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**Public Assembly Commemorating JCP 86th Anniversary  
July 22, 2008**

## **Those Who Stand for Social Justice and Reason Will Prevail in the Future**

**Speech by SHII Kazuo**  
JCP Executive Committee Chair

(Translated by Japan Press Service)

**Speech to commemorate JCP 86th anniversary 1/28**

# **Those Who Stand for Social Justice and Reason Will Prevail in the Future**

## **Speech at a public assembly commemorating the 86th anniversary of founding of the Japanese Communist Party**

**Shii Kazuo**, JCP Executive Committee Chair  
July 22, 2008: Tokyo

### **JCP today owes much to many predecessors' struggles and pioneering efforts**

Good evening everyone. I am Shii Kazuo of the Japanese Communist Party. I also want to greet the many people who are watching this assembly throughout the country via the communication satellite broadcast system.

I am so grateful for the big audience filling the hall in spite of the hot and humid weather.

The JCP marked the 86th anniversary of its founding on July 15. Looking back on the 86-year history, I feel keenly how much the JCP owes to the struggle and pioneering efforts of many predecessors.

The novel *Kanikosen* (The Factory Ship) by Kobayashi Takiji, written 79 years ago in 1929, is enjoying a resurgence in popularity in Japan. Major newspapers and TV stations have paid attention to the boom and featured articles and special programs on it. Attention has been paid also by the media abroad. The French newspaper *Le Monde* featured an article stating that the newly impoverished strata of people are engrossed in proletarian literature. The article concluded by saying, "Thanks to *Kanikosen*, today's youth in precarious employment are discovering that their plight has been inscribed in history."

Takiji's description in the book is not limited to the plight of the workers who were robbed of all human rights and forced to engage in slave labor aboard the crab-canning ship operating on the Sea of Okhotsk. He also described the struggle of workers in solidarity to overcome the social system which caused their hardships.

The author cast a sympathetic eye on those workers suffering at the bottom of social strata. This has struck the right chord among young workers today, who have to work as temporary workers, a new form of slave labor, and has encouraged them to overcome the difficulty and to rise in solidarity to reject the inhuman exploitation for whatever reasons. I think this is the greatest homage to Takiji.

In Takiji's days, our predecessors, at the risk of their lives, held aloft the banner of opposition to the despotic rule and the war of aggression, calling to establish a peaceful Japan in which people are the key players. These principles were clearly written in the Constitution of Japan after World War II ended. Seventy-nine years after Takiji wrote the book, his work is now showing its power by encouraging young people with new energy. Isn't this proof that those who stand for social justice and reason will never fail to come into the light in the future and that their efforts will eventually prevail?

The 86-year history of the JCP has taken many twists and turns. But it is marked by the indomitable and pioneering struggle to relieve people from the difficulties they are in and promote social progress. On the occasion of this commemorative meeting, appreciating the dedication of all comrades to this undertaking, I imprint in my mind the history of those predecessors' hard and pioneering efforts to which the present JCP owes its very existence. I want to express my determination to exert all my effort, together with you, so that our present struggle may also leave an imprint on history in the future.

## **Poverty and living conditions -- JCP's position at critical moments later becomes popular**

### **Grass roots activities create dramatic development of situation**

Our last year's meeting to commemorate the 85th founding anniversary was held in August in the aftermath of the historic crushing defeat of the ruling Liberal Democratic-Komei parties in the House of Councilors election in July. In the commemorative speeches, we stated: "This is the beginning of a new era in which people should demand new policies. The ideas of the public and the JCP's position will inevitably become closer."

At that time, there might have been those who thought that it was sheer bravado. However, the past year shows that the situation developed dramatically in which more interaction than ever was found between the JCP position and the

aspirations of many people. Perhaps many of you really know that such an interaction is not spontaneous but the result of nationwide struggles at the grass roots level.

Tonight, I'd like to talk about the JCP's courageous position on all questions at critical moments on which people's interests and the world's future depend. At first, our position seemed to be isolated, but it has made a breakthrough in history and shown its strength in the long term. Let me introduce three issues.

### **Temporary workers and on-the-spot inspection of Canon -- Decisive meaning of opposition to adverse change of worker dispatch law in 1999**

First is the struggle to overcome poverty and defend people's living conditions.

The dog-eat-dog "structural reform" policy pushed by the Liberal Democratic Party-Komei Party government and the rampage of neo-liberalism has brought many negative consequences to many aspects of people's livelihoods. The JCP's position of squarely confronting these policies is now coinciding with the disgust of a broad-range of the public.

Take the question of contingent work, for example.

Joint actions between workers and the JCP have changed the course of events from more deregulation to tighter regulations regarding contingent work.

Let me report on a typical event: what happened at Canon Inc. In my questioning in the Diet in February, I disclosed the actual conditions of labor at Canon, in which the company used a great number of temporary workers to siphon off enormous profits. I urged the government to address the illegal labor practices of Canon. What has become of the practice? Accompanied by Policy Commission Chair Koike Akira and House of Representatives member Yoshii Hidekatsu, I visited Canon's Nagahama factory in Shiga Prefecture on June 30.

Our anger was renewed and got stronger when we saw the inhuman conditions the temporary workers are put in. On the day before (June 29), we directly heard from young workers, who informed us of the wretched dual exploitation they suffer. The staffing company pockets profit margins from supplying the labor. What is more, temporary workers have to live in dormitories, and pay room and board charges, charges for electricity, water, TV, *futon* (Japanese-style bedding), refrigerator, and many other costs. All that a worker gets after a month's hard work is less than 100,000 yen.

What is the dormitory like? We visited a complex of eight buildings housing 300 workers. The buildings are surrounded by rice fields. How does the inside of the buildings look? A room is divided into three small sections by thin partition walls, with only three *tatami* mats and a small window for each section, very much like a prison cell. They have to share toilets, a kitchen, and a bath. A worker complained to us, "We are made to work like robots, soaked in sweats and nowhere to dry the wash. This isn't a decent place to work and live."

We were surprised to find out that no shops are available near the dormitory complex. At the gate is a convenience store run by the staffing service company. The price of the goods in the store, toilet paper, for example, is very high, meaning that the workers are also exploited there.

Thus, the company squeezes the flesh and blood of workers to the extreme, and dispose of them almost as used goods. I want to say that such ways of exploiting labor must not be left as they are.

