

# *Japan Press Weekly*

JAPAN PRESS  
SERVICE

SEND AGAYA 4-25-6, SHIBUYA-KU, TOKYO 151-0051, JAPAN  
Telephone: +81-3-3423-2381, Fax: +81-3-3423-2383  
e-mail: INFO@japan-press.co.jp  
URL: <http://www.japan-press.co.jp>

SSN  
0287-7112

**SPECIAL ISSUE - October 2007**

## **Public Assembly Commemorating JCP 85th Anniversary**

August 9, 2007

### **Present Political Situation and JCP's Role after House of Councilors Election**

Speech by SHII Kazuo

JCP Executive Committee Chair

(Page 3)

### **85 Years of the Japanese Communist Party and the Present Stage of Development**

Speech by FUWA Tetsuzo

Former JCP Central Committee Chair

(Page 18)

## **Funeral for the Late JCP Central Committee Chair Miyamoto Kenji**

August 6, 2007

### **Funeral Speech by FUWA Tetsuzo**

(Page 33)

*(Translated by Japan Press Service)*

# **Present Political Situation and JCP's Role after House of Councilors Election**

**Speech by  
SHII Kazuo  
JCP Executive Committee Chair  
At Public Assembly Commemorating the 85th Anniversary of  
The Japanese Communist Party  
August 9, 2007, Tokyo**

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

I would like to talk about the results of the House of Councilors election, the political situation that has emerged as a result of the election, and the present role of the Japanese Communist Party.

## **I**

### **Results of the House of Councilors Election**

#### ***JCP***

Let me begin by assessing the results of the House of Councilors election.

In this election, the JCP sought to win five seats with more than 6.5 million votes in the proportional representation part of the election. In prefectural constituencies we fought to secure the JCP seat in Tokyo and regain the seats we lost in the previous election.

We won three seats in the proportional representation election and we lost the incumbent seat in the Tokyo constituency. In all, we lost two of the seats that were up for re-election. Regrettably, we were unable to achieve our stated goal and suffered a setback. On behalf of the JCP Central Committee I want to apologize to everyone who voted for the JCP wishing for a JCP advance.

The JCP won about 4.4 million votes in the proportional representation election. The number is higher than in the two previous House of Councilors elections. It is important that we basically maintained the positions we had previously established. In Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto, the JCP had close races and won more votes than in the previous elections, indicating that in the next election, we may be able to regain the seats we have lost.

In this election, judging from the objective conditions, the JCP had a chance to do better. But the JCP faced adversity that prevented us from achieving a JCP advance. There was an eruption of very strong public criticisms of the ruling Liberal Democratic and Komei party policies. But those people who caused the

torrent of criticism turned to the Democratic Party of Japan, the largest opposition party in the Diet, There was also a fierce campaign urging the people to choose between the two largest parties, the LDP or the DPJ. It was a campaign aimed at deliberately suggesting that the JCP is not an option. This constituted the most effective break to stop people critical of the ruling parties from turning to the JCP. It is very significant for the JCP to have received 4.4 million votes in the condition that made the JCP campaign doubly difficult.

Exit polls taken on the voting day by media organizations showed that about 10% of the voters who had been committed to the JCP voted for the DPJ. The question is what made them vote that way. An e-mail message from a 22-year-old woman caught my attention. Let me read it to you.

*“Hang in there. I’m sorry about the JCP setback. But I suppose the election result was a consequence of the desperate attempt to force the ruling LDP-Komei coalition and Prime Minister Abe out. Although I was very supportive of JCP policies, I tried hard to stop votes from dispersing. But I remain committed to the JCP. So please do not think that the number of people who support your party has decreased. I hope the JCP will continue to do its utmost with confidence. Otherwise, I am ashamed of my act. I will continue to support the JCP. Please defend Article 9 of the Constitution and the peace in Japan.”*

The JCP head office has received many similar comments by e-mail. I understand that there were many JCP supporters who voted for the DPJ for similar reasons.

We should also look at the fact that the JCP in this election gained many new supporters. One tendency was that in many districts those who previously supported the LDP changed their minds to cast their votes for the JCP. The Kyodo News exit poll shows that among uncommitted voters the support rate for the JCP was 8.6%, the third highest after the DPJ’s 51.2% and the LDP’s 16.7%. This means that about one million uncommitted voters chose the JCP. Reports we have received from around the country reveal that public attitudes shown during the election toward the JCP were, and are, warm even after the election. I think this reflected the general tendency of voters.

Although there were some JCP supporters who chose to cast their votes for the DPJ as a desperate measure, probably more than one million uncommitted voters and those who had been committed to other parties threw their support behind the JCP. This is a result of the fierce struggle we waged.

I would like to express deep gratitude to many people for entrusting their wishes for better living conditions and peace with the JCP. Our thanks also go to all supporters, in particular JCP Supporters Association members and party members, for braving the heat wave or the stormy weather brought about by the seasonal rain front and typhoon to canvass support for the JCP from as many people as possible.

After the election, many people have given us heartening words or expressed opinions about our campaign by phone as well as by e-mails and faxes. We also have received many comments from secretaries of JCP prefectural and district

committees as well as from those who were in the forefront of the JCP's campaign.

What lessons should we draw from the House of Councilors election? What should be done to win a major JCP advance in the next House of Representatives general election? We would like to hear in earnest from as many people as possible both within and outside of the party and give the response in the 5th Central Committee Plenum.

### ***General assessment of the election focusing on the ruling LDP-Komei coalition's crushing defeat***

#### ***Encouraging positive development***

In assessing the election results, it is important to look at the overall picture in addition to the JCP's performance.

The most important thing we should note is that voters passed a critical verdict on the ruling LDP-Komei coalition thinking that the old framework of its policies are no longer tenable for developing a bright future for Japan. The LDP won 37 seats, down 27 from the 64 that were up for reelection. The Komei Party had 13 seats that were up for reelection and won 9 seats. The number of total votes cast for the LDP and Komei decreased by about one million from the 2004 election and down five million from 2001. Thus, the ruling parties suffered their "historic defeat."

Many people have rejoiced at this result. A report to the JCP head office said that one unsuccessful JCP candidate heard many voters say, "It was good." I want to emphasize that the LDP-Komei coalition's defeat is a welcome development.

#### ***LDP-Komei defeat cannot be explained only by a set of three items that caused adverse winds for the ruling parties.***

What is it that made the LDP-Komei government suffer the "historic major defeat"?

Some say that adverse winds that blew over three issues led the fallout, namely the missing pension accounts, a series of scandals involving politics and money, and gaffes by cabinet members.

It is true that these issues infuriated the public. There is no doubt about it. For example, shortly before the election, allegations arose about Agriculture Minister Akagi Norihiko's inappropriate political fund reports. No clear explanation was made about the allegations. Mr. Akagi made an appearance, with adhesive bandage on the face, but he refused to explain anything about the allegations. His irresponsible attitude and the prime minister's defense of Mr. Akagi drew strong criticisms by the people.

