

Report  
of  
Japanese Delegation  
to  
5th World Trade Union Congress  
(December 4 - 16, 1961, Moscow)

Prepared by  
Kanagawa Prefectural Trade Unions Council

✓  
Pearl  
Hall



## C O N T E N T S

I.	American Imperialism and Japanese Monopolies: Their Activities and Effects Upon the People of Kanagawa Prefecture.....	1
(1)	Huge Profit Accumulated by Monopolies.....	1
(2)	Military Control by American Imperialism.....	3
II.	Struggle of Keihin Workers.....	3
A.	Tradition of Workers of Kanagawa Prefecture.....	3
B.	Major Struggles of Keihin Workers.....	4
(1)	Struggle of Keihin Workers for the Defense of Peace, Independence and Democracy.....	4
(2)	Struggle for a Large-Scale Wage Increase, Extension of Rights and Improvement of Working Conditions.....	12
(3)	Our Preparatory Activities for the 5th World Trade Union Congress.....	15

# I. American Imperialism and Japanese Monopolies: Their Activities and Effects Upon the People of Kanagawa Prefecture

## (1) Huge Profit Accumulated by Monopolies:

As is already known, there are three main industrial areas in Japan: northern Kyushu, Hanshin (Kobe-Osaka) and Keihin (Tokyo-Yokohama) areas.

Sharp equipment investment competition being carried on among Japanese monopolies in response to the "double the national income" policy of the Ikeda Cabinet, which is frantic to strengthen an economic basis for the revival of militarism and imperialism, has brought about a great change in the distribution map of industrial areas. The abovementioned three areas, however, still remain as the industrial centers of our country.

Kanagawa with the two industrial cities of Kawasaki and Yokohama within its area is an industrial prefecture which produces 25% of the nation's major manufacturing output.

According to Prefectural Government's figures in 1960, manufacturing enterprises totaled 9,616 in 1960, an increase by 18.6% as against that of the previous year ( a 7.5% increase on national basis).

Out of 9,616 enterprises, 37.3% were enterprises for electric machine and tools, metal products, machines, nonferrous metal and chemical products.

The capitalists' figures show that the added value totaled ¥ 443,400 million in 1960, an increase of ¥ 142,300 million, or a 47.3%, as compared with that of the previous year. 58.8% of the ¥ 443,400 million was the amount of added value possessed by the capitalists who employed more than 1,000 workers. The total output for 1960 registered ¥ 1,405,600 million, as against ¥ 800,000 million in 1947. In the same year, capitalists' profit amounted to ¥ 150,000 million, which meant that the workers were exploited ¥ 740,000 per head.

These figures show a huge profit being accumulated by the national monopolies, who belong to big trusts or concerns (some 300 families) controlling Japan's economy.

In spite of a large-scale increase in production and profit, the number of workers of these concerns increased only by some 10%, and the wages by 3 to 4% per year. The conditions of the workers employed by these enterprises have been aggravated greatly due to the soaring of commodity prices, a change for the worse of wage system, an intensification of temporary and piece workers' system, an increase in labor accidents and occupational diseases, a tendency for an increase in home labors, and unemployment, etc. The workers are more and more deprived of their basic rights due to instability and aggravation of their working conditions.

Indications are that there is a growing tendency for the introduction of foreign capitals, particularly those of USA, resumption of a full-scale munitions industry and the pressure upon the democratic rights of workers at workshops.

In major synthetic-chemical, oil-refining, oil-chemical factories, foreign production techniques have been introduced in payment for huge royalty, while plans are under way to run them under joint management.

For instance, Nitto-Unicar has been established under the joint operation of Japanese Nitto Kagaku and America's Union Carbide; Neo-plane is jointly run by Showa Denko and America's Dupon; and Asahi Dow by Asahi-Kasei and America's Dow Chemical Co.

On the other hand, Japan Petroleum Clenser is produced through technical cooperation between Japan Oil Co. and America's Cronight Co. Japan Zeon is manufactured through the cooperation of Japan's Furukawa and other enterprises with America's Goodridge Co. and Showa Yuka is made jointly by Showa Denko and America's Philips Co.

The workers of these manufacturing companies are mostly 22 to 23 years of age, and are being exploited under the combination of new American and out-of-date Japanese labor management systems. They are made slaves of machines in isolated plants.

The next important feature is that more and more Japanese factories are turned into munitions plants. For instance, Tokyo-Shibaaura Electric Co. (Toshiba, in short) produces such missile weapons as Sidewinder, Hawk, Lucullus; Mitsubishi Electric Co., Nike; and Nihon Denki Co. produces wireless target missile, while Fuji Electric Machine and Tools Co. produces Pomark.

These weapons are being manufactured by American imperialism and Japanese monopolies for the use of the National Self-Defense Forces when they attack the Soviet Union and China and other socialist countries and the people of Asia, including Japan, who are fighting for peace, independence and democracy.

In addition to these, war-ship sections have been established within Mitsubishi and Nihon Koken Shipyards to build war ships. All these productions are going on by Japanese monopolies who are frantically pursuing for the revival of Japanese imperialism under the control of American imperialism, in the current "general crisis". Japanese monopolies are seeking for "new markets" for these products. They are the weapons of imperialistic aggression, and at the same time, tools of suppression upon the people of the country.

In these enterprises, work regulations have become more and more stringent and labor contracts are in the tendency of being revised to the detriment of workers. Employers are trying everything they can to deprive workers of their democratic rights, freedom and turn trade unions into their tools. The lives of workers are in this way at the mercy of capitalists, so to speak.



The most typical of these is an attempt of the most aggressive iron-steel monopoly, Nihon-Kokan, and heavy industry monopoly Mitsubishi, Higashinihon Juko to revise the labor contracts to the detriment of the workers. These capitalists' attacks are links in the chain of fascist-like oppression by Japanese monopolies through the attempt for the forceful passage of the Political Anti-Violence Bill.

## (2) Military Control by American Imperialism:

American imperialism which is sneaking into our industrial areas is controlling Kanagawa Prefecture also through its bases stationed there. Some 60% of the total US bases and installations in Japan are in our Prefecture.

In addition to US Army General Headquarters, US 7th Fleet is stationed in Yokosuka, and Far East US Navy Signal Security Corps are stationed at Seya in Yokohama City.

While Atsugi is used as an air base for the 7th Fleet, the most important part of Yokohama Port is used as supply port for US Forces stationed in Japan. These US bases are surrounded with the bases for National Self-Defense Forces, which are jointly trained with US Forces within US bases in order to be able to act in concert with them when necessary.

These facts will prove you that the opening sentences of the Report of Japanese Delegation to the WFTU for the preparation of the 5th World Trade Union Congress prepared by Japanese Preparatory Committee are particularly applied to the situation in Kanagawa Prefecture.

## II. Struggle of Keihin Workers:

### A. Tradition of Workers of Kanagawa:

The number of workers of Kanagawa Prefecture is estimated at one million, 480,000 persons out of whom are organized in trade unions. 150,000 are members of the unions affiliated with Kanagawa Prefectural Trade Unions Council, which is composed of Sohyo-unions of Kanagawa Prefecture, 50,000 men are the members of Zenro Kanagawa Local, and the rest are independent unions or the branches or chapters of national unions that are not affiliated either with Sohyo or with Zenro.

From 1959 to 1960, the number of trade union members increased four times as much as an increase rate of the previous years. We are proud that this partly proves the growth of class consciousness of the workers of Kanagawa, whom we call ourselves "Keihin Rodosha (Workers)".

However, this is not the only thing we are proud of. We have long, bright tradition and honor as proletariat working in heavy industries. For instance, Kanagawa Prefecture was a center of the prewar socialist and labor movements; our forerunners demonstrated

their militancy to the full through their persistent struggles against war, for the defense of rights and democracy and for better living in the period covering from World War 1 to the middle of World War 2.

It should be particularly mentioned that the First Meeting of Factory Representatives was convened on December 25, 1945, immediately after the war's end, at Kawasaki Plant of Ikegai Iron Works and it developed into a Congress of Factory Representatives of Kanto District on January 27, 1946, which laid the foundations for the Council of Trade Unions of Kanto District. The Council further grew into the Congress of Industrial Unions of Japan which was affiliated with the WFTU.

It is impossible for us, however, to describe all the struggles of Keihin Rodosha since the end of World War 2. Therefore, we trace some of our main struggles since 1958, when aggressive American imperialism was compelled to enter a new stage in face of striking advances made by world socialism and a retreat of colonialism, and Japanese monopolies, while subjugating to American imperialism, made a new step for the revival of militarism and imperialism.

#### B. Major Struggles of Keihin Rodosha:

1958 was an epochal year for Japanese workers. The education workers fought militantly against the teachers' efficiency rating system, which pushed the nation's democratic forces, headed by the workers, to make a big stride forward for unity.

Since 1958, we Japanese workers have carried out a series of vital political struggles against the revision of Police Duties Execution Law, against the revision and for the abrogation of the Japan-US "Security" Treaty, against the Political Anti-Violence Bill, against Japan-South Korean top-officials' talks, against the formation of NEATO, etc. We are still right in the midst of these struggles. We are struggling for economic and social demands, particularly for higher wages, and endeavoring hard to combine these with the central political issues.

(1) Struggle of Keihin Rodosha for the Defense of Peace, Independence and Democracy:

(a) Struggle Against the Unloading of Oerlikon, the Struggle for the Expulsion of U2s and against Military Bases:

\* Struggle Against the Unloading of Swissmade Missile Oerlikon:

On August 14, 1958, Japanese commercial papers reported that a Japanese ship Arimamaru, loaded with Swissmade missile Oerlikon 56 was heading for Yokohama Port.

On the morning of August 16, the representatives of Zenkowan which organises bargemen mainly, and the Federation of Dockers' Union of Yokohama (Hamakeroren) uniting the longshoremen, Kanagawa Trade Unions

Council, Yokohama District Trade Unions Council, Kanagawa Don Federation of Socialist Party, Kanagawa Committee of the Communist Party, and democratic organisations centering around the Kanagawa Council against A and H Bombs met at the meeting hall of Yokohama Branch of Zenkowan, and approved the formation of a Joint Struggle Congress against the Unloading of Oerlikon 56.

The 4th World Conference against A and H Bombs which was being held there unanimously passed an emergency resolution to oppose the unloading of Oerlikon. The General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo) lodged a strong protest to the Government in this connection.

Every day, hundreds and thousands of messages of support and encouragement were sent to the Joint Struggle Congress from the trade unions and democratic organisations of Japan and of the world. The workers and trade unions of the Soviet Union, China and other countries exhibited strong solidarity with the fighting workers of Japan. Encouraged with these, watch boats were put out on the sea and picket line was put up on the piers of Yokohama Port. The bargemen uniting with Zenkowan were ready to strike, while the workers of Mitsubishi Shipyard decided to reject the unloading work in case the missile should be unloaded into Mitsubishi dock. The Government met with a unanimous denial of stevedoring agents who were under the pressure of these workers.

Why did the struggle develop so rapidly? It was because Japanese workers realised that the aims of the Government to introduce the missiles were at nucleararming the National Self-Defense Corps. The Defense Agency and Mitsubishi monopolies cooperated solidly to investigate the missile to be ready for nucleararming the National Self-Defense Forces.

If the missile were to be introduced, Japan, which was the first victim country, would become a country to give the similar suffering to other countries. A plan had been under way by the Defense Agency to build missile testing area in Niijima in Tokyo Prefecture in defiance of strong resistance by the democratic forces and the inhabitants there.

In order to crush nation's opposition, the Government and the Defense Agency used every possible strategem to spread false information that "Oerlikon was not a nuclear weapon". They thus succeeded in smashing the opposition put up by the stevedoring agents.

Any attempt, however, could not weaken resistance by the people. Having realised this, the Defense Agency decided to unload the missile not from Yokohama Port but from Yokosuka, a naval base for National Self-Defense Force, and from there to the Agency's Technical Institute in Tokyo.

From the 25th to the early morning of August 26, several hundred of activists of the Joint Struggle Congress picketted along the base of the Self-Defense Force and the roads leading from it.

Agitated by solid front of the workers, Defense Agency authorities ordered to carry the missile out through the back gate of the base. However, the Technical Institute in Tokyo was also surrounded by several hundred picketters of Tokyo. The workers of Kanagawa also rushed to the site to join the picketters. The Oerlikon was carried through the byways without being known by the picketting workers and put into the warehouses under strict guard of the police.

This event should be specially marked as the first one of a series of defeats that American imperialism had to suffer in face of Japanese workers' and people's resistance: the then Prime Minister Kishi had to take a secret path to take plane when he went to the United States for the signing of the revised Japan-US Security Treaty; the then US Press Secretary Hagerty, a mission of American imperialism, had to escape from Haneda Airport by US military helicopter in face of the nation's opposition to his visit as its aims were at making advance arrangements with the Japanese Government for Eisenhower's visit to Japan; the then US President Eisenhower had to cancel his plant to visit Japan, although he wanted to prop up the Japanese Government to hurriedly ratify the revised Security Treaty; the vicious spy planes U2s had to sneak out of Tsutsuki Air base, etc.

We Keihin Rodosha are proud that we could give a fatal blow to American and Japanese reactionaries who are provoking a third world war. And they deserve those blows from the democratic forces of our country.

First of all, this struggle against the unloading of Oerlikon exhibited to American and Japanese reactionaries the determined will of Japanese people and of workers to fight for the defense of peace. They told them through their action that they were ready to resort to action, including strike in workshops.

Secondly, the struggle of Japanese workers against nuclearisation of the country, against the introduction of nuclear weapons was powerfully supported by the peace forces of the whole world. The struggle succeeded thanks to this powerful support of the people of the world, while the resolute will of Japanese people, whose native land was on the point of being turned into an origin of a third world war together with West Germany, encouraged the world peace forces in return.

Thirdly, from the standpoint of workers' movement in Kanagawa Prefecture, the struggle contributed a great deal to promoting unity and advance of people's movement of the Prefecture, headed by the working class.

For instance, just around that time, a five-party Congress was formed in opposition to the provocative military actions by US imperialism, cooperated with Chiang Kai-shek clique at the Taiwan Straits. The Congress was composed of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Kanagawa Prefectural Trade Union Council, Kanagawa Council against A and H Bombs, the Japan-China Friendship Association. A grand people's march against war and unemployment was being carried on in



full support of the people throughout the country. The workers of Japan were ready for a general strike to smash the revised Police Law to pieces. And a Congress of the People of Kanagawa for the Abrogation of Japan-US Security Treaty was playing an important role as a united front of the workers and democratic people of the Prefecture.

\* Struggle against Military Bases:

The struggle against the introduction of Oerlikon developed into a broad-scale fight for peace. On November 1 of that year, in response to a call for an International Solidarity Action Day by the World Peace Council, more than 1,000 workers joined a march going through steep paths in the rain and wind to Atsuki Base and lodged fierce protest to the US navy officials in connection with the arrival and departure of US navy planes loaded with nuclear weapons.

These representatives blamed US officials saying that these planes flew from Atsuki Base to fulfil military provocations at the Taiwan Straits.

The struggle of the workers and people of Kanagawa Prefecture developed further into a vanguard of the national campaign against the Japan-US Security Treaty. For instance, the Congress of Workers and People for the Abrogation of Security Treaty initiated a big demonstration to Atsuki Base for the expulsion of U2 spy planes. In the course of a series of gigantic demonstrations in Tokyo against the revision of the Treaty in May-June, 1960, it was the workers uniting with the Congress of the People of Kanagawa for the Abrogation of Japan-US Security Treaty who headed the protest demonstration to the US Embassy. More than 3,000 persons took part in the protest march to the Embassy.

The meeting of Japan-US Trade and Economic Joint Committee was recently held in Hakone in Kanagawa Prefecture, according to Article 2 of the Japan-US Security Treaty. Though not simultaneously, Japanese and American top leaders' conference took place, and Ikeda-Kennedy talks and the meeting of Ikeda and the representatives of South Korean military "regime" took place in succession. Just now, Japan's Prime Minister Ikeda is making "good-will" trips to Southeast Asian countries.

As they did at the time of the Korean War, the bases located in Kanagawa Prefecture are again playing an important role in this brisk movement to establish and consolidate anti-Communist military setup in Asia.

However, there is a big difference in situation between now and the days before the Korean War. The number of US bases, the areas covered have greatly been decreased, while the Japanese workers who were forced to work for them under slavery conditions have been discharged en bloc without appropriate, rational compensation.

The reduction in the number of bases and workers, however, does

not mean a decline of aggressive buildup of American imperialism in Asia. Needless to say, this is a forcible change or readjustment of military base structure to cope with overwhelming superiority of Soviet military science.....replacement of land force by nuclear weapons or a "big-scale rationalisation" of military bases, to use trade union way of expression.

Therefore, the danger of bases has grown enormously in inverse proportion to a decrease of installations and military forces. High-handedness of military officials has grown enormously. For instance, the commander of Seya Signal Corps urged the Japanese people not to build houses and factories around the Base on the ground that the construction and existence of these objects cause a great deal of disturbance to electric waves. He is met with strong opposition by the people living there because the Japanese Law does not prohibit this.

The Congress of the People of Kanagawa for the Abrogation of Japan-US Security Treaty, a unity front of the workers and people of the Prefecture, organised two campaigns to investigate in the new roles being played by these military bases in the present situation. It organised researches by masses in the activities of Atsuki and Yokosuka bases, and the research missions were participated in by the representatives of major trade unions, political parties, democratic organisations and various joint struggle congresses throughout the Prefecture. The results gained by 240 participants are now being publicised widely to make a broader people know about the facts and roles of the bases.

On the basis of these results, the Congress and Kanagawa Peace Council are preparing for a large-scale demonstration to all the American bases in the Prefecture with the demands for total withdrawal of US military bases and complete disarmament. The demonstrations will take place just around the time when the 5th World Trade Union Congress is held.

#### \* Struggle against the Call of Dutch Warship Karel Doorman:

It was in summer 1959, when the Dutch imperialism, backed by American imperialism, conducted threats and provocations by sending Dutch warship Karel Doorman to West Irian. Through this action, they thought they could smash the heroic struggle of Indonesian people against Dutch imperialism who were frantic to get hold of West Irian.

Having been informed that Aircraft carrier Karel Doorman was calling Yokohama Port on her way to Indonesian territorial waters, in August 1959, (for the purpose of replenishment), the Government of Indonesia lodged a strict protest to the Japanese Government. Appeals were sent from the trade unions of that country to those of Japan calling for the solidarity action to check the call of the warship.