On June 30 we visited Canon Nagahama Inc. Moroe Akihiko, senior managing director of the mother body, Canon Inc. met us. I asked, "What do you think of the various illegal actions that Canon perpetrated, such as disguised contract labor?" Canon's answer was that they were "very sorry" and they have "learned a considerable lesson." Cannon was given administrative direction or guidance eight times for its illegal disguised contract labor practices. However, the company has neither made this public nor made an apology. So, this was the first time that they ever said sorry in public. It took them a long time to make an apology, but Canon should apologize to workers whom it forced to work illegally without rights. At any rate, we can say that the workers' struggle has forced the company to "learn a considerable lesson," if we borrow their words.

When we asked what the situation is concerning temporary workers, Canon stated that it plans to stop using temporary workers at the manufacturing plant by the end of this year. As regards specifically to Nagahama factory, the number of temporary workers was zero on June 30, they said. June 30 was the day of our inspection. I wonder if it was just a coincidence. However that may be, we can say that it is one step forward made by the workers' struggle, as the company could not but state that they would end using temporary workers in its manufacturing sector.

At the same time, I must say that the real struggle has just begun. The increasing number of workers with fixed term contracts whom the company directly employs to replace temporary workers are employed for 5 months at first, then are rehired every six months up to the maximum of two years and 11 months. Canon coldly stated that these workers have to quit after two years and 11

months have passed. This is a new way of disposing of labor, which is impermissible. Firmly convinced of the power of the struggle that has driven the company to stop using temporary workers, I am determined to carry on the effort to win regular employment for these workers, without temporary workers being merely replaced by fixed-term workers or contract workers.

The crucial moment in this issue was the major adverse revision of the Worker Dispatch Law (Law Concerning Securing the Proper Operation of Worker Dispatching Undertakings and Improved Working Conditions for Dispatched Workers) in 1999. The labor dispatch had so far been limited to professional workers, but with the 1999 revision the ban was lifted. All the other parties, the LDP, Komei Party, Democratic Party and Social Democratic Party, voted for the revision, on the allegation that the revision would secure a variety of options and stabilize employment. Only the JCP maintained clear opposition to the adverse legislation.

The minutes of the Diet debate record the JCP's criticism of the adverse revision for accelerating restructuring in which regular full-time workers would be replaced by contingent workers and a great number of low-paid disposable workers without rights would come into being. Hasn't the criticism turned to be on target?

The JCP, together with workers, denounced the practice of disguised contract labor and the inhuman conditions of dispatch labor, demanding that the mal-practices be remedied. The call has at last moved politicians and the large corporations to action. Not only the other opposition parties but also the government and the ruling parties had to express the need to revise the Worker Dispatch Law. Now that we have come to this point, we must not let the matter be dropped by a halfway review of the law. Let us continue our struggle to get the law drastically revised to the position before the major adverse revision in 1999 and further establish work rules for decent labor conditions.

### **Discriminatory medical services against elderly -- JCP opposes Diet resolution in 2000**

Anger is erupting across the country at the medical-care system for the elderly. The anger is focused at the new system of discrimination against elderly people only because they are 75 years old or older. They are excluded from existing health insurance systems and put into a separate system in which they have to pay increasing premiums while the benefit is limited to a fixed amount.

The anger is overflowing beyond the difference between the ruling and opposition parties, irrespective of political affiliation. Former Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro blamed the system for its cold-hearted nature shown by the title, saying that all of the elderly are opposed to such a way of treating them.

Cooperation with medical associations is developing nationwide. Medical associations in 35 prefectures, including Tokyo, have either expressed opposition or called for a review. Presidents of prefectural medical associations expressed their opinions in *Akahata* one after another.

The Japan Medical Association carried a full-page opinion advertisement in the *Asahi* and *Nikkei* July 15. They ran with a big headline, "The JMA and the public are one in opposing 220 billion yen cut in social services budget." It concluded as follows: "Together with the public, the JMA struggles to defend social services and national medical services." It is epochal for the JMA to declare that the association is opposed to the policy of cutting 220 billion yen in the social services budget, the underlying cause of all social service cuts. The publication of the opinion ad was on July 15, coinciding with the founding anniversary of the JCP. Finding a happy coincidence in the date, I read the advertisement with joy.

The crucial moment over the issue was when a resolution accompanying the adverse revision of the health insurance law in November 2000 was proposed.

The resolution included ideas that are prototypes of the present medical care system for the elderly. It said, "[The Government] should promptly study establishing a new medical care system for the elderly to replace the existing health insurance system for the aged. As for medical care for the elderly and for chronic diseases, moves should be promoted toward packaged and fixed-sum payments." This resolution was jointly proposed by the LDP, the Democratic Party of Japan, the Komei Party and the Social Democratic Party. Only the JCP opposed it.

In the JCP 22nd Congress held in November 2000, the Central Committee Report stated: "If the ongoing plan to cut social services takes effect, ... the people will be forced to live under even harsher conditions because ... all elderly people will be asked to pay contributions to health insurance ... It will deny 'the right to maintain the minimum standards of wholesome and cultured living' established in Article 25 of the Constitution." Thus the JCP Congress called for struggling against the adverse change of the system.

On this issue, the JCP also maintained opposition at the crucial moment and has been consistently struggling together with the public. This effort made the question a major national issue, which led to the adoption of the bill to abolish

the discriminatory medical services system for the elderly by the opposition parties in the House of Councilors. The bill was carried over to the next session of the Diet. Let us do our best to pass the bill through the House of Representatives, and abolish the notoriously discriminatory system.

### **Agriculture rehabilitation plan consistent with its opposition to WTO agricultural agreement**

On the question of food and agriculture, the JCP published an Agriculture Rehabilitation Plan, calling for a national consensus to improve Japan's food self-sufficiency rates, with specific proposals such as guaranteeing the prices of agricultural products and enforcing a halt to the endless moves to further liberalize import of agricultural products. The plan has met with public approval throughout the nation. It is encouraging for us to see that cooperation is spreading through symposiums in many places with people related to agricultural cooperatives whose political affiliation had so far been conservative, and those concerned with local governments.

Repercussions to the plan came nationwide in various forms. Here I have copies of a local daily newspaper, *Sanyo Nichi-nichi Shimbun*. Taking interest in our plan, the newspaper carried five serial articles on its front page.

The first installment appeared on June 29, entitled "City assembly copycats JCP's agriculture rehabilitation plan." The article reports that a resolution which was adopted by Onomichi City Assembly in Hiroshima Prefecture in its June session was identical to the JCP plan.

