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## **JAPANESE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE 5TH PLENUM**

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# On Japanese Communist Party Central Committee 5th Plenum

December 3, 2002

## *Japanese Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat*

The Japanese Communist Party Central Committee held its 5th Plenum on December 3 at the JCP head office in Tokyo.

JCP Chair SHII Kazuo gave the report on behalf of the Executive Committee. Based on the decisions of the JCP Congress and Central Committee meetings, the report set forth important points concerning the immediate political tasks and a strategy for JCP activities to secure its victory in the next elections.

Regarding international questions and the JCP's opposition party diplomacy, Chair Shii explained the view on the situation and the present tasks relating to Iraq. He also spoke about the basic position the Japanese government should maintain in future negotiations with North Korea and explained the basis of the multifarious development of the JCP's opposition party diplomacy.

On the issue of livelihoods and the Japanese economy, Chair Shii stressed that the "Koizumi reform" is failing and that the JCP's "4-point emergency proposal" is attracting public attention. He stated that the struggle against the government's fallacious economic policy of speeding up the disposal of bad loans held by major banks is a struggle to defend Japan's economic sovereignty.

Regarding the new situation in which many parties have no political strategy to publicize or an organizational basis to rely on, Shii said that the task now is to let the public know more about the important role of the JCP which squarely lives up to what a political party should be all about. Referring to a new current which has recently become widespread in local politics, Shii analyzed the cause of these changes and called for cooperation to be further developed between politically unaffiliated people and the JCP, and for the JCP to maintain its principled position with flexibility as well as bold approaches.

Concerning improvement of JCP activities aimed at its electoral victory, Shii stressed the following items as important: The initiative of JCP bodies to carry out election campaigns, the need to defeat anti-communist attacks by the Komei Party and Soka Gakkai, the task of campaigning with *Akahata* readers as allies by calling on people to join the JCP and to read *Akahata*, and carrying out the "dialogue and questionnaire" drive with *Akahata* readers, as well as carrying out election campaigns with residents as our allies, by setting much store by JCP supporters' organizations.

Shii concluded the Executive Committee report by pointing out the need to unify the tasks for the House of Representatives general election and the simultaneous local elections so we can be well prepared for the possible dissolution of the House of Representatives and achieve a victory in both the simultaneous local elections and the House of Representatives general election.

Eighteen members spoke in the discussion.

The Plenum added MORIHARA Kimitoshi, alternate CC member, to the Executive Committee.

Chair Shii on behalf of the Executive Committee gave the concluding remarks. Summing up the discussion, he said, "Although this has been a one-day session, it has been full of determination to make further JCP advances." Referring to comments from JCP members who followed the CC Plenum via the communication satellite broadcast, he called on every JCP member to learn more about the increasing valuable role of the JCP, take pride in it and discuss it more. He said that one of the features of this CC plenum was an exchange of experiences regarding the new currents in local politics and expounded on common action with politically unaffiliated people. On the preparedness for the coming elections, Shii reiterated the importance of paying special attention to increasing our candidates' voting strength. Finally, he stated that the whole party should be confident that any anti-communist attacks can be repelled and called for an effort to defeat all such attacks on a national scale.

The Plenum unanimously approved the Executive Committee Report and the concluding remarks.

The Executive Committee which met before the CC Plenum relieved SAWAMURA Akihiro and TAKEMOTO Keiko of the Central Organ Paper Editors' Commission.

# **Executive Committee Report to Central Committee 5th Plenum**

**SHII Kazuo**  
**JCP Executive Committee Chair**

Good morning everyone. I also would like to extend my greetings to all those who are watching this Central Committee meeting via THE communication satellite broadcast.

On behalf of the Executive Committee, I will make the report to the Central Committee 5th Plenum.

The simultaneous local elections will be held in four months' time. Political developments are now closely related to the possible dissolution of the House of Representatives for a general election. Our activities at this moment is very crucial for a JCP victory and advance in the coming political battles.

Since the last CC Plenum, we have worked hard to put into practice the decisions of the 22nd Congress, the 3rd CC Plenum, the 4th CC Plenum, and what we confirmed at the National Meeting of JCP Local Assembly Members. Building on these decisions, this report will focus on the immediate political tasks and increasing party activities to achieve victory in the coming elections.

## **I. International Questions and JCP's Opposition Party Diplomacy**

### **(1) Iraq question must be resolved peacefully within the U.N. framework**

How should the Iraq question be solved? This is a question that has an important bearing on world peace in the 21st century.

#### ***Resolution 1441 offers a new opening and 'power of reason'***

A head-on confrontation between two major forces is what the present-day world is about. There is the brazen force of U.S. unilateralism seeking hegemony in disregard of international law. It's the greatest threat to the peace. But, as it becomes more tyrannical, a "power of reason" that seeks to defend the peace of the world governed by the U.N. Charter is increasing, which in the long run is isolating the autocratic U.S. attitudes. This is what we are witnessing today.

Let me begin with the Iraq question. On October 8, the U.N. Security Council voted unanimously to require Iraq to accept inspectors of weapons of mass destruction without condition. Resolution 1441 was accepted by Iraq, paving the way for the resumption of U.N. weapons inspections.

It's important to note that, contrary to the initial attempt made by the United States, the resolution stated that any violation by Iraq of the terms of the resolution will be reported to the U.N. Security Council, which will then consider and decide on the appropriate measures to take against Iraq's violations. This means that the problem will be solved within the U.N. framework and that the United States' automatic use of force has been excluded. This is clear from what was discussed at the UNSC meeting. It is particularly significant that in an unusual move, three of the Perm-Five, France, Russia, and China, issued a joint declaration confirming that Resolution 1441 excludes any "automaticity" in the use of force.

