their sole objective. It goes without saying that this is against the basic interests of the Japanese people and serves the interests of U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital.

Succeeding N.S. Khrushchov's divisionist plan, the CPSU leadership unilaterally convened the factional meeting of some Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow from March 1 and its Communique states that "The participants declare themselves in favour of the rigorous observance of the standards governing relations between Parties as defined in the 1957 and 1960 meetings, and against the interference by any Party in the internal affairs of other Parties". But even after swearing that they declared themselves in favour of the rigorous observance of relations between fraternal Parties and against interference in the internal affairs of other Parties, the CPSU leadership quite openly support the renegade of Shiga, Kamiyama, etc.

For instance, today, everywhere in the Soviet Union, the organ of the CPJ Central Committee, AKAHATA is banned and instead, the weekly organ of the anti-Party group of Shiga, Kamiyama, Nakano, Suzuki, etc. "Voice of Japan" is on sale. As was already pointed out by the CPJ Central Committee's reply of August 26, 1964

to the CPSU Central Committee, the CPSU leadership centered on N.S. Khrushchov even obstructed the reading of AKAHATA by the CPJ members staying in the Soviet Union and sometimes suspended distribution of particular issues of AKAHATA which carried news unfavourable to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This measure has been succeeded by the present CPSU leadership as it was, and, at present, in the Soviet Union only the organ of the anti-Party group "Voice of Japan" is freely on sale. There is no other more clear-cut evidence for the fact of the CPSU leadership's all-out support for and aid to the anti-Party group of Shiga and others, than that the CPSU leadership treats the "Voice of Japan" as the only representative organ of the Japanese Communists and puts it on sale everywhere in the Soviet Union instead of our Party's central organ, AKAHATA.

The CPSU leadership openly allows students who belong to the anti-Party groups of Shiga and others to openly study in Moscow. According to "Voice of Japan" of April 27, 1965, for instance, Iwasaki and another student who belong to the "cell of 'Voice of Japan' of Osaka Municipal University" sailed from Yokohama on the Soviet ship Baikal on April 17 to study at National Friendship University named after Lumumba in Moscow.

In the article of "Today's Soviet Union" regarding the founding of the "Japan-Soviet Friendship Society" is carried the photograph of Yoshio Shiga who pretentiously gives an address. According to "Voice of Japan" of April 27, 1965, at that time, Shiga gave an address which attacked our Party, stating that "The Yoyogi group obstructs the development of the Japan-Soviet friendship movement". Furthermore, the Soviet Embassy in Japan continues to invite Yoshio Shiga to various meetings

held under their auspices. The latest example is that the Soviet Embassy in Japan formally invited Yoshio Shiga and Ichizo Suzuki to the party in commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the Victory over Fascist Germany on May 8. This proves that the Soviet Embassy in Japan regards Yoshio Shiga as an important person among "many veterans of the Japan-Soviet friendship movement" and "genuine friends for the Soviet Union" as stated by F. Constantinov.

The Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee invited Yoshio Shiga on the pretext of consultation regarding "Marx-Engels-Lenin on Japan" edited by him in November of last year after the dismissal of N.S. Khrushchov from his post. Last year, "Progress" Publishing House in Moscow published Yoshio Shiga's works "A Portrayal of the Revolutionary Movement in Japan".

In addition, what our Party can never ignore is that when the May 1965 issue of "For Peace", the information bulletin of the Soviet Peace Committee under the CPSU guidance, reported the meeting of an organization by the name of "Japan Committee for Supporting the Helsinki Peace Conference", it openly gave the name of the "CPJ (Voice of Japan)" together with the Japan Socialist Party and SOHYO, as supporting organizations of the "Japan Committee for Supporting the Helsinki Peace Conference". That Soviet Peace Committee did not hesitate to put the glorious name of the Communist Party of Japan on the anti-Party group of Shiga and others in its formal information bulletin clearly proves that the CPSU leadership not only treats Shiga, Suzuki, Nakano, Kamiyama, etc. as comrades but also treats their renegade group as another Communist Party of Japan. Besides, to our surprise, the

Soviet Peace Committee sent this information bulletin to our Party with the address of "The Communist Party of Japan (Yoyogi)" (Yoyogi is the seat of our Party headquarters) which U.S.-Japanese reactionary elements and anti-Party groups commonly call our Party. This means that they accept Shiga's fraudulent claim that there are two Communist Parties of "the CPJ (Voice of Japan)" and "the CPJ (Yoyogi)" and dare to place our Party and the group of a handful of renegades on the same level. What else can it be but that this is the most brazen insult and most vicious attack on our Party and our Party's revolutionary tradition?

