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**Speeches**  
**Marking the 82nd Founding Anniversary of**  
**Japanese Communist Party**

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# **Significance of New JCP Program and Present State of Political Developments**

**FUWATetsuzo**

Good evening, everyone. I am Fuwa Tetsuzo. My greeting also goes to all those watching this assembly via the communication satellite system.

It's good to have you all with us in this assembly to mark the 82nd anniversary of the founding of the Japanese Communist Party. I vividly recall the recent election campaign in which you braved the intense heat and heavy rains as well as the very strong political storm. I would like to take this opportunity to express our deepest thanks for your help, cooperation, and great efforts.

Three years ago, we were set back to 4.33 million votes in the House of Councilors election. In the House of Representatives general election last year, we received 4.59 million votes, and in the recent House of Councilors election 4.36 million votes. Thus, in the past three Diet elections (proportional representation sections), the JCP has been unable to exceed the 4-million level. The great task now is for us to seek ways to develop new conditions for a new JCP advance.

I would like to use this assembly to observe the JCP 82nd anniversary to look back on our history and think about this question with you.

## **I. The Present Phase of Our Struggle to Break Away from LDP Politics**

### ***Lessons from the prewar struggles***

The JCP came into being in 1922. Japan at that time was under the despotic rule of the emperor which did not allow the Japanese people to enjoy freedom or democracy. That's why the newly formed JCP fought so hard to get Japan free from the emperor's autocracy and establish democracy in which the people are sovereign. The party also devoted its energy to replace the country's policy of war of aggression in Asia with a peace policy.

In Japan at that time, calling for these two policy objectives was considered subversive. The JCP from the outset was an illegal party subject to harsh persecution and repression. Many of our predecessors, young and

old, gave their lives to the struggle of the JCP, and eventually the JCP's central organization was destroyed. That was how the JCP came to be unable to carry out national activities.

However, the party's policy objectives - establishing democracy and peace in Japan - were proven correct when Japan after the defeat in World War II established a new political system with the Constitution declaring the principle of people's sovereignty and renouncing war based on remorse for the last war.

Today, we may learn many things from the history of difficult struggles waged by our predecessors, but I want to stress the need to learn from their indomitable militancy in which they stood firmly for the great cause of peace and democracy under difficult circumstances without losing confidence in the ultimate victory of the great cause.

### ***Discrepancies between voters' favorable reactions and the election results***

Executive Committee Chair Shii has just reviewed the House of Councilors election and discussed the party's immediate policy for national political issues. In fact, regarding the election results, there are many questions that need close examination in preparation for our future activities.

In most cities I visited during the election campaign, I was told by many that unlike in the general election last year, voters' reactions to the JCP were favorable. I also strongly felt increasing positive reactions to JCP policies when I spoke about party policies and activities. In the general election last year, we were forced to desperately repel the campaign advocating a "two-party system" which emerged all at once. But my feeling about this issue was very different in the recent House of Councilors election. During the election campaign, I said, "The call for a two-party system is already beginning to lose steam." I didn't say this simply to try to boost our campaign. I meant to state what I actually felt in the campaign.

Although we felt a spread of public acceptance of our policies, it was not enough to influence public opinion in the main. The general trend favoring a "two-party system" turned out to be more effective in influencing the vote, thus forcing us to suffer a serious setback.

How did this happen? Why was the discrepancy so large between the favorable reaction we had during the election campaign and the actual results?

We know that there are weaknesses in our activities as well as in the problem of our organizational strength. These and other issues will be examined in the next JCP Central Committee Plenum. We would like to hear as many opinions as possible from around the country. Having said that, in this speech, I first want to take up the political background of the election results. More broadly speaking, it is about the present political situation in which we are experiencing difficulty today.

### ***LDP politics in crisis***

First of all, I want to draw your attention to the fact that the present difficulty is related to the LDP entering into such a deep crisis that makes it impossible for the LDP to retain their political power in conventional ways.

In the first place, LDP politics is characterized by two major deviations of giving priority to defending the interests of large corporations and maintaining subservience to the United States. The JCP has pointed this out since it adopted its first Program in the 1960s and called for these distortions to be corrected as its main task. In the 1980s, all opposition parties except the JCP moved to accept LDP policies. This current of "all are ruling parties except the JCP" has been predominant in politics since the 1980s. Under such circumstances, we worked to expose LDP politics for what it is, and called for change to establish politics in the interests of the people.

LDP politics experienced its first critical turning point in the early 1990s. A major split occurred in the LDP in 1993, leading to the establishment of a non-LDP government led by Prime Minister Hosokawa Moriteru. This marked the turning point which I have just mentioned. Although the LDP returned to power in less than a year, it no longer had the capacity to assume political power without forming a coalition with other parties. In the first coalition government, the LDP still had the capacity to absorb input from its coalition partners without changing its policies. But later, after the Komei Party became the major coalition partner, it lost even that capacity. The coalition has eroded the LDP's political base in every election.

### ***Alternative framework of political power becomes focus***

This crisis of the LDP also caused a major change in its relations with opposition parties.

During the period in which the LDP still retained a strong political power base, the political confrontation was between the JCP and the rest of

the parties playing their roles as "ruling" parties. However, the political map changed after the LDP came into crisis, giving rise to a possible change of political power.

The political parties that had sought to share governing party policies as well as new party forces that broke away from the LDP adopted a major policy of seeking to achieve a political power change on the same political basis as LDP politics.

A major change also took place in voters' opinions and their voting pattern. There was a general sentiment that the LDP government could be replaced. Which of the opposition parties was really opposed to LDP policies didn't matter. The major concern was which party could be the most viable force to replace the LDP government. That was the general trend emerging at the time.

Meanwhile, the ruling forces' political strategy was changing. They began to help preparing political forces that could replace the failed LDP government within the framework of LDP politics. In other words, they sought to retain the foundations for policies serving large corporations and maintain subservience to the United States. This has become the major strategy of the ruling forces.

It was not by accident that during that period strong pressure was applied on the largest scale ever in various areas to banish the JCP from the political stage.

