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Telephone: +81-3-3423-2381, Fax: +81-3-3423-2383  
e-mail: [INFO@japan-press.co.jp](mailto:INFO@japan-press.co.jp)  
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Commemorative speech on the 90th anniversary  
of the founding of the JCP

## Looking Back on the 90-Year History of the Japanese Communist Party

JCP Social Science Institute Director  
Fuwa Tetsuzo  
July 18, 2012

## Table of contents

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| <b>1. Fighting against the State under the Emperor System .....</b>                       | <b>3</b>  |
| What was the state under the emperor system?.....   | 3         |
| JCP's basic policy and its theoretical proposition.....                                   | 4         |
| Three national experiences.....   | 4         |
| <b>2. Struggles against Evil Hegemonism .....</b>   | <b>6</b>  |
| Post-war struggles. First electoral advance .....   | 6         |
| Soviet Union having turned into hegemonic state .....                                     | 7         |
| 1950 Question .....   | 9         |
| Struggle on 2 fronts, 2nd electoral advance (1969, 1972) .....                            | 11        |
| Complete change in political situation of the 1970s .....                                 | 13        |
| <b>3. Struggle to break down the ‘all-are-ruling-parties’ structure .....</b>             | <b>14</b> |
| Ruling forces launch massive anti-JCP strategy in 1980 .....                              | 14        |
| Third electoral advance (1996, 1998) New strategy to create two-party<br>system.....      | 16        |
| Promotion of adverse policies behind JCP attacks.....                                     | 17        |
| Who is responsible for and who made profits out of wasteful use of public<br>money? ..... | 18        |
| <b>4. History of JCP’s theoretical development.....</b>                                   | <b>20</b> |
| Stalin’s false theoretical system was an accepted theory in the world .....               | 20        |
| Looking for theoretical revival of scientific socialism.....                              | 21        |
| <b>5. Bringing about a new advance of Japan based on past history .....</b>               | <b>22</b> |

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## Looking Back on the 90-Year History of JCP

Japanese Communist Party  
Social Science Institute Director  
Fuwa Tetsuzo  
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Good evening, everyone.

Thank you very much for coming to this gathering in the heat wave to commemorate the 90th anniversary of the founding of the Japanese Communist Party. On this day, I am so delighted to have an opportunity to look back on the JCP history with you all.

Throughout its 90-year history, the JCP has persistently strived to protect people's interests, to promote peace and democracy, and to develop Japanese society, fighting bravely against its foes, no matter how formidable they were. We cannot help but remember the three main struggles of the party.

### 1. Fighting against the State under the Emperor System

#### **What was the state under the emperor system?**

Immediately after its foundation, the JCP had to confront the state under the emperor system. What was the Japanese state like at that time? It may be beyond imagination for those living today. It was a war state in which the military authorities could do anything in the name of "emperor's absolute power," which they claimed sprung from the Emperor's "mandate from heaven." The people were forced to unconditionally obey the authorities'

decisions or orders, and those who did not do so had to face the threat of harsh punishments including the death penalty.

## **JCP's basic policy and its theoretical proposition**

Since its establishment in 1922, the JCP courageously made calls for a democratic revolution to change this state structure. This policy was summed up in the programmatic documents called the “1927 Theses” and the “1932 Theses.” Both were decided at the Comintern, the international communist organization with the participation of its JCP representatives. Here, I would like to remind you that even before these documents came out, the then party’s theorists had reached basically the same conclusion through their independent analyses of Japanese society. As I mentioned in my recent interview with AKAHATA, at the center of those efforts was a young theorist, Noro Eitaro, who strived to rebuild the party center that was destroyed by a wave of severe repression in 1930s and was killed by the state just 3 months after his arrest at the age of 33.

## **Three national experiences**

Our opposition to the emperor state led us to be labeled a group of traitors, a target of every sort of oppression and persecution. Many people who were instrumental in establishing our party were killed, such as Watanabe Masanosuke, Ueda Shigeki, Iwata Yoshimichi, Kobayashi Takiji, Kokuryo Goichiro, and Ichikawa Shoichi. Other party leaders and activists were also arrested and imprisoned for a long time. For example, former JCP chairperson Miyamoto Kenji spent more than 10 years in a prison during the war.

However, the outcome of Japan’s 15-year war, the war of aggression that ravaged Asian countries, clearly showed that these JCP struggles against the emperor state were important and just. To understand this, we would like you to remember three aspects of our national experience in the war.