But it would be wrong to explain the ruling coalition's historic defeat only by

citing these issues. Fundamentally, they were defeated because their domestic and foreign policies are at an impasse causing severe criticisms and anger among the people.

**Verdict of rejection on ‘structural reform’ policies that has caused the law of the jungle to prevail**

First, concerning the issue of defending living standards, the Koizumi Cabinet and its successor, the Abe Cabinet, pushed a “structural reform” policy exacerbating the law of the jungle, but this policy has caused various problems. Heavy regressive taxes, cutbacks in social services, and the destruction of workplace rules together have dramatically widened the gap between the rich and the poor. It is a major social issue today. The problem of the “missing pension accounts” also infuriated the public. This is due to the fact that many people are very distrustful and critical of the adverse pension ‘reform’ imposed three years ago by the LDP-Komei government.

But the LDP-Komei coalition government led by Prime Minister Abe understands nothing about the hardships that ordinary people are forced to endure. Far from trying to pay attention to people’s hardships, it has raised the residential tax rate. It is now trying to force ordinary people to pay more in taxes by raising the consumption tax rate. A Yomiuri Shimbun poll conducted during the final week of the election campaign showed that the biggest issue that voters had in mind in choosing a candidate or a party was the pension issue (65.3%) followed by the issue of the consumption tax (43.8%).

I believe that many people could no longer support the “structural reform” policy that allows the law of the jungle to prevail and that this led to a rejection of the government policy.

**Voters rejected attempt to impose adverse constitutional revision aimed at ‘breaking away from the post-war regime’**

Secondly, on the issue of peace and democracy, Prime Minister Abe has pledged to “break away from the postwar regime,” the intention being to arbitrarily give priority to constitutional revision without reflecting on the past Japanese war of aggression. This caused deep concerns and strong criticism regarding the Abe government’s moves.

An editorial of the daily *Tokyo Shimbun* of August 5 was entitled “We should not break way from ‘postwar’ things”. It stated as follows:

*“The Prime Minister says, ‘Our basic political line has gained public understanding.’ What an untenable argument this is! On the contrary many voters were apprehensive about the ‘basic political line’. Without accepting this fact, you will not be able to explain why the ruling parties suffered their miserable defeat. Take his call for ‘breaking away from the postwar regime’, for example. Japan’s postwar regime consists of the constitutional ideas that have taken root over more than 60 years, namely respect for human rights and democracy based on pacifism. What does he mean by ‘breaking away from the postwar regime’? It’s surprising that he might be calling for Japan to return to*

*the prewar regime. The recent series of moves is clearly directed toward strengthening state authority and increasing state interference in various fields. These must be moves toward changing the Constitution to make it possible for Japan to use military force in cooperation with the United State. How perilous it is to call for a 'breakaway from the postwar regime!'"*

As vote counting went on, the Japan News Network of TBS published a survey it had conducted immediately after the voting. On the question "Do you agree with 'breaking away from the postwar regime?'" 50.8% of the respondents said, "No." Asked if they support "building a beautiful Japan," 63.1% said, "No." Concerning the Constitution, 61.9% answered they cannot agree with its revision.

The day after the election, Prime Minister Abe held a press conference. He mentioned nothing about "breaking away from the postwar regime." He did not use the phrase "a beautiful Japan." He did use the term "nation building," but without the adjective "beautiful." It may be that he was so ashamed that he could not mention "a beautiful Japan."

The argument calling for "breaking away from the postwar regime" should be applied to the characteristic feature of the postwar LDP. In criticizing the LDP for the scandals involving corruption and degeneration over politics and money, a critic said: "Breaking away from the postwar regime should be used to urge the LDP to display the courage to fundamentally review its regime since World War II. If he insists on "breaking away from the postwar regime," he should work to break away from the LDP system instead of from what he considers to be "the postwar regime."

The LDP-Komei government led by Prime Minister Abe is very dangerous in that it is imposing on the public the policy of giving priority to constitutional revision under the slogan: "Break away from the postwar regime". I want to stress the significance that voters realized how perilous the LDP-Komei government's basic policy is

### ***Let us have confidence in the role played by the JCP***

#### ***'JCP activities greatly contributed to forcing the LDP to suffer a crushing defeat'***

In isolating the LDP-Komei government of Prime Minister Abe, the JCP played a significant role through active political discussions.

The JCP influenced government policies by pioneering to expose the corruption scandals involving "politics and money" and by making constructive proposals concerning the issue of missing pension accounts and pension reform.

We particularly played an important role in driving the LDP-Komei coalition government into a corner over two burning election issues: "End poverty and defend Article 9 of the Constitution.

We criticized the sizeable residential tax increase that was forced through that abolished the fixed-rate tax cuts on wage earners. Our criticism dealt a heavy blow to the LDP-Komei coalition government. In fact, the government was obliged to produce a government PR paper making a contrived excuse for the tax increase. It used 300 million yen in tax money to do it. During the election campaign, the LDP-Komei government wanted to conceal its plan to increase the consumption tax rate in order to ram it through the Diet after the election in autumn. I believe that the JCP made an important contribution to making the consumption tax increase a major election issue.

The JCP revealed that Prime Minister Abe's talk about "breaking away from the postwar regime" and about a "beautiful Japan" was intended to bring back the prewar militarist system. We said that this was confirmed by the fact that his cabinet consists mainly of pro-Yasukuni Shrine forces who insist that Japan's past war of aggression was a just war. Many people debunked these dangerous slogans.

Only the JCP criticized the Komei Party's role promoting the adverse government policies. In characterizing the Komei Party's role, we said that it is pretending to put brakes on the runaway locomotive engine that it is actually helping to accelerate. A wide range of people shared this view of ours. A Komei Party official is reported to have said: "We intended to jump on the runaway locomotive engine to put on the brakes. But to many, we were seen as putting coal on the fire together with the LDP."

Mr. MAEDA Hisao, a former chief researcher at the National Institute for Defense Studies, made the following comment on the election in *Akahata*:

*"I believe that undoubtedly, the LDP's crushing defeat in the recent election is attributed to the great work the JCP did. Although regrettably, your party was unable to win extra seats, I am sure that the influence your party accumulated throughout the recent election campaign will be activated in future elections."*

We would like to work hard to meet these expectations.

***Our political discussions have contributed to making a breakthrough in this era of turmoil***

The Resolution of the JCP 24th Congress, January 2006, states:

*"In the recent general election, the LDP led by Koizumi focused its campaign on the issue of postal reform, diverting attention away from its own failure and misgovernment, a tactic to deceive the public in order to salvage itself from the crisis. This may give the LDP a respite from its present difficulty, but it will not solve contradictions between aberrant LDP politics and the public interest or between the LDP government policies and the world trend toward peace. If their lies and tricks are exposed, a major political cataclysm will inevitably follow."*

The revelation of "lies and cheating" was followed by major political turmoil. Convinced that by taking active part in political debates during the election campaign, the JCP contributed to opening the door revealing coming era of

turmoil, and we will do all we can to realize the promises we called for during the election campaign.