The workers of Kanagawa Prefecture remembered their experiences at the time of their Oerlikon struggle. The dockers and the workers of related industries stood up to prevent the warship from calling the Port of Yokohama, with force. While the Congress of the People of Kanagawa for the Abrogation of Japan-US Security Treaty repeated protest demonstrations to the Port Administration Board and the Foreign Ministry. The result was that the Japanese Government had to cancel its permission for Karel Doorman's entry.

- (b) Struggle for the Normalisation of Diplomatic Relations between Japan and China; Struggle against Police Law Revision; Struggle against Japan-US Security Treaty, against Political Anti-Violence Bill and Objection to Japan-South Korea Talks:

As has already been mentioned, the struggle against Oerlikon was fought at the time when, with Chiang Kai-shek clique as its tool, American imperialism was provoking an aggressive war against People's China. The US 7th Fleet was called out at the Taiwan Straits. People's China made a decisive counterattack.

The use of Atsuki Base, Iwakuni Base in Yamaguchi Prefecture,, Itatsuki Base in Fukuoka Prefecture, and Okinawa as operation bases for this aggressive action created among the Japanese people a strong indignation towards America's military action.

Strong public opinion for the support of normal diplomatic relations with China, for China's seat in the United Nations aroused all over the country. In Kanagawa Prefecture, a Joint Struggle Congress for the Normalisation of Diplomatic Relations with China was established.

- \* Development of People's Opposition to Military Provocations by Taiwan Government, Struggle Against Police Law Revision, and the Development of Democratic Forces of Kanagawa Prefecture:

The Joint Struggle Congress was formed on the basis of the experiences of our struggle against the unloading of Oerlikon, and contributed a great deal to the correct development of the struggle against the change for the worse of the Police Duties Law.

The Report of the Japanese Delegation to the 5th Congress dealt briefly with the significance and specific features of the anti-Police Bill struggle which started in Autumn 1958.

In Kanagawa Prefecture, a group of Socialist Party leaders formed a Congress of People of Kanagawa against the Revision of Police Law, apart from the Joint Struggle against Police Law Revision on national basis, on the ground of broadening the scope of the opposition movement. Going against the valuable experiences of united anti-Oerlikon struggle, they excluded Communist Party and, in its place, draw in the representatives of the Japan Trade Union Congress (Zenro) and the National Federation of Industrial Organisations (Shinsanbetsu).

In October 1958, the workers of Kanagawa Prefecture held a mass

rally for the normalisation of Japan-China relations. The rally was sponsored by the Joint Struggle Congress for the Normalisation of Diplomatic Relations with China.

According to the resolution of the rally, a Joint Kanagawa Congress against the Police Bill through General Strikes was formed, which called upon the Socialist Party not to adopt a wrong course through a mistaken idea regarding the true enemies of the Japanese people, but fight hand in hand with the Communist Party, defending a real unity.

Through these efforts, unity was maintained, and some 230,000 persons took active part in the strike and demonstrations, centering around Government workers, as a part of the 4th wave of united national campaign against the Police Bill. (More than 4.5 million persons participated in the 4th wave of nationwide action.)

In March 1959, the unity of the workers of Kanagawa Prefecture developed further. On the occasion of Prefectural Governor election, the workers wanted to eliminate Governor Uchiyama who had become a complete tool of the Liberal-Democratic Government. They appealed the Socialist and the Communist Parties, and formed a Joint Struggle Congress to Overthrow Uchiyama. The Joint Struggle Congress put up a united candidate.

In April 1959, under the joint sponsorship of the Joint Struggle Congress for the Normalisation of Diplomatic Relations with China and the Joint Struggle Congress to Overthrow Uchiyama, a mass rally for the overthrow of Uchiyama Administration, total abrogation of the Japan-US Security Treaty and against the Public Peace Maintenance Act was held. It was just at the time of the second wave of nationwide united struggle.

On May 30, all the joint struggle congresses were dissolved to form an organisation called the Congress of the People of Kanagawa Prefecture for the Total Abrogation of Japan-US Security Treaty. The inauguration meeting was participated by 300 delegates representing 37 organisations.

Unity marked the strikes, demonstration parades, signature collection movement, petition parades, meetings, and discussions, etc. which took place in Kanagawa Prefecture from March 28, 1959, when the first wave of anti-Security Treaty struggle was conducted, to July 10-15, 1960, when the nationwide struggle against the revision of the Security Treaty came to a temporary halt at the 21st wave of action.

More than 1.8 million workers and people of the Prefecture took active part in a series of these actions which were carried out as a part of the nationwide struggle. During the anti-Treaty revision struggle, as many as 130 mass rallies were held on prefectural and regional basis, attended by from 100 persons in the minimum to 650,000 men in the maximum. Besides, there were numerous meetings and rallies conducted at factory, office level.

Workers resorted to walk-outs, strikes, sabotages, and every other

measures to exhibit their firm opposition to the Treaty. The general strikes on June 4 and 22 were the climax of the workers' demonstrations. The number of the participants in the demonstrations, rallies increased, aggregating 600,000 persons throughout the period.

It was the transportation workers centering around the National Railway Workers' Union (Kokutetsu), Taxi and Hire Drivers' Union, dockers, workers employed in small metal and engineering enterprises and Government and Public Enterprise workers who took the lead in these severe struggles.

The signatures of the oppositioners were collected by the Congress of the People of Kanagawa Prefecture since March 1960 and they aggregated 330,000, while some 2 million yen was collected as struggle fund. These material results too were the greatest that we had ever had in the history of the labor movement of the Prefecture.

As will be reported later, the economic struggles for higher wages, for higher year-end bonus, against rationalisation developed greatly in close connection with the political struggle. It should also be mentioned that, in parallel with these struggles, the fight for the return of Okinawa's administration to Japan, for total disarmament, against treacherous National Pension System made marked advances.

Special attention should be paid to the activities of the joint struggle congresses, which numbered almost 60 throughout the Prefecture, and in particular, tireless and vital activities of Communist and Socialist members, and activists who were politically independent. They played the most important roles in penetrating and fulfilling decisions of the trade unions. We pay high tribute to their valuable activities.

Having been informed that American spy plane U2 which was shot by Soviet plane, and was housed in the airplane shed of Atsuki Airbase, the workers of Kanagawa Prefecture rallied in front of the shed in fierce protest to the espionage flight and for expulsion of the plane. It was May 19, 1960.

Those who assembled Atsuki Base marched for the American Embassy and for the Diet. Repelling interferences by the police and right-wingers, the marchers who entered Tokyo on May 21 went straight forward to American Embassy, and to the Diet building.

Through mass demonstrations against the American Embassy and the Diet, we made clear our view that we were confronted with the two enemies of American imperialism and national reactionaries, and took the lead of the national protest movement which set these two as their direct enemies.

On June 10, the workers of Kanagawa Prefecture, headed by the workers uniting with Kawasaki Iron and Steel Workers' Union, rushed to Haneda Airport to protest the visit of US Press Secretary Hagerty. We played an honorable role in forcing him to escape the Airport by military helicopter in the presence of angry demonstrators.



American imperialism urged the Japanese monopoly Government to arrest 6 iron-steel workers, 2 electric machine workers, 3 Socialist and Communist Party members, while the employers fired 8 workers on the charge of interfering Hagerty at the Airport.

We want to draw your attention to the fact that, first of all, the struggle of the workers of Kanagawa Prefecture against the revision of the Security Treaty was born from the experiences of anti-Oerlikon struggle some years back.

The importance of unity of action carried on by broad section of people centering around the working class, has been at the bottom of the thoughts of the people who participated in these struggles.

Secondly, in the development of the struggles, we made it clear that we were faced with two enemies, namely American imperialism and Japanese monopolies. We made it clear through our actions. And led by our actions, the nationwide struggle made further progress.

Needless to say, our present struggle against the Political Anti-Violence Bill, against the involvement in NEATO could never be developed unless we fight on the basis of our recent experiences.

### III. Struggle for a Large-Scale Wage Increase, Extention of Rights, and Improvement of Working Conditions:

1. Our struggle for economic and social demands have made a considerable progress in the development of struggle for the defense of peace, independence and democracy. While, the American and Japanese monopolies were obliged to make political retreat and concessions in face of the pressure from the working class and democratic forces of the country.

The majority of trade unions demanded an increase in wages by ¥ 2,000 to ¥ 3,000 in spring 1959. The attitude of the employers was most typically revealed in the reply of Private Railway owners who proposed to raise the wages by ¥ 1,200 to ¥ 1,300 in average annually, in return for a "3-year term Stabilised Wage System Based on Labor-Capital Agreement". This meant that there shall be no wage raise struggle organised for the forthcoming three years.

Under these circumstances, the iron-steel, shipbuilding, electric machines and tools, and metal and engineering workers of the Prefecture organised strikes, but the result was a ¥ 1,000 wage up.

In parallel with this, the wages of the workers employed by small-sized enterprises, particularly those who produce export products, have been fixed under the minimum wages system based on employers' agreement. This has been promoted mainly by the agents of Labor Ministry. Under this system, the wages of the workers are fixed among the employers engaged in the same industry, and workers have no say whatsoever. The wages are very low in general. In parallel with the new war preparations promoted by Japanese and American reactionaries under new Japan-US Security Treaty setup, the workers are under the

of being deprived of their right to fix their own wages. Attempts are being accelerated to numb the workers' consciousness through labor-capital collaboration.

However, remarkable results gained through anti-Treaty revision struggle, awakening of class consciousness and growth of their power acted favorably in the wage struggles in 1960 and 61.

The struggle for higher wages in spring 1960 was carried out in the midst of anti-Treaty revision struggle, and was participated in by some 300,000 workers out of a total of 420,000 organized workers. They added three thousand yen more to make their wage demand to ¥ 5,000.

Another specific feature of that struggle was the fact that the Government and Public Enterprise workers, whose right to strike was deprived by US imperialism, decided to stand up for the recovery of their right to strike and for higher wages.

Monopolies tried to introduce Job classification wage system to meet with rationalisation. Centering around chemical workers, Gov't and Public Enterprise workers, metal and machine workers, workers of the Prefecture organized a strike for an average increase of ¥ 1,500 to ¥ 1,800.

Greatly feared of political growth of the workers, and of the economic struggle being closely combined with anti-Treaty revision struggle that year, the employers responded more or less favorably to the demands of workers. They wanted to split workers' front, to make larger and powerful unions separated from the national front against the Treaty revision. Right-wing elements within the unions of key industries maneuvered behind the scene in support of capitalists.

However, working people had confidence in their power through the success in the anti-Treaty struggle. In spite of frantic publicity campaign by capitalists, 54 civil unions took part in the year-end bonus struggle. They obtained ¥ 37,326 in average. (In the year before, only 11 unions participated in the year-end struggle, and the bonus obtained amounted ¥ 31,888 per head in average.)

Kanagawa Branch of All Japan Day Workers' Union (Zennichijiro) organized a Congress of People of Kanagawa Prefecture for the Abrogation of Japan-US Security Treaty at the end of November 1959. The Union planned demonstration parades from four points of the Prefecture to converge into the front of Local Government Headquarters. The parades such as these had never been organized in our Prefecture.

The members of the Zennichijiro headed the processions, in which as many as 50,000 persons took part. They scored a great victory, winning ¥ 18,000 as a bonus, twice as much as that obtained by them in the previous year. The success of the day workers proved the correctness of uniting the individual pressing demands with the united struggle for political demands.

Based on the struggles such as these, a wage-increase struggle was

organised in spring 1961, about which the Japan Preparatory Committee for 5th Congress referred.

Striking success was achieved by the members of Kanagawa Branch of Automobile Workers' Union with the membership of 3,000 men. The automobile workers had been suffering from piece rate system for long years. To eliminate the system, they stood up in demand for minimum wages of ¥ 25,000 as a fixed pay. The branch unions entered into a united struggle and achieved from ¥ 3,000 in the minimum to ¥ 8,000, totaling ¥ 25,000 universally.

This was the first time in the history of Japanese trade union movement that as much as ¥ 25,000 was guaranteed as fixed wages of an industry as a whole.

In order to achieve this demand, 17 waves of united strike were carried out during the four months from February 1 to June 25. In the course of wage struggle, some of the unions achieved favorable replies earlier than the rest of the unions. But these unions remained within their front and fought till the last minute in close unity with brother unions.

They carried out many united strikes to push the employers to accept united collective bargaining, and to develop struggle at workshop and branch level. Backed by the national organisation All Japan Automobile Workers' Union (Zenjiko), these tactics were combined most skillfully.

(2) The workers of small enterprises of Kanagawa Prefecture made an effective contribution to the progress of the struggle of the workers of this sphere. They organised persistent struggles for the extension of rights and improvement of working conditions.

As has been already known, Japanese monopolies stand aloof at the apex, underneath which are numerous subcontractors which have small-sized or petty enterprises under their control. The monopolies enjoy profit at the sacrifice of such small-sized enterprises and the workers employed by them.

Unionisation of unorganised workers employed by these small-sized enterprises started in 1955. The progress made in the campaign of unionisation and struggles of these workers have played an important role for the unity of Japanese trade union movement. These have a growing menace to monopolies.

In Kanagawa Prefecture, monopolies are intensifying attacks upon the subcontract enterprises or small enterprises under their control in order to destroy or emasculate trade union organisation and keep workers toil under low wages.

Since 1958, there have been 16 cases of struggles of workers of such enterprises. ~~Some of them~~ fought for two to three months, and some for more than three years in succession. In most cases, the employers used rightwing thugs to expel the workers occupying their places of work. Quite a number of workers have been injured due to



terroristic actions of right-wingers.

Armed police have been introduced by the employers on the ground that they were needed in case of emergency. They usually go in and out of the sites of disputes, overlooking the violence done by the thugs, but arresting the activists to discourage workers in action.

Through these experiences, the workers began to realise that the true enemies were the big capitalists and American imperialism behind them. New realisation has enhanced their solidarity and made them militant enough to stand in the forefront of the struggle against the Japan-US Security Treaty. Appealing for the support of their struggle, they have scored many successes.

(3) We have tried to locate ourselves right in the center of the working class, when they were confronted with many important political questions and train ourselves correctly so that we could give correct guidance to the rank and file. Through our past struggles, we have achieved some good results in economic and social fields.

However, as the report of the Japan Preparatory Committee correctly points out, there is a growing trend among a section of trade union leaders to deny this lesson and separate political struggle from economic struggle mechanically.

As has been mentioned, our wage struggle scored a greater success while we were developing the struggle against the Treaty and the Political Anti-Violence Bill. However, in individual enterprises political questions are not correctly combined with the economic or social demands. On the contrary, bureaucratic, uniform "leadership" is apt to be given, which result unfavorably to the workers or activists. Thus a great gap is being created between political and economic struggles.

We must do our best to develop the workers' initiative and creativity, on the one hand, and cooperation between the Socialist and the Communist Parties....which were the sources of the success of the anti-Treaty struggle. We must develop it further in the wage struggle and in the fight against rationalisation. Efforts must be made to place the foundation of our struggle deep down among the rank and file, at the places of work. Efforts must be paid to analyse individual cases politically, develop united action at lower level so that united action and unity can develop throughout the whole industries.

#### IV. Our Preparatory Activities for the 5th World Trade Union Congress:

Our preparatory activities for the 5th Congress are introduced with high tribute in the Readers' Column of the August issue of Japanese edition of the World Trade Union Movement.

Our preparatory activities, as is described in the article there, have been carried out by the leaders and activists who realised the

proof

the fact that "unity which we have endeavored in our past struggles" is exactly the principle of the WFTU from its inauguration.

The leaders and the activists sent out June 1, 1961, 120 copies of a call to the trade unions in the Prefecture informing that a Kanagawa Preparatory Committee for 5th World Trade Union Congress will be set up.

The Preparatory Committee as soon as it was formed sent out 1,000 copies of appeal to all the trade unions, leaders and activists, and explained them the significance of the 5th Congress. On July 12, a Meeting to Learn the Experiences of World Trade Union Movement was held, which was participated in by 1,130 workers, 30% of whom were women workers. They paid 70 yen each for the meeting. The meeting resolved to send a delegate from Kanagawa Prefecture, and that efforts should be increased to publicise the WFTU publications. WFTU News and many other publications were sold out at the meeting hall in addition to ¥ 5,000 collected voluntarily from the attendants.

The similar meeting was held in Kawasaki on August 30, attended by 400 persons. The Preparatory Committee called upon 700 trade unions of the Prefecture to recommend candidates for the delegates. Out of the seven candidates, Brother Ichizo Tazawa was elected in a most democratic process.

In parallel with the campaign to send a true representative, the Preparatory Committee sold out 2,000 copies of Draft Program, (¥30 per c.py), 1,080 dress buttons for 5th Congress, and 1,000 copies of posters (¥10 a piece).

Efforts have been made to organise genuine discussion meetings on Draft Program on workshop and regional basis. Many study groups were organised.

Under the slogan to send a Representative of Keihin Rodosha with our Own Fund, a dispatch fund collection campaign was started at mass level. The fund collected covers all the expenses necessary for sending Brother Tazawa to the Congress and the expenses for the Preparatory Committee. As of November 20, as much as ¥ 421,629 was collected.

We know that hundreds and thousands of workers donated their money and wrote their names in support of the dispatch of their representative. Speculation is that signatures and fund will be increased by the end of this year.

Brother Tazawa has been to every mass meetings where he appealed the significance of the 5th Congress and his determination as a true representative.

Confident that we too are building the foundation of the WFTU, in a most democratic way, we workers uniting with the Kanagawa Preparatory Committee are determined to develop this movement into a permanent one to penetrate the principle of the WFTU among the Japanese workers and their movement. We are resolute that we will double our efforts for this purpose.

November 1961

*Successful*

THE MATERIALS ON JAPAN REPORT  
TO THE FIFTH WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS

" THE JAPANESE WORKERS ARE DEVELOPING THEIR STRUGGLES "

By the Japanese Delegation  
to the 5th World Trade Union Congress

I. THE POLICY OF THE AMERICAN IMPERIALISM  
TOWARD JAPAN AND JAPANESE MONOPOLY CAPITAL  
WHICH FOLLOWS IT.

1. The international situation before and after the 4th World Trade Union Congress in Leipzig in October, 1957 was following the road of intensifying the international tension. However, since the failure of military occupation on Lebanon and Jordan by U.S.A. and U.K. as well as the breakdown of provocation at Taiwan Straits by US imperialism, it became clear that the imperialist forces headed by US imperialism would be failed.