First, we look at the fate of Japanese soldiers and sailors mobilized for this war. Nearly two and a half million died on battlefields across the Asia-Pacific region. However, most of them were not killed in action. In fact, more than half of the Japanese war-dead starved to death. It was the consequence of the government sending soldiers en masse to the frontlines without securing lines of food supply. There is no precedent in world history of a government holding its soldiers' lives in such cruel disregard.

The second is a series of developments in 1945, the final year of the war. By then, the defeat in the battle of Philippines made it clear to everyone that Japan's war efforts were in dire straits. Nevertheless, the government refused peace talks for fear that the imperial regime might be destroyed. If the government had gone ahead with peace talks at that time, the air raids on Japan's mainland would never have taken place, nor would the Battle of Okinawa from March to June, the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the tragedies in Manchuria and Karafuto (Sakhalin) created by the Soviet Union's entry into war with Japan in August have happened. Frantically crying out for "decisive battles on the mainland" and "honorable deaths for all Japanese people" without having the slightest prospect or plan of rolling back the situation, the leadership of the imperial regime gave top priority to retaining national polity at the expense of the people's lives. Eventually, this brought about the series of nation-wide tragic events in 1945 I mentioned.

Thirdly, what did the world require of Japan at the time of its surrender? The Allies' Potsdam Declaration accepted by Japan demanded not the destruction or extermination of Japan but a change of the war state, turning a despotic and militaristic Japan into a democratic and pacifist one. That course was generally in accord with what the JCP had been striving to realize through a democratic revolution. It also proved that the party's struggle was in step with the world current toward peace and social progress.

Keeping these three national experiences in mind, I pay homage to our countless predecessors who fought against the state under the emperor system and devoted their lives for advancement of peace and democracy.

## 2. Struggles against Evil Hegemonism

### **Post-war struggles. First electoral advance**

After WWII, soon after winning our legal right to political activities for the first time, we started working to restore people's lives and to establish a democratic Japan. Let me point out three remarkable outcomes of this attempt.

First, the Constitution. The present Constitution stipulates that sovereignty resides with the people. However, after the war ended, no other party except the JCP insisted on this principle. Even when the government submitted to the Diet a draft constitution approved by the occupation authorities, it did not mention the idea of popular sovereignty. The JCP Diet Members group immediately proposed an amendment to include the principle. Soon after that, the Far Eastern Commission of the Allied Powers made a decision to strictly demand the same. In a manner that the effort both at home and abroad converged, the principle of popular sovereignty was included in the Constitution.

Second is Japan's independence. As the United States and the Soviet Union increasingly confronted each other on a world scale, the U.S. occupation forces abandoned their initial mission to democratize Japan and emerged as an oppressor of citizens and democratic forces. The JCP responded by adopting an action program calling for the "strict implementation of the Potsdam Declaration" and the "complete independence of Japan" at the party Congress in December 1947. It is a matter of our pride in the party history that the JCP was the sole political party which bravely put up these banners even under foreign occupation.

The third was the JCP's first electoral advance after the war. While in the April 1947 election held for the first time under the new Constitution, the party managed to receive only one million votes, getting four seats, when the next general election was held in January 1949, the JCP drastically increased the number of votes received to 2.98 million, winning 35 seats. It was the first great advance for a party that had consistently taken the side of the people after the war. On the other hand, all other political parties were, at that time, competing with each other for loyalty to the occupation forces.

### **Soviet Union having turned into hegemonic state**

Then, an unexpected foe emerged to threaten the progress of the JCP and democratic forces in Japan, the Soviet Union under the rule of Stalin.

At that time, we considered the changed world situation including the increased stature of the socialist Soviet Union and the victory of the Chinese Revolution as a great advantage for Japanese democratic movements.

However, the reality was totally different. During the ten-year period in which our contact with outside world was cut off, the Soviet Union had already transformed itself into a terrible regime.

How had it changed? Let me explain, based on the facts including the ones unveiled after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

In the mid-30s, hundreds of thousands, or possibly more than 1 million people who had dedicated themselves to the cause of revolution and socialism were killed in the Soviet Union by terror unleashed under the false accusation that they were agents of foreign imperialism. Numerous communists from foreign parties, including our own comrade Yamamoto Kenzo and others who were working at the Comintern, also lost their lives in the purge.