## II

### **New Political Process and the Role of the JCP**

#### ***A new era for the people to explore new politics***

Let me move on to the question of political prospects in Japan and the role of the Japanese Communist Party.

In the House of Councilors election, although many voters rejected the main political direction of Prime Minister Abe and his coalition government, they do not have a clear answer as to what political direction should replace the present one. The choice of the people is still to be seen.

The Democratic Party won many seats in the election. But in a survey conducted after the election by the daily *Asahi Shimbun*, 81% of the respondents said the DPJ increased its seats mainly because “the LDP had problems.” Only 9% linked the DPJ’s success to its policies giving the public high hopes.

Professor Gerald Curtis of Columbia University pointed out that Japanese voters gave a “No” verdict to the Prime Minister Abe-led LDP-Komei government, but that voters did not say “yes” to establishing a Democratic Party government. This view is confirmed by opinion polls.

Even some DPJ politicians share this view. A newspaper quoted a DPJ official as saying, “This (success of the DPJ) should be taken as an expression of voters’ expectations toward the DPJ. I do not take it as a measure of voters confidence in the DPJ.”

The major task now is for the Japanese people to decide on what policies are to be pursued in the emerging political circumstances as an alternative to the old framework of the LDP and Komei. This is the beginning of a new era in which people should explore new policies.

#### ***How can we make a breakthrough in this political process in the interest of the people? -- 3 main political issues to be dealt with***

Where will this new political process lead us? It depends on the popular struggle and the Japanese Communist Party’s effort. The question is how we can make a breakthrough. We think that there are we should deal with three main political issues. The JCP is determined to play an active role in all of them.

#### ***Effort to conquer the distortion of history -- Diplomacy of pro-Yasukuni forces have failed***

First, we must strive to overcome the extraordinary adverse current that



justifies the past Japanese war of aggression.

On July 30, the day after the House of Councilors election, the U.S. House of Representatives approved a unanimous resolution urging the Japanese government to formally apologize in a clear and unequivocal manner for coercing young women into sexual slavery. House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Tom Lantos criticized Japan's pro-Yasukuni forces for their recklessness and asked the Japanese government to face up to the historical truth as follows:

*“The continued efforts by some in Japan to distort and deny history and play a game of blame-the-victim are nauseating. Those who posit that all of the ‘comfort women’ were happily complicit and acting of their own accord simply don't understand the meaning of the word ‘rape.’*

*Failure to do so would signal to others around the globe that such horrors can be perpetrated again and treated just as cavalierly as they have been in this case.*

*The world awaits a full reckoning of history from the Japanese Government.”*

This resolution clearly shows that diplomacy by Prime Minister Abe and his pro-Yasukuni group has failed internationally.

As long as the Japanese government refuses to stop justifying the country's past war crimes, the world will continue to question whether Japan is qualified to engage in diplomacy with other countries throughout the world. Prime Minister Abe continues to disregard the U.S. congressional resolution only to make the matter increasingly serious. We believe that if Japan is to free itself from international criticism and concerns about its attitude toward the “comfort women” issue, it must issue an official statement accepting the historical fact and sincerely apologize for its past crimes. We urge the prime minister to do this now.

Friends, let us together make every effort to do away with the adverse current that distorts history from the Japanese political world.

***End subservience to the United States – Our call for the withdrawal of Japanese forces from the Indian Ocean and Iraq and the issue of constitutional revision***

Secondly, I want to emphasize the need for Japan to end policies subservient to the United States.

On this issue, the burning question is whether Japan should continue to take part in the illegal U.S. war or not.

Let me start with the question of the extension of the Special Measures Law on Anti-Terrorism. This legislation has been used to justify Japan's deployment of the Self-Defense Forces in the Indian Ocean to assist the United States in the war of retaliation against Afghanistan. The legislation will expire on November 1.

We must look at the fact that the 6 years of military retaliation has only helped to spread terrorism throughout the world instead of eliminating it, as clear from the resurgence of the Taliban forces in Afghanistan. The criticism that the U.S.-led mopping operation has further worsened the situation is growing in countries that have contributed troops to fight alongside the United States. In Germany, an opinion poll shows that 66% are in favor of the country's withdrawal from Afghanistan. All this sends the clear message that war is not the way to fight terrorism.

The Special Measures Law on Anti-Terrorism has provided the framework for Japan to trample on the Japanese constitutional principle of peace in order to support the war of retaliation launched by the United States in violation of the United Nations Charter. The JCP is strongly determined to stop the extension of the special measures law and demand that the government swiftly withdraw the Maritime Self-Defense Force from the Indian Ocean.

If the Democratic Party keeps opposing the special measures law as before, it is possible to scrap the extension bill in the House of Councilors after passage through the House of Representatives. The JCP calls on other opposition parties to join forces in both chambers of the Diet to reject it.

The withdrawal of the Self-Defense Forces from Iraq is a pressing task. Everyone now knows that the Iraq war was a war of aggression that was launched based on false information. In Britain, Prime Minister Tony Blair was forced to step down. The U.S. Congress has adopted a resolution instructing President George W. Bush to complete the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq by the end of March next year. In light of these international developments, how aberrant it is of the Japanese government to continue to say that the Iraq war was a just war and to keep the Self-Defense Forces in Iraq for transportation of supplies for the U.S. forces!

On this issue, a new condition for making it possible to propose a bill to abolish the legislation to dispatch troops to Iraq has emerged in the House of Councilors. The JCP will press the Diet to make every possible effort to pull Self-Defense Force troops out of Iraq.

The results of the House of Councilors election have dealt a severe blow to the attempt to revise the Constitution. On top of the "155 promises" in its "Manifesto" for the election, the LDP declared that it would make efforts to have the Diet initiate the process of constitutional revision within three years. At a press conference soon after the election, Prime Minister Abe said, "The issues like pension reform prevented us from discussing constitutional revision in the election campaign." He went on to say that he will discuss this issue with the people, thus sticking to his ambition to revise the Constitution. If he admits that discussion on constitutional revision was not sufficient during the election campaign, he must not arbitrarily push ahead with this important issue of revising the Constitution. Now that Prime Minister Abe and the Liberal Democratic Party suffered a crushing defeat in the election in which they called for constitutional revision on top of the LDP "Manifesto," isn't it logical for the LDP to withdraw its plan for constitutional revision?

In the Diet, our struggle to stop the plan to establish the Deliberative Council on the Constitution and the drafting of a revised Constitution is now more urgent than ever. It is particularly important to develop this struggle at the grassroots level. We will work with all our might to further develop the Article 9 Association movement building on the creation of more than 6,000 associations throughout the country.