At the same time, the Soviet Union succeeded ICBM in August 1957 and the artificial satellite for the first time in the world in October of the same year, the superiority in military and scientific fields of the socialist system was clearly shown. Moreover, the Seven-year Plan of the Soviet Union which was started in 1959 clarified before workers and people of whole world the possibility and prospect to solve many problems which the capitalism could not achieved spending 130 years since its foundation, in satisfying economic and social demands of workers and people. And also, people of the Soviet Union succeeded the Human Space Ship in April 1961. These are the expression that the victory of the socialism and peaceful forces is indeftigable.

The other element which is creating favourable international conditions for working class and peaceful side is the upssurging of struggles for national liberation and collapse of colonial

system which is under way with a stormy strength. In Africa, 17 old colonial countries achieved their political independence during last one year. Moreover, in Latin America, where the seat of American imperialism, struggles for national liberation have upserged and the Cuban people has established national democratic Government overthrowing treacherous Batista Regime. These are important significance in these four years.

2. Today when the conditions are developing further unfavourably for imperialists' side and further favourably for the side of peace and working class, the ruling system of the American Imperialism oppressing Japanese workers and people much more bitterly in Japan which is the important base in Far East for imperialist camp.

The US imperialism is, still at present, maintaining more than 200 military bases in Japan, stationing tens of thousands of men army and is occupying Okinawa and Ogasawara. Cruel rule of US imperialism on our 900,000 brethren in Okinawa is still continued and whole Okinawa Island is used as a base of nucleare weapons of US Army.

Moreover, bases in Japan proper and the Japanese Self Defence Force are all being equipped with nucleare weapons by US imperialism, main harbors in Japan are utilized arbitrarily by US Navy and the right of territorial air is controlled by US Air Force.

Thus, the whole Japan is forced to be combined with war policy of US imperialism, and the Japanese people are exposed to danger, while they do not know, to be involved in aggressive war of the U.S.A. Even not in war, the Japanese people are

suffering heavily from robberies, outrages, injuries and murders by US Army. Total cases only reported to the Japanese Government are 16,013 in December 1959 at present, and among them number of deaths reached to 5,550. And the actual right of command of the Self Defence Force is grasped by more than 200 members of Military Advisory Group of U.S.A., and the Japanese Army, Navy and Air Force are under control of American Military power and are the lever of dependency of Japan on U.S.A.

Such a military control of Japan by US imperialism has been intensified legally through the San Francisco Peace Treaty, US-Japan Administrative Agreement and US-Japan Security Treaty, and is also intensifying political and economic rule on Japan. Economic control on Japan by US imperialism is further increasing recently. All amount of introduced capital from abroad to Japan increased from 197 million dollar in 1955 to 1,024 million dollar in March 1961, about 80% among them were introduced by the U.S.A., and among 1,350 cases of technics-introductions 879 cases are depended on U.S.A. During the 10 years, 337 million dollar were sent from Japan to America as profits, interests and royalties. Moreover, the US imperialism forced to Japan the liberalization of trade and exchange about the time of revision of the US-Japan Security Treaty, and demanded Japan to cooperate for defence of dollar and requested the repayment of the GARIOA (Government Account for Relief in Occupied Area) fund and EROA fund. These facts clearly show that the rationalization policy of the Japanese monopoly capital is, combining with and utilizing dexterously the demand of expansion abroad, to secure Japan as an investing market of U.S.A.

Control and maneuvering on Japan by US imperialism are



spreading not only in military, political and economic spheres but also in educational and cultural spheres. At the Ikeda-Robertson talk in 1955, a big policy toward revival of militarism was directed, and Japanese teachers who resisted it were dealt bitter attacks by the oppression system named efficiency rating system. Propaganda by documents in English and Japanese, visual and auditory propaganda of record, radio and TV, and invitation and studying abroad of workers, intellectuals and students are being carried on on a large scale. Among 216 imported films last year, 121 are American films, and also 50 American films are shown in one week by Japanese TVs and 60-70 % of their profits are share of US side.

As clearly seen by these facts, the US imperialism is subordinating every sphere of Japan using military control as the lever. Every one can clearly see that for Japanese workers and people the US imperialism is not only the enemy of peace but also the enemy which obstructs the independent, peaceful and democratic development of Japan.

3. The Japanese monopoly capitalists, while they are intensifying subordination to the American imperialists, are rapidly expanding mining and industrial production during these few years. The mining and industrial production (around 1934), productive index of manufacturing industry increase by 4 times and they strengthened the position among capitalist world economy. For instance, they achieved remarkable increase as more than 4 times of outputs of iron and steel, electricity, ammonium sulphate and cement, 207 times of automobile and 14 times of gasoline. As was shown here, the Japanese capitalist industry turned from that

of centered to light industry before the war into that of based on heavy industry, electric machinery and chemical industries. Among the transformation of the capitalist economy, the Japanese monopoly capital enforced technical innovation, investment for equipments and rationalization, intensified exploitation of working class and deprivation of working peasants and medium and small enterprisers, and gained enormous profits and accumulated capital.

#### PROFITS OF MONOPOLY CAPITALS

(Investigation by the Mitsubishi  
Economic Study Institute)

	Latter half year of 1954	Latter half year of 1957	First half year of 1960
	%	%	%
All industries (571 Companies)	100	192.7	385.4
Manufacturing industry (409)	100	195.9	409.9
The first metal industry (50)	100	832.1	2,314.4
Machine indus- try (40)	100	508.3	1,185.8
Electric machine industry (38)	100	329.5	720.0

It was announced that ordinary profits of 1,556 companies, of which capital were more than 100 million yen, were 329.5 billion yen, and if we add hidden profits, the total amount would reach to around 10,500 billion yen.

Assets of companies increased, during recent 10 years (1950-1959), from 2,468 billion yen to 20,560 billion yen, and as seen in 1959, among 470,000 companies only 214 companies (0.05 %) monopolize 48.2 % of all capital. As these facts show, accumulation and concentration monopoly capital have been intensified. Connected with US imperialism subordinatedly and utiliz-

ing their monopolistic position in banks and industries, the Japanese monopoly capitalists are buying over and controlling upper class in bureaucratic organization. Thus, they are subordinating the state structure to them much more, and are intensifying plunder of state finance and state fund. They concluded Economic cooperation Agreements of 700 million dollar, besides Reparation Agreements which amounted up to one billion dollar, and using them as priming water, they have ventured on export of capital as investment abroad and technical aids. Already they made investment to South East Asia amounted 200 million dollar, and are competing keenly with other capitalist countries in capitalist world market.

As a series of facts shows, the Japanese monopoly capital is, deepening their subordination to U.S.A., aiming at their own militaristic and imperialistic revival, strengthening oppression and attacking continuously against all democratic forces centered to workers who oppose them. The Efficiency Rating System on Japanese teachers in 1958 was one of the signs, and also they tried to revise the Police Duty Law retrogressively aiming to ruin democracy in order to make the revision of the US-Japan Security Treaty easy, in October 1958. But, this bill was smashed by united force of workers and people. However, Japanese reactionaries headed by Kishi ventured on, at last, the revision of the US-Japan Security Treaty in 1959. The struggle against the Security, for one and half year from 1959 to 1960, of which zenith was the enforcement of voting by Kishi at the Diet on 19 May 1960, showed an unprecedented uprising in the history of the Japanese trade union movement and general strikes on June 4 and 22 were so big

as not experienced before, and as it was so, the blow against the enemy was so severe. Though we could not prevent the ratification of the Security Treaty itself, Kishi was forced to retire by united force of workers and people, and US President Eisenhower who scheduled to visit Japan to push on the Security Treaty, as Haggerty, the Press Secretary of the President met with a record demonstration when he came to Japan to make a preliminary examination, was forced to cancel his visit to Japan.

4. Through the struggle against the Security Treaty, the working class of Japan could acquire further confidence and big lessons. However, it is natural that the American imperialism and Japanese monopoly capitalists are unwilling to see it. When the Government of the American imperialism handed over to Kennedy from Eisenhower, some part of Japanese democratic force placed hope on Kennedy, but its true nature as imperialism did not change at all. Just like as in West Germany the US imperialists forced the Social Democratic Party to alter the Program, two ruling forces of U.S.A. and Japan, in conspiracy with, in order to revise the Security Treaty, splitted the Socialist Party and created the Democratic Socialist Party, and ventured to split trade unions. Though the Japanese trade union organizations were given from upside as one of democratic systems when Japan was defeated, differing from those of Europe, and it is true that they contain elements of split, they are seriously wounded by the policy of the enemy to divide and control. Though it changed from Eisenhower to Kennedy and from Kishi to Ikeda, their policy did not even change at all but also became further dexterous and malignant. The typical example was that large-scaled representation

to pull the Japanese trade union movement to the side of the American imperialism and ZENRO-Kaigi by organizing a talk of President Takita of the ZENRO-KAIGI (All Japan Trade Unions' Congress, affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U.) with Kennedy. And in these years, the US Administration is strengthening its invitation plan of Japanese trade union leaders. Number of invited trade union leaders by Productivity Increasing Plan of ICA and Educational and Cultural Exchange Plan of the State Department increased rapidly as 24 persons in 1956, 53 in 1957, 38 in 1958, 132 in 1959, 181 in 1960 and 147 scheduled in 1961. The Asahi Shimbun Press (March 1, 1961) clearly explained the intention as follows:-

"Such a plan of invitation of trade union leaders means that the American Government has strengthened its interest on Japanese trade union movement..... Especially, as trade unions played a big roll during the struggle against Security Treaty last year, the necessity of countermeasure to trade unions is fully realized. They are intending to bring up a democratic group among Japanese trade union organizations. Therefor, emphasis is put on relatively trade unions concerned to the Zenro, however, they are spreading their invitation even to trade unions which have moderate trend in Sohyo."

Moreover, utilizing the fact that the Japanese Government is so reactionary that it did not ratify even ILO Convention yet, they are intending to make the Japanese trade union movement a tool of ruling by US imperialism introducing ICFTU as an arbitrator to help the ratification of the ILO Convention 87 and 105. The ICFTU and its industrial international are, as seen in their long stay in Japan of Mr. Milard and Mr. Mungat and seen in organizers

to Japan headed by the General Secretary Omarbeku, continuing active measures to Japanese workers and trade union organizations and especially to the metal, transportation and teachers' front.

## II. STRUGGLES OF THE WORKERS

### 1. Trend to poverty of workers.

Under the subordination to the American imperialism, the re-organization and strengthening of the Japanese monopoly capitalism intensified the trend to poverty of the Japanese working class and strengthened the class antagonism inevitably.

Today, the Liberal Democratic Party's Cabinet is, on the instructions of monopolies, bringing up the "High-degree economic growth" and "Policy to double national income" and propagandizing as if workers, peasants and medium and small enterprisers would be well off by increase of employment as the result of growth and prosperity of Japanese economy.

However, the reverse is the case.

By the result of the movement to increase productivity and the capitalistic rationalization, forced by the US and Japanese monopoly capitalists in these years, reduction of real wages, hard labor, dismissals and big quantities of total and partial unemployments were brought on Japanese workers.

### Employment and Unemployment.

According to the governmental statistics, number of employees



increased during 4 years since 1957 to 1960 from 18.25 million to 19.54 million, 20.54 million and to 22.05 million. But, this tendency does not mean sound enlargement and stability of employment. Such increase of employment is due to the increase of workers in medium and small enterprises, temporary workers and external workers, that is the increase of "imperfectly employed" workers with low wages. For instance in manufacturing industries, number of employed workers increased since 1956 to 1960 by 3,035 thousand, however, among them 1,252 thousand increased in medium and small enterprises of less than 500 workers (61.6 %). On the other hand, among newly entered workers into manufacturing enterprises of more than 500 workers, the ratio of temporary workers increased by 42.3 % in average (by 49.9 % in 1959 and 43.8 % in 1960) during 1956 to 1960. In big enterprises of more than 500 workers, the ratio of temporary workers among total number of employees increased from 8.4 % in 1956 to 12.2 % in 1960. In electric machinery industries it suddenly increased from 14.9 % to 22.6 % during 1956 to 1959 and in automobile industry from 9.1 % to 28.3 % during the same period.

Under the deprivation by the monopolies, the class differentiation in farm villages is under way, and many quantities of village proletariat and poor peasants (semi-proletariat) are being produced. These strata reach to some 65 % of peasants. Among 6 million farm houses, 44 % are engaging in wage labor at present. And in recent 4 years, yearly average of 330,000 populations run out from agricultural and fishery villages into towns.

Moreover, the aim of the Agricultural Fundamental Law, that

the Government passed it at the Diet this year, is to capitalize agriculture and to bring up rich peasants and to drive out 60 % of peasants (9 million among 15 million peasants) during 10 years from land and agriculture. This brings not only big difficulties and uneasiness but also threats living and working conditions of whole working class creating enormous industrial reserve army.

In spite of the "high degree growth of economy", the unemployment problem is fundamentally not relieved. The following figures by the governmental statistics prove the existence of the broad relative overpopulation. ("Fundamental Research on Working Structure" in 1959 by the Statistics Bureau of the Prime Minister's Office.)

Unemployments	Persons 736,000
Temporary Workers	910,000
Day workers	1,140,000
Workers who want to change jobs and to get jobs	7,667,000
Low wage earners of less than 120,000 yen of annual income	11,988,000
Low wage earners of less than 100,000 yen of annual income	3,548,000 (house holds)
Working population of over 15 years old who belong to above households	6,556,000 (persons)

The Employment Council of the Government annouced that the total number of entire and partial unemployments in May 1959, under unprecedented prosperous condition, reached to 6.87 million to 10.65 million.

## Wages.

Even according to the governmental statistics, the labor productivity increased by 45.9 % during 1955 to 1960, but the real wages increased only by 21.8 %.

By the following simple international comparison, it is clearly seen that how the Japanese monopolies are increasing productivity while they are maintaining low wage system, and how they are intending to strengthen international competitive power reducing the " wage cost".

Industrial Labor Productivity and  
Employment and Wages. (1953 to 1958 = Annual average  
rate of increase)

	Productivity	Employment	Wages	Wage cost
	%	%	(nominal) %	%
U.S.A.	2.9	(-) 2.1	3.8	0.9
England	2.5	0.8	6.5	4.0
France	7.7	1.3	8.2	0.6
West Germany	5.6	5.1	6.9	1.2
Japan	7.6	6.7	5.5	(-) 1.8

("White Paper on Economy", 1960)

As is generally known, the wage of Japanese workers is the world famous low wage. Even according to the governmental statistics, the average wage of the workers of our country is only one ninth of that of U.S.A., one third of England, one 2.5th of West Germany and one half of France.

There exists in Japan a huge stratum of low wage workers of hunger wage standard. According to the statistics of the Government, low wage workers of less than 120,000 yen of annual income (10,000 yen of monthly in average), in July 1959 at present, was

34 % of all workers, and workers of less than 240,000 yen of annual income (monthly 20,000 yen in average) occupied 76 % in all.

Big differences in wages and discriminatory wage are important significances of Japanese wages. There is a remarkably big wage discrimination between big enterprises and medium and small enterprises. The governmental statistics show that, in 1960, when the wage of enterprises of more than 500 workers was 100, the wage of enterprises of 5-99 workers was 46.3 and that of 30-99 workers was 58.9. Such a low wage in medium and small enterprises is due to severe deprivation of medium and small enterprises by monopolies, and that the big part of workers in medium and small enterprises is still unorganized and that there is no Minimum Wage System.

No real Minimum Wage System is in effect in Japan yet. The forged Minimum Wage Law based on the "Agreement among Enterprisers", which was schemed by monopoly capitalists and the Government, is nothing else than to aim the fixation of low wages.

One of the most remarkable examples of discriminatory wages is the discrimination to women. In these years, number of female workers is increasing and it reaches to 6.5 million at present (about one third of total workers), but their wages are less than those of male's. According to the Research of Actual Conditions of Female Workers by Sohyo which was published in August 1960, wages of female workers were 43.7 % of that of male workers in all industries, and 39.5 % in manufacturing industries. According to the research by the Ministry of Labor, the wage of female workers of productive department were 43.5 % of male workers

in 1960, and the wage of clerical female employees was 38.9 % of male employees.

Temporary and day workers are also suffering from severe discrimination in wages. In 1960, their wages were only 45 % of those of common workers.

#### Increase of Prices of Commodities.

Besides such low wages, remarkable increase of prices of commodities in these years is reducing purchasing power of the wage of workers.

This trend of price increase was accelerated by a series of increase of public fees since 1959. From 1959 to 1961, fees of private railway, subway, bus, state railway and postal charge were increased 10-30 %. In succession with this, prices of necessities of daily life are generally being increased.

According to the statistics of the very government, consumers' price increased by 6.5 % as a whole in July 1961 comparing with July 1960. Especially, increases of prices of food stuffs (6.0 %), fuel and light expenses (5.7 %) and house rent (9.1 %) are remarkable.

#### Working Hour.

In spite of the "modernization" and increase of productivity, capitalists did never reduce working hours for workers. According to the governmental statistics, real working hours per worker in manufacturing industry increased from monthly 198 hours in 1955 to 207 hours in 1960. The Labor Standard Law of Japan provided



a working week hour as 48 hours, but this is kept seldom. As to the real working week hour, in 1956 in manufacturing industry, 49-59 hours occupied 30 % and more than 60 hours was 14.2 %.

#### Labor Accidents.

One of the miserable results brought by intensification of hard labor, speed-up and long-hours work is terrible increase of labor accidents.

Even the governmental statistics of under estimation show that the cases of accidents of all industries (more than 8 days out of work) increased from 335,442 in 1955 to 468,139 in 1960. Among them, death cases increased from 5,050 to 6,095 in the same period.

In mining industry, during three years since 1957 to 1959, among 230,000 workers, 176,000 were totally suffered from accidents, in which 73,528 were injured seriously and 1,823 were killed.

#### 2. Intensification of Class Struggles and Strengthening of Power of Trade Unions.

Thus the law of the trend to poverty is being carried out and class antagonism is being deepened, however, the monopoly capitalists and their agencies, the Government and the Democratic Socialist Party and some rightist leaders of trade unions are spreading the new class cooperativism to anaesthetize class consciousness of workers propagandizing a people's capitalism and new capitalism and the Human Relationship.