It said, "We want our readers to notice... that the assembly's opinion is identical to the JCP revival plan, except that a kanji character used to express food is a variant. In a word, 31 members from all groups except the Komei Party in Onomichi City Assembly wholeheartedly approved of the JCP's agriculture rehabilitation plan. Conservative groups in the city assembly which in the past have had completely different political views from the JCP adopted the JCP policy. What does this mean? Its serious implications should be recorded in the history of the Onomichi City Assembly."

The second installment appeared on July 1, reporting on a move in Hokkaido. It said: "A hall in Iwamizawa, Hokkaido, one of Japan's major granaries, which is of the same size as Onomichi City Hall accommodating 1,000 people, was packed to capacity by people coming to take part in a JCP symposium held on June 29 to talk about rehabilitating Japan's agriculture. Such radical events are taking place all over Japan." The article is also an encouragement to us.

The fifth and last installment appeared on July 6. It reported on a JCP agricultural symposium held in Mitsugi-cho of Onomichi City. The article is headlined: "This is the voice of the voiceless, which should have been broadcast nationwide by NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation)."

The news reporter says: "A meeting was held on June 26 in Mitsugi-cho, with the lecturer Nakabayashi Yoshiko, former House of Representatives member of the JCP, explaining the agriculture rehabilitation plan. City assembly member Teramoto Shin'ichi and I went to Shin-Onomichi Station to see her off. On the drive to the station, we three agreed that 'NHK should have broadcast a meeting like that one.' Because people love agriculture and because they are earnestly engaged in farming, their worries about the present and the future of agriculture have now been sublimated into fierce anger. There was expression of local people's true sentiments inherent in the countryside, which are never loud but honest."

These articles vividly describe part of responses drawn by our agricultural rehabilitation plan. By the way, *Sanyo Nichi-nichi* was established in 1898, having a longer history than *Akahata*. Let me remind you that the newspaper marks the 110th anniversary this year.

There were not a few crucial moments concerning agriculture and food. The sharp decline of food self-sufficiency rate in Japan began, above all else, from the acceptance of the WTO agricultural agreement stipulating rice tariffication and cuts in subsidies for agriculture. With the acceptance as a cue, food self-sufficiency rate fell from 46 percent in 1992 to 39 percent at present. Who is to blame for the sharp decline? The so-called non-LDP coalition government under Prime Minister Hosokawa Morihiro accepted the GATT Uruguay Round Agreement in 1993, and the coalition government of the Liberal Democratic, Socialist, and Sakigake (Harbinger) parties under Prime Minister Murayama Tomiichi in 1995 urged the Diet to approve the WTO agreement.

All the other parties except for the JCP are all partners in paving the way for destroying Japan's agriculture. Only the JCP opposed the policy from the start.

Thus, only the JCP is capable of proposing a sustainable agricultural rehabilitation plan. Today it is becoming a cross-party policy. It has now become a national demand. Today I want to express our determination to develop large-scale cooperation in rehabilitating Japanese agriculture.

## **Party Program provides energy for the struggle against business circles and U.S. destroying people's lives**

NHK TV has a serial program entitled, "The moment that made history." There were decisive scenes which could be described as having made history of dispatch labor, medical services system for the elderly, and agriculture and food. Only the JCP consistently acted in the interests of the Japanese people and called for popular struggle. Now these calls are shared by a majority of the people, and these voices are exerting influence over politics, jointly with the people's struggle. Isn't this proof that the future belongs to those who stand for social justice and reason?

Why is the JCP capable of maintaining such a position? The source is the Party Program. Every problem I've taken up is rooted in the arbitrary and self-centered behaviors by business circles and large corporations which dare to sacrifice people's livelihoods to chase more profits. The other root is U.S. economic hegemony forcing the Japanese economy into the U.S. economic mold so that U.S. giant corporations are offered opportunities to make profits in Japan in such fields as labor, medical services, and food.

The JCP Program aims to struggle against the destructive effects on people's livelihoods caused by the practices of business circles, large corporations, and the United States, and to overcome the present state of "capitalism without rules" so as to build an "economy governed by rules." This Party Program is working as the compass for the party to maintain the stable, unwavering position to defend people's interests at every crucial moment.

## **LDP Policies Subservient to U.S. -- JCP's Courageous Policy against U.S. Unilateralism for Global Hegemony Pioneers World Current**

Second, I would like to talk about our struggle for overcoming the LDP's policies of excessive subservience to the U.S.

LDP policies of excessive subservience to the U.S. are connected to the postwar U.S. military occupation of Japan and the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. Let me analyze the issue from a world historical context, starting from the Soviet Union's disintegration in December 1991 followed by the next ten years or so.

## **After the collapse of the Soviet Union: the U.S. view versus JCP view**

When the Soviet Union collapsed, the U.S. was proud of its victory. Let me read the historical speech. This is the State of the Union Address President George H. W. Bush, made in the Congress in January 1992. "By the grace of God, America won the cold war. ... A world once divided into two armed camps now recognizes one sole and preeminent power, the United States of America. ... we are the United States of America, the leader of the West that has become the leader of the world." How dare he to so arrogantly proclaim such a thing! He even proclaimed by the "grace of god." We can see here the most arrogant attitude inflated with a hegemonic dream. In other words, by the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the U.S. has become the "one sole and preeminent power and the leader of the world." The U.S. has become the only superpower, and now, the U.S. can dominate the world by its military power. The break-up of the Soviet Union made the U.S. ecstatic to this extent.

Faced with the U.S. hegemonic intimidation, hopelessness surfaced among the forces for world peace and social progress, even though they had their own criticisms of the former Soviet Union. They thought that the world would be more dangerous with the Soviet Union collapsed and the U.S. in a position of global hegemony, and that the future of the world looked bleaker than ever.

In contrast, other people thought that there would be no more danger and confrontation, because "confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union" and the "cold war" ended. The then Socialist Party of Japan thought that it would get along well with the LDP, and based on this assumption, it even formed a coalition government with the LDP.