***End the extraordinary financial circles-first policy using new conditions for developing the struggle to influence politics***

Our third task is to end the policy of putting the interest of large corporations above anything else and to defend people's lives and living standards. In this area of our struggle, too, we have various possibilities to influence politics by taking advantage of the emerging power relations in the Diet, depending on the growth of the popular struggle.

In the House of Councilors election campaign, we called for a "One Trillion Yen Emergency Plan to End Poverty and Protect Lives." The popular verdict given in the election will provide the conditions for this election promise to be realized to some extent.

For example, the Komei Party claims the credit for achieving free medical care for children in various municipalities. If a bill to provide free medical care passes through the House of Councilors, Komei will find it difficult to invent a reason for rejecting the bill in the House of Representatives.

In its manifesto the Democratic Party promised to revoke the law for handicapped people's self-support that requires them to pay more for services. This will make it easier to rally the majority to abolish the provisions.

The Democratic Party supported the bill to adversely revise the law to cut welfare assistance for single parent families. But its "Manifesto" for the recent House of Councilors election ("Policy List 300 for 2007") states that it will restore the benefits for single parent families to the previous level and reconsider the abolition of additional benefits for single-parent families with children 15 years of age or younger. We will call on other opposition parties to support a bill to revoke the provisions of cutbacks in welfare assistance

Under the new circumstances created as a result of the House of Councilors election, there is the possibility that the various measures called for in the JCP's "One Trillion Yen Plan" can earn support from the parliamentary majority. Of course we are aware that such an effort will face difficulties and interference. However, with the new possibility emerging, we will do all we can in and outside of the Diet to have this plan implemented.

Regarding the issue of pension reform, the LDP and Komei during the election campaign promised that they will study the JCP plan to reduce the minimum number of years of contribution payment required for receiving pension benefits to 10 years from the present 25 years. We will press the government and the ruling parties to fulfill this promise.

The verdict given by the people in the House of Councilors election dealt a heavy blow to the government and the ruling parties that were intent on increasing the consumption tax rate. During the election campaign, while opposing any consumption tax increases, the JCP demanded that Prime Minister Abe first seek an electoral verdict in the House of Councilors election if the government and the ruling parties are planning to propose in autumn a tax reform that includes a consumption tax increase. The prime minister was so irresponsible as to refuse to say either “yes” nor “no” to the consumption tax increase. The government and the ruling parties, which have continued to refuse to ask for people’s judgment, are not qualified to propose a consumption tax increase.

The recent electoral verdict is making it difficult for the government and the business circles to propose a consumption tax increase in autumn. But they have not given up on the plan. We should capitalize on this moment to go on the offensive in order to force them to abandon their plan to increase the consumption tax rate.

On any issues concerning the people’s living conditions, the government and the ruling parties always try to reject the demands of the people on the grounds that the state cannot afford to meet the demands. The question is whether the government will end the present excessive tax cuts for large corporations. Unless the government is willing to do so, it will end up in forcing ordinary working people to pay more for the funding of social services. In this respect, I want to emphasize that the role of the JCP is even greater because it is demanding that large corporations and the wealthy be asked to pay in accordance with the increase in profits they have gained.

Friends, in this election campaign we called for an end to poverty. We heard so many people say that they can no longer live under the present government. Responding to these voices, we want to display the *raison d’etre* of the Japanese Communist Party as a party essential for reducing the hardships of the people. I want to express our determination to do all we can at the grassroots level in order to build a society without people left behind in poverty and without people having to worry about slipping below the poverty line.

### ***JCP’s basic stance in the post-election Diet***

A new political process is beginning in the aftermath of the House of Councilors election. Will it be a positive one meeting the interests of the people? The key issue involved is, as I have just mentioned, whether Japanese politics will move to overcome what we have criticized as the three aberrations of LDP politics, namely the justification of Japan’s past war of aggression, subservience to the United States, and financial circles-centrism. This is a basic question that we should keep in mind when we wage the parliamentary struggle as well as in parliamentary elections. The JCP’s programmatic stance is one of remaking Japan while working to end the three aberrations. This is an increasingly important point, as the JCP Program is the most important compass we should use to solve the present problems.

The power balance in the Diet has changed. While the LDP-Komei forces are in the majority in the House of Representatives, the opposition parties are in the majority in the House of Councilors. In this new circumstance, the JCP will hold fast to the following four principles in waging its parliamentary struggle.

First, the JCP will never fail to make efforts to improve government policies on any issues in the interest of the people. Although the JCP is still small in the Diet, we will deal aggressively with any problems facing us in the belief that we can take advantage of the new parliamentary alignment to influence the legislature if we cooperate with the people.

Secondly, the JCP will do all it can to stop the ruling LDP-Komei forces going on the rampage or trying to regain their strength. We will also work hard to eradicate political corruption and irregularities, including scandals involving “politics and money”.

The government and the ruling parties have come to the point where they are compelled to propose a review of the Political Funds Control Law as a result of the recent election. The JCP will call for a far-reaching measure to prohibit corporations and organizations from making political donations. At the same time we will emphasize the urgent need to unravel the truth of political corruption scandals. In the Diet, in particular in the House of Councilors where the opposition parties are the majority, we will call for the Diet to invoke its right to carry out investigations in the effort to find the truth behind the series of allegations of political corruption.

Thirdly, we are ready to join forces with other opposition parties to achieve common demands. That is how we have acted in the Diet. Given the present circumstances in the House of Councilors where opposition parties form the majority, it is more and more important for opposition parties, united for the realization of people’s demands, to work together in opposition to LDP-Komei policies.

Fourthly, we will further increase common action at the grassroots level on public demands. Following the House of Councilors election, popular movements in various fields are more active in seeking to seize this chance for realizing their demands. We will further combine the parliamentary struggle with extra-parliamentary popular struggles.

On all domestic and foreign policy issues, the LDP-Komei government’s position will be under strict scrutiny in the upcoming Extraordinary Session of the Diet. The JCP will take on the LDP-Komei government on every issue with the determination to force the House of Representatives into dissolution for a general election.

The DPJ’s position should also be called into question and even tested. The DPJ “Manifesto” for the House of Councilors election contains many items that contradict the basic policy line it has held so far. The JCP will seek to work with the DPJ as much as possible to represent the interests of the public.

In this era of political turmoil that has just begun, the role of the JCP is increasingly important and we will make every effort to advance the present political process guided by the JCP Program.

***We will work to make the JCP stronger and larger as a party capable of taking the lead in opening the path for a bright future***

It is difficult to predict how the emerging new political process will develop or what it will bring about. I think I can say for sure that exploring a new way based on the political experience of the people is a very difficult task that takes time and that we will probably need to experience several parliamentary elections.

If the JCP is to play a leading role in making a breakthrough in this era of political turmoil, it absolutely needs to become bigger and stronger in terms of its political and theoretical capabilities as well as organization. I believe that many who took part in the recent election campaign with the JCP share the recognition that we need more strength to achieve further JCP advances in order to build up a party capable of making progress under any circumstances.