However, the actual situation of aggravating class struggles

is crashing in pieces such an advocacy and propaganda.

In these four years, strike movement of Japanese workers has developed. And it is clear even by the under estimated governmental statistics.

Labor disputes from 1957 to 1960.

	1957	1958	1959	1960
Total cases of Labor disputes	(case) 1,680	1,864	1,709	2,222
Total member participated	(person) 5,262,000	6,362,000	4,682,000	8,634,000
Total number of strikes	(case) 1,248	1,496	1,446	2,059
Total member participated	(person) 2,803,000	2,975,000	2,324,000	2,709,000
Lost working days	(day) 5,652,000	6,052,000	6,020,000	4,912,000

The militancy of the Japanese workers was clearly shown at the 145 days strike of the Oji Paper Manufacturing workers in 1958, the 313 days strike of the Miike Mine workers in 1960 and the unprecedented political struggle against the Security Treaty launched three times in June 1960. And also in these four years, unity in workers' struggles is strengthened. We think that to explain this it is enough only to mention united struggles for wage up launched every spring with 4-5 million workers, the united action of 4.5 million which prevented the retrogressive revision of the Police Luty Law in 1958, great united actions in the struggles against the US-Japan Security Treaty which extended 23 times and the united actions of 5.5 million which prevented the Political Violence Prevention Law bill at the beginning of last June.

During this period, the trade union forces in Japan increased as a whole. Since 1957 to 1960, the number of the organized workers increased remarkably as follow:

1957	1958	1959	1960
6,762,000	6,984,000	7,211,000	7,661,000

Such a change is clearly reflecting the advance of trade union movement of Japan.

The most important national trade union center, the Sohyo invreased its memberships from 3,282,000 in 1957 to 3,745,000 in 1960. In comparison with this, the memberships of the Zenro-Kaigi (affiliated to the ICFTU) decreased from 1,042,000 in 1957 to 924,000 in 1960.

Though the absolute value of the organized workers increased, conversely, the rate of organization (ratio to number of employees) decreased gradually from 37.1 % to 35.7 %, 35.1 % and to 34.7 % during the period of 1958-1960. These figures mean that the tempo of organizing is too late than the increased number of employees. When we consider the contents of these employees as mentioned above, it is clear that the organizational activities are still insufficient especially among abroad workers of medium and small enterprises and temporary workers. This is the traditional weak point of the Japanese trade union movement, and also these figures lodge the subject to overcome this weakness.

### 3. Struggles to achieve Economic and Social Demands.

Under the worsening conditions of poverty by the policy of war, subordination and seeking of maxmum profits of US and

Japanese monopoly capitalists, working class and its trade unions are developing struggles to achieve economic and social demands standing at the head of broad working people. Main pillars of these struggles are the demands for general increase of wages on a large scale, establishment of the Minimum Wage System, against rationalization and intensification of exploitation, against dismissals and unemployment, for defence and enlargement of employment, reduction of working hours without wage cut and improvement of social security.

#### Struggles for Wage-up.

It is significant in Japan that the workers are offering the demands for wage-up every year and launching struggles every year, and this is one of the proofs that the Japanese workers are suffering from low wage and their living standard also is low. These struggles that repeated every year naturally strengthen the class character and militancy of workers, and through these struggles the necessity of united actions, and the principle that "if the unites action is strengthend, the demands would be achieved corresponding to the degree of its development" are gradually populalized among fighting workers.

We already mentioned on the low wage structure of Japan, in addition with this, we should mention that the necessary minimum wage system to break this low wage system is not established untill now. Though the struggles for the minimum wage system have been launched since several years ago and it is the common demands of all workers, still there is such weakness that common struggle of Sohyo and Zenro has not been organized



and also the weakness that the interest of workers in big enter-  
prossesis still so weak. However, this struggle is becoming  
stronger year by year under the united demand of "Indiscrimnate  
minimum wage system in all industries and in all country", and  
determination and strive to achieve it by strike are also  
strengthened. Especially the development of united front with  
broad democratic forces, which was trained during the struggle  
against the Security Treaty, gives a big possibility to gain  
the victory in the struggle for the minimum wage system. Under  
such circumstances, the enforcement of the minimum wage of the  
"Agreement among enterprisers" based on the forged Minimum Wage  
Law which was compeled by the monopoly capital was prevented and  
crashed to pieces in many districts all over the country by the  
united actions of workers.

Present wage system of Japan is the combination of the  
long service ranking system wage (payment corresponding to  
years of continuous service, i.e., degree of contribution to  
the enterprise) which has a strong tendency of feudalistic  
standing system, with the duty and position classification  
system wage and the efficiency wage which were introduced from  
U.S.A. after the war. With them, the monopoly capitalists have  
enlarged the discriminatory wages and differences in wages vio-  
lating the principle of equal work and equal pay, and intensified  
control and exploitation of workers maintaining low wages as a  
whole. Moreover, recently the monopoly capitalists are aiming  
at "gradual abolishment of the long service ranking system wage  
and transfoemation into duties wages" during the new rationaliza-  
tion policy, and are intending further retrogressive revision of

the wage system. Its aim is to reduce wages of old skilled workers and to save total amount of wages under the pretext of technical innovation and change of labor (simplification), and at the same time, to intensify the control by foremen and instigate antagonism and competition among each worker.

Against such attacks of monopolies, the Japanese workers are developing their struggles demanding wage increase on a large scale and of the same amount under the target of the equal pay equal work.

The Spring Struggle in 1961 had a unprecedented big scale to which participated 5.5 million workers of Sohyo, neutral unions and some unions of the Zenro, and workers succeeded in wage up of about 3,000 yen (monthly) in general. Not a few trade unions in the medium and small enterprises achieved wage up of more than 5,000 yen. And bigger part of these achieved amount was increase of equal amount. Connecting with the successes in wage struggles, some unions succeeded in enlargement of their organizations.

#### Struggles against Rationalization.

Today in Japan, a large scaled rationalization offensive is covering all industries, and workers are suffering from enforcement of intensification of labor, mass dismissals and personnel transpositions, moreover, the attack of the thought control --- the offensive on the Red. The aim of the rationalization policy enforced by the monopoly capitalists and the Ikeda Cabinet is, based on subordination to the American imperialism, to strengthen the power of the Japanese monopolies until it can

bear in international competition, and to build up bigger foundation to promote the revival of the militarism and imperialism.

Therefor, since these years, confrontation against the rationalization has become one of the main subjects in the struggles of Japanese workers.

The Zenith of struggles against rationalization was the struggle of the Miike Mine. This struggle against mass dismissals of 1,200 workers was, substantially, the struggle against the attacks of the enemy, who had a energy policy subordinating to the U.S.A., intending revival and strengthening of Japanese monopoly capital itself under the condition that the American imperialism grasped the greater part of the capital of the Japanese oil industry, who oppressed trade union movement by driving out militant workers of trade union organizations from their working places spreading a theory of declining of the coal industry, and who intended to seek profits and to oppose in competitions at home and abroad at the sacrifice of working class.

The heroic workers in Miike Mine continued 288 days stubborn struggle opposing against concentrated attacks of the monopoly capitalists and the Government in a body, as mobilization of tens of thousands of armed policemen and the Maritime Self Defence Force, rightist gangsters who killed Comrade Kuboyama, arrests and class trials, moneuver of splitting and the forged conciliation of the Central Labor Committee.

The reason why the workers of the Miike Mine could continue their struggle during so long period was, first of all, it was combined with the struggle against the Security Treaty. And also, as the workers of all industries supported the struggle

and showed their solidarities. Supporting organizers who participated to this struggle reached totally to 300,000. And at the same time, as many trade unions of the world including China, Soviet and the WFTU gave endless supports and cooperations, To this struggle, WFTU sent 9,500 dollar, miners of the Soviet Union 10,000 dollar and miners of China 20,000 dollar. Besides, French miners affiliated to the French CGT gathered a supporting fund. We would like to express our heartfelt thanks to them.

The Miike struggle, like many other struggles against rationalization, showed as its lesson that to achieve victory in struggles against rationalization it is essential condition to strengthen solidarity of trade unions, to develop industrial united struggle and to strengthen united front against US imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital. Through these struggles, that fact that the essence of the struggle against rationalization is the united front is now being popularized among many workers.

#### Struggles to decrease Working Hours.

One of the main demands of workers who are struggling against rationalization is the reduction of the working hours without reduction of wages, especially the demand of "two holidays a week system, 40 working hours". Today, this demand changed from a slogan of propaganda to the slogan of action. Actually, workers of the medium and small enterprises in printing and metal industries are achieving decrease of 30 minutes to one hour a day.

Moreover, the content of this demand is what the both organizations of Sohyo and Zenro can entirely unite. In April 1961, "The round table conference for common struggle to reduce



working hours" which aims "two holidays week, 40 hour week system" was organized among Sohyo, Zenro, Neutral Unions and Shin-Sambetsu.

The Japanese workers announced their determination to struggle by general strikes two years later to realize this demand.

#### Struggles for enlargement of Social Security.

Since these years the struggle demanding for improvement of the Social Security is becoming one of main pillars of struggles of Japanese workers who aim at improvement of living.

In September 1958, the Social Security Promoting Council was organized as a national acting organization of workers and people in unity, and this made a new stage to advance the struggle for social security. The formation of this Council itself was one of the fruits of the strong national struggle against retrogressive revision of the Health Insurance which was waged in 1956. To this Council 48 organizations, as Sohyo, Neutral Unions, Socialist Party, Communist Party, Japan Peasants' Union, Japan Patients' League, Council of Sufferers of A and H Bombs, and organizations of doctors and medical employees, are affiliated.

Since the end of 1958 to April 1959, unprecedented big campaign, "People's Big March against War and Unemployment and for Improvement of the Social Security" was organized, initiated by the Sohyo, All Japan Day Workers' Union and the Social Security Promoting Council. Into this March which went along the length of 2,000 kilo-meters in Japan, participated totally 10 million of people. The success of this Big March of the People was succeeded to the struggle against the Contributing System People's Pension Law of deception and mass deprivation which was legislated in

spring of 1959, and was developed.

In form of movement to refuse the notification of applicable persons and non-payment of insurance due at present, this struggle is still being launched towards establishment of pension system which is really favourable for the advantage of the people.

The advances of female workers through the struggles.

In these struggles of workers in Japan, the roll of female workers are gradually becoming importance. And many fights against improvements of many violent situations of female workers are developping; against low wages, hard labor, disease caused by changing of working system, changing labor conditions for the worse, especially protection of health of the mother, and discriminative treatments.

Standing the view point that low level of wages of all working people is caused by low wages of female workers, women workers are fighting towards equal pay equal work, establishment of minimum wage system and the demands for increase of wages on a large scale. In many fights combinating the protection of rights and the breakdown of low wages sytem, female workers have had the leadership of struggle, for example the struggle of Zennisseki (All Japan Red-Cross Hospital Workers' Union).

Recently women in electrical industry pushing the rationalization are fighting the fight against the two shifts system and intensification. Office workers of woman are suffering from injury caused by introducing machinery into office.

And the other hand by positive demands of protection of the mother based on reduction of working hours, prolongation of

vacation after birth are gained partly. The executive committee of the women month organized mainly the Sehyo set up the all national counterplan committee of day nursery and these movements are growing up.

Demand for establishment of rights of working women have become the demand of all female workers through these struggle in themselves.

For realization of decision of the Congress of World Female Workers in 1956 some leading women are acting. And initiative of woman in action are gradually building up in the Japan Mothers Congress held every year and in the central assembly of working women, and etc.

But we must point out following problem as defects of the present labor movements in Japan; negligence about female problem, insufficiency of right valuation of the energy in female workers, shortage of active women and weakness of organization.

In firm international solidarity and in accumulation of rich experiences of struggles the fight towards real liberation of women will be further developing.

#### 4. Fight for National Independence and Peace throughout the World

It is the "San Francisco System" that violates real independence of Japan, and the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and the Administrative Agreement are its concrete arrangements. As far as Japan is dependent to American imperialism of which the main policies are aggressions and wars, real peace could not be realized. From this fact springs a vital task for the Japanese working class

and its trade union organizations to spearhead the fight for peace and national independence.

Based on this understanding, Japanese working class and its trade union organizations stood up in unity with the people against the revision of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty intrigued by U.S. imperialism and Japanese reactionaries.

This struggle continued for one year and a half from the time when the negotiations began between both Governments in 1959 to July 1960. This struggle against the military treaty and for national independence and peace was taken part not only by workers but by broad sections of people: peasants, citizens, students, men of culture, etc. The National Congress for Prevention of the Revision of Security Treaty in Tokyo and more than 2,000 joint struggle organizations throughout the country were established, thus a united front with Communist and Socialist Parties as its central bodies having developed.

The national united actions were repeated 23 times and on the 4th and 22nd June, great general strikes on an unprecedented scale lead by railway workers were successfully organized. These strikes were not only upheld by the broadest sections of people but a number of individual shop owners, supporting the workers' strikes, closed the doors in Tokyo, Gumma Prefecture and other various parts of the country.

Although this nation-wide struggle which showed the greatest elevation ever known in the history of the Japanese Labour movement could not be successful in preventing the ratification itself of the Treaty, it could achieve such results as prevention of President Eisenhower's visit to Japan and the throwing down of the Kishi Cabinet. And this struggle gave through concrete facts the



Japanese working class a confidence that the power of united action and united front was boundless and that the very united front could defeat two main enemies, U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopolies.

In Japan today there still exist more than 200 American military bases. The Japanese people and workers have been consistently fighting for their evacuation and against their further extension.

Particularly the question of the Okinawa Islands which are whole nuclear-armed under the American occupation, has come to be a vital task for workers and people of Japan in the fight for peace and independence. Last several years the struggle for the return of Okinawa to its Motherland, withdrawal of nuclear armed bases, and evacuation of American Armed Forces have been developing with tenacity under increased solidarity between people of Okinawa and those of the Motherland.

Lately U.S. imperialists are carrying in the nuclear arms to their military bases in Japan and to make the Japanese Defense Army nuclear armed. This struggle against bringing in the nuclear arms constitutes one of very important aspects of peace struggle in this country. The dockworkers went on a strike opposing the loading of Erikon, American-made missile, and the shipbuilding workers answered by strike to manufacturing of nuclear arms.

The Niijima Island is an isolated island 150 kilometers south to Tokyo on the Pacific. However, the struggle opposing installation of a nuclear missile base on this Island is developing all over the country. Many of workers and students, taking themselves to the Island from various parts of the country, are supporting the dauntless fight of the people of the Island in the midst of attacks

of armed police and rightist gangsters.

In every August is held the World Conference against A- & H- Bombs to commemorate the drop of atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Participation of foreign peace fighters including trade union delegates representing W.F.T.U. and its affiliated organizations is increasing year after year. This Conference since last year is organized under the slogan of complete disarmament.

Intensifying the struggles for peace and national independence, the Japanese workers and people are demanding more and more the achievement of complete disarmament.

##### 5. The Fight to Defend and to Expand Trade Union Rights and Democracy

The defeat in the last war bound Japan to thoroughly implement the Potsdam Declaration and to democratize the country. Nevertheless, limiting its democratization only in the field where their occupation policy could be secured more effectively, U.S. imperialists who occupied Japan, made to fail Japanese democratic revolution. This explains a reason why Japanese democracy is the most backward among the developed capitalist countries.

Especially for the last several years Japanese reactionaries in close collaboration with U.S. imperialism which has been losing its influence throughout the world in general and the Far East and Asia in particular, have been venturing on a large scale on destroying democracy, in order to strengthen a military alliance between both countries and to build Japan as fortress of anti-communism and anti-socialism in Asia. After the ratification of the Security Treaty, political reaction is remarkably being strengthened.

The fight of workers to defend and expand trade union rights

and democratic liberties has always been a very important task for the Japanese trade union movement and is becoming more and more vital and keen today. And during the last several years the working class and its trade union organizations have been organizing a number of significant struggles for trade union rights and democracy.

### Victory over the Revision of "Police Duties Bill"

In autumn, 1958, the Government in compliance of the will of U.S. imperialists and Japanese monopoly capitalists proposed the Diet to revise "Police Duties Law", to clear the way for the revision of the Security Treaty and to launch new attacks on the labour movement and democratic movements. Workers and people united themselves to stand up for its prevention.

500 organizations expressed their oppositions and broad national united actions were organized, including SOHYO, independent trade unions, even ZENRO, and Communist and Socialist Parties. The National Congress against the Revision of Police Duties Law was set up in Tokyo and in 40 prefectures were also formed joint struggle organizations. United actions participated by total 4,500,000 persons were developed. As a result, the Bill was finally shelved, thus the reactionary's intention having been broken down. This important victory and the experiences gained by the united actions and united front became a very favorable condition and an important base for the advance of the anti-Treaty struggle that followed.

## The Fight for the Matsukawa Case

The Matsukawa Case was a big cooked up Case intrigued in 1949 by U.S. imperialists and Japanese reactionaries which had been preparing for the Korean War, with a view to suppress the labour movement and the whole democratic movements. On the pretext of an overthrown train case, 20 innocent workers were put on trial, and five of them were condemned to death and other also very severe penalties including life sentences. But really popular and tenacious movement protesting injustice and demanding a fair trial have been continued for ten years with strong international support and solidarity headed by W.F.T.U. This development brought an important victory in December 1959, when the Supreme Court, exploding the former judgements of guilty, sent back the Case for re-examination. In June, this year, a letter signed by Comrades Louis Saillant, General Secretary of W.F.T.U. and Elena Teodorescu, Secretary, demanding a fair trial and non-guilty decision was sent to the High Court. The struggle for the Matsukawa Case at its final stage was developed by the working class in Japan under supporting of the workers all over the world. At the result, our working class gained The historical victory for solidarity of working class, i.e., the judgements for re-examination were all "not guilty" at the Sendai High Court on 8th August.

## The Struggle for Recovery of the Right to Strike

More than 2 million workers of government institutions and public enterprises have been deprived of their right to strike since 1949 by anti-trade union legislation drawn up by the U.S. Occupation Forces and the Japanese Government.