When this whirlwind of terror was gone, the Soviet Union was another country. It was now a despotic state where Stalin made all key policy decisions by himself and everybody obeyed without reserve.

With this regime firmly in his hand, Stalin embarked on the road of great-power hegemonism whose supreme goal was to expand the Soviet Union's territories and its sphere of influence. On the eve of WWII in Europe, he first joined hands with Hitler-led Nazi Germany by concluding the secret pact in August 1939 to annex eastern Poland and three Baltic countries, throwing away the anti-fascist banner that he had been holding until then.

After conquering Western Europe, Hitler formed a military alliance with Japan and Italy, the so-called tripartite pact, in September 1940. In November, Hitler invited Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov to Berlin to propose to the Soviet side accession to the alliance. His idea was that after defeating the British, those four countries would divide the world among themselves, giving Europe and Africa to Germany and Italy, East and Southeast Asia to Japan, and Central and West Asia to the Soviet Union. However ridiculous was this plan, Stalin replied to Hitler that he agreed to the German offer because he had already tasted the success of the re-division of Eastern Europe. If there had been the slightest socialist spirit left in Stalin, it would never have occurred to him that the Soviet Union expand its territory in alliance with Hitler and other aggressive countries including Japan. Stalin, however, dared to take up this idea.

This proposal on a quadripartite alliance was later found to be a big conspiracy plotted by Hitler who had already decided to start a war against the Soviets, with the aim of diverting the Soviet attention from German war preparation. On receiving Stalin's consent, Hitler ordered the entire German Army to begin preparations for invasion of the Soviet Union. In early January of the following year, Germany sent its troops into the Balkans in large numbers Stalin, in contrast, totally believed in Hitler's explanation that it was part of operations against Britain, and thus failed to take any countermeasures at all.

Why Hitler was phenomenally successful in his “surprise attack” against the Soviet Union in June 1941 was once considered a mystery of WWII history. It was later found that the main reason was that Hitler successfully conspired against Stalin taking advantage of the latter’s greed for territory.

When the war broke out, Stalin re-hoisted the anti-fascist flag, which he once abandoned, in order to join forces with the U.S. and Britain. The Soviet Union subsequently played a major role in beating Nazi Germany.

Stalin, however, never abandoned his expansionism. In the final stage of the war, when the United States asked Stalin to enter the war to defeat Japan, the then only remaining Axis power, in a bid to bring about the early conclusion of the war, he responded by saying, “Without being rewarded by territorial gain, the people of the Soviet Union would never agree.” He finally made the Western powers accept his demands including handing over the Chishima Islands, Japan’s legitimate territory, in addition to returning the formerly Russian-owned South Sakhalin, and restoring Russian interests in China that had existed before the Russo-Japanese War. This lies at the root of the present “northern territory” question.

Although the Allies fought WWII with territorial non-expansionism as its principle, only the Soviet Union blatantly used the war to expand its territory. We should never lose sight of this.

Thus, the Soviet Union appeared in the post-war world as a country that had thrown away the spirit of socialism and revolution.

## **1950 Question**

Regarding relations with other communist parties in the world, Stalin dissolved the Comintern during the war. In its place, he established a clandestine organizational structure under the direct control of the Soviet Union by sucking up the leaders of the major communist parties in the world formerly working at the Comintern.

However, the JCP, whose central leadership was imprisoned during the war, was left outside of this network. Therefore, in order to fill the vacuum, as soon as the war ended, Stalin began to develop a plan to interfere in the Japanese party and progressive Japanese movements.

The 1950 Question which inflicted enormous suffering and division on our party resulted from Stalin's operation of interference. At first, he started involvement in the JCP affairs pretending to be a benevolent advisor. After winning some of the leaders over firmly under his control, he then got them to split up the party and move to Beijing in order to set up a headquarters of a splinter group there. Using them, Stalin tried to bring a policy of armed struggle into Japan, which was unlawful and outrageous. This outrageous act, combined with the U.S. occupation crackdown on the JCP that saw the party outlawed, forced our party into tremendous hardships. In the next election, we lost all seats which we had won in the 1949 election.

With the JCP was weakened, the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty was imposed on Japan in the name of "peace." Even today, this treaty still puts Japan under the yoke of a massive presence of U.S. military bases.