The election law has frequently been revised adversely, including an introduction of a single-seat constituency system, a reduction in the number of proportional representation seats, a ban on the use of bull-horns and the distribution of pamphlets for publicity during the official election campaign period. In addition, an underhanded anti-communist campaign to slander the JCP was carried out by the Komei Party and its parent organization Soka Gakkai. Commercial news organizations tried to keep the actions and policies of the JCP and other movements for peace and democracy from the public as much as possible. For example, I was appalled to see that commercial news organizations ignored the statement published in June by nine Japanese public figures, including a Nobel Prize writer, calling for the defense of the war-renouncing Article 9 of the Constitution and announcing the establishment of the "Article 9 Committee". This event should have been reported as a major development in Japanese society.

In the midst of the deepening crisis of LDP politics, the power to stop any further JCP advances grew stronger apparently because the JCP is the

real opponent of LDP politics. This was the political development that characterized the political climate since 1993.

***Three rounds of attempts since 1993 to establish a framework for an alternative to LDP politics***

Although the attempt to establish a political alternative within the same framework as that of the LDP can temporarily raise public expectations, it cannot help to solve the contradictions and crises arising from LDP politics. Thus, popular support for it will wane sooner or later. There is no doubt about it, as shown by the lessons of Japanese political history in the last ten years.

In fact, during the last ten years, the attempt has been made to create an alternative framework in three rounds.

The first round was during the Hosokawa and Hata cabinets of 1993-1994. This was a coalition government of political parties that declared in a policy agreement that they agree with the LDP's basic policies. But the Hosokawa and Hata cabinet did nothing to bring about political change, except the introduction of a single-seat constituency system. The non-LDP government failed in less than one year and was replaced a new coalition government that comprised the Liberal Democratic, Socialist, and Sakigake parties.

Overwhelmed by this wave, the JCP suffered a setback in the 1993 election, but we succeeded in overcoming this difficulty to achieve a clear JCP advance in the late 1990s.

The second round of the attempt to set up an alternative to the LDP government came with the political change that produced the Koizumi Cabinet. At that time, a major operation to "stop the JCP" was beginning on a large scale, including the underhanded anti-communist campaign by the Komei Party and its parent organization Soka Gakkai. Under those circumstances, the LDP held an election to choose its next president amid the crisis of Prime Minister Mori Yoshiro's Cabinet. Koizumi Jun'ichiro, who campaigned under the slogan "Destroy the LDP!" was elected. Koizumi tried to set up within the LDP an alternative that looks like non-LDP in an attempt to shore up the LDP. In the first place, Koizumi put up the slogan "Destroy the LDP" without examining what had been wrong with LDP politics. That's why this slogan soon began to lose its initial appeal. Specifically, when the Koizumi Cabinet had to deal with two major issues which it could not force through the Diet using deceptive language, "pension reform" and the dispatch of the Self-Defense Forces to Iraq, the

Koizumi Cabinet began to quickly lose public support.

I believe that the 2001 political change by Koizumi was followed by a campaign that began around the time of the 2003 House of Representatives general election, the campaign for a "two-party system". This time around, the campaign was led by the business sector which chose a Democratic Party government to replace the LDP government. This was very different from the campaign ten years ago for a "non-LDP" alternative. Although the Democratic Party of Japan opposed the LDP on a number of issues, including the SDF deployment to Iraq and the "pension reform", it has been more enthusiastic than the LDP in dealing with the ruling circles' key demand: a consumption tax increase and a revision of the Constitution. For this reason, the DPJ has a role to play in assisting the LDP in accelerating its policies even before the DPJ takes power.

The results of the House of Councilors election show that expectations are high for the DPJ as many people are thinking that it will offer policies that are different from those of the LDP even with the concerns about the LDP-leaning DPJ policies. A voting pattern survey shows that many of those who said they did not vote for the LDP voted for the DPJ, even though they were not familiar with DPJ policies. We learned on the ground and through mass media that this was a prevailing voting pattern of behavior.

***Need to encourage and expand a new people-first political current***

This third wave came on a much larger scale. Given the ruling forces' zeal for a "two-party system" to be incorporated into Japanese politics, we will need much greater efforts to lay the groundwork for making a JCP advance more realizable than ten years ago when we worked hard to overcome the influence of "non-LDP" forces.

That is why I believe it imperative for us to address the task of building up a viable political strength capable of competing with the "two major parties." That is what the present political situation calls for now.

Look at what's happening over the adverse pension reform. Many people are categorically saying "No" to "heavier burdens or less benefits". What's more, the "two major parties" are in agreement on the need for constitutional revision and a consumption tax increase as immediate tasks in order to pave the way for a reactionary politics. Their moves are posing an imminent danger that may greatly influence the future of Japan and its people.

That is why the JCP Standing Executive Committee statement on the House of Councilors election results said that the immediate task, which has an important bearing on the future of Japan, is for the party to "develop and increase a new people-first politics in opposition to one led by two major parties." It expressed its determination to make every effort to carry this out and called for day-to-day activities to be carried out to achieve this goal.

Some party members are disappointed by the third JCP defeat in a row. But many party members and branches are not overpowered; they are taking part in party activities with determination to exert their indomitable spirit. It is impressive that people who are not party members but participated in the election campaign are now joining the JCP to be in the forefront of the struggle. Their decision to work in the JCP is proof of the JCP's tradition fighting for social justice.

I want to call on you to learn lessons from JCP history, become even more politically active, and join hands with JCP Supporters' Association members and other supporters who fought for a JCP victory in the House of Councilors election in order to develop a strong political current in opposition to the agenda of "two major parties."

## **II. Guided by New JCP Program**

What do we mean by changing away from LDP politics to develop a new people-first politics? I think that the answer is in the new JCP Program and that it can help as the guide to make the new current for such politics known to the public.

In my speech today, I want to discuss the JCP Program from three angles.

### ***(1) Guidelines for "remaking Japan"***

The JCP Program provides guidelines for "remaking Japan." This is a policy we developed throughout the 1990s in response to the crisis facing the LDP government. At the JCP 21st Congress in 1997, we put forward the question "What kind of Japan is the JCP aiming for?" This was an important starting point of our effort to develop this policy.

By establishing this policy of "remaking Japan" as part of the JCP Program, it became more consistent. Let me touch upon several features of this policy.



*(i) Economic reform needs efforts to win the people's support and agreement*

One is the issue of economic reform. The JCP Program gives this issue a general characterization by stating that "democratic change within the framework of capitalism" represents the immediate needs for change in Japanese society. We discussed this point a lot during the recent election campaign. Its essence is that we will put the tyranny of large corporations and the business sector under control and establish an economic and fiscal structure that gives priority to the interests of the people focusing on social services, with a view to creating a regulated socio-economic society as in western Europe.