This represents the "power of reason" with a strong desire of the world's people for a peaceful resolution. The role non-aligned countries are playing is important along with mass movements that have held peace rallies in many parts of the world. It was non-aligned countries that pushed the UNSC into holding an open discussion. I'm referring to a letter South Africa, the chair of the Non-aligned Summit, sent to the UNSC chair requesting that the council hold a public discussion. At the UNSC open discussion on October 16 and 17, most U.N. members made their views public, making it clear that the world's overwhelming majority want a peaceful resolution within the U.N. framework.

Also, the League of Arab States, which consists of non-aligned countries, has expressed its "categorical rejection of attacking Iraq" and actively urged Iraq to accept weapons inspections.

The Japanese Communist Party has used its diplomatic efforts to consistently help avoid a war and pave the way for a peaceful resolution. We reached agreements with Chinese and Vietnamese leaders on the need to "oppose an attack on Iraq." A JCP delegation visited six Middle Eastern countries as part of the effort. These are significant activities that will have the JCP join forces with the "power of reason" representing the world's majority and help promote it.

***Quicken the effort to achieve a peaceful resolution in the face of the real danger of war***

UNSC Resolution 1441 can pave the way for a peaceful resolution within the U.N. framework. It's no more than a possibility. We must be aware that the "unlawful power" that poses the danger of a war is still real. Even after the UNSC resolution was adopted, the U.S. government, repeatedly declaring that it won't hesitate to carry out military attacks on Iraq even without a U.N. decision, is making preparations for a war. What underlies these moves is the preemptive attack strategy which the Bush administration has publicly declared in the Defense Report in August and the National Security Strategy report in September.

The Japanese Communist Party would like to take this opportunity to appeal in the name of the JCP Central Committee Plenum for rapidly increasing the struggle to oppose attacks on Iraq and call for a peaceful resolution. We demand that the United States abandon its plan for unilateral military attacks. Also, we demand that Iraq comply with the UNSC resolution without condition. We will work to continue to use our influence in the international community in order to condemn any violation of the UNSC resolution by either side, defend the U.N. Charter, and achieve a peaceful resolution within the U.N. framework.

The JCP also demands that the Japanese government and governing parties do the following:

- (1) Declare Japan's opposition to U.S. military attacks on Iraq;
- (2) Refuse to cooperate in illegitimate war in any form;
- (3) Stop dispatching Japan's troops in support of U.S. forces, including the deployment of an Aegis-equipped destroyer to the Indian Ocean, because that will amount to assisting in U.S. attacks on Iraq; and
- (4) Scrap the three contingency bills that will pave the way for Japan's participation in unlawful U.S. wars.

## **(2) On Japan-North Korea question -- Basic position of the JCP on bilateral negotiations**

### *Pioneering role the JCP has played on Japan-North Korea issue*

Recently, considerable progress has been made concerning Japan-North Korea relations. On September 17, the Japanese prime minister and the North Korean leader met for a summit and agreed to resume negotiations aimed at normalizing relations between the two countries. The JCP showed its "strong support" for the prime minister's decision to reopen the normalization talks. The JCP's pioneering role in making progress on the question of Japan-North Korea relations have helped bring about the prime minister's decision.

In January and November 1999 in parliament, FUWA Tetsuzo, JCP Executive Committee chair at the time, called for negotiating channels to be established between Japan and North Korea with the aim of ending the cycle of military-first responses between the two countries and promoting the solution of pending issues. His proposal influenced the government's diplomacy leading to the recent summit meeting.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the JCP was more critical than any other party of North Korea's extraordinary and unlawful international activities. It was from this position that the JCP has been playing a pioneering and continuous role in unraveling the issue of the abductions. Also, the JCP has insisted that the question of abductions and other pending issues between the two countries can only be solved when a diplomatic channel is opened and they are comprehensively dealt with as agenda items at the negotiating table.

The Japan-North Korea normalization talks have started. But there have arisen difficulties and obstacles in the course of negotiations. Considering that the Japan-North Korea talks are under way, the JCP is exercising restraint in commenting on the Japanese government's individual judgments and decisions. The JCP is not directly engaged in the negotiations with North Korea, and its access to information concerning the talks is limited. So it would be inappropriate for us to base our analysis on partial information.

***Looking at the issues with the intention of achieving Northeast Asia's peace and stability***

In this regard, I would like to make three points which we consider important as the position the Japanese government should maintain in its future talks with North Korea.

The first point is that securing peace and stability in Northeast Asia is essential for Japan's peace and security. This is a desire shared by all the people of Asia as well as the rest of the world. It is of great importance in helping to end the situation in which no diplomatic relations exist between Japan and North Korea by replacing the adversity by friendship between the two countries. This is precisely what the two countries confirmed in their Pyongyang Declaration: "Both sides confirm that they will cooperate with each other in order to maintain and strengthen the peace and stability of Northeast Asia."

Making efforts to normalize relations is by no means charity. This is for the mutual benefit of both countries and for the benefit of East Asia and the rest of the world. The JCP calls on the Japanese government to be aware of this point and maintain the broadened perspective in negotiations with North Korea.