It was only in the late 1950s that our party finally started to overcome this hardship and could make an effort to unite and rebuild itself. At this point of time, we still had not developed an insight into the true nature of Soviet hegemonism. However, through our bitter experience, we established the principle of sovereign independence, which meant that the JCP decided its own policy by itself without allowing intervention by any foreign parties no matter how big and experienced they are.

Then, going through the 7th Congress in 1958 and the 8th Congress in 1961, the JCP decided on a party program. The program stipulated a 2-phased strategy. The first stage was a democratic revolution through which Japan would break free of its subordinate relation to the U.S. and implemented people-oriented democratic reforms in politics and economy. And then at the next stage it would proceed to socialism. It was taken for granted among the

world communist movement at that time to believe that a developed capitalist country should take the path of socialist revolution, and so our strategy was considered a heresy. Having said that, however, at the 1960 international meeting in Moscow (attended by the representatives of 81 communist and workers' parties), the JCP succeeded in getting the significance of democratic revolution written into the joint statement, a defeat for the Soviet, Italian, and French communist parties.

Around then, the Liberal Democratic Party began to rule Japan after it was born of a merger of two conservative parties. Both the Japanese and the U.S. ruling circles forced the LDP to follow a political track that was abnormal in two aspects.

One aspect was that Japan became subservient to the U.S. with a massive presence of the U.S. military bases and its absolute reliance on the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. Another was that Japan came under the thumb of business circles with the mobilization of all of its national resources to consolidate and nurture large business groups.

These are two aberrations that we are referring to repeatedly these days and their root goes back to this period. Please remember this starting point of going down the wrong track, which continues to lead the Japanese politics astray further.

Up against this, the JCP program showed a new way for Japan's future.

### **Struggle on 2 fronts, 2nd electoral advance (1969, 1972)**

While the JCP was working hard to achieve political innovation under this program, the Soviet Communist Party again launched attacks against it to deny the existence of this independent and self-reliant party. Stalin was already dead but his hegemonic DNA was wholly passed on to his successors. Two years later in 1966, attacks from China began. The Maoists who had

started the rampage in China that was called the “Great Cultural Revolution” embarked on all-out attacks against the JCP, outrageously calling us the “common enemy of both the Japanese and Chinese peoples.”

These were not just verbal attacks. Both the Soviet Union and China mobilized all their national power to launch a full-scale intervention to destroy the JCP through the expansion of anti-JCP groups in Japan and abetting betrayers in the JCP in organizing fake “communist parties.”

There are no communist parties in the world other than the JCP that experienced such outrageous interference simultaneously by the ruling parties of the two big countries. We fought against their attacks head-on. The whole party stood up to completely defeat these two cases of gross interference.

The party also accomplished a great victory in domestic politics through activities guided by the JCP Program.

In the 1958 general election, the JCP got only one seat, having received 1,010,000 votes. In 1960, the year of the struggle over the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, the party secured three seats with 1,150,000 votes. However, in 1969, we increased our Diet seats to 14, receiving 3,20,000 votes and, in 1972, to 39 seats with 5,637,000 votes. We succeeded in making a great leap forward in the midst of our struggle against the interferences of the Soviet Union and China.

As for the party strength to support its struggle, when the party held the 7th Congress in 1958, it had 36,000 members and 47,000 Akahata readers. That was our start. At that time, Akahata Sunday edition was not yet being published.

Then, in 1973 when the 12th Congress was held, the JCP membership increased to 342,000, and its Akahata readership rose to 634,000 for the daily edition and 2,570,000 for the Sunday edition, greatly expanding its strength.

Looking back on that experience, it was really an astonishing period marked by continuous fierce struggles both in internal and external affairs. Every JCP member resisted arm-in-arm against those who sought to interfere in order to defend the independence of the Japanese peace and democratic movements. They were all the heroes of the time, the time of an historic struggle. This is what I feel vividly in remembering those days.

### **Complete change in political situation of the 1970s**

One major example of progress for the Japanese Communist Party during the 1970s considerably changed Japan's political framework.

Following Kyoto, which had maintained a progressive prefectoral government since 1950, progressive forces achieved a series of victories in the Tokyo metropolitan gubernatorial election in 1967, and then in Osaka Prefecture and Kawasaki City in 1971, the prefectures of Okinawa, Saitama, and Okayama in 1972, and cities of Nagoya and Kobe in 1973, and Kagawa and Shiga Prefectures in 1974. As for simultaneous local elections in April 1975, there were 205 progressive local governments representing 470 million residents, or 43% of Japan's total population. This achievement brought a significant impact to national politics. For example, as more and more local governments introduced free medical services for the elderly, the central government could no longer ignore such a trend, and finally in June 1972 it decided to amend the welfare law for the elderly and provide free medical treatment for elderly citizens.