The CPSU leadership's interference in our Party is not only an attack on our Party, but also an attack upon all the Parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism and an attack on unity and cohesion of the international Communist movement based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. That is why a number of Marxist-Leninist Parties strongly protested on the basis of proletarian internationalism and on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, against the above-mentioned support — only described in part — given by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to our Party's traitorous elements, Yoshio Shiga, etc. as a question of the whole international Communist movement. In spite of protests made by our Party and other fraternal Parties, the CPSU leadership has not yet changed even now its attitude of support and aid given to the anti-Party group of Shiga, etc. This completely reveals that "unity and cohesion of the international Communist movement" and "against interference in the internal affairs of other Parties" claimed by the CPSU leadership is only out-and-out lip service and fraudulent.

(6)

On the basis of certain latest facts, we have given a number of typical examples of interference, pressure, splitting manoeuvres by the CPSU leadership and the institutions and organizations under its guidance against our Party and the democratic forces.

What do those facts as a whole show?

They show that although the CPSU leadership has somewhat changed their way of doing things from that of the Khrushchov age and talk more about unity and cohesion of the international Communist movement, they actually do not intend to stop but even strengthen their actions to destroy unity and cohesion of the international Communist movement and international democratic movements.

The editorial of PRAVDA of March 12, 1965, "Important Step toward Unity of the World Communist Movement", praising the factionalist meeting of certain Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow from March 1 and its Communique, states as follows: —

"The participants in the Meeting unanimously declared themselves in favour of the strict observance of the standards governing relations between parties as defined by the 1957 and 1960 meetings. As we know, the 1960 Statement points out that the interests of the Communist movement demand the solid observance by every Communist Party of assessments and conclusions jointly worked out by the fraternal Parties at their meetings and related to the common tasks of struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism, and the prevention of any action which might undermine the unity of the Communists of all countries.

“For its part, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will continue to spare no effort in cementing the unity of the world Communist movement. The Soviet Communists will never tire of doing all they can to achieve this aim, for it accords with the vital interests of the international working class, of all revolutionary and progressive forces.”

But the CPSU leadership who swore in this way, in real actions takes an entirely opposite stand to its beautiful vow, pushes forward its subversive activities against our Party, recklessly tramples “the standards of relations between Parties defined by the 1957 and 1960 meetings”, and strengthens its activities to split the democratic movements of our country. In particular, its subversive activities against our Party are the very clear and very serious evidence that the CPSU leadership still carries out the line of divisionism which destroys unity and cohesion of the international Communist movement. It proves that although unlike before, the CPSU leadership, faced with the bankruptcy of the political and organizational line of modern revisionism, has begun to emphasize, in words, importance of the struggle against imperialism and militant unity of the international Communist movement, essentially it intends to continue the line of opportunism, divisionism and big-power chauvinism completely the same as during the Khrushchov age. It also proves that the CPSU leadership which is faced with the complete failure of N.S. Khrushchov’s theory of beautification of U.S. imperialism, unprincipled U.S.-Soviet collaboration line and imposition of support for the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, is forced to resort more than ever to divisionist manoeuvres which make use of

various organizational means in order to cover up the failure.

Hitherto, our Party has given reasonable refutations based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and concrete facts to open attacks, charges, slanders and interference by the CPSU leadership centered on N.S. Khrushchov against our Party. A series of literature including our Party’s reply of August 26, 1964 to the CPSU Central Committee makes it very clear.

Since we are convinced that those polemics have very important principled contents and our Party’s opinion is in accord with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, we have firmly upheld the attitude to publish letters and articles of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which attack our Party, together with our Party’s replies and refutations given to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union so as to make our Party members and Japanese working people objectively judge which is right.

On the contrary, the CPSU leadership only makes the CPSU rank and file and working people read its own letters and articles. In our reply of August 26, 1964, we advised “If your objective is to tell the CPSU members the truth about the relations between the two Parties, we hope that you will also have the courage to publish our Party’s answer to your letters of April 18. It is our conviction that it will greatly contribute to our search for truth based on the facts”. But even up to today the CPSU leadership has not at all published our Party’s replies and refutations. And those comrades have not yet directly and honestly answered to our Party’s replies and refutations.