In the House of Councilors proportional representation election, the JCP increased its voting strength by 20% from the previous election in 72 municipalities. In many of them, the JCP is involved in day-to-day activities as the people's lifeline and is making efforts to maintain and further increase the party ranks while actively promoting study, including reading the JCP Program and other party decisions. We will spread these activities throughout the country.

We waged the recent House of Councilors campaign with a smaller *Akahata* readership, but we maintained our previous voting strength. This means that the number of votes cast for the JCP per *Akahata* subscriber increased. The number of votes per *Akahata* subscriber obtained by the JCP in 2001 was 2.7 in 2001, 2.92 in 2004, and 3.52 in the recent House of Councilors election. Of course, I am not saying that you don't need to increase the *Akahata* readership. The point is that at a time when the support base of the LDP and other parties are crumbling, the task now is for the JCP to receive more party members and *Akahata* subscribers. In this way can we increase our voting strength in future elections. I think we are in an era in which our party buildup effort will certainly be rewarded.

We are renewing our determination to devote all our energies to building a stronger and larger JCP with a view to taking the initiative in making a breakthrough in this era of political turmoil and also in preparation for the next House of Representatives general election. We will put greater emphasis on party building efforts.

I hope many more people will join the JCP and cooperate with us in building a stronger and larger JCP.

### III

#### **In General Historical Perspective, We will Work for a Bright Future of Japan**

#### ***We will prepare ourselves to develop the road for the future by fighting against the currents that go against historical progress***

Friends, we are meeting in this hall to commemorate the 85th founding anniversary of the Japanese Communist Party. Let's think about the present stage of the party's historical development in the historical context of the 46 years of political confrontation since 1961, the year when the JCP established the prototype political line of the present JCP Program.

During these 46 years, the JCP has twice established records in its political leap forward. Each JCP advance has given rise to adverse currents pushed by the ruling forces. Through fighting these adverse currents, we have sought to achieve a JCP advance. Even with these zigzags, we continue to make efforts to develop a bright future of the JCP. This is what the history of the JCP is about.

#### ***JCP advances in the 70s and a strategy for 'containment'***

In its political advances, the JCP reached a record high in the 1970s, receiving 6 million votes in parliamentary elections. Progressive local governments were established in many municipalities as well as prefectures. These advances brought about changes in national and local politics. The JCP's proposal for establishing a Democratic Coalition Government became a realistic task.

The ruling forces felt threatened by these progressive advances and invoked a strategy for containing the JCP. They started an anti-communist campaign exactly from the same viewpoint as the one held by the prewar Special High Police known as Tokko that supported the repressive government. In 1980, the Socialist Party of Japan (later renamed Socialist Democratic Party) dropped out from the progressive front by concluding an agreement with the Komei Party to isolate the JCP. This was how a new anti-communist set up came into being.

From the late 1980s through the early 1990s, the socio-economic system of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries collapsed. This event gave rise to arguments that "socialism/communism has collapsed and the main issue was about choosing capitalism or socialism. I was elected JCP secretariat head in that period when the argument that the communist party became obsolete was prevalent. In 1993-1994, a non-Liberal Democratic Party government came into being. This gave rise to an argument forcing the public to choose the LDP or non-LDP parties, an argument deliberately raised in the attempt to force the JCP out as an option. Although we withstood the attack saying that we would not join the dirty circle even if we were invited, we had to endure a very strong adverse wind. We put up an energetic counter-offensive, but in the subsequent period, the JCP reached a low ebb in parliamentary elections. We tried to increase influence at the grassroots level and increased the number of JCP members of local assemblies. This is how the JCP tenaciously defended its position.

### ***JCP's political advances in the 90s amid moves toward establishing a 'two-party' system***

The second high in JCP political advances came around the period in which the non-LDP government ended in failure, deepening the contradictions brought about by LDP government policies. That was in the second half of the 1990s. The JCP received 7,260,000 votes in the 1996 House of Representatives general election and 8,200,000 votes in the 1998 House of Councilors election. These JCP advances were effective in putting an end to the undemocratic parliamentary steering that excluded the JCP. This contributed to a significant change in the Diet.

In the 2000 House of Representatives general election, the ruling forces distributed anti-communist handbills on an unprecedented scale throughout the country. When the Democratic Party merged with the Liberal Party in 2003, the business sector led a major campaign calling for a "two-party system" with the aim of forcing the voters to choose between the LDP and the DPJ, excluding the JCP as an option. It was a major campaign to contain the JCP.

In addition to introduction of the single-member constituency system, the subsidy to political parties, the unjustifiable restrictions on election campaigns, as well as the mass media's complete disregard of the JCP, the ruling forces wanted to force the JCP out of the Japanese political world. Look at how restrictions are imposed on election campaigns in Japan. While you can buy a large space in newspapers without restrictions for putting up an ad on the day people go to the polling station, it is illegal to take to the streets with a loud speaker during the official campaign period. You are only allowed to use a megaphone in the streets. Thus, grassroots campaigning, which should be legal and permitted without restrictions, is severely restricted. This is very unusual internationally.

The JCP has waged several parliamentary elections in defiance of the moves promoting a "two-party" system, but we have yet to defeat them. However, we have received more than four million votes in each of these recent parliamentary elections. This means that those promoting a "two-party" system have not succeeded in excluding the JCP from the political world.

### ***With ruling LDP declining, we should find real possibilities for our progress in Japanese society***

The Japanese Communist Party is a political party firmly committed to the progressive remaking of Japanese society. A JCP advance will provoke the ruling forces to go on another offensive against social progress. The JCP does not make progress without difficulties. It has to face up to currents going against historical progress. We will continue to make the party stronger through zigzag struggles to defeat the adverse forces.

I want to emphasize that history teaches us something useful to our struggles. Contradictions between LDP politics and the people's interests have sharpened and the LDP's influence has declined dramatically in the last 40 years. The LDP



received 58% of votes cast in the parliamentary election in 1960, but in the recent House of Councilors election, its vote-getting strength was down to 28%. For more than 10 years, unable to maintain political power by itself, the LDP has had to rely on coalition partners. But even with the coalition in place, it experienced a debacle in the recent House of Councilors election.

We now have new possibilities. We are now in an era in which we should explore an alternative to LDP politics. If we make a breakthrough in this direction, we will have new prospects for a new Japan. Are there conditions for making this possible? Yes, they exist in Japanese society today. They are in the deepening contradictions between the public and LDP politics. How exciting it is to think of such possibilities!

Friends, the JCP received 6 million votes at its peak in the 1970s and 8 million in at its peak in the 1990s. Wouldn't it be natural that we should aspire to a higher goal?

***We will develop the proud 85 years of struggle in the 21st century in order to see the general development of history by displaying the party's undaunted and scientific character***

On July 18, former JCP Chair MIYAMOTO Kenji died during the House of Councilors election campaign. He was the JCP leader before and after World War II.