Diet discussions became livelier. The JCP made earnest efforts to open a new path for Japan in accordance with our party program, and all the other opposition parties presented their vision of Japan's future course in opposition to the ruling LDP policies. It was a matter of course to have such diet discussions back then.

With the JCP's participation, new developments were made one after another in the steering of the Diet.

During the oil shock in 1973, citizens suffered from hoarding and withholding of goods by major companies. At that time the Diet summoned corporate representatives, thoroughly grilled them and revealed their unfair business practices. It was the first time in its history for the Diet to make such an achievement.

In 1979, when corruption related to the Lockheed Corporation was revealed, the government and ruling party tried to hush up the scandal. Then the JCP, the Socialist Party, and the Komei Party joined forces and, in spite of the reluctant LDP, realized a meeting of heads of 5 parties (the JCP, SPJ, Komei, LDP, and Democratic Socialist Party), attended by the Lower House speaker and Upper House president, obtaining an agreement on a thorough investigation of the scandal.

Momentum for a progressive united front at the national level developed. The JCP and the Socialist Party had a disagreement on constituents of a united front for a long time, but by the late 1970s the leaders of the two parties agreed three times on mutual efforts to create one.

Only a brief look at these facts tell you how different the political situation in the 1970s was from today.

### 3. Struggle to break down the ‘all-are-ruling-parties’ structure

#### **Ruling forces launch massive anti-JCP strategy in 1980**

The development gave a great shock to Japan’s ruling forces who had thought that the JCP had been dead and gone because of the “1950 Problem.” Facing the return of a stronger JCP whose policy of sovereign independence could not be defeated by the Soviet Union or China, they came up with a strategy. Of course, they were not able to resort to naked suppression like the pre-war days or U.S. occupation period.

They decided to recreate Japan's political arena so as not to give the JCP a chance to advance. This strategy was to have all other parties except the JCP follow the same track that the Liberal Democratic Party had been following. In this setup, all political parties whether in opposition or government basically would pursue the same course on such major issues as the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. This operation to build a so-called "all-are-ruling-parties" structure was launched in 1980.

Short of making over the political system itself, they started with a Komei Party-led political maneuver to aim squarely at the Socialist Party, which removed itself from the progressive camp by concluding the "Socialist-Komei agreement" in January 1980.

This was the start of a strategy to politically isolate the JCP and show the public that there was no use in their voting for the JCP. After that, during the 1980s, voices of progressive forces got weaker both in the Diet and in local politics. And everything operated according to the collusion between the SPJ and the LDP.

However, such a political regime necessarily increased corruption. In the 1990s when corruption became so rampant, the ruling circle realized that they could not sustain their rule only by maneuvers targeting political parties. So they proposed a "political reform" to overhaul the political system as a whole. It was an attempt to create a new political setup where "all ruling parties" were divided into two political parties, "LDP" and "non-LDP," by introducing the single-seat constituency system and government subsidies for political parties. And then these two parties competed in elections to rule alternately so that there would be no space left for the JCP. In the 1993 general election, "all ruling parties" were divided neatly into the LDP and the non-LDP camps based on this scenario. As a result, the non-LDP camp won and an 8-party coalition government was sworn in led by Prime Minister Hosokawa Morihiro. This change of governments successfully saved the crisis-ridden LDP-style politics from a progressive political change. However, the short-lived Hosokawa Cabinet fell because of internal bickering among

the coalition partners, just after enacting laws to reform the political system in an adverse manner. As the non-LDP coalition broke up, the multiparty era started with so many different parties existing in the Diet contrary to the initial idea of creating the two-party setup,

### **Third electoral advance (1996, 1998) New strategy to create two-party system**

After the hastily-built two-party structure collapsed, the new election system no longer had the power to contain the JCP. The political parties were inevitably judged in elections by their capability to protect citizens' interests and their visions of opening a bright future for Japan.

Under such a situation, the JCP made a 3rd electoral advance by gaining 7,268,000 votes in the 1996 general election and 8.2 million votes in the 1998 House of Councilors election, both for proportional representation seats.

