

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM!
UNITE FOR WORLD REVOLUTION!
FIGHT FOR PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP!

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THE
SENKI
BATTLE FLAG

CREATE!! WORLD REVOLUTION FRONT

Revolutionary comrades and friends all over the world!

Based upon the result of last year Conference and the development of world class struggle through the past year, we, Communist League (Bund), invite you, comrades who are armed with guns and Marxist-Leninism, to the Second International AntiWar, Anti-Imperialist Conference (Tokyo) to thoroughly discuss the strategy, technique and organisation for World Revolution!

Universal Crisis of Class Structure And Conflict among Revolutionaries

Those peoples, especially those of imperialist nations, who have supported the National Liberation Front of Vietnam, and the heroic struggle of the Che Guevara, and have fought against imperialists' counter-revolution, have now become revolutionary proletariat to fight, in the form of revolutionary world war, for the liberation of ourselves have been expanded and intensified proves that we live in the midst of the period of real transition. The armed struggles for liberation in the Third World can be witnessed in such nations as India That have been developing comparatively soundly. Revolutionary moves have emerged in such advanced nations as Spain, Italy, Britain following France and Germany. In the circle of so-called "Proletarian Nations" distorted by Stalinism, U.S.S.R. tanks have not been able to completely suppress Czech people's demand for the principles of Soviet. Our primary duty is to combine these class struggles in three worlds and organise them into a front for world revolutionary war. This duty of ours was discussed at various international conferences as the Conference in Tokyo last year and the Brussel Conference this March.

With the weakened international monetary establishment and the desperate efforts of imperialists for their re-organisation (including the rise of Japanese and German imperialism), the world is facing the fatal crisis of bourgeoisie, as well as the crisis within proletariat who are supposed to be the subjects of revolution. In other words, the "Peace" Talk in Paris implies not only that American imperialism was defeated in Vietnam (we are completely for the establishment of the temporary Revolutionary Government), but also that N.L.F. would have to accept to compromise its strategy for the sake of "peace", unless they are to hold a clear perspective as to how to combine their struggle for national liberation with the revolutionary struggles in advanced nations for the realisation of world revolutionary war. On the other hand, the change of political leadership of Czechoslovakia from Novotny to Dubcek and to Fusak suggest that Czechs, who could at least reveal the discrepancies within "Proletarian Nation", would not be able to liberate themselves unless they uplift their struggle into insurrection for proletarian dictatorship and against Stalinistic bureaucracy and recognise themselves as the vanguard for world revolution with clear perspectives

for it.

But we find more serious problems of proletariat mainly within advanced nations, because we know that we can not expect victory for the class struggle of other two circles before we begin world revolutionary war based on struggles to overthrow respective imperialism of advanced nations. We do not mean, by crisis of revolutionary groups of advanced nations, the "splits" we have suffered within ourselves through the past year. Split is inevitable when our struggles undergo a qualitative transition from anti-war peace campaign to a real revolutionary movement. What has to be seriously considered in the process of this transition is whether we are on the correct road to the formation of a party of communists to realise world revolution.

As was recognised at the Conference at Tokyo last year, the organisation of a revolutionary group has been rapidly realised. The concrete situation in U.S.A., Europe and Japan is as follows:

1. anti-war, peace and democracy movements are being transformed into a struggle against imperialism and into a violent struggle to overthrow the government.
2. from "legal" movement into occupation of campuses and factories and further into an armed struggle for occupation of campuses and factories and further into an armed struggle for occupation of cities and regions.
3. from a movement of radical individuals into a struggle by a vanguard party composed of organised members.
4. from an isolated movement by students into alliance of workers, students (including highschool students) and military people.

Revolutionary groups under the process of organisation are commonly pursuing "Party" and its "Principles" as well as organisation and concept on of the world. We shall never be able to gain these only by a dogmatic adoption of Maoism, which is a mere opposition against Stalinism of the Soviet group, and Trotskyism. We, as a modern revolutionary group, have to obtain a common basis that is, a party for "Violent Revolution, World Revolution and Proletarian Dictatorship" with a clear and concrete strategy and tactics for world revolutionary war. We, the Communist League, having organised the First Anti-War Anti-Imperialist International Conference last year, and also having organised practical struggle to attack the Japanese Defence Agency on the International Anti-War Day (Oct.21)

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occupation struggle on campuses (including the battle at the Aasuda Auditorum of the Univ. of Tokyo), struggle on the Okinawa Day (April 28), struggle against ASPAC (June 8) will propose our perspectives and strategy based on these experiences, at the coming International Conference.