The JCP did not agree with either of them. We criticized the U.S. for maintaining nuclear weapons and military alliances, despite the bankruptcy of the pretext of the "Soviet threat," and for sticking to the policy of aggression and interference as the "world police"; we also called for the struggle to defend world peace. The JCP held the 6th Central Committee meeting of the 19th JCP Congress in March 1992, just after President Bush's State of the Union Address. The meeting pointed out: "The peace and democratic forces of Japan and the rest of the world must in common seize the demise of the Soviet Union as the chance to denounce U.S. imperialism's hegemonic world strategy, with its claim to be world leader, and struggle against its dangerous policy of unilateralism." The meeting also called for establishing an "international order of peace and national self-determination." Far from being disappointed by the collapse of the Soviet Union, the JCP was full of enthusiasm. At the same time we did not underestimate the danger of U.S. unilateralism for global hegemony, and faced it squarely. This is the position the JCP adopted at this historic juncture.

The reason why we were able to take this position was inseparably linked with the position that we welcomed the break-up of the Soviet Union, though completely different from that of the U.S. The JCP published the statement when the Communist Party of the Soviet Union disbanded itself, with the title: "We Gladly Welcome the End to the Party of Colossal Historical Evil -- Great-Power Chauvinism and Hegemonism." It reads as follows:

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as if it represented world socialism, continuously caused evils of great-power chauvinism and hegemonism which had nothing in common with socialism. The dissolution of the CPSU will greatly contribute not only to the struggle of the JCP, but also to the forces for world peace and social progress, from the point of view that it will no longer be an obstacle that is preventing the forces based on scientific socialism from advancing."

We went further than to just "welcome" the dissolution; we said it was a "great contribution."

I do not know of any other party that issued a "welcome" statement from the same position as the JCP's. I remember that France's national television network broadcast the JCP statement in a tone of surprise: "There is a communist party in the world that is making an extravagant argument."

That the JCP was able to publish such a statement was supported by its history of indomitable struggle and pioneering spirit. I want to stress that the JCP position is firmly based on its history of sovereign independence expressed in its fighting against the great-power chauvinism and hegemonism of the Soviet Union for more than 30 years.

### **Japan's political parties other than the JCP supported Japan's role within U.S. hegemonism**

Faced with the turbulent historical situation in the world, what were the positions of the other political parties in Japan? In a word, they were supportive of U.S. hegemonism. They reasoned that the course Japan should take in the future was to follow the U.S., which had become the sole superpower, and that Japan's future would be secure and stable if it was obedient to the U.S., as a subordinate. This was the climate surrounding Japan's political circles except the JCP.

When the Gulf War broke out in 1991, the U.S. demanded that Japan should not only contribute money but also send people abroad and shed blood. Submitting to the demand, the government openly began working toward sending the Self-

Defense Forces (SDF) abroad. In April 1991, in the name of minesweeping operations in the Persian Gulf, minesweepers of the Maritime Self-Defense Force were dispatched, the first example in history that the SDF troops were sent abroad. In June 1992, the LDP, the Komei Party, and the Democratic Socialist Party railroaded the PKO bill that gave a legal basis for the overseas dispatch of the SDF for the first time in Japanese history.

The then Socialist Party of Japan joined in the chorus. In September 1994, at its extraordinary convention in the wake of the Murayama Cabinet's inauguration, the SPJ made fundamental changes to their basic policies. It accepted the SDF as constitutional, supported maintaining the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, and backed participation in PKO activities. At the Japan-U.S. summit in January 1995, Prime Minister Murayama promised full cooperation toward the expansion of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty on a global scale, shifting the SPJ position from maintaining the Security Treaty to its strengthening and reinforcement. The entire political circle excluding the JCP was thus dominated by the current of supporting the Japan-U.S. military alliance and the SDF's overseas dispatch.

I am proud to say that, in that situation, the JCP, taking the view that there is no future for hegemonism by any country, continued to hold aloft the banner of abrogation of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, opposition to sending the SDF abroad, and defense of the Constitution of Japan.

### **Military hegemony going bankrupt and currents for peace on the rise**

In the 17 years since the break-up of the Soviet Union, has the world taken the course as President Bush hoped to see 16 years ago? You see the world has moved in the totally opposite direction to one that the U.S. had hoped for.

The U.S. ambition to dominate the world with its military power has been frustrated. It is obvious when you see that the wars, seven years in Afghanistan and five years in Iraq, have not put an end to the vicious cycle of terror and violence, and the U.S. cannot find an answer to the problem, nor can it withdraw from these areas. The hope that Bush senior placed in the U.S. has been crushed by Bush junior. Is the son unworthy of his father or did the father have unrealistic expectations? I think both assumptions are true.

Sixteen years ago the U.S. declared that it became the leader, not only of the West but of the entire world. When it came to the Iraq war, however, some Western countries, like France, Germany and Canada, openly stood against the war. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Western countries did not need to stand with the U.S. on everything, and began speaking out. It is only Japan that is

still not free to speak out. The U.S. not only has failed to become the leader of the world, but is losing its chair as the leader of the "West".

Military solutions to conflicts are becoming outdated. Independent regional communities of nations for peace are developing in many parts of the world.

The Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC), initially signed by five members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), has expanded beyond Southeast Asia with the Iraq war as a turning point; it has been joined by 24 countries with 57% of the world's population, developing into an enormous current covering the Eurasian continent. Its basic ideas are the renunciation of war and the peaceful settlement of conflicts.

In keeping with the expansion of TAC's membership, India and China have put an end to their decades-long conflict. India and Pakistan are now trying to settle peacefully their serious territorial dispute. The Southeast Asian countries concluded the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea to peacefully settle the territorial dispute over the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea. So TAC is not a mere idea on a sheet of paper but is actually promoting peace in Asia. I have high expectations in this development.

In South America too, where democratic changes are prevailing, an independent regional community of nations for peace has made powerful steps forward. In May of this year, the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), composed of all 12 nations in South America, concluded a treaty that made the Union of South American Nations a permanent institution. The preamble of the treaty proudly states principles and ideals of peace, the people's right to self-determination, and a world free of nuclear weapons.

This development too has had influence on regional politics. For instance, Colombia's forces recently violated the sovereignty of Ecuador, but the issue was peacefully settled when the president of Colombia made an official apology and promised never to repeat such a mistake again. One country of the Organization of American States (OAS) which is composed of all the countries of North and South America stood against the efforts for the peaceful settlement. It was the United States. Even Colombia, most closely allied with the U.S., agreed to the settlement, but the U.S. alone opposed it. The U.S. has now found itself isolated in the Americas.

Today, the UNASUR holds the line against the military alliance called the Rio Treaty led by the U.S. and is making an effort to build their own security framework. Recently, it was reported there was an interesting exchange of words between Brazilian Ministry of Defense Nelson Jobim and U.S. Secretary of

Defense Robert Gates at their meeting in March. Referring to the South American security system, Gates asked, "What can we do for you?" Jobim's answer was, "Stay on the sidelines. This is South America's business." The U.S. has thus lost support even from the South American countries which were once a part of "the U.S. backyard." The United States is now at a loss what to do.