Threatened by the JCP performance in the two elections, business circles (there is no “whole” because “circles is plural) launched in 2003 a 3rd attempt to block the JCP advance. It was a new strategy to create a “two-major-party system.”

Since the patch-up coalition led by Hosokawa did not work 10 years previously, they wanted to create a unified “non-LDP” party that would last longer. Thus, a new Democratic Party of Japan was born. The ruling circle also carried out a major change in the way an election was conducted. In order to remove any parties other than the two major parties from voting options, they unilaterally imposed on the public a “rule” that an election was to choose which party to sit in the next government. This so-called “manifesto election” started with great fanfare then, only to lose all its luster nowadays.

However, the third strategy was no longer valid once the change of government, the trump card for them to gain votes, was realized in 2009 by

the establishment of the DPJ government. Its rule soon revealed that the third strategy was also an attempt to prolong the LDP-style policies by only changing the outfit.

### **Promotion of adverse policies behind JCP attacks**

For last 30 years, the ruling circle has poured so much energy into its sole purpose of containing the JCP. Then what have they been doing in their primary job in politics? It is nothing more than slapdash politics in which they have irresponsibly and unrepentantly kept running on a half-century-old track of following what the U.S. government and Japanese business circles tell them to do.

In order to see the process and result, let us look at how the crisis in public finance was created, the excuse presently being used to increase the consumption tax rate.

The magnitude of a public finance crisis of a given country is measured by its national and local government debts (balance of long-term loans), specifically, a ratio of debt to GDP.

Japan's debt to GDP ratio is currently 190%, one of the worst in the world. This has not come about automatically. Who increased the debts for whose profit? Let's take a look at the facts.

In the late 1970s, when the “all-are-ruling-parties” structure was not established yet, Japan's financial situation was still rather healthy with total debts of 98 trillion yen and the debt-to-GDP ratio of 44%. Then in the late 1980s, 10 years into the “all-are-ruling-parties” structure, the debt increased to 254 trillion yen and the debt-to-GDP ratio to 61%. At that time, the crisis line set by the European Union was 60%, which Japan already exceeded. When the ratio increased to 75% at the end of 1994, the Fiscal System Council, a government advisory body, issued a serious warning in its report (May, 1995), stating that the situation was as if Japan were holding “a large

time bomb which was expected to explode in the near future.” However, no one in the government or ruling party listened to this warning.

When the ratio exceeded 120% in the late 1990s, I pointed to the situation and warned Prime Minister Obuchi Keizo in a one-on-one debate in the Diet in February 2000. The prime minister, however, only boasted by saying, “I have increased the debts by 101 trillion yen in a year and half.” His attitude truly revealed this reckless approach to politics.

As a result of such politics, this nation finally has 900 trillion yen of debts which amounts to 190% of the GDP, a situation much worse than the impending explosion of the time bomb warned about more than 10 years ago.

### **Who is responsible for and who made profits out of wasteful use of public money?**

It was the “all-are-ruling-parties” forces, not the Japanese public that was responsible for the financial crisis. Then who made profits out of the crisis? It will be clear if we look at the way the public money was spent sloppily.

Military and public works expenditures are the major items of sloppy spending. Let us compare these expenditures decade wise to find out who benefited from the crisis.

The total military expenditure in each decade was: 12.6 trillion yen in the 1970s; 30.5 trillion yen in the 1980s; 46.8 trillion yen in the 1990s; and 48.7 trillion yen in the 2000s. It sharply increased during the 1990s.

For public works projects, 153.2 trillion yen was used in the 1970s, then 291.3 trillion yen in the 1980s, 460.3 trillion yen in the 1990s, and 293.6 trillion yen in the 2000s. It also went up rapidly during the 1990s, then went down during the 2000s due to the fiscal deficits.

Why did these expenditures increase so sharply during the 1990s? In 1991, the Soviet Union collapsed. With the Soviet Union no longer considered to be the greatest threat for “national defense,” military spending should have decreased drastically during the following years. On the contrary, it drastically increased. After the downfall of the Soviet Union, the government purchased more than 300 Type-90 tanks that would be useful only for defense against the USSR. It also spent 120 billion yen each to buy 6 Aegis destroyers designed for a war with USSR. As a result, more than 1 trillion yen was paid to the defense industry to purchase these two items only.