We are convinced that this is the only way to resolve the hardships people are experiencing in many aspects. Nothing is more important than trying to win broad public support for and agreement with our proposal for change. To this end, I want to emphasize two major tasks which we must take up while trying to give shape to our "remaking Japan" proposal in response to the serious needs of the people.

One is concerning the importance of criticizing and denouncing large corporations and the business sector for their authoritarian domination of politics, the economy and the people's lives through exposing the following concrete examples:

- That Japanese major corporations and business leaders are using political donations and other cozy relations with politicians and bureaucrats to achieve their aims, thus distorting politics;

- That under their rule and pressure, many workers in areas that are important for the people's lives and rights are forced into miserable conditions and many small- and medium-sized businesses are facing discrimination and oppression;

- That large corporations and the business sector are manipulating agricultural and environmental policies and pushing ahead with an arms buildup policy in close cooperation with the U.S. arms industry; and

- That these corporate behaviors are incomparably worse than in western Europe.

These are facts that are predominant in Japanese society.

However, the Japanese people are not informed of these facts. The view

that "Japan prospers because large corporations prosper" is widely disseminated. Given this fact, our call for change in economic policy can be convincing only if we expose Japanese large corporations' rule which is much more tyrannical than in western Europe. This is our major task.

The other task is to let as many people as possible know the basic JCP policy toward large corporations and the business sector.

To be sure we are not calling for large corporations to be dismantled to be regarded as our enemy. We are trying to get rid of their tyrannical behaviors. We are asking them to contribute to society according to their financial strength. To put it in other way, we are seeking "coexistence with large corporations under politics with the principle that people are sovereign." We are not asking for something impossible within the framework of capitalism. In fact, we put forward the objective of change as a task which has been fulfilled in many of the western European countries.

I believe that the JCP's economic proposals for "remaking Japan" can be embraced by a majority of the Japanese people if we let people know our way of thinking, our view of Japanese society, and the truth behind it, while publicizing as much as possible the JCP's policies on the pension system and other economic affairs as part of our "remaking Japan" plan.

*(ii) End politics subservient to the United States*

The second issue is about politics subservient to the United States.

I don't think I need to talk much about this issue. Under the Koizumi Cabinet, Japan's subservience to the United States has further deepened to the point where it even exceeds the provisions of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. It has supported U.S. wars of aggression simply because Japan is a U.S. ally. It has dispatched the Self-Defense Forces to take part in the Iraq war simply because Japan is a U.S. ally. It is bent on revising the Constitution to meet the U.S. demand. The JCP Program characterizes this state as Japan's "extraordinary state subordination to the United States."

In fact, people's anger at or criticism of Japan's politics "subservient to the United States" is increasing more than ever because of the Iraq War and the dispatch of the Self-Defense Forces to Iraq.

Even before the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty is abrogated, the JCP calls for a change to an independent diplomacy as an urgent task that has an important bearing on Japan's sovereignty as well as peace. In carrying out this struggle, I want to emphasize that the significance of the JCP as the

only party to demand the abrogation of the treaty in the Diet is greater now than in any previous period.

As a matter of fact, whether a political force has the clear objective of abrogating the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty is a decisive factor that determines whether it can stand firmly for Japan's sovereign independence.

*(iii) Our position in defense of all the constitutional provisions*

Thirdly, I would like to put emphasis on "defending all constitutional provisions as part of our policy for "remaking Japan" set out in the new JCP Program. Although this is a policy we have long maintained, the new JCP Program makes its theoretical basis clearer.

Concerning the Constitution, we needed to expand on two issues.

One is the question of the emperor clauses. After a thorough examination of the Constitution, we concluded that Japan is not a monarchy but is a country in which sovereignty resides with the people. And we emphasized that for Japan's democracy, it is very important to strictly implement the constitutional provision that the emperor "shall not have powers related to government."

The new JCP Program also makes clear the JCP's position that this question should be resolved in the course of the future development of Japanese society. Our view is that whether to maintain or abolish the constitutional provision on the emperor should be decided in the future with the consensus of the people. The constitutional provision on the emperor has many problems to be dealt with, but it is important to speak out from the democratic point of view without precluding the issue as a taboo.

The other is the question of the Self-Defense Forces. The SDF are full-fledged military forces, although Article 9 stipulates the Japan will never maintain any war potential. The JCP Program sets forth the way to resolve this contradiction in accordance with the constitutional provisions.

Regarding the Constitution's Article 9, we have made clear that we will do everything we can to put up a popular struggle to prevent the adverse revision of Article 9 that would change Japan into a war-fighting nation. As for the SDF, we have called for step-by-step decrease based on public consensus while working to establish stable international relations in Asia. We set out this policy in the JCP 22nd Congress. I think it is very significant that this policy has been formulated as part of the Program.

The forces promoting an adverse revision of the Constitution are using a deceptive argument in discussing the Constitutional issue. They try to justify their call for constitutional revision by asking how can we deal with hypothetical foreign attacks under the present Constitution. But what they actually intend is to assist in U.S. preemptive wars that have nothing to do with Japan's "self-defense". The LDP government has been attacking Article 9 with such arguments while dispatching the SDF to the Indian Ocean in support of the retaliatory war against Afghanistan and to Samawah in Iraq to assist in the war there. They try to justify their arguments concerning the Constitution by using "self-defense " as the pretext, but what they are doing is supporting U.S. wars of aggression that have nothing to do with Japan's "self-defense". This is the argument used by the forces calling for the Constitution to be adversely revised.

The JCP has power to overcome such an argument.

Regarding these points, it is important to publicize the JCP policy and theory to defend all constitutional provisions.

I believe that the establishment of the "Article 9 Committee," which I mentioned earlier, is very significant. On July 15, in addition to the nine public figures, the names of those who support the Committee's aim were publicized. Support for the call of the "Article 9 Committee" is rapidly increasing. We must put greater efforts into this movement.

I have made these three points with regard to our policy for "remaking Japan". Keeping these points in mind, we will do our utmost to explain to the people that a drastic solution to various problems facing Japanese society is possible only through replacing the present political course. We need to make this effort as our day-to-day task.

## ***(2) Our World Outlook***

### *Great significance of the world outlook set out in the JCP Program*

The second point I want to talk about in relation to the Program is how to view the world situation.