Both in Asia and Latin America, powerful peace currents are on the rise. Common calls in these currents are the peaceful resolution of conflicts and the renunciation of war. It might not be possible to eliminate conflicts or troubles from human society altogether, but with human wisdom we can prevent conflicts from turning into wars. This belief is spreading all over the world. And it is Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution that could stand at the forefront of this idea. This is why the significance of Article 9 is now being reevaluated on a global scale.

The world has thus changed to this extent. The collapse of the Soviet Union did not ensure to the U.S. the status of "the leader of the world" or "the sole and preeminent power." On the contrary, it gave breathing space to many countries around the world, gave them new energy, and offered them opportunities for free development.

In this situation, the U.S. itself has seen some changes in its policies. It has begun to apply a dual approach in dealing with world affairs, not only using a militaristic but also a diplomatic. For example, the U.S. continues its hegemonic policy toward Iraq and Afghanistan, but as for North Korea it made a major turnabout in its policy toward resolving the issue through diplomatic negotiations. At the Six-Party Talks, a positive move has surfaced toward the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. This is closely connected with the major shift in U.S. policy from a militaristic and bellicose approach to a diplomatic one.

Fuwa Tetsuzo, director of the JCP Social Sciences Institute, gave a lecture entitled "Scientific View" at the 2006 Akahata Festival. He said, "What the collapse of the Soviet Union actually brought to the world was something far more than we expected in the JCP statement welcoming the collapse. Now I really feel that that was literally a big turning point for vitalizing the world and pushing the currents of peace and progress forward."

When I heard this, I felt as if the shutters had been removed from my eyes. It is really true that what the collapse of the Soviet Union brought about is "far more than we expected." In the statement the JCP issued when the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) was dissolved, we stated that the dissolution of the CPSU "will greatly contribute" to world social progress. At the time, it was just a

theoretical prediction that this must happen because the obstacle to social progress had disappeared.

But in only 17 years, this has been verified in various ways. I am filled with deep emotion because this suggests that history indeed proceeds along an identifiable course, in accordance with the laws of social development.

On the collapse of the Soviet Union, a decisive event in world history, the verdict of history has already been passed on which of the two had a correct analysis about the future, the then U.S. President Bush in his State of the Union address at the beginning of 1992, or the JCP position stated above.

Here again, I want to repeat that those who stand for justice and reason will prevail.

### **Vitality of the JCP Program line against hegemony; Development on world outlook in the new Program**

The world has changed dramatically, but the LDP takes no account of this. Their ideas have remained unchanged in the 16 years since President Bush declared that it was the U.S., the only superpower, that would determine the course of the world. Their thinking remains frozen. The Japanese government, at the U.S. beck and call, devotes itself to the SDF dispatch abroad and attempts to revise Japan's Constitution. On the other hand, the government did not anticipate the radical change in U.S. policy for a diplomatic solution to the North Korean issue, creating a big rift with the country which it believes to be its master. The Japanese government follows only the worst example the U.S. shows, and when the U.S. changes for the better it cannot follow suit. It thus has no diplomatic strategy of its own. It is crystal clear there is no future for such politics, isn't it?

Underlying the firm JCP position in defense of peace is the vitality of the JCP Program line that has objectively analyzed the U.S. policy of hegemonism and imperialism and stood up against it.

Furthermore, the JCP made a comprehensive examination of the world situation after the collapse of the former Soviet Union, and set out a world outlook in the new JCP Program in 2004. In the new Program, we point out that through the world's structural changes in the 20th century, including the collapse of the colonial system, the power relationships in the world have changed in a positive way. Under these circumstances, we have further developed our position to assess the U.S. based on reality. While severely opposing U.S. hegemonic military actions in Iraq and other places, the JCP at the same time evaluates in a

forward-looking manner the U.S. position toward North Korea. This position is also based on the new Program, a position with multifaceted viewpoints to be able to analyze the U.S. in a realistic way.

Friends, let us advance toward the course the Program points to, a peaceful Japan, an independent country in a real sense, by abrogating the Japan-U.S. military alliance and removing the U.S. military bases.

## **We Are in an Age Where the "Limits of Capitalism" Is Being Questioned -- Upholding Ideals for a Future Society**

Third, seen on a world scale, there is a need to question whether or not the capitalist system is relevant today.

### **From "Long live capitalism" to "Capitalism has its limits"-- The situation has greatly changed**

When the Soviet Union collapsed 17 years ago, there was another argument that prevailed in the world. That was the argument that capitalism triumphed and socialism failed. It was also during these days when we heard the chorus in Japan sing, "The notion of a Communist Party is out-of-date" or "You should change the party's name."

The JCP struggled hard, reiterating in and outside the country the significance of overcoming such an argument. We said that the Soviet society had nothing to do with socialism, and that, if we examined the actual depth of the contradictions in world capitalism, there were no grounds for rejoicing by proclaiming, "Long live capitalism!"

Nevertheless, I think that was a difficult time for the party. I was the new head of the JCP Secretariat at the time, and felt as if I was running up a down escalator; I also felt we couldn't move ahead against the adverse winds despite our brave efforts. But party members had confidence in JCP history as well as in the future, and I am proud that they had endured the trials of the day with success; they even enjoyed the challenge of the adverse winds.

I also see a great historical change on this point. We now hear the argument even in Japan, pointing to the limits of capitalism, instead of the false expectation of "Long live capitalism."

It was the "New Year Conversation" with Mr. Shinagawa Masaji, permanent director of the Japan Association of Corporate Executives, that I felt this change for the first time. This was an interview organized by *Akahata* for the New Year. Mr. Shinagawa was born in 1924, drafted to the Chinese front in World War II, and literally hovered between life and death. On a ship home from China, a worn-out copy of a newspaper was distributed. It carried the draft new Constitution. He read it, and knew for the first time about the Constitution. It declared that Japan renounces war, and that Japan would not have war potential. Mr. Shinagawa said that he and his friends embraced one another and wept in joy: "This is just what I needed to hear." Since then, he has consistently been a strong supporter of Article 9 as a leader in business circles.