The World under Transition And Aggressive Class Struggle

We define "the world of today as "world under transition". Basically, it is in a transitional stage where capitalism and non-capitalism exist, and should be clearly distinguished from the "transitional betweenin political terms between capitalist and socialist societies, which is characterised by proletarian dictatorship" described in "Kritik des Gethaer Programmf" by Karl Marx.

The primary theory drawn from the transitional stage in our terminology is "modern imperialism", which implies, in concrete terms, that the unequal expansion of imperialist powers in the post-war days brought about the average nature and quality of industrial structure of advanced nations with heavy-chemical-industrialisation, technical reform and the establishment of stock market. Moreover, the total war for market share is now underway, and capitalism with discrepancies within itself is deep trying to pit off its detraction. But actually it is obviously corrupted.

The second theory is "modern transitional society": The proletariat of the world obtained their own base through Russian Revolution, but now all the so-called "Proletarian Nations" surrounded by impelialism, hold distorted theory called Stalinism, and the theory of socialism in one nation.

Subjectively, we draw three implications from this "world"under transition":

1. Necessity to overthrow respective imperialism and for proletarian political revolution.
2. Necessity for struggles for national liberation in colonised areas and perpetuation of such struggles as socialist revolution.
3. Necessity for follow-up political and social revolution in "Proletarian Nations."

These three elements should be combined and concluded not only as pbjective phenomenon caused by international flow of capital (as simultaneity and continuation of class struggles in three worlds), but also, subjectively, as strategy for world simultaneous revolution.

In this world under transition, that is, with corrupted capitalism, limited block politics, paralysed Stalinism, perpetual expansion and intensification of class struggles in colonised zones, and with the existence of determined subjects for world revolution in advance nations, the world revolution should, qualitatively, be an aggressive class struggle.

Growing Fascism and The Decisive Battle at its Pre-stage

In this modern world under transion, imperialist powers have started again a war for market share, protecting itself with fascism from domestic crisis. For their efforts for obtaining market and for block politics, "invasion, oppression and counter-revolution" have become indispensable under the following circumstances:

1. Market for imperialists was limited by the establishment of such "Proletarian Nations" as China and U.S.S.R.

2. Imperialists cannot help revealing the counter-revolutionary nature of their invasion and control over the colonies where they are confronted with people's struggle for national liberation.

3. It has become essential for imperialists to control their economy by supressing with violence the domestic struggles of proletariat.

4. It has become important for their counter-revolution to keep and strengthen their counter-revolutionary alliances such as U.S.-Japan Security Treaty and NATO (It is clear if you look at the political situation of France after the May Revolution of last year.)

This dictatorial establishment of bourgeoisie is nothing but a fascistic one with such connotations as follows:

1. Political transition from perliamentary democracy to governmental and bureaucratic dictatorship and to military dictatorship. Isolation and violent control over farmers and petit bourgeoisie.

2. Economical connotation; Merging of big enterprises and controlled economy, especially, controlled production and control of market and labour (Destruction of labour unions).

3. Ideological connotation : Chauvinism, anti-other-imperialism, anti communism.

Already, the trend toward fasvistic re-organisation has risen with a toral global scale. We, revolutionaries, must arm ourselves against this fascism not with the

conception of "people's front" based on "protection of democracy and constitution", but with a clear ideology of PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP.

Today, when capitalists are trying to overcome their crisis with fascism, the classical conception of revolution at the time of panic or defeat in war is not valid any more. Our war of revolution should be recognised as a decisive battle at the pre-stage of fascism, and it requires a completely different form of revolution from these of Russian and German Revolutions (1917-18), defeat in Germany (1929-33), and French People's Front (1935-37).