The world in the early stages of the 21st century is undergoing a major change. Unable to recognize this change, the LDP still tries to view the changing world only through the U.S. prism. That is why the LDP is unable to have an independent strategy in its diplomacy. This weakness is fatal. This anomaly stands out in international politics.

The JCP Program's world outlook and its proposal for international tasks based on this outlook have great significance, particularly with regards to the present Japanese political situation.

In Japan, no political party except the JCP has a clear outlook on the world as it is. Most parties are little different from the LDP and the government in this respect. So it is of great significance that the JCP has a world outlook that can comprehend the 21st century world.

We think that there are three points.

First, the world is not a homogeneous community composed of just U.S. allies alone. It is made up of countries that take different positions on many issues. The combined population of countries supporting the Iraq War is 1.2 billion while countries opposing it have a total population of five billion. These figures show that peace-supporting forces are in the majority of the world.

This is a world which no superpower, however powerful it may be, can bring under its control. In analyzing the world situation, the JCP Program points out that imperialism's predominance in world affairs is a major part of history.

The second point is that the pursuance of a world order with rules for peace based on the U.N. Charter, namely a "world without war", is an important task in international politics today. This has been confirmed by upheavals taking place worldwide in the course of the Iraq War. It is very important as pointed out in the JCP Program to establish the coexistence of different cultures with different values.

The third point is that the JCP Program states clearly that the 21st century will be an era in which the crisis of capitalism as a socio-economic system will deepen, and presents an outlook that efforts will emerge in various forms in various parts of the world to seek a future society that overcomes capitalism and to advance toward such a society.

We announced the draft of the new JCP Program in June 2003, weeks after the United States proclaimed victory in the Iraq War. Although much has been said that "the United Nations is powerless" and U.S. hegemony is prevailing, the accurate outlook given by the JCP Program was confirmed by the ensuing developments concerning the Iraqi situation.

Let me go back to the Japanese situation. Neither of the two major parties is capable of holding a proper view or adopting a suitable

diplomatic strategy, revealing a serious weakness in their argument for the need to revise the Constitution.

Japan is a country in Asia, a region which, including the Middle East, has a very small number of countries that supported the U.S. preemptive war. Only Japan, South Korea, Turkey, and Israel maintain military alliances or quasi military alliances with the United States.

Given this reality, if Japan revises the Constitution to become more centered around its military alliance with the United States and has Japanese troops participate in U.S. preemptive wars, how can it find a place to live peacefully in Asia in the 21st century? Advocates of the revision of the Constitution are only considering the issue of the Constitution within the narrow framework of Japan-U.S. relations, without caring about actual consequences. Their approach will only endanger the course of Japan in the 21st century. It is also important in this respect to work with a clear world outlook.

*Two important points concerning world outlook*

In understanding the world outlook laid down in the JCP Program, there are two things I want you to look at with care.

*[Confirmed by JCP diplomacy as opposition party]*

First, analyses and proposals in the JCP Program are based not only on theory, but by the JCP's opposition party diplomacy in practice.

We visit various countries for discussion with government officials and maintain day-to-day contact with the foreign diplomatic corps in Tokyo. In the last several years, we have visited 20 countries and had talks with diplomatic corps of almost 100 countries in Tokyo.

These JCP activities are reflected in our world view and at the same time corroborate our diplomatic policy.

Koizumi's diplomacy has been one of uncritically following the U.S. war against Iraq. In contrast, the JCP, in an effort to prevent an Iraq war from breaking out, visited Iraq and urged them to accept U.N. weapons inspectors and agreed with many countries that war must not occur. Which is the more effective approach to the issue of peace in the world as well as in Japan, Koizumi's diplomatic policy or JCP policy? You already have the answer.

*[The significance of the unswerving struggle against the policy of hegemony still has relevance today]*

Second, the JCP's unswerving opposition to all forms of hegemony in the world still lives in its opposition party diplomacy expanding worldwide.

Even before the collapse of the Soviet Union, our struggle in defense of sovereign independence had a significant impact on the rest of the world. Afterwards, some European party officials commended our struggle against the Soviet Communist Party's great-power chauvinism and hegemony, stating that the JCP's fearless action was not within the reach of European standards.

Moreover, the fact that our position confronting the Soviet Union had emanated from an implementation of the principle of sovereign independence instead of from dependence on a foreign big power was a surprise to many in the world. The JCP firmly held fast to sovereign independence in its struggle against the interference by the Mao Zedong group of China and against the lawless attack by North Korea. All this is now a source of trust expressed by various countries in the JCP's opposition party diplomacy as "an authentic diplomacy".

For example, the JCP was relentless in its struggle against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. In discerning the JCP, many Islamic countries noticed the fact that the JCP stood firm against the Soviet invasion. This is the source of their trust and empathy with the JCP.

We normalized relations with the Communist Party of China in 1998. What deeply impressed me at the time was this: although most of the present members of the CPC leadership were persecuted by the Mao Zedong group, which started interference in the JCP during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and were not responsible for the interference, they made an in-depth review of the past interference and attacks the CPC carried out against the JCP. And they confirmed that the Chinese side had no justification for them and that it stood to reason that the JCP had opposed it. This is how they made clear that they would correct the past errors. This paved the way for our parties to normalize relations. In just six years since then, friendship and mutual visits have been developed in a constructive manner.

I want you to note that the struggle to defend sovereign independence is not just a history; it constitutes a firm basis for the JCP's ongoing diplomatic efforts.

One more point concerning this question. When the Communist Party of the Soviet Union dissolved, the JCP issued a statement welcoming it as an end of the "colossal historical evil" that had obstructed social progress in the world. It wasn't a bluff. In fact, when the Soviet Union existed, far reaching changes like the ones we are witnessing in the present-day world were blocked by a framework of U.S.-Soviet rivalry for hegemony.

Now that Soviet hegemony is gone, the United Nations, which was weakened in the era of U.S.-Soviet confrontation, is now regaining effectiveness in rendering support for the world order for peace. Furthermore, countries of Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America have begun to play independent roles. European countries, which are no longer bound by pressure from the United States forcing them to give NATO priority, are beginning to show independent attitudes. This confirms that in light of the present day world situation, it was appropriate for us to have viewed the demise of the Soviet Union as an end of "the colossal historical evil which hampered social progress and peace."

The world outlook put forward in the JCP Program is also relevant in this respect. Based on this, we would like to continue to work in the 21st century world as a political party with a multi-faceted perspective and effective diplomatic strategy.