***All pending issues should be solved comprehensively through negotiations***

The second point is that the government should maintain a policy of dealing with all pending issues in the talks and discuss them in good faith. We are aware that the abductions by North Koreans of Japanese citizens are a heartbreaking issue for many Japanese people, and that its solution of course is very important. Still, it is important to comprehensively deal with all the pending issues, such as the nuclear development program and other security issues, the settlement of historical issues, including Japan's colonization of Korea. These are also the points agreed upon by the two governments. They represent the spirit of the Pyongyang Declaration.

***A country responsible for lawless acts must act now based on reason and rationality***

Thirdly, all the more because Japan knows that North Korea has internationally committed many illegal acts, it must maintain its engagement with North Korea based on reason and rationality. Also, we need to take into account that North Korea in the Sep. 17 summit talks admitted to abducting Japanese nationals and apologized for the crime.

The need now is for North Korea to settle every unlawful activity it has committed throughout the world and to fully join the international community. For this, Japan must keep calm and reasonable to the end. This is what the international community desires.

Japan and North Korea have just begun discussions. We strongly hope that the Japanese and North Korean governments will maintain reason and keep calm in making efforts to resolve the pending issues by keeping the talks going in order to normalize relations between the two countries.

### **(3) On policy and strategy for developing JCP's opposition-party diplomacy**

The JCP's opposition-party diplomacy has recently broken new ground. Since the 4th CC Plenum in June 2002, the JCP has produced considerable results in many ways. We sent letters to the governments of India and Pakistan (regarding the question of nuclear weapons); CC Chair FUWA Tetsuzo visited China in August; A JCP delegation led by Vice Executive Committee Chair UEDA Koichiro visited Cuba in October; a JCP delegation led by International Bureau Director OGATA Yasuo visited Middle East countries; and Ogata led a delegation to the international conference of Asian political parties held in Thailand in October and visited Laos.

The JCP has developed its opposition-party diplomacy based on the following policy and strategy.

#### ***Sovereign independence tested by history is at the base***

First, what underlies this development is the JCP's position of sovereign independence which has been tempered and tested through its struggles against foreign forces seeking hegemony, the former Soviet Union and China's Mao Zedong group. Sovereign independence is the position we have maintained in carrying out the recent series of international activities.

In his recent visit to China, Fuwa exchanged views with Communist Party of China leaders on a variety of issues. Guided by the principle of non-interference in each other's internal affairs, both sides expressed frank views on international issues from the position of sovereign independence.

During its tour of Middle Eastern countries, when the JCP delegation met with Iraqi officials, it not only expressed its opposition to U.S. attacks on Iraq but demanded that Iraq accept U.N. weapons inspectors without condition. On that occasion the JCP delegation also stated a view critical of Iraq's government for its past attitudes toward weapons inspections. This is another example that shows that the JCP's sovereign independence has made it possible for the JCP to repel lawless outside attacks on the JCP and continues to be our guiding principle.

What's happening in Japan-North Korea relations also shows that our position of sovereign independence has proven effective in the JCP's severe criticism of North Korea's brutal acts of international criminality and attacks on the JCP.

#### ***JCP 21st Congress Resolution putting emphasis on Asia diplomacy was an important decision guiding us today***

Secondly, the JCP 21st Congress in 1997 set out a strategy that places greater importance on Japan's relations with other Asian countries, an important decision that proves valid today.

The decision was first put into practice in 1998 when the JCP normalized its relations with the Communist Party of China and a JCP-CPC summit meeting was held 32 years after relations were severed. In 1999, a JCP delegation toured Southeast Asian countries. These activities were followed in 1999 by the



publication of a series of JCP proposals concerning efforts to improve Japan-North Korea relations in the interests of peace in Northeast Asia.

***A path leading to open-minded exchanges and cooperation beyond the framework of our relations with foreign communist parties***

Thirdly, at the 4th Central Committee Plenum (21st Congress) in 1999, we adopted a new strategy to develop relations with various foreign political parties and governments. This was a decision that helped to dramatically widen the scope of JCP diplomatic activities.

This new strategy allowed the JCP to remove the framework that confined the JCP's international relations mainly to exchanges with other communist parties. We decided that the JCP should establish relations, have open-minded discussions, and cooperate wherever possible with any foreign party, progressive and conservative alike, whether governing and in opposition, based on the three principles governing bilateral relations - sovereign independence, equal rights and non-interference in each other's internal affair.

The first application of this new JCP strategy was in a JCP delegation's visit to Southeast countries. JCP activities based on this strategy are increasing. The JCP's recent tour of Middle Eastern countries and participation in the international conference of Asian political parties were made possible by this new strategy. In our recent international exchanges, we even discussed with governments of countries in which communist parties are illegal. This can pave the way for the JCP's cooperation with these parties on agreed points.

***JCP's position is backed by the world axiom***

Fourthly, the JCP through these international exchanges has attached importance to the need to honor the world axiom. This axiom includes making efforts to establish an international peace based on the U.N. Charter, abolish nuclear weapons as an urgent task, and establish a new international economic order based on national economic sovereignty, equality, and equity.

The JCP's recent experience with opposition-party diplomacy shows that the JCP can share this position with many of the world's governments and political parties regardless of political position or world outlook.

The recent development of the JCP's opposition-party diplomacy is a product of the JCP's firm political line and strategy. It is for the world and the future. We will continue to do our utmost to further develop the JCP's diplomatic activities based on sovereign independence, for the cause of peace and social progress in Asia and the rest of the world.

**II. Livelihoods and Economy -- Four Immediate Demands and the Struggle to Defend Japan's Economic Sovereignty**

I now report on people's livelihoods and the nation's economy.