To satisfy their demands these workers could not help resorting to such means of actions as leave-takings in concert, rejection of overtime work, workshop rallies during work hours, "law abiding struggle" (a slowdown observing the regulations of safety operations, etc.). These actions accompanying de facto suspension of work have been developing year after year, especially since 1957, with an ever increasing militant character. The authorities have launched a severe attack on such legal means of actions, only weapons they have for obtaining their demands. For instance, in the National Railway Workers Union 98 persons were discharged and 9,400 got the sanctions of suspension of work, wage cuts, warning and so on between 1953 and 1959; in Postal Workers Union 9,757 persons were sanctioned including 13 discharges; in Japan Teachers Union 56,729 including 70 discharges; Tax Workers Union, 475 including 26 dismissals. In addition, there are scores of thousands of workers punished in the public Services.

It is under such situations that the question of recovering the right to strike has been placed on the agenda as a very important struggle of government and public service workers. What encouraged these workers most and let them put forward the slogan "Retaking of the Right to Strike" was the fact that these public service workers headed by the National Rail workers, supported by workers of all industries and people successfully organized the most militant work suspension and strike actions on the days of general strike on 4 and 22 June last year during the historic anti-Treaty struggle.

Now 2 million of public service workers are organizing themselves for recovery of its right to strike in firm unity and solidarity, standing on a long term prospect.



At the same time they are demanding the establishment of the right to freely elect their trade union representatives and rehabilitation of the right to collective bargaining which is deprived of workers of government institution. Certain trade union organizations have submitted their complaints to I.L.O. on these infringements of right. However, in this respect, the nature and present conditions of I.L.O. which is a tripartite organization, and where the will of workers of the world can not be rightfully reflected owing to undue discrimination existing in this organization, are not always fully recognized by the Japanese trade union movement and there are excessive expectations and illusions as if I.L.O. could solve all their problems. Therefore it is especially important in Japan to develop the fight to defend and expand the trade union rights based on real mass actions.

The Fight against Strengthened Political Reaction after the Conclusion of New Security Treaty --- A Victory of a Struggle against "Political Violence Prevention Bill"

One of important features which characterize the situation after the conclusion of the new Security Treaty is a remarkable strengthening of political reaction.

An example is a series of reprisal measures against workers and people who fought for the anti-Treaty. The Government unwarrantably punished more than 23,000 public service workers and those working in the public enterprises on a pretext of their participation in the Treaty struggle. 27 workers who were among the protest action against the visit of Hagerty, Press Secretary of President Eisenhower, were arrested and are now unjustly on a trial.

Japanese and U.S. monopolies plan not only to organize 13 highly equipped Pentomic divisions by revising two Defense Laws, thus trying to let them play a powerful role in the whole U.S. war policy, but to utilize the Defense Army as important means to suppress democratic movements, as clearly indicates "Draft Manual of Security of Public Peace", recently disclosed.

As known, since the anti-Treaty struggle terrorist cases by the rightists backed up by the reactionaries are occurring in succession.

The monopolist capitalists and government try to trade the ratification of ILO Conventions on trade union rights with the revision of the national laws concerning, by which they aim at restricting and depriving of workers their trade union rights substantially.

The Japanese working class and people are fighting with determination, opposing this political reaction, the height of which was the successful fight against "Political Violence Prevention Bill".

The reactionary forces and government of Liberal Democratic Party, taking advantage of the people's uncertainty and anger against frequent occurring of rightist terrorism, presented to the Diet in May 1961 "Political Violence Prevention Bill", the most reactionary repressive legislation ever known with an aim of wholesale oppression of any democratic movements, not to mention of labour movement. Democratic Socialist Party was an accomplice of this intrigue. This Bill which exceeded that notorious "Public Maintenance Law" in the pre-war time in its reactionary character, would have opened the way to all forms of repressions and infringements of fundamental rights and liberties, from restriction or

prohibition of demonstrations and meetings, interventions of the authorities with labour disputes to prohibition of publication of organs and dissolution of democratic organizations.

This Bill was immediately met by a powerful opposition actions of the working class and people. The experiences of United actions and united front gained during the last anti-Treaty struggle were inspired with a new life.

2,000 anti-Treaty joint struggle organizations throughout the country stood up one after another for action. The National Congress for the Treaty Prevention resumed its work. Except ZENRO dominated by the rightwing social democrats, all trade unions led by SOHYO took part in the united actions. From the end of May to the first week of June, tens of thousands of demonstrators surrounded the Diet everyday. United actions developed in the whole country, 5,500,000 persons taking part. Prompt and determined action of workers and people having assembled in the powerful united front, again defeated the will of the reactionaries. The Bill was tabled to be discussed in the next autumn Session.

Based on this important success the working class and people are fighting with increasing vigilance, to bury this dangerous Bill ultimately and to break down the political reaction.

### III. DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

In the course of the above-mentioned development of various struggles, there is growing consciousness among workers and trade unionists of the indispensable need of united actions and international solidarity. Particularly the experiences they gained

during the last anti-Treaty struggle made a rapid progress of the ideas of international solidarity and proletarian internationalism among the Japanese working class. It is because they were encouraged by enormous international support and solidarity, at the same time through this historic struggle they awakened the tasks imposed upon them in the common struggle against the imperialist reactionary camp headed by U.S. imperialism, a common enemy.

The powerful fraternal support and solidarity given by W.F.T.U., its affiliated organizations and its Trade Union Internationals such as solidarity actions of nearly 20 million of Chinese workers, solidarity strike in Italy and so forth, deeply impressed the Japanese working class and people. This makes a clear contrast to the attitude of I.C.F.T.U. which not only ignored that historic rise of Japanese workers and people, but even supported the split maneuvers planned by the leadership of ZENRO, one of its affiliated National Centres in Japan.

Encouraged by such manifestations of international solidarity, the Japanese working class has been organizing various solidarity actions after the anti-Treaty struggle as seen:

- e The action to prevent Karel Doorman, a Dutch aircraft carrier, from coming to the Japanese ports, in response to the appeal sent by Indonesian people and Government.
- e Protest action against the murder of Mr. Lumumba Prime Minister of the young Republic of Congo.
- e The action in opposition of American intervention to Laos, utilization of military bases in Japan, and of sending Japanese Defense Army abroad to Laos to help the American aggression.
- e The actions in protest of Cuban invasion by U.S. imperialists

and in support of Castro Government.

Friendly exchange of trade union delegations between Japan and foreign countries is developing year after year, the majority of which is with those of socialist countries. By assistance and kind intentions of these organization faithfully following the principles of W.F.T.U. on unity and international solidarity, 756 trade union delegates of Japan visited these countries during four years between 1957 and 1960, out of whom 165 persons visited the Soviet Union and 539 China. In turn there are also an increased number of visits to Japan of the foreign trade union delegates. Almost all of them are based on the Agreements on Mutual Exchange.

Foreign trade union representation at the time of national trade union congresses is also increasing. Since last few years trade union organizations of the Soviet Union, China, GDR, France, Italy and so on are represented at every Annual Congress of SOHYO. Through these contacts mutual or multilateral agreements and joint statements have been concluded and issued between trade union organization of Japan and foreign countries. Some of important ones are as follows:

1. Joint Statement between SOHYO and International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions in Jan. 1958.
2. Joint Statement between SOHYO and F.D.G.B., Nov. 1959.
3. Joint Statement on Total Disarmament between SOHYO and Central Council of All Soviet Trade Unions, Jan. 1960.
4. Joint Statement by three organizations: SOHYO, All China Federation of Trade Unions and Korean Confederation of Labour in opposition to Japan-U.S. military alliance, in support of patriotic and just struggle carried by South Korean people, the



struggle of Miike miners of Japan, and the struggles for national independence of African peoples, May 1960.

5. Joint Statement between SOHYO and CGIL.

An increase of contacts between Japanese trade unions and W.F.T.U. as well as its Trade Union Internationals constitutes one of the most important aspects in the development of international solidarity in this country. A big size delegation of ten members participated in the I World Conference of Young Workers held in 1958.

In 11 (that is all) International Conferences of Trade Departments W.F.T.U. held since IV World Congress took part total 54 delegates from trade union organizations concerned. These delegations are from various national affiliation and also organizations affiliated to I.C.F.T.U. or its Trade Departments such as Miners Union, Postal Workers Union, National Railway Workers Union, etc. Through these contacts two of National Centers (Construction Ministry's Workers Union and Free Workers Union) submitted their affiliation cards to a Trade Union International of W.F.T.U. (Building Workers International).

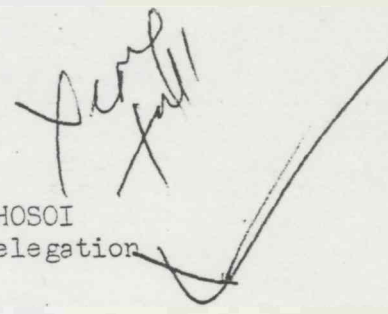
Trade union organizations are taking their part in the international united actions in support of the initiatives of WFTU in various struggles. SOHYO joins International Solidarity Commission for Support of Algerian Workers and People. By sending its representative SOHYO also contributed to the works of I meeting of International Action Commission for Social recently held. "International Trade Union and Legal Commission to defend and expand trade union rights and to support trade unionists who are victims of repression" was also taken part by a representative of SOHYO Defense

Council who played an important role there. SOHYO fully supports  
this Commission and its work.

✓  
H. G. G. G.  
Fall.

Report of the Japanese Delegation  
to the 5th World Trade Union Congress

By Mr. Soichi HOSOI  
Leader of Delegation



Dear chairman and all the delegates,

Representing the 33-man Japanese delegation and on behalf of Japanese workers and trade unions, let me express a profound delight at the opening of the 5th World Trade Union Congress and an ardent will of unity for the success of this Congress.

Learning from the results of the 4th World Trade Union Congress held in Leipzig, German Democratic Republic, and encouraged by the lessons obtained therefrom, the Japanese working class succeeded in breaking down the bill for worsening the "Police Service Law" in autumn 1958 with enhanced unity of action and consolidated united front. The object of the bill was, for the then Kishi Cabinet, dictated by the U.S. imperialism and the Japanese monopolies, to launch a fresh attack on Japan's labour and democratic movements as a preparatory step for revising the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty leading to the Northeast Asian Military Alliance. Consequently, through the experience of victory at this fight, Japan's working class and people at large further strengthened their conviction for unity and solidarity and were able to lay very advantageous conditions in the interest of their struggle against the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty.

On the basis of this important corner-stone, the Japanese working class and people united themselves and rose to the year-long struggle against the new Japan-U.S. Security Treaty from 1959 to 1960. This struggle was of such a big scale that the history of Japan's labour movement had never seen the like. More than two thousand joint-struggle organizations were formed throughout the country comprising the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, trade unions, groups of farmers, town folks, young men and women, men of culture and people in all walks of life. These joint-struggle bodies collected more than twenty million signatures against the Treaty. Trade unions dared to strike three times as nuclei of the broader anti-Treaty united front involving several million working people.

This struggle failed to completely smash the Security Treaty, but staved off the planned visit of U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower and broke down the Kishi Cabinet. Furthermore, in combination with the anti-Treaty struggle, Japan's working class with the mining workers as the vanguard fought it out against the rationalization of Miike Colliery, a stronghold of Japan's largest monopoly Mitsui Concern. All the democratic forces of Japan backed up the coal miners' fight in firm solidarity.

Through these struggles, Japan's working class and people deepened their conviction that the unity of action and the united front are the only way to liberalize themselves, and recently developed a united action for

breaking down the "Political Violence Prevention Bill" aimed at a revival of the Japanese militarism and oppression of the democratic movement, hampering its passing the Diet for the second time.

In this regard I must refer to the fact that for the success of these struggles of Japanese workers and people the World Federation of Trade Unions, brothers of the world, especially of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China, took joint actions and expressed solidarity in the cause of proletarian internationalism. This gave an unmeasurably great assistance to the fight of the Japanese working class and people.

In the name of the Japanese working class and people, let me express my profound thanks to the brothers of the world through this Congress. I feel grateful for the unstinted assistance both in spirit and substance afforded by workers and trade unions of the world to the fight of miners at Miike Colliery and the struggle about the Matsukawa Case, the world-known diabolical frame-up by the American imperialism and I take great pleasure in reporting that the twenty accused of the Matsukawa Case won innocence at last after twelve years' hard struggle.

Such incessant and intensive struggles of Japan's working class and people demonstrate the invincible militancy of the working class defending national independence and peace, aiming at social progress and opposed to the reactionary policy for the revival of militarism and imperialism including the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty of the American imperialism and the Japanese monopolies.

A grand-scale rationalization drive which is now being enforced by the Japanese monopolies and the Ikeda Cabinet has made its appearance in all industries of Japan. Its purpose is to make the power of Japan's monopoly capitals strong enough to stand international competition and to lay the foundation for promoting revival of militarism and imperialism under the sway of U.S. imperialists. Accordingly, the face-to-face fight with the rationalization has been one of the major problems in the struggle of Japanese workers these several years.

The struggles against rationalization in Japan culminated in the intensive fight at Miike Colliery. The struggle against a mass dismissal of 1,200 workers was caused by the monopoly capital in its pursuit of profit at the sacrifice of workers when the U.S. imperialism was enforcing its policy to rule over Japan's energy with petroleum and the Japanese monopoly accepted it in its own interest and adopted the dependent energy policy, airing the argument on "declining coal industry". The heroic workers of Miike Colliery continued fighting for 313 days against the concentrated attack by the monopoly capitals and the Liberal-Democratic Party (the government party) with all means available including mobilization of armed police and marine defence force amounting to 530,000 man-days, rightist goon squads, arrest of workers, discriminatory trials, disruption maneuvers, false mediation of the Central Labor Relations Commission and so on. The coal miners' struggle could not perfectly prevent the dismissal but gave precious lessons to all workers



as a demonstration of the great militancy of the Japanese working class. And now again the coal mining workers are fighting against a dismissal of 60,000 miners.

All this has taught us that the rationalization drive enforced by the monopoly capitals is the cause of the intensified class antagonism, which is never to be solved by conciliation between capital and labour or by reformism and that only a broad united front against the U.S. imperialism and the Japanese monopoly capitals which are enhancing exploitation and exaction of people in all walks of life is the only assurance of victory.

I remember the following remarks of General Secretary Louis Saillant in his speech at the 3rd International Trade Conference of Transport, Port and Fishery Workers held in Budapest in May 1961.

"The working class and its trade unions should define their position in regard to these problems of nationalization and technical progress under a capitalist regime from the point of view of well-defined political principles which lead the working class to fight so that people's power replaces the political power of the monopolies." I give my full support to this view of the General Secretary.

According to governmental statistics, the total number of employees increased from 18,250,000 to 22,050,000 during the four years from 1957 to 1960. This upward trend, however, does in no wise mean a sound expansion of employment and its stabilization. The official statistics for 1959 revealed existence of 736,000 full-time unemployed and 910,000 casual workers. Those who wanted change of occupation or new position amounted to 7,667,000. All this will make a total of 10 million.

Such a lack of stability in employment has naturally fixed the low wages of Japanese workers. Those who earn less than ¥120,000 per annum amounted to as many as 11,988,000. The number of low-income families whose annual earnings are less than ¥100,000 reach 3,548,000. While labour productivity increased 43.3 per cent during the period from 1955 to 1960, wages rose only 21.8 per cent.

Moreover, prices have been sharply advancing in recent years. Articles of daily necessities are 20 or 30 per cent up; so the purchasing power has sizably declined.

Low wages have forced workers into overtime jobs and as a result they are wearing body and nerves down to an extremity. The government's statistics show that working hours of a worker per month averaged 216 hrs. (50.4 hrs. per week) in April 1954 but rose to 228 hrs. (53.2 hrs. per week) in April 1960, showing an increase of 5.5 per cent. Overtime work has increased so much that workers are earning 30 or even 50 per cent of their wages by overtime jobs. Thus, the so-called "double income policy" of the Ikeda Cabinet has already revealed its true character.



The Agriculture Basic Law that passed the National Diet in 1961 was designed by the Government to promote capitalist system of agriculture by fostering wealthy farmers in the name of "modernization". In envisages expelling 60 per cent of the existing farmers (9 million out of 15 million) from land and farming during the 10 years hereafter. This will inevitably create an immense industrial reserve army, which will in turn threaten the life and working conditions of the entire working class. I think the present conditions in Japan bear witness to the passage of the Draft Programme of Trade Union Action, "--- the monopolies can no longer content themselves with mere exploitation of the workers. To maintain or increase their profits they are intensifying and perfecting the exploitation of labour, attacking the living standards of the working class and the working people as a whole ---". And this constitutes a source of bitter struggles of the Japanese working class.

Japan's monopoly capitals are trying to cover up these facts and paralyse the class consciousness of workers by introducing and propagating American style of labour management including "human relations", "modern industrial relations", etc. At the same time, the U.S. government has attached more importance to the invitation and buying over of officers of Japanese trade unions. The number of trade union leaders invited by the U.S. government steadily increased every year from 24 in 1956 to 181 in 1960. Furthermore, invitation of trade union officers to America by the Asian Consortium was started this year. All this should be noted as a salient indication of the U.S. government's intention.

On the other hand, attacks on active unionists in work-shops as "red" and anti-communist propaganda have been intensified of late. Plots like the Matsukawa case have been framed up in coal mines and are being used as pretext of imposing new dismissals and attacks upon senior activists. Disruption maneuvers against militant workshops are being conducted with enhanced efforts. Thus, the struggle against disruption is one of the most important fights in Japan's labour movement. These ideological and political attacks on Japanese workers are getting more intensified under a newly developing situation such as described here. Namely, dictated by the U.S. imperialism, the Japanese government reopened negotiation with the South Korean government, after a series of talks between Ikeda-Rusk, Rusk-Pak, Pak-Ikeda and Pak-Kennedy, with a view to not only hindering the independent and peaceful unification of Korea but also preparing for the organization of the "Northeast Asian Military Alliance". Furthermore, the government is trying to foster among people an aggressive anti-Soviet and anti-communist idea and adventurist spirit by bringing forth the problem of northern territory which has completely lost its ground and inflaming chauvinism and anti-Soviet revanchism. It is also hampering the normalization of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China which is earnestly desired by Japan's working class and people. Moreover, the Ikeda Cabinet is hostile to the People's China in league with Chancheshi and his groupe in Taiwan and is still conspiring to make two Chinas.

These objects of the Ikeda Cabinet show that it is aiming at the revival and reinforcement of militarism and imperialism in subordinate alliance with the U.S. imperialism under the new Security Treaty and has become an important agent of the American imperialism for war preparation in the Far East.