The total amount of spending for public works projects in the 1990s exceeded by three times that in the 1970s. Let me remind you of the successive agreements that made Japan eventually spend 50 trillion yen every year for 13 years for public works projects, which were concluded between Prime Minister Kaifu Toshiki and U.S. President George H.W. Bush (1990), between Prime Minister Murayama Tomiichi and President Bill Clinton (1994), and then between Prime Minister Hashimoto Ryutaro and President Clinton (1997). Public works projects are supposed to be conducted based on public need. In this case, however, the government first set a large spending target in consultation with the U.S. and then looked for where to spend it afterwards. Such an upside-down policy started during the 1990s.

In this way, “wasteful spending is a virtue” became a watchword of the “all-are-ruling-parties” forces. With no one among them raising a serious warning, Japan’s fiscal situation went far beyond the critical line very, very easily.

Meanwhile, the tax system was adversely revised. The share of the corporate tax out of the total tax revenues decreased from 34% in the late 1980s to the less than 20% at present.

Both wasteful spending and adverse revision in taxation ended up benefitting the business circles. This has been the order of the day. If you squarely face

up to this history, it is out of question that neither the public nor the increase in the social security expenditures is responsible for the present fiscal crisis.

The responsibility lies in the “all-are-ruling-parties” forces, which extravagantly threw away tax money for 30 years as demanded by the U.S. government and Japanese business circles. Business circles and large corporations have been the largest benefactors from the wasteful use of public funds. It is a matter of course for the government and ruling parties that caused the present crisis to take responsibility to solve the financial crisis with the burden shouldered by business circles and major corporations.

However, without feeling an iota of responsibility for their own bad politics, the “all-are-ruling-parties” forces brazenly shifted the blame onto the public. The history clearly tells us that we should no longer allow such forces to be in charge of national politics.

#### 4. History of JCP’s theoretical development

When talking about the party’s history, we cannot skip the history of party’s theoretical development since the 1960s. The past 50 years mark a special epoch in the party history in theory.

##### **Stalin’s false theoretical system was an accepted theory in the world**

Establishment of the JCP position of sovereign independence was a new starting point for the party’s theoretical development. However, there was still a long way to go. Stalin had already created a spurious system of thought that looked like scientific socialism, and in many cases, it became an accepted theory among the movements in the world.

As for theory of socialism, he claimed that the Soviet Union already provided an admirable example of socialism, which made it unnecessary to revisit an old idea. As a result, Marx’s rich theory on socialism was put into mothballs. Marx’s theory on revolution was also summarily dumped as Stalin declared it

as no longer relevant because it was created before a revolution actually occurred.

In the realm of economic theory, though Stalin inherited the general outline described in Marx's *Capital*, he added to it his own theory of so-called "general crisis of capitalism," claiming that his was the supreme theory on contemporary capitalism.

Regarding philosophy and social science, there were textbooks said to be written by Stalin in which materialism, dialectics, and historical materialism were summarized in several simplified theses that were considered to be the essence of social science.

As regards his views on the international situation, Stalin advocated an idea centering on the Soviet Union. In this idea, Stalin divided the world into two camps: the imperialist camp led by the United States and the anti-imperialist camp led by the Soviet Union, and stated that enhancement and development of the Soviet Union was the driving force for world development and progress.

This theoretical system was, in many cases, adopted as an established theory among the world movement. It was difficult for the JCP, which started its newly-established path of sovereign independence, to put aside what were, at the time, seen as commonsensical ideas. It took some time until the JCP was able to lay the foundation of a modern position of scientific socialism from which we scientifically analyze the situation of Japan and the rest of the world.

### **Looking for theoretical revival of scientific socialism**

In the process of the arguments with the Soviet Union and China's Mao Zedong group concerning various domestic and international questions, we always did and are doing our utmost to rescue the original theory and spirit of scientific socialism as established by Marx from the false theory brought

about by Stalin in every field. From this point of view, we have pursued a study on Marx's theoretical achievement under a slogan, "Read Marx historically," and a study on Lenin's theoretical heritage by trying to better understand both its positive sides and its shortcomings.

Time prevents me from going into the details of these studies, but you can have a general idea by looking into all the records of the JCP Congresses from the 7th Congress onward and other major articles published in the same period. I explained this at some length in the final part of my lecture series on scientific socialism, whose transcript was published in the July 2012 issue of *Zenei* magazine. Please refer to it.