## **(1) The failure of 'Koizumi reform' is absolute**

The crisis of livelihoods and the nation's economy has grown sharper under the prolonged economic recession that began in the 1990s. But LDP politics is completely incapable of steering the Japanese economy. The Koizumi government promised to overcome the crisis, but it is now enmeshed in an irrecoverable failure.

***'No economic recovery without structural reform' is proven to be an empty slogan***

First of all, the slogan that there can be no economic recovery without structural reform has been proven to be inviable. Everyone now knows that the slogan was an empty promise and that it only helps to accelerate the economic downturn. The scheme of quickly disposing banks' bad loans' was a top priority in the "structural reform", but it has created a vicious circle of more business failures and job losses, the exacerbating recession, and an enlarged reproduction of non-performing loans. This policy not only forces those firms classified as bad borrowers out of business, it instigates an assault on small- and medium-sized businesses through increasing lending rates and aggressive collection of the loans. This is how the Japanese economy has been shaken from its foundations.

The government is forcing the people to endure an extra burden of three trillion yen (24 billion dollars) for the cost of social services. Four members of the governmental Council on Economy and Fiscal Policy who are from the private sector recently published their calculation showing the adverse effects the increase in the public burden of social services will have on the economy. This shows that no one can deny the destructive effects such an increase in the public burden will have.

The Koizumi government's so-called "structural reform" has been the policy of ruining Japan by undermining the two elements serving as the foundations of the nation's economy: personal consumption and small- and medium-sized businesses.

***Inconsistency of cutting demand while creating wasteful 'demand'***

Secondly, the government and the ruling parties, without making any examination of the past failures, are returning to past ploy of adding more public works projects without regard for the seriously worsening economy. At a time when the rumor that a supplementary budget of up to five-trillion yen (40 billion dollars) may be compiled spreads, mega-development plans counting on tax money are being promoted, including the Phase 2 construction of the Kansai International Airport and the construction of the Chubu International Airport. I don't think the prime minister has forgotten that he once rejected additional funding for more public works projects because it is not effective in boosting the economy.

The government is in a state of sheer confusion and at a loss as it follows a policy of cutting demand in the name of "structural reform" while at the same time adopting the policy of developing the wrong demand which has proven to be a failure.

Under the LDP government, people's livelihoods, as well as the economy, national budget, and finances, will be destroyed. The crisis and failure has reached that extent.

## **(2) Develop national campaign to achieve Four Immediate Demands to meet the Japanese people's common needs**

The JCP has published "Four Immediate Demands": Stop the plan to shift a larger burden of social services onto the people; no tax increases; change away from the policy of scrapping small- and medium-sized businesses; and job creation and improved support measures for the unemployed. These are the minimum steps that the people need to defend their living from the deepening economic crisis. They also contain demands for a drastic change in the government's economic policy in opposition to the Koizumi government's "structural reform". The thread that runs through these immediate demands is the effort to assist the people's livelihoods. The underlying ideas of the JCP proposal are that recovery of demand must be sought by the government by helping the people's livelihoods and that economic reconstruction of the Japanese economy must be achieved.

### ***Increased social services burden caused drastic changes in medical associations***

It's important to note that these "immediate demands" are being shared by broader sections of the people who are distressed by difficulties in both day-to-day living and in business. The JCP has visited many organizations and explained the "immediate demands" to them with a view to developing discussions and common actions to achieve the common demands. These activities have helped the JCP to increase cooperation with a wide spectrum of organizations, including those that have part of historically been the LDP voter base.

One notable example is a change in the Japan Medical Association over the government plan to shift a greater burden for social services onto the people. In the report to the extraordinary general assembly of the Japan Medical Association in October, TSUBOI Eitaka, JMA president, criticized the enactment of the bill that will force the people to pay more. He said: "It is outrageous and unacceptable. We will continue to oppose increases in the public burden for medical costs. It would not be an exaggeration to say that a government that slashes medical budgets to make up for shortfalls caused by a failed economic policy and puts price tags on human lives does not qualify as a government of a modern welfare state." After the enactment of the bill, many local Medical Associations and Dental Associations adopted resolutions demanding that the law be revoked.

### ***Tax increase plan is opposed by 4 small business organizations***

Another notable development is the growing movement of angry small business organizations against the government plan to increase taxes on working people and small- and medium-sized businesses. In November, four major organizations representing Japan's small- and medium-sized businesses (\*) held a rally and adopted a four-point resolution that included opposition to the introduction of a size-based tax and opposition to the planned review of the consumption tax limit, and opposition to the abolition of the simplified collection of the consumption tax.

The number of collected signatures in opposition to the proposed tax increase plan reached 4.78 million. The slogan "No tax increase" in big letters is attracting shoppers in many parts of the country. Under these circumstances, the JCP is developing regional cooperation in a variety of forms with local chambers of commerce.

*(\*)The Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry; the Central Federation of Societies of Commerce and Industry; the National Federation of Small Business Associations; and the All Japan Federation of Shopping District Development Associations.*

### ***'Speed-up of disposal of bad loans' means burying small businesses alive***

The president of the Fukushima Chamber of Commerce in his parliamentary testimony and his remarks on a TV discussion program were very critical of the government's policy of pressing banks to quickly dispose of their bad loans. He said, "It will bury alive small- and medium-sized businesses." This criticism is arising from various regional business circles throughout the country.