At present, the U.S. imperialists hold more than 200 military bases in Japan and U.S. forces scores of thousands strong are stationed there. Moreover, they still continue occupying Okinawa and Bonin Islands, and 900,000 Japanese people living in Okinawa are having a hard time of it under a cruel rule of the U.S. militarism. It is a grave fact to be noted that the entire Islands of Okinawa, many military bases in Japan and even the Japanese Self Defense Forces are armed with U.S. nuclear weapons. The aim of the U.S. imperialism is to make Japan into the strategic center for the Northeast Asian Military Alliance just as Germany for the NATO and turn it into the most dangerous powder magazine in the Far East. Against these drives, the struggle against military bases have been developed in Niihima, Fuji, Iwakuni and in many other places throughout Japan. Accordingly, I believe, for the Japanese working class and people, the dauntless struggle against the U.S. imperialism is not only in the interest of the nation's independence and peace but also an important fight contributing to the world peace.

We made efforts to include a representative from Okinawa into the Japanese Delegation to the 5th World Trade Union Congress but the U.S. military authorities didn't permit his participation in the delegation.

It is an obvious fact that the U.S. imperialism is not only holding sway over Japan, oppressing and exploiting Japanese people but also has taken possession of the Chinese territory Taiwan, is hampering the independent peaceful unification of Korea, causing the danger of a new war in and around Berlin and aiming at a domination over and oppression of peoples of the world, particularly of Asia and Africa.

As the Moscow Statement of November 1960 taught us, the American imperialism is the greatest international exploiter, the international gendarmerie and the common enemy to the peoples of the world. I think it is an important duty for the international working class to strengthen unity of action and united front of struggles against this common enemy.

Recently, the danger of a new war came to be rightly understood in Japan as the U.S.S.R. government reopened nuclear experiment. Lively discussions took place, however, over right or wrong of the nuclear test reopening even in democratic camps; and some organizations adopted a resolution to lodge a protest with the Soviet government just like reactionary ruling circles led by the U.S. imperialists. But we must know it is absurd to have discussions about right or wrong of the nuclear test at this moment. It is of course better not to do such an experiment. Therefore, the U.S.S.R. unilaterally declared suspension of experiment prior to the U.S. and Britain. However, the danger of war prepared by the Western powers led by the U.S. imperialism forced the U.S.S.R. government to reopen the nuclear test in order to prevent a nuclear war. If someone is to undergo the danger of radioactive fallout, who is it in the world? It is Soviet people themselves. Japan's bourgeois mass-communication is airing the horror of death dust (radioactive fallout) without scientific ground.

We think it is very important to rightly understand the attitude of the U.S.S.R. government that reopened the nuclear test.

We support the WFTU's statement of September 6 on the overall disarmament and have an opinion that we should make a protest against the war provokers of Western powers headed by the U.S. imperialists in the name of mankind. One of the most important thing at this moment for the international working class is, I believe, to win, by an international united action, a perfect abolition of armament and the demand for "conclusion of peace treaty by recognizing the two Germanies, final confirmation of the border on the Oder and the Neisse and unarmed free Berlin". And it is urgently needed, as shown by the complaints voiced by the ICFTU against the Sohyo delegation who took part in the Berlin meeting, to lay bare before the eyes of workers and trade unions the behaviour of the ICFTU officers who are consistently working to bring about confusion and disruption to the unity of world's working class for peace.

Four years ago, I made a proposal at the rostrum of the previous Congress for united action of the German and the Japanese working classes in the cause of peace, and today its importance has become even greater. Workers of Japan and Germany which were the ignition points for World War II have common responsibility and duty in the maintenance of world peace. It will be actions tending to isolate the U.S. imperialists, important for developing international situation and an assurance to world peace to destroy the Japan-U.S. Peace Treaty, to get rid of the subordination by the U.S. imperialism, to stave off the revival of the Japanese militarism and to deal a severe blow to the West German revanchists by united actions of German people.

Dear brothers of the German working class, workers and trade unions of the world, let us exert our utmost efforts to strengthen the international united front for independence, peace and democracy.

It is the strong and great united front for world peace that checks the exploitation by monopoly capitals and paces a long way toward satisfying the economical and social demands of the workers.

Long live the invincible solidarity of workers the world over!

Long live world peace!

Long live the 5th World Trade Union Congress!

SPECIAL REPORT ON THE MATSUKAWA CASE,  
TO THE FIFTH WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS

*proof*

All of us, who were put in prison and passed sentences of death even two times by maneuver of the U.S.-Japan reactionaries, won a victory receiving a verdict of "not guilty" on August 8, 1961.

We are very glad and want to express our hearty thanks that we, who were sentenced to death, were not only found innocent and acquitted from their life in solitary cells during ten years, but also its representative is being able to attend to and make this speech at the 5th World Trade Union Congress in Moscow.

The victory of the Matsukawa Case is:

Firstly, owed to the great advance by leaps and bounds in socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, heroic struggles to liberate from colonialism in Asia and Africa, the firm peace forces shown in struggles of broad people of capitalist countries and to the international solidarity forces.

Secondly, owed to the tenacious and strong united actions of the broad people of Japan during 12 years headed by the working class.

To be concrete:

1. It owed to serious activities of people in various

strata including activities of Mr. Kazuro Hirotsu, a great Japanese writer, which would be compared with Zola at the time of the Dreyfus Case.

2. Thanks to broad supports and cooperation, a big Lawyers' Group for the Matsukawa Case, consisted of 272 lawyers irrespective of their thought and belief, was organized and collective activities were carried on.

3. Irrespective of their trend, all trade unions organized creative united actions concentrating into the Councils of Countermeasures for the Matsukawa Case to defend the truth and the rights of workers.

4. Thanks to your support and help, everyone of the Group of 22 Accuseds could continue to struggle for the truth and democracy uniting from beginning to end without single straggler, and families of accuseds closely united and tried to appeal the truth and encouraged us.

5. Advanced workers in working places, concentrating into Associations for Defence of Matsukawa, practiced the most difficult and steady tasks faithfully and fought tenaciously as the bases of the whole united actions.

We express our heartfelt thanks to all these supports and struggles, and we are convinced that these experiences and teachings can and must be useful for the current struggles for defence truth and democracy, perceiving clearly maneuvers which would intensify their brutality and cunning.

I think you know well why the Matsukawa Case was framed



up under what international situation, therefore, I will touch it only slightly, and I want to mention about the creative character of working class which was appeared during united actions and various struggles.

#### I. Mass Dismissals and Struggles of Workers.

In 1949, when the Matsukawa Case was occurred, the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries declared that they would make Japan the bulwark against communism, under international tension created by the reactionary policies of the monopoly capitalists' camp. They enforced the policy of deprivation of the rights of workers by reactionary legislation to dismiss more than one million workers and of subordination of Japan to U.S.A.

By this, the working class of Japan was at the biggest crisis after the war, however, they strived towards the direction of the Democratic National Front initiated by the Communist Party of Japan and rose in common struggles for defence of national industries by different classes including peasants, small and medium enterprisers and national capitalists headed by the working class.

It was at that time when the anti-fascism force advanced remarkably and reactionaries judged that the dismissal policy could not be carried on only by the Government or by ability of splitters, at the beginning of June.

## II. Outbreaks of Plotting Affairs.

The U.S. and Japanese reactionaries tried to create anti-Soviet and anti-communism atmosphere mobilizing radio, newspaper, magazine, cinema and all other propagating machineries and systematically spread newses of railway obstructions and a story of the ~~August~~ <sup>XXXXXX</sup> Violence Revolution of the Communist Party. By such false rumors, the people anxious and agitated, and even they came to believe that the Communist Party and trade unions would cause some evil affairs.

The U.S. Army and the Government embarked directly on oppression of trade union movement.

Such cases as thousands of armed police attacked workers and injured many of them heavily and slightly were occurred in succession.

I myself was oppressed several times and put in prison three times. The Taira Case was framed up at Fukushima Prefecture and at the same time the propaganda that this was the "practice of the Communist Party for the Bolshevik Revolution" was spread all over the country through all commercial newspapers and radios.

After such processes, on July 4, marshal MacArthur issued an important statement which openly suggested to prohibit the Communist Party. At the same day of the announcement of this statement, the new Personnel Strength Law came into effect and the first dismissal of more than 30,000 workers in the National Railway was announced as the first step of the administration

readjustment. When the National Railway Workers' Union, which was waiting for a chance arraying for fight, was just going to wage a decisive struggle, on July 5, suddenly Mr. Shimoyama, the President of the National Railway was missing.

Even before the dead body was not discovered, State Minister Higai announced that it was a murder, and all newspapers and radios fully announced as if communists of militant Railway Workers' Union would have assassinated him.

When the second dismissal of the National Railway was announced, a motormanless electric train suddenly ran away at the Mitaka Station, and only 30 minutes after the break out of the accident a propaganda was spread saying that it was a planned violence by the Communist Party.

Successively on August 17 at 3:09 a.m., a passenger train No. 412 was derailed and overturned caused by a destructive work of some unknown person and 3 trainmen of the locomotive were killed.

The U.S. and Japanese reactionaries spread immediately a mad propaganda as the trade union leaders or communists were criminals and put us in prison successively on a false charge. The prosecutors concealed in a warehouse a joint plate which would prove our innocence as a material evidence and the chief judge, shelving even three medical certificates by which our innocence should have been proved, sentenced to all of us as guilty including death penalty and put us in prison during ten years.

These cases were clearly terrible plots which were

schemed in order to oppress trade union movement and to weaken democratic forces as well as to turn Japan into a war plant in Asia, to begin aggression of Korea and to roll-back the advance of peace forces of the world which were developing like a storm including the foundation of the People's Republic of China.

However, demagogy and plot were temporarily effective, most people were driven in the midst of suspicion and even in trade unions some went so far as to regard us with suspicion.

The U.S. and Japanese reactionaries, taking advantage of the restlessness in the democratic camp, tried severe oppression and conciliation aiming to turn trade unions into right wing and to bring split into trade unions.

The split occurred in the National Railway Workers' Union, the All Postal Ministry Workers' Union, the Japan Peasantry Union, etc., and trade union movement was temporarily forced to retreat that workers in work shops complained saying "It has turned into a working place like a hell."

### III. Broad United Actions.

We were encircled with demagogy and isolated. Though we, together with the Lawyers' Group, families and advanced workers tried to wage struggles frantically, all of us were sentenced a judgment of guilty including death death penalty for five persons.

Therefor, we discussed our policy to fight to the last,

first of all strengthening our unity, and published the "Appeal to All People", swearing the following four oaths:

----- To gain the victory absolutely at the second trial.

----- To defence the truth to the last.

----- To harden one's body strongly.

----- To fight together with families encouraging them, and to afford comfort to the endeavor of the lawyers.

It was the expectation to the energy which lies among the people like a vein of ore as well as encouragement sent by the WFTU, France, China, Poland, etc., and their warm actions of solidarity that supported us.

Thanks to your guidance, I was taught that there is no way to repulse the plot of the cruel power except broad solidarity and unity of all people who love the truth and democracy irrespective of their trade union affiliation or difference of thought and belief.

Not adhering to previous by-gones, we continued to appeal modestly and risking our lives for the truth and democracy.

We continued to appeal to all irrespective of the trend of their trade unions and their thought untiringly and perseveringly.

Our comrades of 20 accuseds sent about 130,000 letters of appeal, and appealed with various forms as 300 of poems, 1,300 of Tanka (Japanese verse of thirty one syllables) and 100 of Senryu verse, etc., under guidance of writers, poets and Tanka poets.

On the other hand, the working class had every experience



of oppression during tenacious struggles. Some 10 million workers took part in the struggle demanding for the conclusion of all round peace treaty and the general strike against the Subversive Activities Prevention Law. And workers showed a great power of unity and solidarity in the struggle against military base at Uchinada, in long term strikes of the Federation of Mitsui Miners' Unions, the Muroran Branch of the Nihon Steel Tube Workers' Union and of the Oji Paper Manufacturing Workers' Union as well as in the struggle against the Police Duty Law, the struggle against the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty and in the struggle of the Miike Miners' Union.

Through these experiences of oppression, workers recognized the very importance of the struggle to defend the truth and rights of workers, and the plot of the Matsukawa Case was understood as an oppression to the whole workers.

To gain a victory in Matsukawa became the common target of workers who were fighting against oppression.

Irrespective of their trend, many trade union organization concentrated into the Council of Countermeasures for the Matsukawa Case, and many persons of different strata also concentrated into the Council.

The organizing policy of the Council was to concentrate all people including such who joined to the movement out of sympathy that the death penalty was too cruel in any case, and such who regarded as the political plotting . There was not single trend of opposition or splitting on the direction along which the Matsukawa proceeded.

The creative character and spontaneity of every person were set a high value to respect different standpoints and opinions, to recognize them each other and to start from anything ~~possible to defend truth~~ and democracy.

Struggles for the Matsukawa were colorful and show the diversity.

They are; cooperation of cinema-men shown by the feature films as "the Matsukawa Case" and "Hand in Hand" and documentary films of "the Truth wins", "the Truth through the wall", "Evidence by Film", "Nine Years never come back" and "For the evidence of the Truth", and independent production of these films; workers who fought for independent film shows; use of the picture-story show and magic lantern; presentation of the play of the "Matsukawa Case" and demonstration of organizing powers of workers; the on-the-spot survey that more than 10,000 workers themselves looked at the spot, assured of the truth and made the contents of the plot clear concretely, including professional investigations by specialists and men of affairs to survey the truth.

And, publication and use of anthologies as "The Truth is through the Wall" and "Love is through the Wall"; publication and use of "Collection of Poems on Matsukawa" and "Collection of Tanka Poems on Matsukawa" which were guided by poets and Tanka Poets; appeals by matches, badges and photo exhibitions; analyses by historians of the background of the Case and spontaneous participation of representatives of different strata; a big march of more than 360 kilo-metres from Sendai

to Tokyo demanding a judgment of "not guilty", and other innumerable creative struggles.

The originality of workers which showed their genuine united actions, diversity and tenacity could demonstrate their great strength.

What gave always courage and conviction were; the great solidarity actions of different countries including the Soviet union and China and the thorough research and analyses by Mr. Kazuro Hirotsu, the writer and his literary activities.

And also they were the study of truth from various angles and defending activities based on collective and all-round investigations by the Lawyers' Group irrespective of their thought and belief as well as the correct combination with mass movement.

The families, who were convinced of innocent of their sons and brothers while they were suffering from difficulties of living, continued their trips all over the country to appeal the truth to the world, being encouraged by lawyers and activists in relief activities.

It happened several times to be seen such scenes that: the families who had had no experience to make any speech in public on the street were petrified without any word grasping a microphone with tears. There were families who could find no place to stay in rainy or windy day at a strange village, and sheltered from the weather under the

eaves of a shrine.

Not citing from Gorjki's "Mother", the truth appealed by old mothers, wives and children of twenty families with all their might played a great roll.

When we talk about the struggles of Matsukawa, we can never forget the activities of the "Association to defend Matsukawa" organized in every working spot, district and hospital, school. Each worker in working place spontaneously made an organization and carried on practical activities consistently and steadily, undertaking the most difficult jobs positively. There is a place where in one working place more than 200 workers were organized in the Association spontaneously.

The feature of the people who concentrated into the Associations **were** really modest, sincere and positive. And the Associations decided to be the "kindling coal to make fire of the movement for Matsukawa".

Supported by these innumerable Associations, many policies issued by the Council of Countermeasures for the Matsukawa Case were really vividly practiced and became as lively movements.

Broad people fought spontaneously and creatively and through struggles number of them increased much more, and therefor, they shook the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries.

The victory of the Matsukawa owes to; the all-round power which was displayed by combination of the great international movement of peace forces, the truth



which became clear by activities and on-the-spot surveys by Mr. Kazuro Hirotsu and the Lawyers' Group and other intellectuals as well as united actions concentrated broad people headed by creative and spontaneous united actions of the working class.

We express our heartfelt thanks to the development of united actions and your support and help.

Today, we were liberated from the prison and are now fighting freely. However, the struggle of the Matsukawa was not over yet.

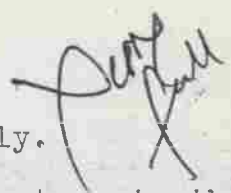
The U.S. and Japanese reactionaries are aiming at the intensification of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty system and revival of Japanese militarism, dismissals by the names of the Political Violence Prevention Law and rationalization of enterprises, reactionarization of education and information, strengthening of anti-Soviet and anti-communism propagandas and are intending to enforce all other oppression.

As to the Matsukawa Case, the prosecutors appealed to the Supreme Court and are planning to kill us by the fourth trial.

However, we are convinced that we can make the truth clear, punish the crime by the power and win the final victory of the Matsukawa Case thoroughly investigating the actual culprits and can crush every reactionary plot, if we further develop united actions based on the results of the struggles of 12 years.

We, pledging to continue to study modestly and to fight for defence of the truth and peace, demand as follows:



- 
1. To inquire the true culprits internationally.
  2. To demand dismissal of appeal of the prosecutors to the Supreme Court.
  3. To demand the rejection<sup>tion</sup> of the appeal to the Supreme Public Procurator's Office.
  4. To purchase film dramas of the "Matsukawa Case" and "Hand in Hand" and other documentary films, by many countries.
  5. To intensify supports to this struggle both materially and morally.

(End).

# WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

## 5th WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS

(Moscow, December 4-15, 1961)

### RESOLUTION

on the development of the activities and solidarity of the trade unions in the peoples' struggle for the eradication of colonialism.

*Temporary document*

1. The 5th World Trade Union Congress, held in Moscow from December 4 to 15, 1961, having heard the report submitted to it on the development of the activities and solidarity of the trade unions in the peoples' struggle for the eradication of colonialism, approves the activities of the World Federation of Trade Unions in this field.

The Congress notes with great satisfaction that, since the 4th World Trade Union Congress, held in Leipzig in 1957, millions of men and women in 22 countries have, through their struggles, won political independence, thus undermining the foundations of imperialism and helping actively to consolidate world peace.

2. The day is nearing when all those who still live under direct colonial rule will free themselves from the yoke of their oppressors.

Colonialism stands as the shame and evil of our time. It has to be eradicated once and for all, in all its forms.