When the JCP drastically revised the party program at the 23rd congress in 2004, we included in this new program all the theoretical developments that we made since 1961.

Our half-century-long theoretical endeavor, restoring the original state of scientific socialism by eliminating the medieval shadow left during the Stalin era in order to herald a new era of applying it to the modern age, can be, in my opinion, even characterized as a Renaissance of scientific socialism. In this regard, I would like to stress that JCP's history of theoretical development is also of significance internationally.

## 5. Bringing about a new advance of Japan based on past history

Putting the current Japanese situation into such an historical context, I have an acute sense that Japan is on the eve of an imminent and profound change.

We can clearly see people's hardships caused by the misrule of the successive governments that has destroyed their livelihoods and democratic rights. Even though business circles promote the self-serving politics that is subservient to the U.S. and business circles, they themselves are at a loss for somewhat longer perspectives. That has been coming out here and there.

Even under capitalism, healthy development of a national economy is possible only with expansion of its domestic demand largely based on people's lives. This is economic logic. So, one cannot pursue large companies' exclusive growth at the cost of the general public without deepening overall contradictions.

At present, Japan has very little diplomatic presence internationally. What country in the world seeks Japan's advice in any contingency? This is not due to whether a cabinet is capable or not. It is because for more than 50 years this country has pursued a foreign policy lacking in independence and fully reliant on the U.S. Continuation of such a policy will never bring about a better future.

The world is in the midst of a great but positive upheaval. The era in which developed capitalist countries play the major role in the world is coming to an end. The population of these countries accounts for only one-seventh of the total world population with their total GDP declining from 80% to 60% during past two decades.

In their place, the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America are emerging strongly. All these nations experienced invasions by capitalist nations between the 16th and 19th century, which halted the civilizational development of the former. After the collapse of the colonial regime, they emerged in international society as independent countries, playing a significant role in global politics and economy. This has literally changed what the world is like.

We are now living in a world which is undergoing a dynamic change. In this changing world, Japan continues to cling to the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and politics subservient to the U.S., which were forced onto Japan 60 years ago. It is only natural that this country cannot find its place in the present world.

Awareness among the Japanese public is also undergoing very deep and significant changes, shaking the very foundation of the current political system. All the civic movements, whether demanding withdrawal from nuclear energy, or opposing the consumption tax hike, resisting the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) free-trade pact, or standing up to the Osprey deployment, are becoming a nationwide groundswell, overcoming divisions that previously existed among the public. Look at the weekly Friday actions against the restart of nuclear reactors. It is really encouraging for Japan's future that the younger generation is taking a lead in these movements.

Under these circumstances, one can see more clearly the difference between political parties bogged down in age-old political tracks and the JCP, which tries to move the politics into a new direction. Whatever party politicking or change in alignment of political parties may take place, whatever novel names or appearances those parties may take on, no party can break the impasse which Japan currently faces as long as it lacks commitment to breaking with the outdated politics that loyally serves the U.S. and business circle.

The JCP is a political party which has made tenacious efforts for more than a half century to defeat the LDP-created abnormal political framework. That is why it can present viable proposals like its "Economic Proposal" or "Diplomatic Vision." A new perspective of future Japan which is outlined in our proposals is obtaining sympathy and solidarity from various people and organizations with which we have previously had no close ties.

The JCP established a network of dialogue and friendship with neighboring Asian nations, Islamic nations, and emerging nations in Latin America through its diplomatic activities as an opposition party that we have developed for the last dozen years or so. In a sense, this network may be wider and stronger than a money-oriented network that Japan's ruling parties have built up.

All these facts indicate that objective conditions are maturing in various areas. That would eliminate the sense of despair caused by decades of old style politics under the “all-are-ruling-parties” structure and pave the way for a new era of progress worthy of the 21st century.

We are working under conditions in which many factors conducive to creating a new Japan are being generated at various places in the society. Under these circumstances, we commemorate the 90th anniversary of the JCP foundation. I call on you, especially young people who will bear the destiny of future Japan on their shoulders, to fully understand the significance of this situation.

Our goal to achieve JCP advance in elections is a key to our major challenge to bring about a 21st-century shift in the Japanese political direction. Let us remember numerous JCP activists who devoted themselves to social change since the JCP was founded 90 years ago. Let us follow their wish and do our best to achieve a JCP advance so as to open a new chapter in the history of the JCP and Japanese society. Thank you very much.

(Akahata July 21, 2012)