A movement is increasing throughout Japan to protect regional financial services from the Financial Services Agency-led drive to bust regional banks called "shinkin" banks (credit associations) and "shinso" (credit unions). The movement, which involves local business organizations, trade unions, and local governments, has produced some results. The Financial Services Agency has been obliged to produce a manual for financial inspections of small- and medium-sized businesses different from the one used for major banks. Taking into account the struggle developing all over the country, the JCP has proposed a law to help revitalize regional financial services. The measures we are proposing in it are applicable to local ordinances. The task now is to develop the struggle at the grassroots level to defend local financial services against the government agency's arbitrary action.

### ***Struggle against forced overtime work without pay achieved noteworthy results***

Noteworthy progress has been made in the recent effort to eliminate forced overtime work without pay. This effort has important implications for jobs for and assistance to the unemployed. The persevering mass struggle, coupled with JCP efforts in parliament, forced the Health, Labor and Welfare Ministry in April 2001 to issue a circular instructing prefectural labor bureaus to work to eliminate unpaid overtime work. It was followed by special inspections by labor standards inspection offices throughout Japan. In Tokyo, 67 companies were ordered to pay 1.5 billion yen in back pay. In Osaka, 138 firms were ordered to pay 400 million yen to over 3,000 workers. In Aichi, 147 firms paid 500 million yen to more than 6,000 workers. These examples show that the drive has been successful. Joint efforts by Zenroren member unions and some unions affiliated with the Japanese Trade Union Confederation (Rengo) are beginning to develop in the struggle to eliminate unpaid overtime work. The role that the JCP is playing is essential in developing the struggle to establish democratic rules in employment at workshops.

In Japan, people are fed up with and infuriated by the hardships caused by the economic recession. Many people are in distress and are compelled to fight to

safeguard their living conditions. Exerting efforts to reduce people's hardships is the JCP's founding principle.

Let us take the JCP's immediate demands and play the role as the organizer of the struggle in a major movement to protect the people's living conditions from the economic crisis.

### **(3) 'Speed-up of the disposal of bad loans' violates economic sovereignty**

What Prime Minister Koizumi and TAKENAKA Heizo, state minister for economic, fiscal and financial policies, are doing in the name of an "accelerated disposal of bad loans" is very serious in that it fundamentally undermines Japan's economic sovereignty.

#### ***A plan to put Japanese banking and industries under the control of U.S. major investment banks***

All these moves always take place as a result of Japan's submission to U.S. pressure. The U.S. aim is to impose a U.S. financial system model on Japan so that major U.S. investment banks and their investment funds can control Japan's banking and industrial sectors.

In fact, as part of the policy of the "swift disposal of bad loans", the Koizumi government has set forth a plan to apply U.S. standards for assessing banks' assets and capital base to Japanese banks. It will lead to artificially reducing banks' equity capital. Such a policy will oblige banks to be even more aggressive in carrying out forcible loan collections, necessary for them to reduce assets to achieve a higher capital ratio. A trial calculation by the Japan Research Institute Ltd., shows that major banks alone will have to reduce their loans by up to 93 trillion yen. Those banks which cannot withstand this policy will be "nationalized" using enormous amounts of tax money.

What will happen next? Foreign capital, mainly from the United States, will begin acquiring Japanese banks and industries. The Shinsei Bank was the first Japanese bank to take that path. After the former Long-Term Credit Bank of Japan went bankrupt and was nationalized with 3 trillion yen in tax money to write-off its bad loans, the bank was sold to a U.S. investment firm for almost nothing. U.S. finance capital thus obtained huge profits.

Economic, Fiscal and Financial Policy Minister Takenaka cites South Korea as a model for Japan to emulate. But he must know that South Korea's experience reveals what we must not do. When South Korea had a major economic crisis in 1997, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) imposed on it a structural adjustment plan in return for financial assistance. The crux of the IMF plan was the closure and consolidation of major banks. The South Korean government used an enormous amount of tax money to nationalize the nation's major banks, followed by U.S. finance capital's acquisition of some of these South Korean banks. By shamelessly citing South Korea's experience as a good example, Mr. Takenaka is a blatant spokesman of major U.S. investment banks and is not qualified to remain in the cabinet.

### ***Failure of U.S. model is evident in Asia and Russia***

The U.S. financial system model, which the Koizumi-Takenaka regime is imposing on the nation, is only aimed at raising immediate share prices in order to get involved in dubious speculative investments using dishonest financial techniques. It is a fraudulent and corrupt system that has been proven by the failure of Enron and WorldCom in the United States. And the rest of the world has already witnessed how catastrophic the result will be if the world is forced to adopt this system through the IMF and the World Bank. In the Asian economic crisis in 1997 and in the Russia crisis in 1998, the IMF forced both countries to accept the prescription called "market forces as panacea" and "structural adjustment" in return for IMF financial assistance without regard for each country's peculiar conditions. U.S. corporations entered these countries to cheaply acquire banks and companies. The result has been a miserable failure of the national economies of these countries. Today, IMF officials admit that the IMF prescription is to blame for the worsened economies.

Several Asian countries surrendered to the IMF, but Malaysia flatly rejected the IMF formula and began regulating foreign capital. This is how Malaysia is able to rebuild its economy on its own. We should learn from this experience.

The LDP's economic policy is so corrupt and debased that it has sold off Japan's economic sovereignty. In the cause of defending our country's economic sovereignty against these moves, the JCP calls for broader discussions and common action nationwide irrespective of political affiliation, including working with the business sector.

### **III. New Political Development -- Let's Discuss the JCP's Valuable Role**

#### **(1) Many political parties have no political strategy to appeal to the public or reliable organizations to formulate policies**

The present political situation shows a new development.