Struggles "greater than demonstration but smaller than revolution" are already being organised day and night in Japan, U.S.A. and in Europe. The struggle in Japan would spontaneously expand with the escalation of the crisis in Korea and the expansion of Japanese imperialists' invationand counter-revolution. However, we, the Bund, are aware of the nessecity for vanguard party to lead such apontaneous and protactive insurrection of the masses, and also the nessecity for a Red Army directly attached to the party. Secondly, we are also aware that our armed insurrection should develop into a war liberation by the Korean people and further into a perpetual struggle for world revolution otherwise one cannot expect any victory for either Japanese or Koreans.

With this determination, we are organising the struggle against U.S.-Japan Security Treaty as the first step of our struggle to overthrow Japanese imperialism and for world revolution. We must recognise that unless we hold a clear view of global and perpetual struggle, our struggle would be smashed by international counter-revolutionary army.

Party and the Form of Revolution in the Modern World

We have concluded what our revolution would be like as a decisive battle at the pre stage of fascism, from our own struggles since Oct. 8 (when we organised the first violent struggle against Prime Minister Sato's visit to Vietnam at Haneda Airport), from the May Revolution included:

1. Mass strike: that is, occupation of cities and municipals by armed troop of masses, including campus andfactory occupation. Occupation of the centre of the state power in the capital in the form of city guerrilla.

2. Establishment of campus struggle committees and workers council as initial form of Soviet, and Red Army for their defence.

3. Establishment of a Red Army directly attached to the party to lead the troops for occupation of the centre of state power.

4. Promotion and intensificatio n of Anti-War Youth Committees as joint organisation of revolutionary workers and students. Combination of occupation struggles in different circles and industrial branches into struggling bodies for community control.

5. Solidarity with the Korean living in Japan as the most oppressed proletariat, and their organisation into our Defence Troop and Red Army.

6. Establishment of World Revolutionary Party and Red Army to lead world revolution. Unification of revolutionary groups in the world as its first step.

Unite World Revolutionary Groups!!

Based on our deep belief explained above, we invite revolutionaries from all over the world to the second International Anti-War Anti-Imperialist Conference where we will discuss with comrades how to develop our class struggle into world revolutionary war with what strategy, and how we build up a new revolutionary group with genuine Marxist-Leninism as opposed to the corrupted Stalinism.

* * * * *

AGENDA

Report and discussion

1. Modern world and strategy for world revolution (Analysis of imperialism, evaluation of China and U.S.S.R. , struggles for national liberation)
2. Strategy and tactics for Japanese revolution, and for these of other nations.
3. Strategy for revolution. (Form of modern revolution, student struggles, labour movement, racial problems, insurrection and its tactics)
4. Establishment of World Revolutionary Party and its organisation. (Class and party, Soviet and Red Army, world revolutionary war, its leadership and the establishment of revolutionary international, Global Socialism)

Break Into Massen Strike!

The continuous attack of rationalisation by the Japanese imperialist government has been repressing the struggle of public workers--the most militant ones in the labour movement of Japan. The spring struggle was staged by all workers including the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo) which is led by reformistic social democrats and All Japan General League of Trade Unions (Domei) whose struggle in effect is not strong enough to fight against the counter-revolutionary government, as the "decisive battle against U.S.-Japan Security Treaty".

Since 1964 imperialists have been suppressing the struggles of the workers of railroad, communication, postal service, and public services, with rationalisation, red purge and with direct intervention.

The "third current" in the labour movement in Japan, the Anti-War Youth Committees, realised barricading and

strikes in the National Railroad, overcoming the betrayal and concession of the reformist leadership. However, no matter how militant the struggle against rationalisation is, it will not lead to our victory over the Japanese imperialists who are trying to reinforce their invasion and counter-revolution in Asia.

The radical syndicalism we find among labour unions was crushed to death through the struggle against imperialists on April 28, Okinawa Day. This kind of syndicalism which is also found among European trade unions derives from their insufficient consciousness of proletarian internationalism whose main task is to fight directly against the central power with community strikes on a large scale and not with mere demonstrative movement, at the pre-stage of imperialist war. A good example of such struggle of workers is the armed struggle of the workers of Torino, Italy, in 1915 to stop the country taking part in the war.