Against this background, we had a very lively talk. It started in the afternoon, and did not finish until just before dinner. It lasted for six hours, with dinner in between. I found in him a kindred spirit on everything, including our views on peace and the economy. At around 10 o'clock at night toward the end of the talk, he told me as follows:

"It seems to me that the capitalist system as we know it has come to an end. I feel compelled to consider a new form of socialism, although I seldom use the term in everyday life. I am talking about a kind of socialism that is different from the Soviet model, as the JCP calls for."

Mr. Shinagawa knows the ins and outs of Japan's capitalist economy. I am sometimes invited to get on television programs and I am often asked on such occasions, "What do you think are the reasons for the fall of stock prices at this time?" I give some plausible theoretically-based explanation, but I have never invested in real stocks myself. But Mr. Shinagawa has actually run a major company. It was a great surprise to hear him say, "The capitalist system has come to an end and I feel compelled to consider a new form of socialism."

Subsequently, the weekly magazine *Shukan Asahi* carried an interview with me titled, "The sincere and consistent position is fresh--Manifesto of the Japanese Communist Party!" Turn the pages, and you will find the headline: "JCP Chair Rebukes Capitalism." The editor's introduction reads as follows: "The appreciation of the yen, falling stock prices and rising crude oil prices are in progress, and the future of the economy is uncertain. In the 19th century, Marx and Engels wrote in their *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, 'A specter is haunting Europe—the specter of Communism.' Now 'a specter called super-

capitalism' led by international speculative money is threatening the world. How do communists see the present world?" This is the topic of the interview, from which a special feature with the title "JCP Chair Rebukes Capitalism" was published.

A program called Sunday Project on the TV Asahi network, broadcast a program titled, "Has capitalism come to an end?" I also had a chance to make a guest appearance on the show. The program started with a close-up picture of Karl Marx with a narration as follows:

"The limits of capitalism was once pointed out by Karl Marx, someone who had great international influence in the 20th century. We see today the subprime loan crisis started in the U.S., the super-capitalist power, people's anxiety over the future of the world economy, and widening social and economic gaps around the world. Is capitalism no longer sustainable?"

The TV station asked me to make flipboards from parts of Marx's *Capital*. It was very difficult to extract passages from the bulky, far-from-easy to understand at a glance volumes. But this was the first time ever in Japan that flipboards on Japanese TV programs carried the words of Marx and Engels.

In this way, a question about "the limits of capitalism" has been raised from even the mainstream media. No other party than the JCP can address this question. They expect the JCP to answer the question. This is a new situation that we have never had the opportunity to experience.

I think this is not accidental. Against this background is a great change in Japan and the world. Among other things, the contradictions in capitalism have grown deeper than ever before on a global scale. I would like to point to some issues that have an important bearing on human survival.

### **Poverty and hunger – a child dies every 5 minutes**

First is the problem of poverty and hunger.

The U.S., the world's No.1 capitalist country, is called a "country of poverty." In Japan, the world's No.2 capitalist power, poverty is increasing and is now a serious social problem. This shows that the capitalist system and poverty are inseparably connected.

In this regard, I want to draw your attention to the fact that hunger has spread on a global scale. The U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) reports some

862 million people across the world are suffering from food shortages. It also states that those who suffer from hunger have increased by 50 million in 2007 alone. In addition, children under five years of age are dying at the rate of one every five minutes in the world.

In this situation, even the U.N. criticized the practice of leaving the supply of food to market forces. The special report submitted in January this year to the U.N. Human Rights Council entitled, "Report on the right to food" pointed out the following:

"According to this [neoliberal] theory, only a totally liberalized and privatized, unified world market can gradually eliminate hunger and malnutrition in the world. The evidence shows the contrary – liberalization and privatization have progressed rapidly in most countries during the last 10 years. At the same time, the figures show that worldwide, more people than ever before suffer today from grave, permanent undernourishment."

Can we guarantee the people world over enough food to survive? This is the core issue facing economic activities. I would like to stress that capitalism is being questioned whether it is qualified to manage the world sustainably or not.

### **Speculative money: Smashing blow to the foundation of human survival**

The second is the problem of speculative money running out of control.

Although speculation is inherent in capitalism, financial deregulations started in the U.S. during the 1980s have abnormally expanded international speculative money flows.

How much speculative money is moving around the world? According to a Mitsubishi UFJ Securities analysis, the size of the global "real economy," in which goods and services are produced and traded, is estimated at \$48.1 trillion, the economy measured approximately by the world total of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). On the other hand, the size of the global "financial economy," the total amount of stocks, securities and deposits, adds up to \$151.8 trillion. The financial economy thus has swollen to more than three times the size of the real economy, growing especially rapidly during the past two decades. The gap is as large as \$100 trillion. An analyst involved in this estimation said that about half the amount, \$50 trillion is scarcely necessary for the real economy. Fifty trillion dollars are worth well over 5,000 trillion yen, too big a number for me to actually comprehend.

Let me point out two big problems caused by speculative money.

The first is that the uncontrolled transborder movement of speculative money is having devastating effects on the national economies and people's livelihoods throughout the world.

When a Ponzi scheme called the subprime mortgage collapsed in the U.S., speculative money poured out from securities markets into oil and grain commodity futures markets. It triggered a rise in the prices of oil, grains, and other essential goods. On the receiving end of the price increases are the world's poor, particularly in developing countries.

In Japan, fisheries cooperative associations staged a one-day strike en masse, protesting skyrocketing fuel prices. I strongly call on the government for international cooperation to regulate speculative money flows and for direct financial aid to those involved in fishery, agriculture and small and medium enterprises, affected badly by high oil prices.

The second is that the stock market in Japan is also dominated by speculative capital chasing after short-term profits. Such venture capital is forcing companies to compete against each other to implement downsizing and restructuring schemes.

Sixty percent of daily trading at the Tokyo Stock Exchange is done by the U.S. and other foreign capital. It has become a speculative market controlled by foreign capital. Mr. Shinagawa Masaji told me in the talks we had:

"It's really terrible that speculative markets can control the destiny of companies. A 5 percent rate of profit is enough for most Japanese companies to survive, but if a competitor is more successful with 10 % or 20 %, all investment money goes to the more successful company. The company with the 20 percent rate of profit was successful because it carried out a sweeping restructuring scheme to reduce labor costs. That reduces the size of the labor force and its profitability will increase. In the present market, a company is forced into carrying out such restructuring programs in fear of its competitors."

