Special Report:

The 'PCI Strategy' Is Introduced in Japan

Oct. 18 — Within less than a year of coming to power, the government of Japanese Prime Minister Takeo Miki has reached a state of political collapse that is far more severe than the Watergated Tanaka cabinet which it succeeded. The Japanese economy is on the verge of total collapse, shaken by a wave of bankruptcies and municipal debt crises. The confidence of even the business community in the government's ability to solve the crisis is next to nil, despite the recent moves to reflate the economy. The ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) is wracked by open factional warfare with the most basic principles of post-war Japanese policy, particularly the alliance with the United States, under question. In the general populace, according to a recent poll. Miki has the support of only 23 per cent, the most rapid drop in one year of any post-war government.

The fall of the Dollar Empire, threatening to drag Japan down with it, has posed the necessity in stark terms of ending that relationship. The need to break from the dollar and establish an independent foreign policy based on expanded trade with the Communist countries and 'the Third World is now openly discussed in the councils of the zaibatsu, the giant conglomerates that rule the economy and are the main supporters of the LDP. Within the LDP itself, nationalist tendencies, previously disguised under the cover of the anti-communist alliance with the

US, are now emerging into the open.

Rockefeller's allies in Japan, led in the LDP by Prime Minister Miki and "economic Czar" Takeo Fukuda, are desperately trying to contain this discontent, mindful as well of the pentup rage of the Japanese working class. The strategy which has emerged to deal with this situation is a Japanese version of the Italian "Historical Compromise" — that is, the entrance of the PCI into the government to implement fascist austerity.

In Japan, the strategy goes under the rubric of the "reformist-conservative alliance," referring to an alliance of the LDP (or part of it) and the Japanese Socialist Party (JSP). This includes the two smaller centrist parties, the rightwing Democratic Socialist Party

(DSP) and the Buddhist Komeito. Such an alliance, whether in the form of an actual coalition government or a de facto political alliance, is explicitly aimed at containing and isolating the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) and the anti-Miki and anti-U.S., nationalist layers of the LDP and their business supporters.

It is an unfortunate irony that the latter grouping is a more immediate threat to Rockefeller's control over Japan than the nationalist, polycentrist led JCP.

This strategy was laid out in a major speech last month by LDP Secretary-General and known fascist Yasuhiro Nakasone, speaking in Tokyo to the members of his own party faction. Nakasone, who has up until now been cautious in committing himself in LDP factional battles, clearly endorsed the Miki line of "cooperation" with the JSP. He stated: "Society as a whole is leading in the direction of the left. The LDP must strike the center of it. If we think what the main current is, it needs to be renovationist-conservative...We cannot be permitted to wind the watch backward." Nakasone, while attacking the CP as a "vanguard revolutionary party," endorsed a "twoparty system" with a JSP-Komeito-DSP front as "natural for the physical constitution of Japan."

Nakasone openly expressed concern over the growth of pro-CP sentiment in the JSP and the lower ranks of the Komeito and urged the SP to clarify its policy as to a "JCP-JSP" or "JSP-Komeito-DSP" line. This concern stems from the wide factional split within the SP over this strategy, a split which has been the subject of considerable commentary in Japanese media. The split is described as between the pro-Soviet Shakaishugi Kyokai (Socialism Association) group and the rest of the party. Kyokai, while held back by its own syndicalist lack of program, is the fastest growing grouping in the party, particularly among youth and trade unionists.

The atmosphere within the SP is exemplified by a recent convention of the party chapter in Chiba Prefecture near Tokyo. The majority of the delegates were pro-Kyokai and

proceeded to attack the increasingly pro-Maoist policy of the party leadership, causing the minority to walk out and form a rump party organization in the prefecture.

These forces have been extremely active in past months. In September, a delegation of the SP led by rightwing leader Eda Saburo came to the U.S.—the first such trip in 18 years. Here they met with key figures in the government, including Schlesinger and various CIA policy makers. In October, a delegate from the NATO agent-led PCI visited Japan where he met with top party officials of both the CP and SP. The PCI no doubt encouraged the Maoists of the SP and attempted to persuade their "comrades" of the CP to capitulate to the social democrats.

The JCP, though dominated in its leadership by nationalists and polycentrists, still retains a fighting potential, as evidenced by growing support for the party in former social democratic strongholds in the trade unions. It is this fact along with the existence of a strong (300,000 member) party organization which causes the capitalists to fear the CP. The working class supports the CP because they perceive this fear, despite the programless national chauvinism of the party leadership!

The JCP is well aware of the strategy of the "reformist-conservative alliance" and has attacked it vigorously - from a purely national standpoint. This is evidence that some elements within the party are aware that their attempts to prove their "Japaneseness" is gaining them little, and seek a more internationalist policy. Last week, at the invitation of the JCP. a delegation of the French CP arrived in Japan. The open endorsement, by SP leaders like Eda of the PCI, may cause the CP to look more closely at the events in Europe. A CP-Kyokai alliance, based on an international program, can make the difference in breaking Japan out of the Rockefeller camp. It is only such an organized working-class movement that can keep those anti-Rockefeller capitalists who are presently vacillating and tending towards their own brand of autarchic Japanese fascism -"honest."