In his speech at the funeral held on August 6 by the JCP, former JCP Chair FUWA Tetsuzo referred to Miyamoto's struggle to save the party on three occasions after the end of World War II as well as his prewar struggle against the brutal suppression by the despotic Japanese government. He cited the so-called "1950 Question," a struggle to overcome the party split linked to Soviet and Chinese interference, and the struggle against outside interference by the former Soviet Union and China's Mao Zedong group in the 1960s. He said, "Miyamoto led the struggle to overcome several crises and developed the road to a new development with firm determination and scientific analysis."

I re-read Miyamoto's works. It is very exciting to know that he always acted by grasping the general historical trend at any critical juncture. In December 1944, shortly before the end of the Pacific War, Miyamoto wrote a letter to MIYAOTO Yuriko from prison. He said, "Historical selection will separate the new from the old and what is right from what is wrong on a scale and with precision that never existed before." At a time when most Japanese people could see nothing but a gloomy future, Miyamoto showed great historical insight by stating that the country will soon enter a new era. He had the belief that historical selection of right and wrong would unavoidably be subject to the judgment of history. This belief is encouraging in that we are now trying to develop a new era by overcoming difficulties that are different from those that existed at that time.

Let us take over and further develop this admirable tradition of the party in the 21st century. Let us work together to develop a hopeful future for Japan.  
Thank you for your attention. - Akahata, August 11, 2007

# **85 Years of the Japanese Communist Party and the Present Stage of its Development**

**Speech by  
FUWA Tetsuzo  
Former JCP Central Committee Chair  
At Public Assembly Commemorating the 85th Anniversary of  
the Japanese Communist Party  
August 9, 2007, Tokyo**

Good evening to everyone present in this hall and to those who are watching this event via the satellite communication broadcast system. I am FUWA Tetsuzo of the Japanese Communist Party. Welcome to this assembly marking the 85th founding anniversary of the JCP.

## ***Respects to all comrades for their contribution to making JCP history***

The JCP came into being on July 15, 1922. The 85 years of the JCP is a history made by many people who joined the party with confidence about creating a future society of peace and social justice. These people took part in various activities to support the party and some even gave their lives in their struggles. It is also a history being made by people who are working with more than 20,000 branches nationwide and who are working with national and regional JCP organizations and JCP assembly members at all levels. This being an assembly to mark the 85th anniversary of the JCP, I want to begin my speech by expressing deep respect for the many comrades who lived and died as JCP members in the last 85 years.

## **I**

### **Japan's Political Parties are Called upon to Make Clear their View of Japan before and during WWII**

#### ***JCP opposed the war and colonial rule at the risk of its members' lives***

In Japan, there is a very peculiar "Yasukuni" group of ideologues. It consists of people who insist that Japan's past war was a just war. They strongly believe that Japan was a "beautiful country" when it fought the war and wish to do away with the present Constitution in order to take Japan back to what they consider the good old days.

The recent election was the first for the Abe Cabinet that is made up of politicians who support Yasukuni Shrine's view of history. Meanwhile, in the United States, with which the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party is firmly allied with, the Congress adopted a resolution urging Japan to apologize for forcing "military comfort women" to serve the Japanese military as sex slaves during the past war. This reveals the contradictions involved in LDP-Komei policies. Thus, Japanese political parties' views on what Japan did before and during the past war are now under international scrutiny.

The JCP position on this question is very clear.

The JCP opposed Japan's war at the risk of members' lives even before it was started, and when it was launched, the JCP criticized the spread of Japan's colonial rule with the Japanese people being driven into the war of aggression. In other words, the JCP was arguing that it was a war of aggression and called for a change towards democracy in which the people are the sovereign power, at a time when the Japanese people were forced into enduring the misery of the war in the name of the absolute emperor.

### ***Many unknown fighters of resistance supported JCP activities in defiance of persecution***

It was not possible for the JCP to put up opposition to war without a lot of courage. The JCP was founded in 1922. Around that time, communist parties came into being in many capitalist countries throughout the world. However, among the seven capitalist countries today that meet annually for their summit meeting, Japan is the only country that outlawed its communist party from outset.

The JCP started with a few dozen people, but it soon began to grow. The exact number of party members at the time and other statistical figures are not available today. We can only estimate the JCP membership at the time from the scale of suppression in order to estimate the size of the party. In the ten years between 1928 and 1937, 61,685 "left" people were arrested on charges of violation of the Public Order Maintenance Law, a law designed to suppress the JCP. Many more people must have been actually involved in the movement. This figure shows that the JCP in Japanese society at the time was a source of a powerful current against war and for democracy.

Young party members took over the struggle after senior members fell in the suppression. You will find the names of many young party members recorded in the document *Eighty Years of the Japanese Communist Party*.

### ***Seven years of struggles under JCP banners***

Various documents that recorded the JCP's diverse struggles in the prewar days will give you a picture of the history of an era. The period in which the JCP was able to publicly carry its flag in activities was very brief. In February 1928,

the JCP made an appearance before the public by publishing the newspaper, *Sekki*. Activities at JCP headquarters were interrupted in March 1935 amid raging suppression. How surprising it is then that the JCP left such great footprints from only seven years of party activities in prewar years.

The 1930s was marked by the prevalence of the most brutal and the most sinister forms of repression. That was a period in which general interest magazines like *Chuo Koron* and *Kaizo* were known as highly acclaimed journals for novelists to publish their works. These magazines published works by many writers who were JCP members, including Kobayashi Takiji and Miyamoto Yuriko, and were read by many people. Kobayashi Takiji was engaged in underground activities when he wrote *To-seikatsusha* (The Life of a Communist Writer) and *Chiku no Hitobito* (People of the District). They turned out to be his last works. After he was tortured to death by the police in February 1933, *Chuo Koron* and *Kaizo* had the courage to publish these works. This is how the JCP in prewar days exerted a great social and cultural influence beyond what can be measured by the JCP membership at the time.

Critic TSURUMI Shunsuke, who is one of the founders of the Article 9 Association, compared the JCP to the lodestar in his writing about 10 years after the end of WW II as follows:

“At a time when most political forces were vacillating in conformity with the mainstream, only the Japanese Communist Party was firmly defending its founding principle. Like the North Star, it was been used by Japanese intellectuals during the years between 1926 and 1945 as the measure to find how they had been influenced by the tide of the times” (*Gendai Nihon no Shiso* or “Thought in Contemporary Japan”, 1956, Iwanami Shinsho).

This comment can be taken as a reflection of how the JCP worked to influence public opinion in the prewar years.

### ***Miyamoto Kenji led struggle during most difficult years***

MIYAMOTO Kenji died on July 18, 2007. He joined the JCP in 1931, 9 years after its founding. In 1933, he joined the party leadership when the party underwent the most difficult period it had ever experienced. In those years the despotic government not only resorted to suppression but used agents-provocateurs to make the JCP seem guilty of anti-social crimes, the aim being to falsely accuse the party advocating pacifism, people’s sovereignty, and democracy of being a criminal organization.