The CPSU leadership cannot answer to fact with fact, to theory with theory, to thought with thought and to policy with policy, but has continued to recklessly trample the standards of relations between fraternal Parties, attempting to retaliate upon our Party and to disturb our Party by means of interference, pressure, splitting manoeuvres, etc.

Such a method is basically the same as the method which extended ideological, theoretical and policy differences to aggravation of relations between Socialist states. In addition, the method is more systematically and thoroughly carried out, taking advantage of the situation that in Japan, U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital hold political power and the working class and working people led by the Communist Party do not yet hold political power.

Needless to point it out again that such a way has nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Such a way is precisely the greatest factor that can ruin cohesion of the international Communist movement.

The concrete facts of the CPSU leadership's interference, pressure, splitting manoeuvres against our Party and the democratic forces are absolutely incompatible with the 1960 Statement which solemnly declared "A resolute defence of the unity of the world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the prevention of any actions which may undermine the unity".

This question is not just a question which concerns only the Communist Party of Japan and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is a question of principle regarding the international Communist movement and

the international democratic movements, and forms an important part of the general question to win genuine unity of the international Communist movement.

This question is not only a question which affects the Communist Party of Japan. It is a part of the general question of the revolutionary movement and democratic movements of Japan and a question which affects the fundamental interests of the Japanese people.

In order to expand its criminal actions against Asian countries, including its barbarous aggression in Viet Nam, today U.S. imperialism in cooperation with the traitorous reactionary forces centering around Japanese monopoly capital, is frantic in undermining the struggle for independence, democracy and peace in Japan which is the most powerful stronghold for its aggression in Asia. For this purpose, the U.S.-Japanese reactionary forces concentrate their attack on our Party and the politically conscious democratic forces which, flying high the banner of independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and a better life, strive for the formation of the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly national democratic united front and anti-imperialist international united front, consistently and indefatigably opposing their war, aggression, reaction and national oppression policies.

Consolidation of our Party, strengthened unity of the entire democratic forces, and the resumption of the "National Council against the Security Treaty and for safeguarding Peace and Democracy" are what the U.S.-Japanese ruling circles fear most, for they had some bitter experience in that historical struggle against the Security Treaty.

That is why they are frantic in attacking our Party and in undermining cohesion of the democratic forces.

For this end, since the struggle against the Security Treaty, they have resorted to every means such as bribery, intimidation and conciliation to draw a section of the democratic forces to their side and to undermine cohesion of the democratic forces.

In such a situation, the CPSU leadership's interference and pressure against our Party and splitting manoeuvres against the democratic forces of our country, under whatever pretext, are after all nothing but to aid the machinations of U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital. Clearly, it means a direct attack upon the entire international struggle against U.S. imperialism's aggression and war policy, to attack our Party and the democratic forces in Japan which is the most important stronghold of U.S. imperialism in Asia.

Those actions are doubtlessly contrary to the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement and the elementary principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Similar to the miserable failure of N.S. Khrushchov, such unprincipled manoeuvres by the CPSU leadership are also quite obviously and certainly bound to fail.

And our Party declares that inasmuch as the CPSU leadership continues its interferences and splitting manoeuvres against our Party and the Japanese democratic forces in defiance of our Party's repeated stern protests and comradely advices, our Party will resolutely fight against those interferences and splitting manoeuvres. It is a struggle which our Party cannot be permitted to avoid because it assumes the responsibility for the Japanese people's revolution and shares the responsibility for the international Communist movement and it is one of the tasks of the struggle against divisionism, which

is necessary for winning unity and cohesion of the international Communist movement based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The cause to win the victory of a new people's democratic revolution and further the victory of a Socialist revolution in Japan in opposition to the rule of U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital, the cause to create a United National Democratic Front to unite all the forces against the two enemies for the above purpose, the cause to build a mighty Marxist-Leninist Party closely connected with the mass of people and the cause to create an international united front for national liberation and peace to oppose imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism—all these glorious causes are being pushed forward with firm conviction by the Communist Party of Japan led by the indomitable thought of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our Party will never be overpowered by any big-power chauvinist interference and pressure of any foreign Party just as it will never yield to any pressure and oppression of the enemies.

The CPSU leadership headed by N.S. Khrushchov has formed the anti-Party traitorous group of a handful of a wavering group without any principle and any independence such as Shiga, Suzuki, Kamiyama, Nakano, etc. But, our Party, while expanding our rank by drawing from among the working class and the working people sons and daughters faithful to the cause of revolution, has ideologically more strongly forged the Party through the struggle against modern revisionism which is the main danger and against modern dogmatism.