After October's parliamentary by-elections and a number of local elections that gave birth to non-party mayors, a media report described this as a "decline of political parties," and another wrote about "the weakened LDP and the helpless Democratic Party."

At a time when many political parties now have no specific political strategy to attract the public or reliable organizations for party activities, the JCP stands out as the only political party that is reliable. This is significant, and in that this is what the new political situation is about.

***Governing parties: LDP is losing support base and Komei Party has nothing but anti-communism to justify its raison d'être***

Referring to the state of the LDP, a media report said: "Despite the great

popularity of Koizumi, the ruling party is on a losing streak," going on to state that traders' and industrialists' groups are no longer instrumental in LDP election campaigns. In fact, the prolonged economic crisis, coupled with the government's dysfunctional economic policies, have caused a breakdown in the LDP's support base at its foundations. A massive breakaway from the vote collecting machines for the LDP, namely associations of constructors, traders, and industrialists' associations, agricultural cooperatives, and medical associations has been discerned.

With the LDP support base waning, the LDP is now supported by the organizational force of the Komei Party and Soka Gakkai (Komei's parent religious organization). However, the Komei Party is facing sharp contradictions since it joined the ruling coalition because it has had to negate the "raison d'être" it used to assert. The JCP has maintained that Komei's participation in the ruling coalition has weakened its "four selling points": "welfare", "peace", "cleanness", and "implementation of electoral promises". Its present "raison d'être" can only be found in its role as the spearhead of anti-JCP campaigns. Now the question is whether people need a political party with anti-communism as its only "raison d'être".

***Opposition parties: The problem is their lack of a cause necessary for changing LDP government***

The JCP has been earnest in pursuing joint parliamentary struggles by opposition parties to achieve agreed demands. It is significant that the four opposition parties have reached agreement on opposition to shifting a three-trillion yen increase onto people for social services. It is also a fact that many opposition parties are without a banner or strategy showing a way to end LDP government. Today, there was a report that Democratic Party President HATOYAMA Yukio is resigning. I think what is often referred to as "opposition parties' increasingly serious confusion", like Mr. Hatoyama's resignation, may be attributed to the weakness I have just mentioned.

Until the 1970s, not only the JCP but the other opposition parties had their own political lines and activities, which were distinguishable from those of the LDP. In those days, it was commonplace for opposition parties to call for an end to policies serving the interests of large corporations. They had differences on the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, but none of them publicly accepted U.S. bases in Japan.

Then a major change began to take place in the 1980s. All parties, except the JCP, placed their positions affirming the LDP's basic policy of maintaining the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty setup and protecting the interests of large corporations. The system, in which all political parties except the JCP have participated in the cabinet since 1993; has become even more visible.

Changes began to take place in this setup following the dissolution in late 1997 of the New Frontier Party, enabling opposition parties to close ranks in the Diet on specific tasks. But it is also a fact that the opposition parties, which do not include the JCP, maintain the basic political line that does not break with the old framework of LDP politics and therefore are unable to come up with an alternative. This is illustrated by the fact that the other opposition parties have never argued against the policy of accelerating the disposal of bad loans, a policy imposed by the U.S. Bush

administration.

**(2) JCP's valuable role stands out as it carries on work in a dignified manner as a viable political party**

In these circumstances, the JCP stands out among the opposition parties because it is carrying out activities appropriate for a political party representing people's interests in a dignified manner.

***JCP has clear and solid line and strategy for changing away from LDP politics***

The JCP is a party that maintains a solid line and strategy for changing LDP politics. It's firmly based on the JCP Program which states that the immediate task is to break the control by the United States and major companies, and build a Japan in which the people are the key players.

In the midst of sharpening contradictions and the deepening crisis of the world capitalist system, the JCP envisages the 21st century as an era in which conditions will mature for a transition to a new social system that overcomes capitalism. The JCP is working with this great prospect in mind.

***JCP has can make constructive proposals in all fields and acting to realize them***

The JCP applies its basic line and strategy to foreign relations, domestic politics, and the economy in actual practice. We make constructive counter-proposals on all issues and act to achieve them.

The JCP has shown its valuable role clearly in its opposition party diplomacy on the Iraq question and the issue of Japan-North Korea relations as well as in its proposals for urgent measures to defend the people's living conditions from the economic crisis.

***JCP has branches carrying out grassroots activities in close cooperation with the people***

The JCP has 25,000 branches throughout the country. It has a membership of more than 400,000. It has about 4,400 local assembly members. The JCP is Japan's only political party that has its own local organizations which closely cooperate with residents in grassroots level activities reflecting the interests of the people. This is the source of energy enabling the JCP to carry out its activities, firmly standing for the people's interests without feeling constrained by political debts.

Thanks to donations from our supporters throughout the country, the first phase of building the new JCP head office has been completed. This is another example of the JCP's grassroots power. I would like to take this opportunity to express my heartfelt gratitude to JCP members and supporters for their contributions.



***JCP has its own media and makes networks of communications with the people***

The JCP has its own newspaper *Akahata* and uses it for strengthening its ties with the people. *Akahata* is supported by the strenuous efforts of JCP members and supporters. It uses *Akahata* as a means of creating networks of heart-to-heart communications with the people.

