

Interview with Nosaka.

C-in-C

25 Jan 46

1. Inclosed is an interview published in today's issue of the Asahi Shimbun with NOSAKA, the Communist leader who recently returned to Japan from Yen-an, North China.

2. I am bringing the interview to your attention because it reflects qualities of statesmanship which indicate that previous reports concerning NOSAKA's exceptional ability, judgment, and thoughtfulness have not been exaggerated.

3. NOSAKA (known in China as OKANO) is 54 years old, a graduate of Keio University, Tokyo, and the London School of Economics. After World War I, he travelled extensively throughout Europe and returned to Japan in 1923 when he aided in founding the Communist Party. He was immediately imprisoned. After serving his term, he was released but imprisoned again in 1925 and again in 1928. In 1931 he went to Russia, returned to Japan in 1936, went to Yen-an in 1943, and there organized workers' and farmers' schools among Japanese prisoners of war captured by the Yen-an Army.

4. Upon his return to Japan ten days ago, he stated to the United Press that he thought "MacArthur has made a wonderful start toward democratizing Japan". Since he left Yen-an for Manchuria in a U. S. Army plane, he apparently believes you were instrumental in helping him return to Japan for which he has expressed his gratitude.

5. Messrs. Service and Emerson of POLAD who knew NOSAKA in China say that he is "of superior intellectual ability, basically sincere and one who could not be considered simply a rabble-rouser". He has many friends in other political parties in Japan and some of those with whom he previously cooperated are considered conservative today. He is now trying to form a "democratic front" against the so-called "Progressive Party" which is largely composed of the extreme rightist groups which previously formed the Japanese totalitarian party. (IRAA, IRAPS, and the Political Association of Great Japan, in succession).

aa.

~~10~~

Interview with Nosaka.

C-in-C

25 Jan 46

Continued:

6. NOSAKA has previously stated both publicly and privately that, notwithstanding his personal belief that the Imperial Institution should be subordinated, he is willing to abide by the will of the people, and that this issue should not be allowed to prevent a "democratic front" against the old cliques.

----- C. W. -----

Interview with Nosaka in the Asahi Shimbun of 25 January 1946. CW

Since the return to Japan from abroad of Sanzo Nosaka, Communist leader, the words "Democratic Front" have been in vogue. What difference is found between the "people's front" and the "Democratic front?" And in what direction should the Democratic front march? In an interview with newspaper reporters, Mr. Nosaka yesterday explained the foregoing subjects and expressed his views on the Democratic front for the first time since his recent return here.

Mr. Nosaka said:

"The 'people's front' and the 'Democratic front' are like the two sides of a shield and are the same in quality. While the 'people's front' is passive in character, the 'Democratic front' is active. The former endeavors to stress the contents of the composition, and the latter stresses its objectives.

"The 'people's front' represents a group of the laborers, farmers, small bourgeoisie and intelligentsia for the passive objectives of the overthrow of Fascism and the military clique and is of a broader scope than a unified front for the laborers.

"As to what should be done after the overthrow of Fascism and the Military clique, little or nothing was clarified before and during the war, but gradually the completion of Democracy has come to be the objective. Today's 'Democratic front' in Japan is not confined to the passive objective of making a clean sweep of militarism, but has the objective of positive construction of Democracy and of new Japan. Accordingly, it is more appropriate to say the 'Democratic front' than the 'people's front.'

"As regards the composition of the front, no difference is found between the two fronts. Both include the laborers, farmers and medius and small commercial and industrial men. Our Democracy is one which gives leadership to the working masses, not that Democracy led by a small group of privileged men as referred to by the present Government. Although it is to be done under the system of Capitalism, it is Democracy by the working masses throughout. The financial clique and big landowners are not included. Then, what are demanded by Democracy? It may be summarized into the following nine points:

"1. It is to remove the present wants of the people's life. For this purpose, foodstuffs and rice must be offered, and houses must also be offered. The jobless, war sufferers and demobilized soldiers must be rescued, and solution of issues having a direct bearing on the masses such as inflation, the black market and the traffic hell, etc. must be sought. Nothing can be done unless the foregoing issues are solved. To do these is

the short-cut to formation of the Democratic front. Already the lower strata of people are cooperating, but the upper strata should also cooperate. On this point any political party will agree.

"2. In order to solve these issues in haste a new Democratic government must be built. Otherwise, there will be no fundamental solution. For this purpose, we must cause the present Government to immediately resign and establish a Democratic government.

"3. The remnant influence of the militarists must be swept overboard. Those who cooperated and aided actively in the war and with the military should be driven out from politics, economy, culture and other fields, especially from the Government.

"4. We must establish a new Democratic system. For this purpose, it is necessary to institute a new Constitution on the basis of Democracy. Regarding this, the people must have sovereignty. My view on the Emperor system has been already expressed in the joint statement issued by me and the Communist Party. The Emperor system is a feudalistic, despotic and dictatorial political structure itself.

"To abolish it is to rob the Emperor of his prerogatives. As to whether or not the Imperial Family should be allowed to continue to exist can be determined by the will of the people after a Democratic government is established. But I do not think that the present Emperor is immune from the war responsibility.

"5. The farmers should be given land and farming rights.

"6. The major industries should be owned by the State. Monopolistic Capital should be given a strong control by a Democratic people's government. On this basis a strong and well-off Japan should be constructed.

"7. An eight-hour system should be established for the laborers, and their life should be improved by a wide margin.

"8. Effective protection should be given medium and small merchants and industrial men.

"9. Rescue must be extended to the war sufferers, unemployed and demobilized soldiers at the expense of the wartime profiteers.

"The foregoing is my private plan regarding the Democratic front. About this, various plans will be put forward by various parties and various men but they will be able to find points of agreement. The main point is that for the sake of the working masses which constitute 95 per cent, the profits of the small number of the rich should be sacrificed.

"Next, in regard to the formation of a Democratic front in Japan, the following three points should be noted with attention:

"1. The democratization of Japan has not been won by the power from the lower as in Europe but has made its appearance from the policy of the Allied Forces.

"2. The postwar Government is not a people's Government. It is a government of the old controlling classes and is blocking democratization both on the surface and behind the scene. Moreover, the struggle from the lower is comparatively not strong.

"3. Accordingly, we must build a Democratic government and push it with the endeavor and power of the lower and upper strata.

"And the opportunity is already ripening. Labor disputes, farm disputes and foodstuffs disputes have been rising in various areas and the concern of the people has been aroused considerably. The lower strata of political parties in various areas have already been effecting cooperation. It is no longer the question of a small number of leaders but that of the masses.

"The conditions for the formation of the Democratic front are being completed. To promote it further it is necessary that the political parties concerned should jointly solve the problems of the life of the people. The Democratic men of the Socialist Party, Communist Party and other parties should cooperate with sincerity. About this point, the society of promoters is already active. The Communist Party from the beginning has been endeavoring in this direction with sincerity and from now on will offer concessions whenever and wherever possible.

"The Democratic front should be organized before the coming elections. In Europe where there was no Democratic front or the Democratic front was split, failures were registered in the elections. The split or weakness of the Democratic front would only serve to promote the interests of the reactionary influences. We should pay attention to this point."