On June 28 and 29, workers in public services, especially those of the Anti-War Youth Committees, occupied the Shinjuku (commercial area in Tokyo) Post Office to stop the inducement of electronic mail discriminator which would mean a rationalisation of labour in the postal service field, overcoming the limitation of social democrats'

struggle "for general strike" and for "the establishment of democratic coalition government". The struggle of this time is the initial struggle leading to a militant decisive battle against the Treaty scheduled for October and November.

In addition to such struggles workers, students of more than fifty universities are occupying their schools on a strong solidarity with workers, who are preparing political strikes for the coming autumn.

The struggle of post office workers of this time was not a mere struggle against rationalisation and concentrated labour, but was a struggle to denounce such phony slogans of social democrats as "battle in autumn" and "general strike in June, 1970" which would never be realised by their advocates, and to replace them with our own militant armed struggle including occupation of workshops and mass strikes.

On June 27, the post office authorities brought in the discriminating machine two days before the publicly announced day, which taught us a precious lesson that any words or promises if the rulers are made for themselves and can be arbitrarily changed for their convenience, that is, we should never believe what they say, but rather, should always be prepared for whatever betrayal they might make, with a strong fighting body and with a significant insight.

sds-Split Urges Party With Revolutionary Strategy

Regarding the serious conflict between the S.D.S. Leadership (if we may use this expression only to distinguish the two groups) and the Progressive Labor Party group finally revealed at the recent S.D.S. National Convention in Chicago, we modestly propose our suggestions as to how to overcome this problem which matters a great deal not only to American revolutionaries but also to all the revolutionary activists in the world, hoping that we may help them re-construct a stronger fighting front for world revolution, both in theory and in organisation.

(Despite our enthusiasm, there might be some misunderstandings on our side concerning the present situation of S.D.S. due to lack of information and our possibly inadequate study. We are completely open for any criticism.)

Support for Black Panther Party The denunciation of nny and

Support for Black Panther Party
The denunciation of any and all racism claimed by P.L.P. is, in itself, a correct slogan, but cannot lead to "not supporting" the struggle of the black people in America for self-determination. One should not mistake the present struggle of the black people who have been chained to the white value system psychologically, culturally, economically and politically, since they were arbitrarily brought to the U.S.A., for a chauvinistic one, overlooking its revolutionary nature which is quite significant for the class struggle in U.S.A. If you do not support a national or (racial) liberation within a country, then how can you support such peoples in the world who are struggling against imperialists for liberation. It is the revolutionaries of advanced nations that are expected to promote and strengthen the revolutionary nature of such peoples' struggles for national liberation.

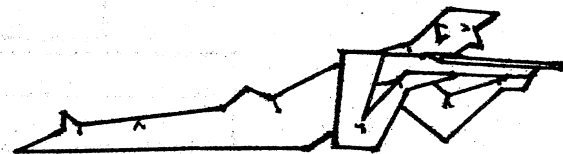
The black people are the first group who have been revolutionised and felt the necessity for revolution in U.S.A. and are also the first to have armed themselves against the imperialists, both theoretically and physically. We can understand the possible difficulties and obstacles for uniting the struggles of white revolutionaries and non-white ones, which might derive from the particular history of U.S.A. With this understanding, we believe that the only way to merge these two is to heighten the theoretical and military levels of the whites' struggles to catch up with those of non-white people.

Worker Student Alliance

P.L.P. seems to us to believe in a very classical pattern of Marxism-Leninism, in that they have not been able to define the role of students in the strategy for American revolution. In other words, inspite of their emphasis on workers' struggle they have been unable to propose how they would lead the militant struggles of students to class struggle in U.S.A.

On the other hand, the S.D.S. leadership that has realised militant struggles on campuses on strong solidarity with the community people and independent groups of workers, have not yet given the answer as to how to combine organisationally and lead such struggles in different communities to a revolution based on socialism.

Overcoming the dogmatic aspect of P.L.P. can only be achieved by building up a clear theory of revolution based on socialism and its strategy. Concretely, it is required of all the members of S.D.S. which still is a student organisation to organise its elder members under regional parties and military troops to fight against imperialist, instead of letting them join the establishment or wander around as intelligentsia.