A journalist who attended the *Akahata* Festival in November later wrote us a comment saying:

"*Akahata* reporters spoke about their own experiences; an illustration of JCP history was displayed; and participants were chatting and drinking amicably. There was no wall between the JCP and non-party sections. These two parts mingled together to make up the Communist Party, a party of the masses. The three-day festival was attended by more than 200,000 people. Is there any other party or group in Japan that can hold this kind of event? No other party can.

This came as a great cultural shock to me. It provided me with an opportunity to think about what a political party really is. I have kept in touch with political affairs for many years, but the *Akahata* Festival seemed to give me a chance to know the real aspect of the JCP."

That's a fresh surprise this journalist got from the *Akahata* Festival. You may understand how he came to discover the JCP's the only political party that has the capacity to hold such a big event.

Only by enabling this party to take a leap forward can we develop a new path for us to bring about a change in the present state of the opposition parties in order to meet the people's expectations.

Let us call on all JCP members to talk about the JCP's brilliant value with as many people as possible based on their own experiences and feelings, in the election campaign.

**IV. New Current in Local Politics and Quest for Common Cause of Non-party People and JCP**

In Japan's local politics, a new current is emerging. It's a quest for a common cause of non-party people and the Japanese Communist Party.

**(1) What makes this change happen ?**

***New hopeful current is growing in local politics***

In August 2002, we held a national conference of JCP local assembly members. Analyzing the present state of the nation's local governments, we emphasized the need to increase party activities by taking advantage of the changes taking place in many parts of the country. They are hopeful changes. On the one hand, the

adverse effect of the reactionary rule by LDP politics is felt by local governments so deeply that it is gutting local governments' inherent functions, causing various contradictions. On the other hand, serious efforts to recover the essence of local government are being made in the progressive and democratic prefectural governments and municipalities, including those in Tokushima, Nagano, and Kochi prefectures. These developments present us with dramatic processes in which residents are trying to develop their way toward establishing local governments in which residents are the key players.

The subsequent several months have seen the new current in local politics continue to grow. In September, in the mayoral elections in Koori Town in Fukushima Prefecture and Shiojiri City in Nagano Prefecture, non-party candidates backed by the united efforts of the JCP and non-party people were elected. We achieved similar victories in November in Kumamoto City (Kumamoto Prefecture), Amagasaki City (Hyogo Prefecture), Minowa Town (Nagano Prefecture), and Kawamata Town (Fukushima Prefecture). All these victories were achieved by defeating candidates backed by a Liberal Democratic-Komei coalition. In all these elections, the Komei Party and its parent religious organization Soka Gakkai carried out fierce anti-communist attacks but we joined together with many residents to defeat them.

The emergence of these currents was not accidental. Reporting on our victory in the Amagasaki mayoral election, Japan's major business daily Nikkei Shimbun on November 21, 2002 said: "A candidate supported by major political parties and seemingly under a rock-solid coalition was defeated. Commonsensically, this outcome is unbelievable, but the fact is that non-party voters who had distanced themselves from politics began to rise, and the coalition of political parties and other organizations turned out to be deceptive."

### ***Contradictions of LDP politics concentrate in local governments***

What made these changes possible?

One is that local governments are the most typical expression of contradictions and the impasse facing LDP politics.

The central government not only has failed in its economic policy but is increasing its move towards abandoning local governments through reducing budget allocations or subsidies and forcing small municipalities into mergers. This makes even conservative people keen to review pork-barrel practices. Town and village heads from all over the country on November 27 held an assembly in Tokyo and adopted a unanimous resolution calling for urgent action to stop "forced municipality mergers, and the government's policy of abandoning smaller municipalities and its cutbacks in budget allocations to local governments. This was an epoch-making event. With contradictions in the "upside-down policy" of giving priority to mega-development projects and cutting back social services sharpening, non-partisan residents' movements and citizens' movements are developing in a variety of forms.

In local politics, all political parties except the JCP are conspicuously in decline. More and more people with no political affiliation, who are keen on local political reform, are looking to the JCP as a reliable party. It is in this context that

cooperation is increasing between residents and the JCP.

***What's behind JCP-people cooperation? - People count more on JCP activities in local assemblies***

I want to point out that cooperation between the JCP and non-affiliated residents is developing against a backdrop of an increase in residents' broad support for the strenuous day-to-day efforts by JCP local committees and JCP local assembly members.

In Tokushima Prefecture, a democratic prefectural government was established with Ota Tadashi as governor. In Nagano Prefecture, Governor Tanaka Yasuo was re-elected, and the number of democratic municipalities has increased to 14. In Kochi Prefecture, Governor Hashimoto Daijiro has begun taking steps to end the undemocratic administration that took advantage of the historical remnants of discrimination against residents of Buraku (literally meaning "hamlets"), and the number of democratic municipalities has increased to nine. It is important to note that in these prefectures changes are taking place as popular support increases for JCP local assembly members who are playing a significant role in halting wasteful large development projects and are summoning enough courage to end measures taken only in the special interests represented by the Buraku Liberation League.

In the region covered by the Fukushima District Committee in the past year, democratic administrations have been established in four municipalities: Fukushima City, Ryozen Town, Koori Town, and Kawamata Town. This reflects not only JCP assembly members' day to day efforts in these municipalities, but the increase in residents' trust in the JCP Fukushima Prefectural Assembly Members' Group due to its activities and achievements. This has been made possible after the JCP members' group with five members became a negotiating body in the prefectural assembly. JCP mayors were elected in Yuzawa City in Akita Prefecture and Ryozen Town in Fukushima Prefecture, and these successes have had an increasing impact on the northeast region of Japan.