### ***(3) New Attainment of the View on a Future Society***

The third point I'd like to make is on our view of a future society. The new JCP Program marks a milestone in the development of our view of a future society. It is important to digest the meaning of this achievement.

*In the 21st century, we cannot evade considering ways to build a new society*

We, as advocates of phased social development, believe that building a socialist/communist society is not an immediate task facing Japanese society. We define the present stage as "democratic change within the framework of capitalism" or the stage of a democratic revolution in our revolutionary theory. That's why we do not regard it as our duty to call on the people to support socialist transformation and become the majority.

However, the JCP does not see capitalist society as the ultimate form of human society. We maintain that in the long run, a society in a distant future will overcome capitalism. Here's the hallmark of the JCP.

As the JCP Program concretely points out, and as I wrote in a number



of articles on the 21st century, in the present-day world, world capitalism faces many deep contradictions which will inevitably pave the way for a future society. These contradictions include:

- A crisis of the global environment.
- The gap between rich and poor widening year after year nationally as well as internationally.
- The economy repeatedly visited by recessions and massive unemployment with no way-out .
- A large number of children as well as adults who are starving to death in the world's vast regions.

Numerous facts show that human society cannot find a hopeful future as long as the present profit-first principle persists. The enormous task is for the 21st century world to break with the profit-first principle and build a society in which "reason" prevails in the management of the economy and society.

The JCP Program's view of a future society represents the conclusion we've arrived at after extensive exploration. Therefore, the prospect it gives has an immediate bearing on contradictions and difficulties we face today in Japan and shows how these problems may be fundamentally solved. For instance, we explained that the JCP Program envisages the future society as a socialist/communist society in which the major objective is to achieve the full human development, and this attracted the attention of young people who are trying to solve problems in their quest for a life worth living.

As a party active in the present-day world, if we only address immediate issues without trying to have a perspective on a future society, we will lose the inherent enthusiasm for the cause for change and resign ourselves to the present conditions of capitalism.

In present-day Japan, the JCP is the only political party to have a perspective on a society that will come after capitalism. And it is such a party that can have a future in the true sense of the word in the 21st century.

Many have suggested that the JCP should change its party name. But the name "Nihon Kyosanto" (Japanese Communist Party) is derived from its outlook on a future society. The word "kyosan-shugi" comes from the English word "commune" which is "kyodotai" in Japanese. According to

the JCP Program and Constitution, our objective is to achieve an "association that in principle is free of all forms of coercion, a commune in which state power is unnecessary, a commune without exploitation of man by man, a commune free of oppression and war." Marx and Engels put it in different words: "We shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all" (*Communist Manifesto*). The name of the Japanese Communist Party stands for its quest for such kind of association, that is, a new society where humankind truly cooperates with each other free of armed conflicts or exploitation of man by man.

Please remember what I have just said when you look at our party name. I won't ask you to love it, but I would like you to comprehend its meaning.

*We have criticized the system of the former Soviet Union and overcome Lenin's error*

One of the big problems facing our view on a future society was that actions by the Soviet Union had undermined what scientific socialism intended. In the name of "socialism", the Soviet Union during and after the Stalin era, carried out aggression and interference while building up a repressive regime within the country, which had nothing in common with the cause of socialism.

Since the start of Soviet interference with the JCP in the 1960s, we carried out a relentless struggle against it, publicly making clear that aggression or interference in other countries have nothing in common with socialism. In this context, the JCP publicly welcomed the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 as an end of a historical "colossal" evil. The JCP was probably the world's only communist party to publish such a statement.

At the JCP 20th Congress in 1994, based on an extensive analysis of the former Soviet system, we concluded that in the Soviet Union not only policies but political, economic, and social systems during and after the Stalin era degenerated into a repressive society which had nothing in common with socialism.

The history of these struggles we waged against the Soviet Union stands out among the world's communist parties and provides the most powerful basis for rebuttal to anti-communist attacks, using the history of the Soviet Union as precedent to denigrate the JCP and its view on future society.

In revising the JCP Program at this time, we made an in-depth

examination of theoretical errors Lenin had brought into his view on future society while fully incorporating theoretical advances.

In carrying out an extensive study on future society and including its conclusion in the JCP Program, we tried to get back to the basics of Marx and Engels and link them with 21st century conditions. Although this kind of theoretical examination has no ending point, we are confident that our view for future society, which is reflected in the JCP Program based on an examination of the 20th century, will stand to the test in the new century in general terms.

*Guidelines effective for overcoming prejudices and misunderstandings*

Misunderstandings and biases against the JCP are the legacy of the severe anti-communism of the prewar days that persists even today. They are also linked to a layer of anti-communist attacks in the post-war period. Their trick has usually used foreign examples including those of the Soviet Union to argue that what the JCP envisages as a future society is like that.

The new JCP Program provides clear theoretical grounds to view points that will help overcome biases and misunderstandings. For example, regarding the question of the Soviet Union, the JCP Program defines that the socio-economic system of the Soviet Union was such a "repressive society that had nothing in common with socialism" and states that their mistakes must not be repeated. On the allegation that a "communist society will expropriate all personal properties", the JCP Program makes it clear that in socialism/communism "socialization only concerns the means of production" and that as far as subsistence is concerned, the right to private property will be protected throughout all stages of social development." I hope that you will carefully study on these points.

It's natural that questions people might have regarding a future society are connected to questions about the JCP. So resolving each one of such questions will be significant in increasing people's trust in the JCP and its activities. I would like to call on you to actively utilize the new viewpoints on a future society in our present struggles, instead of setting it aside simply because it is a future issue.

*Let us struggle with indomitable spirit for remaking Japan*

I have so far talked about the significance the new JCP Program has for our activities to develop a new political current concerning three issues.

What runs through the 82-year history of the JCP is the relentless efforts to stand firm against difficulties and overcome them in order to make progress.

The 21st century will be tumultuous at home and internationally. Our big task is to develop and increase a new current to hew out a new age of "people-first government."

The new JCP Program offers guidelines for our activities. In the JCP 23rd Congress last January, we made clear that it is a program envisaging a future society that will overcome capitalism while providing policies for immediate democratic change. This helps us "confront all the problems facing Japan and the world in the 21st century" (*Report on Revision of the Program of the Japanese Communist Party*).

Using this JCP Program as a guideline, we would like to make every effort to develop discussions with people of all walks of life regardless of whether they are politically affiliated or not, in order to create a national movement to establish a new politics.