Various manoeuvres have been made from the side of the U.S.-Japanese reactionary forces as well as from the side of the international current of modern revisionism in order to obstruct cohesion of the democratic forces. But tiding over the difficulties, our Party and the advanced democratic forces are advancing the people's struggle and unity of the democratic forces.

In the future, too, our Party will oppose modern revisionism, big-power chauvinism and divisionism, defend genuine unity of the international Communist movement based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and strive for international united front for national liberation and peace in opposition to U.S. imperialism.

In the future, our Party will also continuously make every effort to achieve cohesion of the entire democratic forces and various sections of the people for the formation of a powerful United National Democratic Front in opposition to U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital by relying on the demands and struggles of the mass of people and by overcoming all their obstacles.

Appendix

“The Socialist delegation of the Japan-Soviet Society” headed by Toshiharu Okada visited the Soviet Union from October 4 to 26, 1964. After their return the “delegation” published a report carrying a talk made on October 9 by E.V. Ivanov, Vice-President of the VOKS and the summary of a talk given on October 21 by Korronov, Vice-Director of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU. These talks clearly expose the despicable manoeuvres constantly being planned by the leaders of the Soviet-Japan Society to split the Japan-Soviet Society. They also clearly demonstrate the indiscriminate means used by the CPSU leadership to carry out their line of splittism in the international communist movement. Since last year the contents of the “report” have been known to all leading cadres of the Japan-Soviet Society. We are here publishing Ivanov's talk as an example showing how the CPSU leadership and the leaders of the Soviet-Japan Society under their guidance have carried on flagrant interference and subversive activities against the Japanese democratic movement and our Party. (AKAHATA, June 22, 1965)

**IVANOV'S TALK TO
"SOCIALIST DELEGATION OF THE JAPAN-SOVIET
SOCIETY TO THE SOVIET UNION"**

*Delivered after
Okada's speech during the second meeting
on October 9, 1964*

I'm quite worried about the present situation in the Japan-Soviet Society and I want to thank you for your opinions.

It is necessary to make an effort to isolate the anti-Soviet group if the present situation continues. The effort, however, will be quite perfunctory if a clear distinction is not drawn between us and the anti-Soviet people. Furthermore, I believe the effort will be fruitless if all members of the Society support the opinions of certain people. It seems to me, in the present situation, only a group of people and the administrative bureau, rather than the entire Society, are busily engaged in activities under the direction of a certain party and that many people are opposed to this state of affairs. I believe there are people who sincerely hope for exchanges between our two countries, but their voices can hardly be heard. It seems their activities are clamped down on. I've a full grasp of the situation.

There is now no president of the Japan-Soviet Society. As a member of the Socialist Party, Director-General Shichiro Matsumoto has to accept a certain leadership. Mr. Matsumoto has signed against the Partial Nuclear

Test Ban Treaty. Did he do this in the capacity of a Japanese citizen, or the Director-General of the Japan-Soviet Society, or a member of the Socialist Party acting as a leader of the Society? We think it would have been better if Mr. Matsumoto had not signed. It seems that he took this action under the political influence of a certain group.

Among the vice-presidents of the Society only one is a member of the Communist Party of Japan. The leading body of the Society is not the CPJ, then why has the Society become what it is today?

Nobody can hear Mr. Ito's voice. In Moscow we can only hear Mr. Horie's voice. Won't Mr. Inoue succeed Mr. Horie in the future? Mr. Ito should present himself as a representative of SOHYO, but he seems to have no influence at all. All others are under the leadership of their specific parties.

The majority of the local organizations are under the leadership of the CPJ. I don't blame you for this. I know that among members of the CPJ there are people with different views, but they must obey party discipline.

Most activities of the Japan-Soviet Society branches are carried on under the leadership of the CPJ. For instance, although decisions were made in support of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty by the Nagoya and other branches, they were later negated by the leading body after it had examined them. When things take such a turn, they naturally give rise to questions and doubts. We don't want to interfere in internal affairs, but who is our counterpart? About that we can't be indifferent.

We know pretty well Mr. Ota and Mr. Iwai of SOHYO. Frankly speaking, they wholeheartedly want to further improve the relations between our two coun-

tries. But they are too occupied to take care of the Japan-Soviet Society, aren't they? The most important thing is to carry on the SOHYO line in the Society.