Support for Ho Chi Minh

P.L.P. criticises N.L.F. and Ho Chi Minh calling them "traitors" and "revisionists", and saying that they are not fighting "for socialism", probably taking their participation in the "Peace" Talk in Paris into consideration. When we think of why they have to attend the Talk, we cannot help blaming ourselves and other revolutionaries of other imperialist nations for the weakness of our struggle for the destruction of all imperialist powers. It is wrong and would rather desert our responsibility to arbitrarily criticise such people fighting for national liberation, without self-criticising ourselves for not being able to support them physically, and not only verbally. It is the most significant and important task of U.S. revolutionaries to lead the Vietnamese to a permanent socialist revolution and strengthen our common strategy for world revolution, by shaking and destroying U.S. imperialism from inside, which is already on the defence militarily in Vietnam.

Destruction of U.S. Imperialism and Internationalism

The advantage of the spontaneous struggles of SDS is its significant conformity with each community which seems indispensable for revolution in modern America. It is required of this organisation with much practical experience to prepare itself for the liberation of the colony within the country, destruction of U.S. imperialism and world revolution, by organising regional parties, a Red Army of the whites to fight with the black people's troops on the solid basis of socialism. If SDS aims at the realisation of a revolutionary struggle in U.S.A. based on a strong solidarity between black

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For Better Understanding

Japan's Imperialist Invasion in Asia

(1) Economic Power of Japanese Imperialism

In 1968, Japan's GNP reached a total of 141.9 billion dollars at a growth rate of 13.9%, surpassing West Germany and thereby jumping to the No.2 position in the "free world" or to the third after the USSR.

This "great leap forward" signifies the rapid recovery and expansion of Japanese Imperialism, which had been completely defeated in World War II.

Table 1 shows the trend of growth of Japanese Imperialism, which is distinguished by the characteristics "rapid growth" and development of heavy and chemical industries.

As far as foreign trade is concerned, a statistic indicates that exports in fiscal '68 marked 12.97 billion dollars (24.2% increase over '67), import, however, totalled 12.99 billion dollars (11.4% increase over '67), and a black figure of 1.1 billion dollars overall balance is given.

Japan's share of the world's grand total amounts to 5.5% (38 billion dollars. (Foreign currency holdings: 3.2 billion dollars.)

Table 3 exposes the imperialistic nature of the foreign trade structure, i.e. importing raw materials while exporting

Progress of Industrial Production (1958--'67)

World	86%
Japan	245
U.S.S.R.	121
Italy	113
Canda	77
U.S.A.	69
W. Germany	56
France	51
U.K.	32

TABLE I

(U.N. statistics, '69)

(2) Reaching out for Southeast Asia

Japan's major trade partners are countries in North America and Southeast Asia. Trade with the U.S.A. has been

growing during U.S. aggression in Vietnam under the favorable economic climate in the U.S.

However, Japan now trends to develop its trade with south-east Asian countries as a result of the U.S.A.'s tightening import restrictions and of tough capital competition. After the U.S. Japan now ranks second among the capitalist countries advancing on the Southeast Asian Market, leaving behind such major ex-colonial powers as Britain and France.

Japan's Export Market (1968)

South East Asia	27.9%
West Asia	3.6
Oceania	4.2
North America	34.2
West Europe	12.7
Communist Sphere	4.5
Latin America	5.7
U.S.A.	7.2

TABLE II

(White Paper of MITI '68 edition)

(3) The Imperialist nature of Japan's capital export to Southeast Asia.