In continuing their struggle, armed or not according to the circumstances these peoples can now bring colonial oppression to an end.

x

x

x

3. The 5th World Trade Union Congress notes that:

- 1) the movement for national liberation, in which the trade unions are playing an increasingly important role, is intensifying its struggle against all

.../

economic, social and political aspects of colonialism, uniting all national forces whose interests are in conflict with those of their oppressors;

- 2) the movement for national liberation is enriched by the experiences of other peoples who have already won their struggle, particularly those of the socialist countries;
- 3) the unity of action of the peoples in their struggle against colonialism in all its forms is increasingly extending and the solidarity of the peoples of the whole world with the national liberation movement is steadily developing;
- 4) the workers of those countries which have won their independence constitute the most steadfast section of the population in the liberation of their countries. They have never slackened in their efforts to consolidate national independence, to eradicate all vestiges of colonialism, particularly in the economic field, and to advance the democratic movement in their countries.

x

x

x

4. The Congress notes that the colonialists are aware that their traditional methods of repression of the peoples can no longer be employed in the present international situation. When they are obliged to leave their colonies, they strive not to lose everything and to retain their influence in their former colonies through new forms of colonialism.

5. When they cannot achieve this, and when the nations succeed in installing a democratic government, the imperialists try by all means to overthrow these governments.

6. Carefully preparing for the period following the acquisition of political independence, the imperialists try to transfer power to their closest allies among national reactionary circles. They work to set up regimes that will protect their interests,

.../



that will permit them to establish military bases and to destroy democracy, preventing the people from running their own affairs.

7. To safeguard their economic and political interests, the imperialists try, through agreements, to prohibit nationalisation by governments of newly independent countries. Agreements are also imposed to ensure favoured treatment for commodities imported from their country, and profits on raw materials exported to their country. The imperialist powers, moreover, by virtue of agreements on military co-operation, keep troops in countries which have become independent. These bases, as well as the imperialists' aggressive military pacts (NATO, SEATO, CENTO, for example) seriously endanger the peoples' movement for national liberation and independence.

x

x

x

8. The 5th World Trade Union Congress expresses its appreciation of the assistance and support given by the World Federation of Trade Unions and its affiliated organisations to the anti-colonialist struggle and particularly to the trade union movement of countries under colonial domination and of newly independent countries.

9. The W.F.T.U., in accordance with its invariable principles and in the light of the resolutions adopted by the 4th Congress, has taken countless measures unconditionally supporting the struggle of the peoples and the workers against colonialism and its consequences.

10. The Congress particularly welcomes two concrete lines of action taken by the W.F.T.U. in support of the struggle against colonialism.

.../

11. 1) In accordance with a decision of the 4th World Trade Union Congress, an International Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of Algeria was established in September 1958.

This unifying committee, comprised of organisations affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions, to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and to the Confederation of Arab Trade Unions as well as autonomous organisations has since that date widened its field of activities, increased its membership and given moral and material assistance to the Algerian people and workers in their legitimate struggle against French colonialism.

There is no doubt that this help from the Committee could have been still greater if the I.C.F.T.U. had not carried on such a campaign of sabotage, not only declining to take part in the work of the Committee but also setting up obstacles to prevent some of its affiliated organisations from joining the Committee.

The 5th Congress calls for further joint action by trade unions of different affiliation within the framework of the International Trade Union Committee to support the Algerian people's struggle. The Congress is convinced that the international trade union movement will fully contribute to all efforts to end the colonial war in Algeria and to establish a free and independent Algeria.

The 5th Congress solemnly declares its desire that the workers and trade unions of the world should make every possible effort to ensure that 1962 becomes the year of national independence in Algeria.

12. 2) The 5th Congress also welcomes with pleasure the creation of the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and Peoples of South Africa, in accordance with a decision of the 11th Session of the W.F.T.U. General Council.



By this action, the W.F.T.U. was able to mobilise further strength to stand firmly alongside the South African workers and people in their heroic struggle against exploitation based on racial discrimination, oppression and contempt for human dignity.

13. The 5th Congress, moreover, strongly endorses the activities of the W.F.T.U. and its affiliated organisations in consistently aiding the trade unions in the colonies and newly independent countries to become stronger, particularly by the training of trade union leaders. It calls for still further efforts in this respect.

14. The 5th Congress appreciates and endorses the unselfish political and material help which the W.F.T.U. has provided whenever necessary, and without discrimination to all organisations of every viewpoint.

x

x

x

15. In their efforts to fight colonialism and prepare the way for a better life, the workers of the colonial and newly-independent countries increasingly realise the importance of unity at trade, national, regional, continental and international levels. Unity in action among trade union organisations has greatly developed in recent years, thus paving the way for organic trade union unity.

16. The W.F.T.U. views the creation of the All-African Trade Union Federation as a great victory of the forces fighting for unity of the African trade union movement. The fight for unity of the African trade unions, based on anti-colonialism, against the new forms of colonial oppression, against imperialism, feudalism and reaction, deals severe blows to the dividing elements represented by imperialism and the I.C.F.T.U. The latter will not give up their activities against unity and must therefore be firmly opposed.

.../

The African workers, who understand better every day who are their friends and who are their enemies, can, if united and closely linked with their brothers and sisters from other continents with similar objectives contribute fully to the final liquidation of capitalism and to the defeat of the new forms of colonial oppression.

The All-African Trade Union Federation and the African workers can rely on the sincere friendship of the W.F.T.U. in this field.

17. In Latin America, the development of united action has already brought important and concrete achievements. For example, the strengthening of existing centres which support unity and the creation of new organisations or trade union committees of this type. All these steps forward, all these trends converge on continental level towards a Latin American Conference on trade union united action, which could have deep repercussions.

18. The 5th World Trade Union Congress notes that the great successes won in the fight against colonialism were made possible by the changing relationship of forces in the world in favour of the peoples. This changing relationship was brought about by the existence and growing power of the socialist countries and, in the first place, of the Soviet Union.

19. The existence and growing power of the world socialist system does not only weaken the position of imperialism and colonialism on an international level, thus facilitating the peoples' struggle, but is a great encouragement and stimulus for those peoples who seek the means of changing their miserable life and recovering their dignity.



20. The 5th World Trade Union Congress applauds the moral, political and material aid given without conditions by the socialist countries to the colonial and newly-independent countries.

x

x

x

21. Another factor which aided the fight against colonialism, the Congress notes, has been the struggle of the workers in the capitalist countries. These struggles have weakened those who colonised other peoples. Furthermore, the workers in the metropolitan countries are giving fraternal help to their brothers in the colonial countries.

22. If certain reformist trade union leaders in some capitalist had not placed themselves at the service of the monopolies, the solidarity actions between capitalist countries and the trade unions of colonial countries would have been more effective.

23. The Congress welcomes with satisfaction the solidarity expressed by the French working class and trade union movement, particularly the C.G.T., towards the struggle in Algeria for national independence. Their actions to end the colonial war in Algeria and to make possible a free and independent Algeria are appreciated by the Congress.

24. The Congress calls for further specific actions by the workers and their trade union organisations in the capitalist countries in support of the peoples' fight against colonialism and for national independence.

x

x

x

25. The 5th Congress points out that it is not possible to ignore the fact that millions of human beings are still suffering under direct colonial rule and that a multi-sided struggle awaits those who have already won their independence

.../

if they are to safeguard it and rid their countries of the remnants of colonialism.

x

x

x

26. The 5th Congress therefore solemnly condemns:

- the suppression of democratic and trade union rights in Cameroon, where a state of emergency has been in force for more than 2 years;
- the violation of elementary human rights in Madagascar;
- the veritable slave system which still subsists in our day in Saudi Arabia;
- the British colonialists' anti-democratic policies and racial discrimination in South Rhodesias;
- the brutal oppression to which Portuguese fascism and colonialism is subjecting the peoples under their yoke in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea and Goa;
- the manoeuvres carried out by the British Government to maintain its domination over the territory of Aden by creating puppet governments and establishing military bases;
- the attitude of the Dutch colonialist Government seeking to maintain its domination over West Irian, a territory which legitimately belongs to Indonesia;
- the dictatorships in the service of American imperialism established in the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Venezuela, Columbia, Nicaragua, which submit the people of these countries to the worse kind of police persecution;
- the direct and brutal domination by American imperialism of the Panama Canal, the territory of Puerto Rico, Okinawa and the Guantanamo base in Cuba;
- the American imperialists' intervention in South Vietnam and South Korea to prevent the re-unification of these

cc: ...

.../



- countries and to establish these bases for aggression;
- the policy of the monarcho-fascist government of Iran which has destroyed all trade union and democratic rights in order to submit to the economic and military demands of American imperialism;
- the illegal occupation by American imperialist forces of Taiwan -- which is an integral part of Chinese national territory.

The Congress declares its complete solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle waged by the peoples of these countries.

27. The 5th World Trade Union Congress notes that while the old colonial powers of Europe are trying to assure their presence in the former colonies, the American imperialists, under the cover of anti-colonialist demagogy, are seeking to impose neo-colonialist forms on all newly independent countries, as they have already done in Latin America.

28. But they are being exposed more and more clearly every day by events. The military and financial aid given by the American Government to the Government of France, for example, to enable the latter to proceed with its genocide in Algeria, is enough to reveal the true face of American imperialism, the main support of colonial powers and the worst enemy of the peoples fighting against colonialism. Other examples can be seen in the help given by the American imperialists to the Portuguese and British colonialists who are brutally repressing the national liberation movement in Angola or in Rhodesia and in other countries.

29. The American imperialists are penetrating into the newly liberated countries under the guise of so-called aid, which is simply a means of buying over the national reactionary circles, to get them to open the country's doors to American

.../



capital and to enable American military plans to be carried out.

30. American imperialists know quite well that their aid cannot be introduced easily and that not many people can be bought with their dollars. Those who allow themselves to be corrupted are impotent and cannot resist the organised mass movement of the people. This is why the American imperialists are so concerned with mass democratic organisations and, above all, with the trade unions. They scheme to turn them into allies. But if they fail, then they try to remove them.

31. The West German imperialists are also trying to turn the newly independent countries, especially those of Africa, into economically dependent countries. The 5th World Trade Union Congress, which appreciates the efforts made by the workers of the German Democratic Republic and their trade union centre, the F.D.G.B., in exposing the neo-colonialist tendencies of the West German imperialists, calls upon the workers of the newly independent countries to be vigilant in the face of the neo-colonialist plans of the West German imperialists.

32. In the trade union field, the imperialists openly make use of the I.C.F.T.U. leaders.

33. The 5th World Trade Union Congress rejects and condemns the activities of the I.C.F.T.U., which slanders the Cuban Revolution and politically paves the way for aggression

x

x

x

34. The 5th Congress points out that political independence must be accompanied by economic independence. The people and the workers must fight to the bitter end to free

.../

their countries from all vestiges of colonialism and to close their doors to neo-colonialism. This is the only way to ensure the conditions required to develop their countries independently and to lay the foundations for a better future.

35. It is the duty of the trade unions to fight energetically in the newly liberated countries for the adoption of practical steps of economic and social demands which will make possible true political and economic independence and real democracy through agrarian reform, progressive social legislation, the industrialisation of the country, the expulsion of the monopolies, guaranteed democratic rights, and so on. In this connection, the recent developments in the situation in Cuba serve as a shining example.

36. The Cuban Revolution, by its victory over American imperialism, has brought about a qualitative change in the people's struggle against domination by the monopolies and by imperialism. It shows that, provided it relies firmly on the working class and its trade unions, on the working peasants and on the working masses in the towns, a revolutionary state can defeat the most powerful imperialism and advance victoriously along the path of economic development and improvement of the people's material and cultural standards.

37. The generous, unconditional assistance given by the socialist countries, who are the sincere honest friends of all oppressed peoples, opens up vast possibilities for countries which have recently acquired independence. It can be said with certainty that it is now possible for them, using the aid from socialist countries and through their own efforts to create and develop their industry and agriculture in the national interest, and without harmful penetration by the imperialists and foreign monopoly capital, and thus advance along the path to social progress.



38. The 5th World Trade Union Congress points out that it is vitally important for the peoples to unite and to be vigilant, if their countries are to rid themselves of all vestiges of colonialism and neo-colonialism.
39. The fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism is primarily a class struggle. It is a struggle between broad sections of the workers against their exploiters and oppressors.
40. Those who support colonialism in the colonial and newly independent countries -- the feudal groups, certain tribal chiefs, certain elements of the big bourgeoisie connected with the penetration of foreign monopolies into their countries and certain intellectuals who have placed themselves at the service of these monopolies -- comprise a small minority compared with the workers, the peasants and the small and middle national bourgeoisie, whose overall interests are in direct conflict with those of the imperialists.
41. The unity of all anti-imperialist forces organised in a national front with a clear programme of demands, aims, tactics and action, in line with the aspirations and interests of all the forces in this national front, can secure the best results.
42. But the success and preservation of the national front, before and after independence, depend completely on the role played by the working class.

43. The 5th World Trade Union Congress declares that one of the tasks of the trade unions is to unite all the anti-imperialist forces of the nation. In order to achieve this national unity it is necessary, above all, for the genuine trade unions to fight patiently and actively by democratic methods to unite the workers, in spite of the obstacles raised by their class enemies. The trade unions must be mass organisations.
44. In this way the trade unions can more easily gain success in their struggles for the day-to-day demands of the workers, for trade union rights and liberties. Thus they can link these demands with the national struggle against colonialism and imperialism, and so become the main force in the united national front.
45. In their efforts to establish this position, the workers should first and foremost strengthen their alliance with the peasantry.
46. If such an alliance between the working class and the peasantry is strong and based on class interests, the conditions are then created for the working class to play a decisive role in establishing a national front, and in its activities.
47. Relations between the workers and the bourgeoisie should, right from the start, be based on the principles of common struggle for common interests, of equality and independence. The workers can never forget the two-sided character of the bourgeoisie and must never abandon their class standpoint.
48. Some sectors of the national bourgeoisie in power in certain recently liberated countries are doing everything they can to oppose a favourable settlement of the workers' demands. They exercise repression against the trade unions,

.../



often using force, when they cannot win them over and turn them into springboards for their policy, even if their policy is aimed at transforming the country into a semi-colony.

49. For the accomplishment of these tasks, the 5th Congress urges the workers and trade unions in the colonial and newly-independent countries to strengthen their links of friendship with the progressive international trade union movement.

50. Such links, based on equality, can without doubt not only help them towards victory in their struggle against colonialism and imperialism, but can also help to solve the problems facing the working class movement of the world.

51. In conclusion the 5th World Trade Union Congress reaffirms the aims defined in the Programme of Trade Union Action and calls on the workers and trade unions throughout the world to struggle in support of:

- the heroic struggle waged by the Algerian people for national independence and territorial integrity and to force an end to the war of aggression waged against them;
- the campaign by the South African peoples for freedom and equality;
- the struggle of the Angolan patriots against ruthless repression;
- freedom for all peoples still suffering under the colonial yoke; to eradicate colonialism completely and to thwart imperialist adventures directed against young independent States such as Congo and Laos.



52. The 5th Congress stresses that the workers and trade unions of the capitalist countries in particular need to face their heavy obligations to demonstrate solidarity in working for the ending of colonialist relations of every kind and to compel their governments to establish new relations with the liberated countries, relations based on equality, respect for national independence and mutual interests, taking into consideration the real needs of these countries in terms of independent economic development.

53. The Congress supports the struggles of workers and trade unions of recently liberated countries for:

- higher wages, their guarantee and the fixing of minimum guaranteed wages;
- shorter working hours without loss of pay;
- the establishment and extension of social security and social insurance systems;
- recognition of the right to work;
- the introduction and general application of a system of collective agreements and the abolition of all forms of individual contracts;
- trade union participation in settling problems arising between employers and wage-earners;
- the stocking of markets with food and other essential products, reduction of prices;
- the introduction of paid holidays;
- vocational training, the elimination of illiteracy, the raising of the people's cultural level;
- the abolition of the wage, employment and dismissal systems which were in force under the colonial regime.



54. In developing their action for their vital interests, the trade unions in the under-developed countries create the most favourable conditions for rallying the masses in the struggle for the following demands:

- nationalisation of foreign monopoly undertakings; building and development of national industry and of a State sector, expulsion of foreign monopolies from these countries;
- agrarian reform eliminating colonial ownership and all remnants of feudalism, favouring the peasantry, in particular poor peasants and agricultural workers, and guaranteeing the latter supplementary means for developing their production;
- democratisation of the State, which would enable all national forces to be mobilised in the struggle against imperialism and for social progress, against military dictatorships and against measures harmful to the people and endangering national independence;
- a policy of co-operation with all countries and the introduction of State control over foreign trade in order to protect it from imperialist domination and interference;
- fully independent participation of the workers and trade unions in the preparation and organisation of economic programmes, in the development of the national economy.

x-

x        x

55. The 5th Congress welcomes the measures taken by the W.F.T.U. and expresses its conviction that at the present time nothing can stop the creative efforts of the

.../



✓ Xerox  
from

workers and peoples if they are united and know exactly who their enemies are. In the present period everything points to the fact that possibilities exist for the peoples to live in a world freed from colonialism and imperialist domination.

56. It is possible and necessary to end the reign of despotism and hunger, forced labour and racial oppression, obscurantism and economic looting. Today, the complete and final eradication of the colonial system is a primary task for the peoples and for all forces of peace and progress in the world.

Moscow, December 15, 1961.

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE OF WORKERS IN THE  
PRINTING TRADES

(Leipzig, November 25 - 28, 1961)

EFFECTS OF NEW TECHNIQUES AND OF MECHANISATION  
AND RATIONALISATION IN THE POLYGRAPHIC INDUSTRY  
ON WORKING CONDITIONS AND ON THE STRUGGLES FOR  
THE PRESERVATION OF FULL EMPLOYMENT AND HEALTH  
PROTECTION.

Speaker: E. BENI

General Secretary of  
the French Federation  
of Workers in the  
Book Industry.

✓ copy  
ful



First of all please allow me on behalf of the French delegation, to say how glad we are to participate in this meeting where certain important current problems in our industry can be examined and I would like to thank the W.F.T.U. for having taken this initiative and for giving printing unionists of different countries a chance to meet here.

We would also like to thank our friends from the Czechoslovak Federation and from the Federation of Workers in the Printing and Paper Industry of GDR who were responsible for the organisational side of this Conference and especially the German Federation for kindly covering the expenses connected with the stay of our delegations.