Miyamoto was arrested in 1933. He was the main target of this conspiratorial repression. Three days ago, I gave a speech at the party funeral for him. I said that he used his struggle in court not only to defend the party’s banners of peace and democracy in opposing the war of aggression and the despotic rule but also to protect the political honor and moral authority of the JCP by exposing the conspiracy.

In his tribute to the late Miyamoto, KATO Shuichi, one of the founders of the

Article 9 Association, wrote a tribute to Miyamoto saying that Miyamoto's consistent pacifism "saved the honor of the Japanese people."

I think I should accept these words as an encouragement to all those who devoted their young lives to the struggle and to all participants in the JCP struggle.

This being the history behind the JCP, we can be straightforward in proudly denouncing the pro-Yasukuni policies of the Abe Cabinet.

## II

### **'Communism is Alive and Well and Living in the World's Second-Largest Economy'**

#### ***TIME Magazine's description of JCP today***

Shortly before the House of Councilors election, a U.S. *Time* magazine carried an interesting article entitled "Communism is alive and well and living in Japan." It described the JCP as "a communist party soldiering on in the world's second-largest economy more than 15 years after the collapse of the Soviet Union."

The TIME reporter went on to say, "Of course, communist parties elsewhere in the industrialized world that had followed a similar script nonetheless faded into irrelevance in the 1990s. But the JCP, although weaker than in its heyday, still matters in Japanese politics."

This article reminded me of 1960, the year of the nationwide struggle against revision of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. In the same year, representatives of 81 communist parties held an international meeting in Moscow, the first and last conference of this kind held since the end of World War II. It was a huge meeting. After a month-long preliminary meeting in October to draft a joint statement, another month-long plenary meeting took place in November and December to discuss and adopt the draft statement. Miyamoto Kenji led the JCP delegation to the preliminary meeting. He tried hard to make the text drafted by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union reasonable by proposing more than 80 amendments. In the discussions on the draft statement, I assume that the JCP was one of the parties that attracted great attention in the meeting. At that time, the Italian and French communist parties were known as powerful parties with larger communist party delegations in parliament than in any other country. In the international conference, these parties sided with the CPSU. The JCP at the time had only one seat in the House of Representatives, far from being an influential party, but it firmly maintained its critical position.

The world today is very different from what it was 47 years ago. The JCP is seen so differently that a U.S. magazine reports that "communism is alive and well" in the capitalist world. How can this change be explained? It has something to do with an important question related to the history of the JCP. That is the fact that the JCP established sovereign independence as its basic policy

earlier than any other communist party in the world.

### ***How JCP established its sovereign independence***

This question has a history.

I joined the JCP in January 1947. In the postwar period, many in the JCP may have had profound respect for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leader Stalin in that the CPSU was Lenin's party, that Stalin took over its leadership, and that the Soviet Union defeated Hitler's Germany, the strongest foe in WW II, helping the anti-fascist allies win victory. The Communist Party of China at the time appeared to have been forced to retreat into Northeast China after its cooperation with the Kuomintang (Nationalists) in the anti-Japanese war was disrupted by an attack from the Kuomintang, but it soon made a counterattack and achieved its victorious revolution in 1949. With these things taking place, the JCP had strong sympathy with and trust in the CPC.

#### **'1950 question'**

In 1950, the Cominform, the Soviet-led international organization, and the Communist Party of China each published an article criticizing the JCP, temporarily bringing confusion into the JCP. But many JCP members on the whole took these criticisms as serious pieces of advice from friendly experienced parties. The fact, however, was that far from being friendly advice, it was a signal for the start of interference by Stalin and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to force the Japanese to carry out an armed struggle in line with their calculations. According to their plans, a splinter group acting at the CPSU's beck and call was to be set up within the JCP leadership, the "Tokuda-Nosaka faction" as we call it today, in order to disband the JCP Central Committee by taking advantage of the crackdown by U.S. occupation forces on the JCP, and create a secret leadership organization in Beijing through which Stalin as planning to impose the armed struggle policy on the Japanese movement..

This interference broke up many ties that many JCP members had established through hard work with the public, dealing an irrecoverably serious blow to the JCP. In the House of Representatives general election held in January 1949, the JCP won 35 seats with 2,980,000 votes. In 1952, after the start of the interference, the JCP received only 890,000 votes, and no JCP candidate was returned.

We call this the "1950 question".

#### ***Turning point for shifting to policy of sovereign independence***

When the JCP resolved this crisis and put itself back on the track, we drew several lessons from this bitter experience, lessons that formed the foundation of later party activities, including the one that led to the establishment of sovereign independence.

Stalin's conspiracy was made behind closed doors, so we only came to know the whole picture more than 40 years after the intervention, in 1993. In the

aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union, secret files in the Kremlin were opened and documents that had been kept in it were made available to the public. We thoroughly studied them and came to know the details of what happened in the “1950 question.”

In fact, at the time of the JCP 7th Congress (1958) that resolved the “1950 question,” the party had very limited knowledge of the extent of the foreign interference. Yet, from its own experience we knew how harmful it is for the party to become a target of foreign interference. This is why the JCP in the course of the two years of inner-party discussions made clear that foreign interference is unacceptable and that no party has a right to interfere with the Japanese revolutionary movement no matter what achievements the foreign party had made in the past. This is how the JCP established its position of sovereign independence, which became the fundamental principle of JCP activities.

This experience in effect marked a major turning point for JCP activities after World War II.

At its 8th Congress in 1961, the JCP established its Program stating that in Japan, a highly developed capitalist country, the immediate task of the revolution should be to achieve a democratic revolution and that the JCP should aim to establish a government by winning a stable parliamentary majority in the Diet. This was made possible by the enforcement of the principle of sovereign independence.

### ***The struggle against interference by the two great powers***

The JCP policy line again faced a severe test in the 1960s.

The world communist movement looked different from what it had been in the era of Stalin, and the Cominform that used to specialize in interfering with communist parties throughout the world was gone. Technically, the principles of sovereign independence and equal rights for all communist parties were proclaimed. But in actuality, Soviet-centrism was the dominant tendency in many communist parties. Later, China-centrism arose to rival Soviet-centrism. Very few communist parties at the time firmly stood for the position of sovereign independence in both name and in reality. It was in this period that communist and workers' parties held an international meeting in 1960.

The CPSU began interfering with the JCP in 1964. Amid the struggle against Soviet interference, we faced another interference in 1966 by the Mao Zedong group of the Communist Party of China. Thus, the JCP had to fight against attacks launched by the communist parties of the two largest powers. We felt we were surrounded by enemies on all sides. But the JCP faced up to this bitter test and completely defeated them.