The forming of the Sato Cabinet in '64 and the con-

clusion of the Japan-Korea Treaty in '65 are crucial turning points in the history of the Japanese monopoly capital, marking the beginning of a new stage of Neo-Colonialism. The monopolistic expansion into Southeast

Export of Major Capitalist Nations of South East Asia (U=1,600,000\$)

TABLE V

	'60	'61	'62	'63	'64	'65	'66	'67
U.S.A.	1.777	1.795	2.141	2.524	2.685	3.100	3.446	3.857
U.K.	1.141	1.198	1.065	1.128	1.090	1.133	1.101	1.001
W.Germany	567	576	547	572	637	738	742	745
France	189	192	174	179	186	196	221	223
Italy	143	146	134	133	170	196	216	239
Canada	22	115		123	160	157	222	275
Japan	1.314	1.584	1.608	1.782	2.195	2.630	2.930	

(Direction of International trade, Annual Issue)

Export & Import Proportion of Asian Nations (1967)

	from Japan	to Japan
S. Korea	44.5% 1st	26.4% 2nd
Formosa	44.2 1st	25.6 2nd
S. Vietnam	27.6 2nd	19.9 2nd
Thailand	29.2 1st	21.4 1st
Malasia	14.4 2nd	14.7 2nd
Philipp.	28.9 2nd	46.0 1st
Indonesia	20.0 1st	23.0 1st

Remaining Overseas Investment

1960	588
64	2.104
65	2.394
66	3.765
67	4.417

U= one million\$ (Quarterly foreign exchange) TABLE VI

Asia has its roots in the process of concentration of Japanese capitals, their center being the heavy industries, and in the inherent aggressive inclination of the Japanese monopolies. The export of capital to South-east Asia has been promoted with the intention of enlarging the export market and of securing raw material supplies. The excessive productivity yielded by forced accumulation inevitably urges excessive capital export in order to secure the investment profit. Japan's investment balance to foreign countries expanded briskly and reached a total of 4.4 billion dollars in June '69. This figure is much higher than the corresponding figures of other major imperialist power's capital export ("economic aid"). (Table 8)

According to the Finance Ministry, capital exports reached the level of more than one billion dollars in fiscal '68. In this respect, Japan ranks forth after the US, France and West Germany.

The increase of capital export paves the road for the Japanese monopolies to establish full-scale influence and domination in Southeast Asia, along with the efforts of the Sato Government to hold and develop ASPAC, and to strengthen ECAFE and the Asian Development Bank.

For the past few years the expansive trend has found its expressions in such phrases as "South Korea Rush" and "Let's not be left behind" are very popular in Japanese business circles. Direct private investments in Southeast are greatly encouraged by the Japanese Government, which allowed 386 million dollars for investment in foreign countries during fiscal '69. THIS A NEW JAPANESE EXPANSION!

\$Assistance" of DAC Countries (annual net)

	'60	'61	'62	'63	'64	'65	'66	'67
U.S.A.	3818.2	4354.5	4771.0	4983.0	5567.0	6014.0	6414.0	6814.0
W.G.	642.7	650.0	707.1	737.5	1140.4	1140.4	1140.4	1140.4
France	1325.1	1395.2	1360.4	1319.7	1343.9	1343.9	1343.9	1343.9
Japan	246.1	381.4	286.2	267	669.	669.	669.	669.
Total	6111.7	8528.9	9143.9	10471.0	11306.3			

U=1,000,000\$ TABLE VII

('68ed MITI "Economic Cooperation and its Problems")

Importance of Int'l Conference

At the coming Second International Anti-War Anti-Imperialist Conference we expect to discuss concretely the role and task of each revolutionary from all over the world, and not to "talk about" our solidarity in metaphysical terms. We believe that it will be the first step of our forming a new revolutionary international, that is, we will confirm then our responsibility and actual task for our struggle against the universally growing fascism and for WORLD REVOLUTION!

For Subscribers

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SDS...

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people and themselves, they must pursue at the same to, a correct revolutionary strategy with a international perspective. They must organise and strengthen a strong common fighting front of black people and white people for the struggle to destroy the heartland of world imperialism, a struggle with the same quality as all the national liberation struggles in the world and as all the revolutionary struggles in advanced nations. SDS, Black Panther Party and other revolutionary organisations of America must recognise their responsibility to form a revolutionary party which is to scramble and destroy the American imperialism presently reinforcing its counter-revolutionary invasion in Asia, Latin America, the Middle East and Africa. For this, it is necessary for them to clearly define the roles of revolutionary struggles in (1) developing nations, (2) and in advanced nations, in the total picture of the strategy for world revolution.