**(2) For JCP activities responsive to ongoing changes**

The need now is for the JCP to see these changes in local politics in a broader perspective and achieve new developments in our activities. This effort calls for an attitude combining a principled position and flexibility in accordance with peculiar regional conditions.

***Point out problems in order to further the positive changes in local governments***

We should try to further positive changes, large and small, in local governments, while pointing out problems. In many parts of the country, large development projects have stalled due to financial failure, and some local governments are beginning to reconsider the principle of local administration.

Through the struggle against the central government's autocracy forcing towns and villages into mergers, residents have taken active part in discussions on how local governments should be. This has led to a new cooperative relationships

between the JCP and mayors. In some local governments, a new tendency is emerging toward protecting and developing their municipalities for themselves.

When a local government is making efforts which may not be enough but are beneficial to residents, we must not ignore such efforts or we may isolate ourselves from local people. We also should maintain a principled attitude to point out problems constructively.

In Tokushima Prefecture, the JCP as one of the ruling parties supports the governor and cooperates with him in getting rid of politics serving special interests and in reforming public works projects. It's important to note that JCP prefectural assembly members maintain the position of correcting special interests-oriented administrations in the effort to eliminate discrimination against former buraku residents.

***Denounce undemocratic politics, propose reforms and organize residents movement to influence local governments***

Many local governments have gutted self-government due to the structure in which all parties except the JCP are ruling parties. Their undemocratic policies must be criticized from residents' points of view. At the same time, it is important to set forth reforms that meet residents' needs and organize a movement together with residents to influence local politics. We must show the value and achievements of the JCP which takes a lead in the efforts together with residents to achieve reform of local government.

***Use 'flexible and fresh ideas' to reach out to non-affiliated people***

It is also important to develop our activities based on flexible and fresh ideas to meet voters' sentiments. As distrust of LDP politics and the "all-are-the-ruling-parties" setup is increasing among voters, more and more people, including traditional conservative party supporters, are becoming non-affiliated, and residents' voluntary movements are beginning to develop in many ways.

We will take into account these political developments to try not to impose JCP opinions on non-affiliated people. What we need to do is to show them hope and perspectives for political change based on our actual experiences and help them understand the JCP's role and develop cooperation with them in useful ways.

***In mayoral elections we will maintain basic principles with flexibility***

In the process of the collapse of the traditional LDP-centered governing structure in local governments, non-affiliated mayoral candidates who do not fit the traditional framework bound by a policy agreement with the JCP have defeated LDP-type politics.

In the recent elections, the JCP concluded policy agreements with mayoral candidates and won in Ko-ori Town and Kawamata Town in Fukushima Prefecture. Without such policy agreements, the JCP and non-affiliated candidates cooperated with each other in winning victory in mayoral elections in Shiojiri City and Minowa Town in Nagano Prefecture, Kumamoto City in Kumamoto Prefecture, and Amagasaki City in Hyogo Prefecture.

Based on the decision of the JCP Central Committee 3rd Plenum we maintain the policy of establishing a joint struggle setup whenever the JCP can fulfill its responsibility as a political party in elections in all aspects, the selection of candidates, policy-making, and organization of campaigns.

It is also important to bear in mind that we need to build a broad unity of residents to pursue democratic reforms in local governments and flexibly deal with issues on a case-by-case basis so as to be able to cooperate with non-affiliated people. Even in that case, we must try to present voters the JCP's stance in its cooperation with non-affiliated candidates.

Emerging trends in local politics are inseparable from increases in the numbers of JCP members in local assemblies and their on-going efforts. Let's keep in mind that we should further increase the JCP's strength in local assemblies in the coming elections and further develop cooperation with residents as the surest way to change Japanese politics from local politics.

## **V. Preparations for electoral victory (gist)**

### **(1) Be on the offensive on two fronts**

We should be on the offensive in preparing for the coming elections. This is necessary not only for increasing the number of JCP seats but for defending the present JCP strength in local assemblies as well as in the Diet.

We should also take full advantage of the favorable objective conditions to lead our activities to an upswing. Internationally, calls for a peaceful world order based on the U.N. Charter are in the majority. The LDP government is no longer qualified to represent the interests of the people in managing Japan's foreign relations and the economy. In local politics, old special interests-oriented politics is losing its base to a new residents-first political current. The JCP is clearly playing a valuable role as of the standard-bearer for the cause of progressive change.

### **(2) Defeat Komei Party-Soka Gakkai forces' anti-communist propaganda**

The anti-communist propaganda in itself has no bearing on truth. We can use the power of fact and truth to defeat the anti-communist attacks. The Komei Party and its parent religious organization Soka Gakkai apparently believe that North Korea is instrumental in their anti-JCP campaign. However, they are doing it without looking at their own past. In replying to their anti-JCP propaganda, we have made it clear that the Komei Party used to come to terms with the personality cult in North Korea in disregard of its extraordinary and lawless international activities.

We must increase activities to let people know more about the Komei Party's true colors.

**(3) Increase JCP membership and *Akahata* readership and wage our election campaign in cooperation with *Akahata* readers**

It is important that we have made steady progress over the last six months in recruiting new members . We will continue the effort to constantly increase the membership with a view to building a 500,000-strong JCP.

We are not very successful in constantly increasing *Akahata* readership, although there have been some local JCP organizations that have succeeded.

**(4) JCP Supporters' Association**

Noting that there is an increasing possibility to build cooperation with non-affiliated people, including even conservative people who want political change, I want to stress the importance of strengthening the activities of the JCP Supporters' Associations.

( E N D )