We also would like to direct our attention to weaknesses we have in our party organizations and activities and try to overcome them. We will open the party to people of all age groups, putting emphasis on receiving as many young people as possible into the party, and strive to build a party organization with vitality that can pave the way for a JCP advance.

Putting up the slogan, "Where there are people seeking to solve their problems and hardships, there's the JCP", we will give full play to the role inherent in the JCP in defending people's pressing problems and realizing their immediate demands.

What I want to emphasize concerning these activities is the need to make efforts to let the public know what the JCP is and what the JCP is aiming for. Of course these efforts include the struggle to overcome all sorts of prejudices and misunderstandings as well as counter anti-communist attacks. In this area of party activities it is important to rely on the effort of the JCP itself at a time when mass media are refraining from reporting on the JCP. It is important to increase Akahata readership. But we also attach importance to party members' activities to explain the JCP to the public using their own words. We should do this not only during the election period but all the time as our day-to-day activities. I would like to call on local party organizations to do their utmost in this activity. The JCP head office will also try to reach out to as many localities as possible and explain the JCP to the public as part of our day-to-day activities.

Karl Marx once said, "Men make their own history." This is a well-known statement about history and the future of society and it also applies to the JCP's history and future. We are determined to make every effort to make our own history with an indomitable spirit for remaking Japan.

This is precisely how we in the future can make the best use of the achievements of our predecessors who strenuously supported the JCP and struggled for 82 years, during difficult times. It is also the way for us to fulfill our responsibility by continuing this history of resistance.

I want to call on all JCP members to do this and ask all those who encourage and support the JCP to continue to work with us. Thank you for your attention.

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# **Results of the House of Councilors election and the JCP's future task in national politics**

**SHII Kazuo**

Good evening to everyone in this hall and all those who are watching this assembly via the communication satellite broadcast. I am Shii Kazuo of the Japanese Communist Party. I want to thank you all for braving this summer heat to attend this assembly tonight.

My topic today is the "House of Councilors election results and the JCP's future task in national politics."

## **House of Councilors Election Results**

Let me begin with the results of the House of Councilors election. In waging the election campaign, we decided that we should first take a hard look at what we achieved in the 2003 House of Representatives general election so that we can steadily achieve a JCP advance by recovering its lost positions. We set a goal of securing five proportional representation seats and defending the seven incumbent seats in prefectural constituencies. To achieve this goal, we decided to try to obtain more than 6.1 million votes, or a 33 percent increase from the 2003 general election.

However, the JCP could secure only four proportional representation seats and lost all the seats we had held in prefectural constituencies. This is a very regrettable setback for the JCP. As a person responsible for the JCP's work on national politics, I am fully aware of my responsibility for the regrettable result.

At the same time, we are well aware of the weight of the 4.36 million votes cast for the JCP in the proportional representation election, 7.8 percent of the vote. Given the 4.58 million votes or 7.76 percent which we received in the 2003 general election, we fell short of our goal to recover the lost ground but we basically retained what we achieved in the last general election. This could not have been achieved if it had not been for those who voted for the JCP as well as supporters, JCP Supporters' Association members, and party members who braved the hot weather to work for a JCP advance. I want to express our deep gratitude to all of them.

Since the election, we have received many comments by phone, fax, and e-mail, including criticisms and suggestions for improving JCP activities. We have also received opinions from the JCP prefectural and local committee chairs as well as members who ran in the election.

In reviewing our election campaign, we will engage in close self-examination and analysis of our failure to secure five proportional representation seats and seriously listen to party members and non-party members before examining the election results in the 2nd Central Committee Plenum.

### **What did the JCP Offer in the Election?**

Many people who took part in the JCP campaign have sent us comments stating, "It was easy to publicly discuss JCP policies, and reactions to our proposals made us feel that support for the JCP was increasing. But the election results were different. Why?" I think it's natural for many to feel that way. Considering these comments, I'd like to look back on what we did in the election campaign.

Let me begin with issues and policies we put forward in the election campaign. On every burning issue we raised during the campaign, including pension 'reform', a consumption tax increase, employment, the dispatch of the Self-Defense Forces to Iraq, and an adverse revision of the Constitution, we tried to show voters our constructive policies as well as our criticism of the present state of national politics. While discussing these specific issues, we tried to inform the public about the JCP's proposal for "remaking Japan" by ending the political distortions -- "subservience to the United States" and "business circles playing the key role."

We believe that our election policies were in accord with the public interest. Shortly before the election, a group of students in 11 universities in Kyoto held a mock election in which voters were asked to vote for policies without party identification. In all areas of policies, including the pension system, problems related to young people, and political corruption, JCP policies received the highest rating. This is an example showing that our policies without doubt matched the people's aspirations.

While calling for support for JCP policies in the election, we criticized the Liberal Democratic Party and the Democratic Party of Japan, often referred to as the "two major parties", for lacking the willingness to fundamentally correct the political distortion and for competing for undemocratic policies, including pension "reform", a consumption tax

increase, and an adverse revision of Article 9 of the Constitution. We maintained that only a major JCP advance and a new people-first politics will help to improve Japan's politics.

We believe that the JCP policies we put forward in the election campaign were in accord with the interests of the people and that they will have a great significance in the future. I think that this accords with your feeling that calling for support for our policies was easy and that support for JCP policies was increasing.

I would like to express our determination to make persevering efforts in both the upcoming Diet session and the struggle throughout the country to realize the policies we called for in the election.

### **How Did the 'Two-Party' Craze Affect Election?**

Strongly affected by the argument that this is a vote to choose between "two major parties, LDP or DPJ," the call of the JCP fell short of influencing public opinion and achieving a JCP advance. In the JCP Standing Executive Committee statement on the election results, we stated as follows:

"The present trend geared to create a political system led by two major parties emerged full scale in the House of Representatives general election last year with the business sector as a strong supporter. With the aim of prolonging the life of the crisis-ridden LDP politics, this movement only stressed the need to choose a party that can assume power without addressing the root cause of political distortions. So from the outset, the JCP was deliberately excluded because it is not considered viable as a possible ruling party. This argument had a strong influence on voters in the House of Councilors election."

How did the craze for "two major parties" affect the House of Councilors election? I want to make a couple of points that I think are important in assessing the election results.