In the speculative market, short-term capital moves from one company to another, constantly seeking more profits. Money never moves in a way that helps companies achieve long-term growth. Money flows in search of short-term profits, and forces companies to downsize their labor force and even wields the power of life and death over them. This is the dangerous point of collapse, Mr. Shinagawa pointed out.

Now, speculative capital is bringing about a terrible situation through the use of their merger and acquisition strategy. Last year, a U.S. investment firm, Steel Partners attempted to take over the Bull-Dog Sauce Corporation of Japan. It was not that Steel Partners was interested in making delicious sauce. The sole purpose was to acquire the Bull-Dog Sauce to take out profitable sections for resale while disposing of the rest. This is a typical "vulture fund" way of doing business.

After its buyout bid for Bull-Dog Sauce failed, Steel Partners moved on to take over Aderans, a wig manufacturer. The president of Aderans, who was trying to ward off the Steel's buyout bid, was forced to resign. I still remember his chagrined face. The Steel's purpose for bidding for Aderans was not that it wanted to make better wigs. Steel Partners never cared about what they produce, be it sauce or wigs. Only profits matter. It is high time to question whether such outrageous behavior should be tolerated.

The workers bear the brunt of the costs of such speculative money movements. Speculative money is the cause of job-cutting restructuring schemes that replace full-time workers with temporary workers, thus creating a large number of the working poor. Such practices must be condemned in the severest terms.

Underlying the growth of voices suggesting the limits of capitalism is in sight is a strong sense of crisis that capitalism will have no future if it is unable to curb this monstrous speculative money ventures running out of control.

The uncontrolled activity of speculative money is threatening the very basis of human survival. If capitalism cannot stop such activities, we have to declare that capitalism is not up to the task of managing the world economy.

### **Global environment: Greatest market failure in history and Engels's warning**

The third is the problem of the global environment.

Nobody can deny that global warming has been caused primarily by the excesses of capitalism.

The UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (UNIPCC), based on the understandings of the world science community, concluded that global warming is caused by "human activity since 1750" when the industrial revolution started, namely through capitalism's economic activities.

A British government report, "The Economics of Climate Change" states, "It (climate change) is the greatest and widest-ranging market failure ever seen." This means that the government of Great Britain, the birthplace of capitalism, acknowledged in its report that global warming is a market failure, namely a capitalist failure.

In the TV Asahi program, I put up a flipboard with a quotation from *Dialectics of Nature* by Friedrich Engels, Marx's closest ally.

"Let us not, however, flatter ourselves overmuch on account of our human victory over nature. For each such victory, nature takes its revenge on us."

Engels cited an example of destroying the forests to obtain cultivable land, eventually devastating the very land by removing the forests' water retaining capacity. After showing nature's revenge from various angles, he continued:

"All hitherto existing modes of production have aimed merely at achieving the most immediately and directly useful effect of labour. The further consequences, which appear only later and become effective through gradual repetition and accumulation, were totally neglected.... This has been put into effect most completely in the capitalist mode of production...."

Capitalism, with the profit-first principle as its intrinsic nature, seeks maximum gain and is only interested in "the most immediate" effect, namely short-term profits. According to Engels, capitalism continued to ignore "the further consequences, which appear only later and become effective through gradual repetition and accumulation," and "nature takes its revenge on us." This is a warning particularly applicable to present-day global warming, isn't it? If capitalism cannot solve the problem of global warming, the system is not up to the task of managing the earth.

Poverty, speculative money flows, and global warming together pose a serious question about whether capitalism has reached its limits. Whether capitalism can answer this question is yet to be seen.

But even now we can say clearly that the euphoria over capitalism's victory very much in vogue 17 years ago, was without basis or reason. On this question, the verdict of history has already been passed: the JCP was correct in its assessment.

The changes taking place before our very eyes make us feel that the beginning of a new era in which the very framework of society and the economy comes under scrutiny is now beginning.

## **JCP Program offers realizable solutions for global issues**

In order to address these global issues, the JCP Program offers realizable solutions.

First of all, what we should immediately aim for in Japan is democratic reform within the framework of capitalism. In the economic field, we should overcome the present state of "capitalism without rules" and build an "economy governed by rules" that defends people's living standards and basic human rights.

The LDP has completely turned its back on the series of global issues mentioned earlier. They continue to oppose regulating speculative money flows. When a JCP Diet member questioned them on this point, Chief Cabinet Secretary Machimura Nobutaka said, "If you have a good idea, would you kindly tell us? We don't know what to do." To be sure, the government does not seem to have a "good idea," but what is lacking more is their "will" to do something.

Likewise, on environmental issues, it is the Japanese government that was awarded the "Fossil of the Day" prize many times by a coalition of environmental NGOs, as it has not showed its willingness, targets, or plans for greenhouse gas emissions reduction.

All these examples are deeply connected with "capitalism without rules" which allows tyranny of business circles to go unchecked. I would like to stress that rectifying the extraordinary policy of putting the interests of big business above anything else has now become most necessary for Japan to play a positive role in addressing global issues, including offering environmental protection, controlling financial speculation, and addressing the food crisis, not to mention tackling domestic issues including the growth of poverty and deterioration of people's livelihoods.

On international issues, the JCP Program sets out a task to "establish a democratic international economic order based on respect for the economic sovereignty of every nation by fostering fair and equitable relations." This has become increasingly important. The pressing need now for the international community is to cooperate in establishing a framework for solving problems such as poverty, hunger, speculative money, and the environment, and rein in the outrageous activities of multinational corporations and international finance capital.

In this regard, I would like to draw your attention to three international bodies that imposed "neo-liberalism" on the whole world and exacerbated poverty, hunger and speculation. They have been the object of people's anger across the

world. They are the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization (WTO). I would like to stress that it is also our urgent task to change these three bodies from U.S.-centered organizations to democratic ones in the interests of the world's people.

Second, in order to solve these global tasks, it is also essential that currents toward overcoming capitalism and advancing to a new society should grow and develop.

Developed capitalist countries are being seriously questioned about their "ability to govern the planet earth and the world sustainably." The G8 Toyako Summit failed in this respect. It could not give an effective answer to any of those major global issues, including the environment, speculative money flows, and the food crisis. The French newspaper *Figaro* described the summit as displaying the "helplessness of the club for the rich," and the British newspaper *Independent* reported that "over caviar and sea urchin, G8 leaders mull food crisis."