I've talked this over with Mr. Ohara of the Socialist Party. He has many excellent plans all of which I agree with. But a plan is just a plan. Who is going to carry it out? The person to carry out the plan is nowhere to be found.

We, and you too, are making correct criticisms of the Japan-Soviet Society. But criticisms alone won't solve the problem.

We are aware of this fact: some are criticizing the activities of a group of people. To be more explicit, they are criticizing anti-Soviet activities.

You have said that you want to tell the real situation of the Society to your countrymen. I think this is correct. But I hope you will consider how to tell it. If you publish a statement that will amount to opposing the entire leading body of the Society.

A struggle must be started now. The struggle against the erroneous activities of a group of people in the leadership of the Japan-Soviet Society must begin. Action should now be taken to get rid of the group of people in the central and local organizations who have departed from the Society's real objective and made the body serve their private ends.

Quite simply, of course, we could issue a statement to the effect that we are not going to have any dealings with the Japan-Soviet Society. But under present circumstances, I think it would be wrong if a statement were issued by other people.

The affair of your Society is the Society's internal affair.

As far as our actions are concerned I would like to take the stand of mutual respect and understanding. We will take this stand as long as the good name of friendship with the Soviet Union is not utilized to serve private purposes.

But if the Society continues to conduct anti-Soviet activities, then we have the right to break off relations with it.

My personal opinion is that such things should first be discussed by people from within the Society rather than from outside it. I think the important place for waging this struggle is in the conference which, however, will not convene until next March. What is to be done until then?

I believe preparations are needed for any conference. Under present circumstances it is impossible to predict what is going to happen in the conference. Exhaustive preparations should be made in the central and local organizations in order to win over the great majority. Organized struggle must begin right now. As far as I know, seventy directors out of a hundred are members of the CPJ and it is likely the percentage of the representatives in the conference will be the same. I think this question must be carefully studied now and a solution must be found.

There is another thing I would like to talk about. The Society did nothing to welcome Mikoyan; even Director-General Matsumoto did not turn up at the airfield. But Mr. Matsumoto said in his letter that he had given Mikoyan a good welcome. Despite the nice appearance, however, the anti-Soviet stand is being maintained. But the real situation is obscured by a prettified facade which serves to hoodwink the people.

Recently, a group of people were apparently worried that the approach of the Society leadership would not lead to good results.

We want to invite and exchange views with those who sincerely want friendship and good-will between our countries, so we have sent invitations to the Socialist Party, SOHYO and some individuals. The Japan-Soviet Society issued a statement saying this was intervention in their internal affairs. We are going to refute it.

The Soviet-Japan Society is not an organization of friendship with the Japan-Soviet Society. We want friendship with the Japanese people. Not friendship with a certain Party. We are not a political party.

We maintain that the Japan-Soviet Society should be an organization that serves the entire Japanese people.

I would also like to say a few words on other organs of the Japan-Soviet Society.

It is possible the proceeds of the Tourist Bureau have gone into the pocket of the CPJ. What have become of the proceeds from the Russian language courses? They are used for anti-Soviet activities. Although the Translation Bureau enjoys a monopoly, it has virtually stopped publishing books and the same is true of "Nauka Sha" [Science Book Agency].

We have signed an agreement on cultural exchange. Meetings have been held every year with the purpose of changing the Sea of Japan into a sea of peace. In the past we sent delegations from Moscow, Khabarovsk and Vladivostok to attend such meetings. This year we have not received any invitation. It is unimaginable that such a meeting could be held without our participation.

The 47th anniversary of the [October] Revolution will soon be here. About the end of this month we are going

to send a powerful delegation of five or six people to Japan, headed by Nesterov, President of the Soviet-Japan Society. Secretary-General Krimolin of the Society is also going.

But I am afraid such activities are only a matter of form.

A word on the Sino-Soviet antagonism. I believe that at the present stage it is better not to mention this question in the joint communique or other documents. It is mainly a question concerning ideology and the Party which is turning into a question between states. It is improper for us to discuss the state affairs of countries other than Japan and the Soviet Union.

My personal view is that the Japan-Soviet Society has involved itself too deeply in international problems. Such involvement is bad because the Society is not a political party.

These are my views which are based on facts.

Let's have another talk and issue a joint communique before your departure.

关于苏共领导及其领导下的机关团体
对我民主运动和我們党的
干涉和破坏活动

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