The Organising Committee of our Conference has entrusted me to present this report which will deal strictly with trade questions, as I shall only to speak about the "effects of new techniques, mechanisation and rationalisation of the printing industry on working conditions and the struggle for the preservation of full employment and health protection".

As you see these are strictly trade questions which, considering present circumstances and the technical development we have known for several years and which is certainly going to continue, should be of interest to all trade union organisations the main aim of which is the protection and defence of our working conditions and of those of all the workers belonging to our industry.

Considering that this is the main aim of our Conference, I would like to say that I regret the absence of some important federations from Western Europe who were not able to free themselves from certain bans or certain prejudices or even of believing in certain accusations made against our Conference.

On the occasion of the recent Oslo Congress, the International Graphical Federation forbade its affiliated trade unions to respond to the invitation addressed to them by the Secretariat of our Conference and we have to regret that their attitude, directed against unity, deprives us of the participation of representatives of important federations which also



need to defend themselves and to study the problems we are discussing here.

Despite this decision we should like to greet the colleagues coming from its national organisations who are keen to participate as observers in this conference.

After having made these observations I return to the subject of my report: "The effects of new techniques, mechanisation and rationalisation of the printing industry on working conditions in our industry" and I have to state that this cannot be done in a general and overall way but only by taking into account the different political systems existing in the world.

As far as we can judge, the consequences of the introduction of modern methods resulting in a considerable increase in production, are not the same in all countries.

In the capitalist countries the consequences of new techniques are very only favourable to the employers or at least they try to get as great a profit as possible out of them, if the actions of the workers did not force the employer to consider the justified improvements for the workers. In the socialist countries, however, the question appears in a completely different light because the use of modern technical methods leading to an increase in production, first and foremost benefits the workers who are sure to be fully employed and who now that any improvement in production means an improvement in their living conditions and a shortening of working hours.

In the still under-developed countries the printing industry has not yet shown any great activity and social legislation has to be established there before the conclusion of trade agreements.

I shall devote most of my remarks to the effects of technical development in those capitalist countries in which the activity in our industry is sufficiently important.

If the workers of our industries and their long standing trade union organisations boast to the entire trade union movement that they have been in the vanguard of the fight for social progress, this goes only for our past traditions for the sometimes heated, long and heavy struggles which they had to wage against the employers; but the workers must carry their struggle further, so that the new methods with their ever greater profit should bring justified improvement in the workers' conditions and living standards.

Certain employers think that the times have passed in which machines were dreaded by men, that we have entered the era of a machine-using mankind. We acknowledge that we are living in a period of progress, but this progress has to be profitable to the workers who apart from the absolutely necessary guarantee of their right to work should also be given better living conditions.

This means above all, that we must lead all our members in a determined struggle to force the employers to introduce these determined improvement.

The analysis of the consequences of mechanisation in our industry, only for structural reasons, especially in the Western countries where are small works often for a family or artisan character the great majority.

Take France, for example, where a recent survey showed that out of approximately 7,000 undertakings belonging to the printing industry, about 6,000 employ less than 10 workers, about 2,000 of them have a distinctly family character and it is estimated that about 33,000 industrial and clerical workers are employed in this group.

About 600 undertakings employ from 11 to 50 staff. The total employed labour amounts to approximately 14,700 persons in this group.

About 100 undertakings employ from 51 to 100 persons with about 7,400 industrial and office workers earning their living there.

Some 50 establishments between 101 and 200 wage-earners, totalling 10,400 workers and office staffs.

Then there are the large establishments: ten with between 501 and 1,000 wage-earners, totalling 7,300 workers.

Then there are the large establishments: ten with between 501 and 1,000 wage-earners, totalling 7,300 workers.

Finally, only 4 establishments have more than 1,000 wage-earners with a total of 7,700 workers.

These figures were drawn up jointly by the employers' and workers' organisations and they demonstrate that in France some 87,000 workers industrial and clerical are employed in the printing industry.

And we have to state that the larger firms are most interested in the advanced mechanisation of their enterprises; this is causing difficulties for smaller firms as these lack the means or sufficient support to modernize their methods by this they could be forced to close and, in return, this would mean unemployment for those employed in smaller shops.

If these establishments are somewhat behind other industries in so far as the introduction of new techniques are concerned it is equally true that during past 3 or 4 years they have been making a tremendous effort to increase mechanisation whereby they often undertake complete transformation form mergers and obtain without difficulty generous assistance from banks and other sources. They are helped by the government's planning policy which takes from them the spirit of independence and puts them under the care of bankers and the state, in order to modernise and obtain all material available on the market with the primary aim of substantially raising production and in this way to reduce the period of depreciation of this new equipment as much as possible.

Before we examine how to wage the struggle for better conditions we have to consider the rationalisation of and increase in production and we must seek what opportunities exist to make working conditions, at least in advanced capitalist countries, uniform.

But we have to stress that the adoption of new techniques and new forms of organisation in works in capitalist countries, generally speaking, is shown by an increased concentration of capital and an amassing of profit in the hands of the great capitalists, resulting in sackings, endangering of wages and social benefits as well as in unemployment.

Let us first of all take the working week.

In France, our union insists that the laws promulgated in 1936 as a result of powerful working class campaigns and establishing the working week at 40 hours, shall be respected. In all other countries on the other hand, the working week is much longer, for example, in Italy and Holland it is 48 hours, in Belgium 45 hours, in West Germany and Luxembourg 44 hours and we all know that our colleagues in Britain had to wage a difficult struggle two years ago to obtain a 42-hour week.

On the question of annual paid holidays, French legislation stipulates 3 weeks and the same more or less applies to Italy and Belgium. In West Germany holidays are only 12 days with additional days depending on the number of years a worker been in the same establishment but in Holland and Luxembourg workers are only entitled to 12 days.

Overtime pay also varies from country to country. As a rule public holidays are paid in Western Europe, but Italy is in a better position since the number of these holidays is greater.

The first thing to be done is to try and make these advantages and working conditions uniform, but all our organisations must make sure that the advantages of mechanisation, new techniques and higher production resulting from this, should not be to the advantage of the employers.



In view of an agreement between certain European countries linked by the Common Market, it would have been highly desirable if the workers in these countries could also draw up a joint charter of common demands so as to establish uniform working conditions, based on conditions in the countries with the greatest advantages, as set forth in the Rome Treaty. And the setting up of this common charter should be just a step in the struggle for regular improvement of the life and the emancipation of the workers.

On this point our French union has had talks with certain other unions concerned but efforts to bring them together have so far been in vain as a result of the resistance shown by certain groups belonging to the International Graphical Federation who are against meetings to discuss this important question between unions belonging to this organisation and non-affiliated unions as well as unions belonging to the W.F.T.U. through their national centre.

As a result of this blind opposition we have not been able to examine ways and means of imposing working conditions in the capitalist countries of the Common Market and this can only benefit the employers, especially in countries where working conditions are least favourable because the employers want to exploit the workers even more.

We can only regret this hostile and backward position adopted by certain European unions whose major concern is not always the interest of the working or of our trade.

#### Modernisation of equipment in the printing industry.

All branches of our industry are today making tremendous headway and more and more high pressure equipment is being introduced in large and medium establishments. We must make absolutely sure that the introduction of this new equipment does not produce what economists call "technological unemployment" and, in order to do this new equipment must not be handled by those outside the trade but must be trusted to qualified workers. It must give to the workers their share of the additional wealth produced by this higher output.

Let us now take a look at the trades affected by this new high pressure equipment.

First of all technical progress has proved to be very significant in the oldest process, in typography, or to be exact in mechanical type-setting.

During the past few years teletype-setters have been installed and high speed machines for lino-typing have been used.

As soon as this new equipment became available in certain countries, attempts were made straight away to remove qualified printers and lino-typists, and employ instead women recruited outside the trade to operate these keyboards. Preference was given to sufficiently deft-fingered and skilled shorthand typists.

In order to protect our right to work and ensure recognition of these new keyboards as printing equipment, our Italian colleagues at a Venice daily newspaper office organised a long and big strike in protest against the employment of non-skilled labour.

In the northern countries and in France similar efforts were made. That is why on this point we must be very vigilant and make sure that these new teletype-setters are operated only by qualified tradesmen.

Even more up-to-date machines have been introduced or are shortly to be introduced in printing works. They include the lino-film type setter for the operation of which special skill is needed since the lino-film system is made up of a keyboard, a photographic apparatus a device for the preparation of strips etc. and this work when it is completed on a film or photographic paper becomes a complete copy for the block-maker.

In addition, since the introduction of teletype-setter keyboards, certain newspaper trusts have been passing on these strips to various newspaper and reviews so as to avoid a fresh type setting for each of these publications. Whilst this is quite possible it bears the risk of excluding a certain number of workers from production and, as a result,

it is a method which we must oppose or, at least, we must be assured that this practice will not lead to dismissals.

In all other branches of our trade wheter it be offset-printing with its large new multi-colour machines or photogravure both of which are being widely introduced in our countries, technique has made terrific progress and new equipment has been launched on the market bringing about farreaching changes, higher productivity especially in photogravure and elektro-typing where new mechanisation is of major importance.

In the finishing end of the trade new and rather important equipment has been introduced in book-stitching and book-binding. In this trade the employers are doing their best to exclude the maximum number of qualified workers and only recruit young workers whom they train. In this way they seek to reduce wages. Here again we must insist on the normal recruiting of workers with the necessary trade qualifications, trained normal as apprentices.

Since we cannot oppose technical progress, we must see how the workers too can draw benefits from this development always having in mind the protection of their health, their full employment and the improvement of their conditions.

We cannot allow the transformation achieved in our industry to become a source of difficulties for our workers and the trade union organisations always has to be on the alert in order to preserve as I have said the jobs of the workers and the specialists as they are affected by the introduction of new equipments.

A determined struggle has to be waged to prevent disadvantages for our workers arising from the transformation in our industry. This struggle already waged on the question of introducing new equipment has to be carried on and must be increased; this applies to France and Italy in particular, in order to show the employers the desire of the workers to share and enjoy better working conditions and an improved living standard from the increased output.



Progress must benefit the workers

If we examine the problem of technical progress in the capitalist countries we find that the owner of an establishment invests his money not nevelly to have an attractive set of machines; his primary concern is , that given the far more extensive possibilities, his profits will be more substantial.

On the basis of this well- established ~~ade~~ conception, the workers also put forward their legitimate demonds for improvement but the first thing to be achieved is to set up reasonable and justified production norms for this new equipment. The determining of output must not be left exclusively to the employers but must be done in full accord with the professional organisations of the workers, and if the pretensions of the employers make it necessary the workers and their trade unions can rely upon militant actions.

Apart from the problem of output, the question of the number of men handling this equipment should be determined on the basis of a common agreement so as to deprive certain employers of the opportunity to reduce the number of workers which only increases their profits.

Often the manager of an establishment maintains that the new equipment no longer demands the same trade qualifications and recruits manpower he then trains for the job himself.

We must vigerously oppose these attempts and demand that new equipment should be entrusted solely to the workers of our trades who are perfectly capable of readapting themselves to these techniques.

The duration and conditions for such a re-adaption must be determined jointly because they must not involve any loss of pay for those undergoing it. The cost must naturally be covered by the employer. This re-adaptation can be organised either in one factery or over a larger area covering a locality or a region.



## APPRENTICESHIP

In the countries of Western Europe in particular where provision for vocational training and apprenticeship have been in force for many years, we must be on guard to make sure that apprenticeship methods are adapted to the conditions which newly trained workers have to fulfil when handling this modern equipment.

It would be good if well-equipped technical courses for young people who want to learn our trade could be some general and attended during working hours. They should be organised jointly, under the supervision of the trade union organisation and these practical courses could offer young workers an adequate technical training.

We feel that our trade unions must have a share in the running and supervision of these courses even when they are attached to large technical schools, whose main duties is to train engineers and cadres.

This will show the workers attending them that our trade unions take an interest in their training and their future, and will encourage them to join.

## PROTECTION AGAINST INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS AND OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES.

### PROTECTION OF THE WORKERS HEALTH

In our western countries legislation on the workers' safety and their protection against industrial accidents and occupational diseases has been in force for a number of years.

Certain provisions exist to prevent accidents and protect the worker against risks involved by the operation of machines, to ensure his individual protection. Recently labour medicine has been introduced in our countries which has the task of studying the effects of dangers arising for the workers and which has the primary aim of looking after the health of the staff by organising medical check-ups in the establishments themselves.

But frequently this legislation, inadequate enough in view of new working processes, is not even observed by the employers and it does not yet contain all the necessary assurances for the protection of the workers' health.

While in typography the danger of lead poisoning is becoming smaller and smaller, in certain other branches such as off-set printing and photogravure the introduction of new processes and new equipment must draw the attention of our entire trade to the need for a reduction in such risks of occupational disease.

Eczema is still widespread among block-makers and off-set workers but the danger of this disease is most acute among photogravure workers and special measures must be taken.

Since these workers have to handle highly injurious materials, it is essential to take regular and compulsory samples of air to ascertain the degree of poison in the air. Furthermore, medical check-ups with blood tests must be arranged in every establishment to check up on these workers' state of health.

In the event of poisoning a worker, when he is sick or has to leave his job temporarily, must be assured of his complete wage even if after a period of absence he has to be transferred to another department.

Poisoned workers, especially those employed in photogravure departments where the air is sufficiently unhealthy, must receive an additional holiday apart from their normal holidays.

Whenever new equipments is installed, all precautions must be taken to ensure the workers' safety to make sure that the machine which the worker is operation should no longer be a monster that crushes fingers and hands and cuts off his arm but, an invaluable assistance in his work which tomorrow will not mutilate but liberate him.

The worker's health is his most precious possession and everything must be done to see to it that the appropriate measures are taken, even if employers and governments have to

be forced to do so. Prevention is better than cure - and that must guide and inspire all essential preventive measures.

Therefore in each of our countries we must do everything in our power to impose all measures of protection, health and safety to protect the workers' health by striving above all to improve the existing social legislation which no longer corresponds to present conditions when modern and high pressure equipment is being extended and widely installed.

In all countries the legal aspects of health and safety must be discussed by the workers and competent bodies must be formed and recognised without any opposition from the employers to deal with this important problem.

### THE GUARANTEE OF EMPLOYMENT

The introduction of modern and high pressure equipment often gives rise to the problem of job security, all the more so since the employers frequently maintain that once they have this equipment they no longer need qualified workers and, instead, tend to recruit non-qualified labour which they train for various jobs connected with this new equipment.

Often they employ young people when they can exploit even more severely and these are practices we must fight by demanding that all former workers are kept on in their jobs with guaranteed employment, specifying that all new equipment must be operated by qualified tradesmen who can even be re trained so as to avoid unemployment in the trade.

We must furthermore fight the intensive productivity drive and the speed-up which the employers are seeking to impose but which threaten to exclude relatively young workers from the workshop since certain employers frequently declare that a worker who has just about reached the age of 50 is no longer capable of doing the job. This is an allegation by the employers which we must combat because more than anyone else these workers are entitled to a guaranteed job.



In our countries where we are striving to ensure this essential protection, the employers are demonstrating a certain amount of resistance and, in order to oppose our demands, they are doing everything they can to move their establishment elsewhere, to leave large cities and open up in small localities away from every industrial region where it is easier to find manpower they consider suitable, unskilled labour, to be found on the spot in rural centres. This is another practice we must fight because this system of abandoning large industrial centres can have very bad repercussions on our trade and allows the employers to operate at a lower cost and with unskilled personnel they can exploit much easier.

### CONCLUSION

OUR TRADE UNIONS and shop stewards in the establishments concerned must give consistent attention to the affects of mechanisation and rationalisation in our industry. They must campaign vigorously to see that no worker is removed from his job just as we must demand our share of possible improvements arising from higher productivity.

We must give particular attention to the conditions of women and young workers and insist that they are granted suitable conditions and normal wages as well as longer holidays in view of this new type of production. The introduction of modern equipment, new technique and rationalisation justify a substantial reduction in hours of work and longer holidays which would allow us to impose more adequate recreation and the enhancement of the human personality by culture and, for young people, more extensive sports facilities.

Furthermore; the effects of mechanisation which require greater concentration on the job, justify decent old-age pension systems which should be applicable to men at the age of 60 and women at the age of 55 with the exception of particularly unhealthy jobs where the retirement age must be lowered.

These are the aims for which we must work, considering that this is the share of the improvements which must fall to the



workers as a result of the introduction of new working and production methods. ✓

If these essential improvements are to be achieved, we must strengthen our trade unions so as to give them the necessary vigour and authority. Moreover, the workers and all peoples must reach understanding so that we all should receive our due in the new economic situation.

Fortified by the struggles we have been waging for many years and fortified by the workers' confidence and their spirit of organisation, we feel that we must work tirelessly to impose these improvement and I think that this is what the Conference will decide, or at least what will be decided by those who represent here advanced capitalist countries where this rationalisation and mechanisation is extremely advanced today.

If our trade unions are to impose better working conditions, they must, at the same time, fight for peace and security in the world, for independence of all peoples, and we must all oppose all threats of war for we know by experience that every armed conflict brings hardships and especially sufferings for the working class.

In conclusion let me express the hope that when we get back to our countries we shall succeed in making the employers and governments consider the broad outlines of the programme that I have just submitted to you.

Edouard EHNI  
General Secretary of the French  
Union of Printing Workers.

# WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

October 23, 1961.

28 OCT 1961

I.R. No. 248

The Non-Communist Secretariat

## PRESS COMMUNIQUE

### INTERNATIONAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE OF TRADE UNIONS AND WORKERS IN THE PRINTING AND ALLIED TRADES

The Organising Committee recently met in Prague to examine the stage of preparations for the Conference.

The Committee stated that the popularisation and preparation of the International Consultative Conference of Trade Unions and Workers in the Printing and Allied Trades is developing very successfully in all countries throughout the world.

In many countries the trade unions formed joint committees to popularise and discuss the agenda of the Conference and to elect their delegates.

Up to date 54 trade union organisations from 33 European, African, Asian and Latin American countries replied to the invitation of the Organising Committee and ensured the participation of their delegation at the Leipzig Conference.

The Organising Committee expects a participation of 150 representatives - delegates and observers - at the Conference.

Published by the  
W.F.T.U. Press Department.

No. 248

*Payment for Com  
we have not yet received*  
*M.B. Rao  
Kash  
No. 5701*