#### ***Voters critical of LDP massively turned to DPJ***

First, the House of Councilors election took place at a time when public criticism of the LDP was increasing and its support base was crumbling. Voters' criticism of the LDP and strong calls for political change formed a torrent. Under a so-called "contest between two major parties," however, this became a boost for the DPJ. I think this is the main feature of the



recent election.

Compare changes in voting strength in the proportional constituencies between political parties and you will find that the LDP is the only party among the five major parties to have suffered a major setback in percentage of votes from the 2003 House of Representatives election. It was a loss of 4.93 percentage points. The number of votes cast for the LDP decreased by 3.86 million. This shows how great the loss of people's confidence in the LDP is over the issues of adverse pension reform and the decision to have the Self-Defense Forces take part in the multinational force in Iraq, as well as how deep the LDP's crisis is! This is a feature that distinguishes the 2004 House of Councilors election from the 2003 House of Representatives general election in which both the LDP and the DPJ increased votes cast for them as expressed in percentage and the number of seats they obtained in a "contest for political power".

All this shows that voters are increasingly fed up with the LDP and are groping for a way toward a new politics. This tendency accords with our direction.

Many who took part in the JCP campaign commented that they found overall voter reactions better than in the 2003 general election. I think this new feature of the election campaign reflects a turmoil caused by a major decline in the LDP vote base.

### ***Manipulation to leave JCP out of voters' choice***

Second, the campaign calling for an era of "two major parties" proved to be effective in preventing the turmoil from inducing voters to switch to the JCP. The main aim of this campaign was to exclude the JCP from voters' options on the grounds that it is not a viable alternative to the present ruling party. This is confirmed by many of those who took part in the JCP campaign. They said that they heard voters complain that the JCP is too small although it makes a sense on the issues. Voters recognize that the JCP has good judgment but have second thoughts about voting for it.

The movement to force the JCP out of voters' options gathered momentum in the last stages of the campaign in which the mass media began to report their projections.

In retrospect, support for JCP policies certainly increased and won many new supporters in this election.

At the same time, however, many people who previously supported the

JCP changed their minds and cast their votes for the DPJ because they were very angry about the LDP and wanted a quick political change.

***Voters who switched to DPJ***

What made so many voters decide to vote for the DPJ instead of the JCP? I assume there are various reasons. Many comments sent to the JCP head office by phone, mail, or e-mail seem to suggest something. Let me read one. The sender is a woman.

"I have supported the JCP for 25 years. But this time my daughter and I voted for the DPJ because we very much wanted the LDP to go bust. I suspect that many people might have acted as we did this time. Although I am not a JCP member, I believe that the JCP is the most trustworthy party and cares for the people most. I have high hopes for the JCP."

My impression is that many of those who shifted support from the JCP to the DSP in this election did so not because they were fed up with the JCP. Equally, these people cast votes for the DSP not because they are in full agreement with DSP policies. Various opinion polls show that nearly 70 percent of voters voted for the DSP to express their criticism of the LDP.

We must face the fact that even former JCP supporters were influenced by the campaign calling for an era of "two major parties" into switching to the DSP.

***We must examine our own efforts instead of blaming the objective difficulty for the results***

The recent election has made us realize that the new structure forcing voters to give up the JCP to choose between the "two major parties" is very powerful and deep-rooted. Although we did our best with many supporters, we could not turn the tide to recover the lost ground due to these complicated and difficult conditions of the election campaign.

Of course, we are not justifying the unfortunate election results by stating that it was unavoidable because of the difficult political conditions. We set the goal of achieving five proportional representation seats as a realizable one depending on our efforts. So it is not reasonable to attribute the failure to attain the goal to difficulties arising from objective conditions. As I said earlier, the JCP Central Committee will examine its own activity and carry out an in-depth analysis of problems so that we can learn lessons for our future struggles.

## **National Struggle against Consumption Tax Increase and an Adverse Constitutional Revision**

Next, I'd like to talk about our future efforts to confront this adversity.

The movement to establish a "two-party system" is a major project led by business circles, the aim being to extend the life of the crisis-ridden LDP politics. It is not a transient move. It will be staged on a larger scale in preparation for future national elections, including the next House of Representatives general election. The task now is for the JCP to be determined to face the great challenge to do all it can to promote a new people-first politics.

To achieve a JCP advance in future national elections, I'd like to propose carrying out routinely, consistently, and systematically the following tasks.

### ***FY 2007 can be a milestone: a tax increase and constitutional revision***

Firstly, we will put up a struggle together with people to defend living conditions and peace in opposition to the two major goals pursued by the "two major parties", i.e., a consumption tax increase and an adverse revision of Article 9 of the Constitution. I would particularly like to draw your attention to FY 2007 because it will be an important turning point in the struggle over these two issues.

In their "Outline of Tax Reform" the Liberal Democratic and Komei parties state that they will "achieve" a consumption tax increase in FY 2007. The DPJ's "pension reform" bill includes a consumption tax increase which will come into effect in FY 2007. It is also serious that Prime Minister Koizumi used a news conference during the election campaign to state, "We'd like to promptly begin discussing the timing and the rate of the tax increase with opposition parties." This means that the LDP, Komei, and the DPJ anticipate a consumption tax increase in 2007. We must be well aware of the imminent danger that a consumption tax increase could take effect in FY 2007.

Regarding an adverse revision of Article 9 of the Constitution, the LDP says it will publish its own bill on constitutional revision by 2005. Apparently in competition with the LDP, the DPJ also seeks to release its own bill to revise the Constitution by 2006. Nakayama Taro, chairman of the House of Representatives Research Commission of the Constitution, recently stated in a magazine, "The Constitution will be revised in FY

2007." For the first time since the end of World War II, the danger of constitutional revision is becoming imminent.

***People did not give the 'two major parties' carte blanche***

After the House of Councilors election, leaders of the LDP, Komei, and DPJ began calling in chorus for a tax increase and constitutional revision. The acting secretary-general of the LDP said, "It is necessary to curb the human inclination to demand that pension benefits be paid and to be reluctant to pay the consumption tax." The DPJ president said, "The Constitution should be revised so that the SDF can participate in U.N. multinational forces," thus making the call for constitutional revision even louder.

However, I'd like to emphasize here that in the latest House of Councilors election the voters did not give the "two major parties" carte blanche to carry out a tax increase or constitutional revision.