Among developed capitalist countries, however, European countries are making the greatest possible effort in combating global warming even within the framework of capitalism. When the JCP study team on climate change recently visited northwestern European countries, they had talks with Ms. Eva Bulling-Schröter, vice-chair of the Committee on the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety of the German Bundestag. She said, "Global warming cannot be deterred by the profit-first principle. A fundamental reform of the social system is necessary." In other words, even with maximum efforts within the framework of capitalism, the problem still cannot be resolved within the framework of the "profit-first" principle. Through these processes, conditions for "the fundamental reform of the social system," that is, conditions for progress toward a new social system overcoming capitalism will be created. This is our perspective.

Among developing countries, movements groping for a "new form of socialism" have emerged, claiming that the future of a sustainable economy will not be possible within the framework of capitalism. In January 2006, a leftist government was formed in Bolivia, and President Evo Morales said from the stage of the UN General Assembly: "It is important to eradicate capitalism" in order to end war and hunger. I think this is the first time we heard anyone talk about "eradicating capitalism" in the UN General Assembly. Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez said, "Socialism is a message of hope being transmitted in Latin America and the world," because "capitalism distorts the economy and society."

I have high expectations of the movements searching for a "new form of socialism" in Latin America, as they have declared that "the former Soviet Union was far from a socialist society," and it is the first attempt in human history to advance toward socialism with the support of the people's majority expressed in democratic elections.

Countries such as China, Vietnam and Cuba, which are searching for their own courses to socialism, enjoy greater economic importance in the international community. They achieved good results in resolving the poverty problem, which drew world attention. How will they resolve the outstanding political or economic problems? How will they tackle new global issues such as poverty, economic and social disparity, the environment, and speculation? These countries which began their quests for socialism are being questioned about their capabilities of replacing capitalism. I have great expectations that these countries will play an important role with their pioneering spirit of seeking socialism, and that they will overcome many kinds of difficulties to move ahead on the path of social development.

The JCP Program envisages initially carrying out a democratic revolution within the framework of capitalism, and in the next stage, advancing based on a national consensus to a socialist/communist society of equal and free human relationships, a society without exploitation, oppression, or war. My topic today is "Those who stand for justice and reason will prevail in the future." We have no answer yet whether the perspective of socialism would emerge triumphant in the future. It is the struggle of the people in Japan and the world in the 21st century, and young people, in particular, that will provide the answer.

At the same time, we should not forget that socialism was born of criticism of capitalism. Therefore, in the face of the deep-seated contradictions in the capitalist system, it is inevitable for human beings to overcome this system full of suffering and contradictions, in spite of many twists and turns, to advance to socialism.

Friends, let us advance hand in hand, upholding the name of the Japanese Communist Party that embodies this ideal.

## **For a victory in the coming general election -- Call for joining the JCP, the party with unyielding spirit**

From various angles, I've stated that those who stand for social justice and reason will prevail in the future. At every critical time when Japan or the world was at a

crossroads, the Japanese Communist Party always took action in the people's interests. Underlying this is our Party Program that aims at correcting the two political evils -- politics serving big business and subservience to the U.S. -- and making a Japan where the people are the key players.

No political party other than the JCP has a clear perspective for a fundamental change of government policies on all issues. The point at issue in the coming general election should not be a choice of a government party but a change of government policies themselves. By increasing the JCP's seats in the Diet, let's open a way to substantial change of government policies so that people's interests are met. I sincerely ask you for your fervent support for the JCP.

We are now engaging in actions to increase party membership and *Akahata* readership to help us guarantee victory in the next general election. To conclude, if you are in basic agreement with the points I have made in my speech regarding the position of our Party Program, I'd like to call on you to work with us along the road to social progress by joining the JCP.

July 18 marked the first anniversary of the death of Mr. Miyamoto Kenji, a major leader of the JCP since the pre-war days. Let me quote a passage of his speech that deeply affected me. After the war, some people distorted Kobayashi Takiji's novels and alleged that the JCP's struggle in pre-war days lacked a sense of humanity. Rebutting such arguments, Mr. Miyamoto spoke on true humanity as follows:

"Of course, there is no communist party member, who, as an individual, does not want to live. Kobayashi was a writer who wrote a great deal of work while still in his twenties. He had a mother and younger brother who he loved very much. He pursued his literary ambitions. But in order to live with all his being, he did not bow down before unfair obstacles and political persecution. This was the noblest display of humanity -- to not bow down to injustice but to speak out against it."

In the pre-war days, the unfair obstacle was represented by oppression, imprisonment, torture and other inhuman brutality. Takiji was tortured to death when he was 29 years old.

Today, violent oppression as in pre-war days is impossible. But unfair obstacles to people's lives still exist. They include: treating young temporary workers as 'disposable workers', discriminatory medical care system for the elderly aged 75 and over, an agriculture policy that is ruining the country, and spreading poverty. The most valuable contribution to human life today is to not yield to such unfair treatment of the people and to not stay on the sidelines, but to struggle

unyieldingly for a new Japan. The Japanese Communist Party is an organization made up of those people sharing this commitment to work for a better society.

I'd also like to say that the JCP is the party of warm human unity. Seeing the present Japanese society, it can't be said that people are treated with human dignity. Rampant neo-liberalist trends create antagonisms and divisions among the people, and impose the so-called self-responsibility on divided individuals. It is their common practice to intentionally create confrontation and division between the people, including between regular full-time employees and non-regular contingency employees, between aged people and youth, and between producers and consumers. Young people, in particular, are bound hand and foot by the notion of "self-responsibility." They are doubly suffering in that they are forced to believe they themselves are to blame for their deteriorating living standards and their pride and dignity are thus being trampled on. They are struggling to build solidarity to solve their problems and to open the way for a hopeful future.

We are striving to overcome such divisive attacks and to make the party of warm solidarity for all. The JCP calls for launching a counter-offensive and, further, creating a new politics through society-wide solidarity. In this way, the JCP is playing a role in developing the current of cooperation among the people for progressive reform and true peace.

I myself joined the JCP when I was a university freshman. Thirty-five years have passed since then. I am really happy to have been a JCP member.

Please join the JCP. It is the party unyieldingly struggling against political and social injustice. It is the party with warm solidarity. I sincerely call on you to live the invaluable life of struggle together with us.

Let us make the JCP more powerful by winning more seats in the coming general election.

The people who stand for social justice and peace will prevail in the future. With this conviction, let us make a new politics through social solidarity.

Long live the Japanese Communist Party!

Thank you for listening.

-- Akahata, July 25, 2008

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**Speech to commemorate JCP 86th anniversary 28/28**