It is true that the LDP, Komei, the DPJ in the election called for a tax increase and constitutional revision, but these political parties or their candidates did not call for support for these promises as their main campaign issues. They didn't state a "vote for the DPJ in support of a tax hike"; they didn't state a "vote for the LDP in support of constitutional revision".

The official election bulletin is an important document that carries campaign statements of political parties. In the bulletin for the proportional representation election, the LDP, Komei, and the DPJ all stopped short of mentioning a tax increase or constitutional revision. In election bulletins for prefectural constituencies, out of 68 elected-candidates of the LDP, Komei, and DPJ, only one candidate touched on the consumption tax, and only six candidates touched on constitutional revision. Pre-election opinion polls showed that 60 percent of people were in opposition to a tax increase and constitutional revision. So, if there are people who regard the election results as reflecting public confidence in the proposal for a tax increase and constitutional revision, they are just misreading people's wishes.

***True colors of 'two major parties' will be exposed through people's political experience***

If they are to push through the two serious questions - tax increase and constitutional revision in disregard of the public will - they will face major contradictions and political upheavals. The outcome hinges on our future efforts. I'd like to express the JCP's firm determination to cooperate with a

wide range of people in both national politics and grassroots activities and make every effort to foil the scheme to adversely revise the Constitution or increase the consumption tax.

The "Article 9 Committee" was recently established by nine public figures. This shows that a movement is developing to defend Article 9 of the Constitution and make use of it in our daily lives irrespective of differences in political persuasion. This development is very significant. The JCP promises to do all it can to develop common action with a broad range of people in opposition to adverse constitutional revision by putting aside minor political differences.

An increase in the consumption tax and constitutional revision are two major issues that will have an important bearing on the future course of national politics. If we develop this movement in every corner of the country, the true aim of the call for a "two party system" will become clear to everyone through their everyday lived political experience.

### **Let's Increase Efforts to Make the New JCP Program and Its Policy for 'Remaking Japan' Policy Known to the Public**

The second point is that we will begin anew to carry out systematic activities to let the public know about the new JCP Program and its policy for "remaking Japan",

### ***Compelling the public to accept undemocratic policies by arguing that 'this is the only viable alternative'***

Let's take a look at what the "two major parties" are doing. In pushing ahead with policies that would undermine people's living conditions and destroy peace, they argue that "there is no other way to solve the problem" or that "this is the option to take, though reluctantly." This is their political campaign to force the public to accept their undemocratic policies.

In pension reform debates, the ruling parties and the opposition Democratic Party always argue that in an aging society, it is inevitable for the public to be asked to increase their share of burden and accept cuts in benefits under any plan by any party.

The same is true of their call for a consumption tax increase. Their logic is that there is no other way to secure stable funds for welfare and that the consumption tax has to be increased, however hard it may be.

They also try to justify their call for Article 9 of the Constitution to be revised by arguing, "How is it possible for Japan to be reluctant to defend the United States while they are fighting to defend Japan?" This is an argument that puts the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty above everything else.

This is how they are trying to force the public into believing that "the realistic way to solve problems is only within the old framework in which Japan is supposed to act as dictated by the United States while continuing to regard the business sector as the key player. This is how they are driving the public into accepting undemocratic policies that worsen living conditions and destroy peace in Japan. This is their way to establish a "two party system".

***Let the public know that there is a genuine way to remake Japan***

In order to stop this attempt, we must criticize their undemocratic policies. But we need to do more than just criticize them. It is necessary to let the public know that the JCP has an alternative for remaking Japan.

In the House of Councilors election campaign, we stressed that if the distorted policy for expenditure and tax collection benefiting the business sector is corrected, we can establish social services without increasing the consumption tax rate.

We also called for an end to the present policy giving the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty the highest priority, because this is necessary for building a peaceful Japan guided by the Constitution.

Let's increase these efforts by making use of the new JCP Program which presents the JCP's plan for remaking Japan to remove hardships the Japanese people are experiencing. Let's work harder to have our appeal shared by the public. We will make every effort to gather all party wisdom and strength to this end.

**We will Change the Situation on Our Own through Increasing Grassroots Power**

Our third task is to increase our efforts to pave the way for a new political situation through further increasing our grassroots power.

***Great significance of waging a campaign while increasing Akahata readership***

Learning lessons from the 2003 House of Representatives general election, we at the party congress in January decided to wage future election campaigns through increasing JCP ranks. In fact, we increased the Akahata readership for five months in a row up to the election for the first time in many years. Many prefectural committee and district committee chairs have reported that this effort helped increase party members' vitality and strengthened their confidence. They also said this effort contributed to sustaining the difficult electoral struggle.

The achievement made during these five months by party members and JCP Supporters' Association members is very valuable. This effort has turned out to be essential for maintaining the JCP's previous vote-getting strength, although we were not able to recover the lost ground under the very difficult political conditions.

I want to take this occasion to express sincere respect for all party members and JCP Supporters' Association members for their constant effort to increase party membership and Akahata readership.

***Devote all our energies to strengthening the JCP both in quantity and in quality***

But remember that this effort has just begun. We need to consider a couple of questions:

- How can we maintain the upward trend in the membership and Akahata readership?
- How can we successfully recruit more young people who played an important role in support of the JCP in the recent election?
- How can we establish a party life in which all JCP members will learn the new JCP Program and take part in party activities by making use of their strong points?

These are big challenges that require further exploration.

We want to resolve for ourselves any problems that may arise from future tumultuous political developments. We want to build a strong and large party capable of accomplishing that job. We are determined to devote all our energy to this work. I would like to ask for your cooperation in this effort.

## **Use power of Science and Indomitableness that Runs through the 82 Years of the JCP**

We are here today to celebrate the 82nd anniversary of the JCP. Let's think of what runs through the 82-year history of the JCP. I am talking about the power of science our party has for looking through the future and establishing policies in the interests of the people, as well as resilience that enables us to face up to any difficulty.

In the dark period that continued till the end of World War II, our predecessors were bent on facing up to any persecution with the power of indomitableness. This was how they left behind the achievement of the only party that firmly opposed the war of aggression and championed the principle that people are sovereign.

The name of the Japanese Communist Party represents the future society which it envisages. It is the symbol of the bitter struggles of our predecessors for peace and democracy.

We will keep on confronting the present upheaval by holding high the party name and doing our best to achieve a JCP advance in the next national election.

Finally, I want to ask for your cooperation with and support for the JCP. Thank you for your attention.

( E n d )