### ***Sovereign independence came to represent the spirit of JCP***

In my speech at the party funeral for Miyamoto Kenji, I spoke about the important role he played at JCP headquarters in those crucial years when we dealt with the “1950 question” and the outside interference by the two powers in

the 1960s. Today, I want to take this opportunity to look back on these periods from a different angle, focusing on the JCP's sovereign independence, the fruit of the party's united struggle and efforts.

Only a tiny group of party leaders at JCP headquarters who belonged to the faction led by NOSAKA Sanzo and TOKUDA Kyuichi erred in taking the course of following the Soviet Union and other interventionists' instructions. Many JCP members, who had no knowledge of such facts, made strenuous efforts to support the party without yielding to repression by the forces of reaction. It is these rank-and-file members' efforts that helped the JCP withstand the indescribable difficulties. They also supported the successful review of the "1950 question" by taking active part in inner-party discussions.

The fact that the JCP's sovereign independence gave all JCP members confidence was verified by our struggle against interference by the parties of the two great powers in the 1960s. Soviet and Chinese interference was not something predictable. It was a sort of surprise attack. More importantly, the struggle was not just waged by JCP headquarters. Both Soviet and Chinese interventionists intruded on Japan to create splinter groups within the JCP to use them to overthrow the JCP. They even tried to involve other Japanese political parties in order to disrupt the peace and democratic movements and the international friendship movements. They used every possible means to isolate the JCP throughout the country. It was necessary for every JCP branch and every JCP body at all levels to exert their spirit of sovereign independence, strengthen party unity, and face up to the interventions. The whole party faced up to this tough challenge. The JCP in the 1960s did more than just defeat the forces of foreign interference. It further trained and developed itself in the course of the struggle and opened up the path for a great advance in the 1970s.

### ***The present state of the world's movements after the collapse of the Soviet Union that marked a watershed***

The fact of the matter is that the communist party should be opposed to great power chauvinism and should defend the principles that the movement of each country should be independent with equal rights.

Both Marx and Engels unreservedly opposed any movement in any country that seeks a privileged position or behaves in an arrogant manner because of their historical background.

In asserting Soviet-centrism, the Soviet Union was imposing something that had nothing in common with scientific socialism or the communist movement. The JCP's sovereign independence that rejected this view helped the party retain its principled position as a communist party.

Having said that, let's go back to the *TIME Magazine* comment. How is it that the communist party is "alive and well" in Japan "although weaker than in its heyday" at a time when the communist parties in many other countries have waned? It is clear that there is a difference between the party of sovereign



independence and many other parties that continued to side with the Soviet policy of hegemony.

The watershed emerged when the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991.

The JCP welcomed the Soviet demise as a fall of a colossal evil of hegemony. Look at the 16 years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and you can see the world gaining vitality by getting free from the Soviet policy of hegemony and from the spell of the “U.S.-Soviet confrontation.” This is a point we emphasize from time to time.

The JCP reviewed its activities and the development of domestic and international situations since it established the firm ground at its 7th and 8th Congress, and revised the JCP Constitution in 2000 and the JCP Program in 2004. We made these revisions after analyzing fully the new developments the world had seen since the fall of the Soviet Union. The revision of the JCP Constitution and the JCP Program meant preparing the party for the 21st century. We did this because the JCP consistently maintains the spirit of quest instead of being content with the status quo, always maintaining a pioneer’s spirit addressing new questions.

In contrast, the communist parties that had been taken care of by the Soviet Union in all areas, including theoretical activities and finances, lost their mainstay when the Soviet Union collapsed. Let me talk about how one-time influential Italian and French communist parties experienced degeneration and declines.

#### ***Italian Communist Party***

Sensing the winds of change, the Italian Communist Party (PCI) in its congress in January-February 1991, before the collapse of the Soviet Union, decided to abandon its name of “communist party” together with Marxism as its theory. It renamed itself the “Democratic Left Party”. The party joined and quit the government without surprising anyone. This party is now seen as just another middle-of-the-road political party. Reportedly, the party will hold its congress this autumn whether to decide to merge with a group of a conservative party to form a “Democratic Party.” It has thus thrown off the “progressive” or “left” position. It will mean that the party has completely abandoned its positions of progressives and left. Some Japanese media commended the CPI as more advanced than the JCP. But this is how the CPI really is.

#### ***French Communist Party***

During the era when the Soviet Union existed, the French Communist Party (PCF) was one of the most pro-soviet parties and was often referred to as “Moscow’s eldest daughter.” It even supported the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Several years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the PCF invented a theory that attributed the failure of the Soviet Union to the failure of Marxism. It declared that its name would continue to be the communist party but it renounced Marxism. And the PCF is still unable to find a way out of decline.

For many years after the end of WW II, the PCF continued to win more than 20% of the votes cast in national elections. Since it supported the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, its vote-getting strength fell to as low as a little more than 10%. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the figure was below 1%. After the PCF threw off Marxism, it fell to as low as 4%. Thus, the loss of the PCF's political strength went declined through logical processes.

The state of affairs of these two parties, which had been known as the largest communist parties in the capitalist world, shows clearly the ultimate demise of parties that abandoned the banners of the communist party and the theoretical foundations of scientific socialism.

I want to draw your attention to the fact that the *TIME Magazine* comment was made in this context. It shows how valuable and great the Japanese Communist Party's effort to establish the policy of sovereign independence was in its history after World War II.

### III

#### **Present Stage of Dialectics of Political Confrontation**

I'll move on to the next topic, the JCP in the context of Japanese politics.

#### ***Ruling circles' key strategy***

When the JCP achieved rapid advances by establishing its new support base in the 1970s, the ruling forces began to structure their political strategy with the JCP as the main enemy. Why did they target the JCP as their main enemy? It is because the JCP is a political party aiming for the realization of social liberation in future society by overcoming capitalism which is the source of the evils of present-day society. It is also because the JCP maintains a scientific view with which it foresees the path of social progress in a step-by-step process and which always fights against the source of people's suffering at each stage of development. Specifically in Japan, the JCP is aiming to put an end to the autocratic rule of large corporations and financial circles and is clearly aimed at ending the systems of oppressive rule by big businesses and financial circles and Japan's subordination to the United States. It is a party that aims for change and the building of a Japan which is truly people-first and democratic.

Because the ruling forces know this very well, they concentrate their attacks on the JCP in order to force the JCP out of the political scene whenever the JCP has advanced or shown signs of advance. In fact, for more than 30 years, the JCP has made every effort to achieve its advances by fighting against the attacks by the ruling forces.

In my book *On the History of the Japanese Communist Party* (published in 2006-2007), I referred to the move as dialectics of political confrontation.

Let us think about where the JCP stands today in this dialectical

development.

The ruling forces have resorted to different tactics to force the JCP out of the political scene. In the 1970s, they launched a “Defend Free Society” campaign and rehashed the anti-communist political intrigue used by forces of reaction in prewar Japan. In the 1980s they campaigned to unite all political parties except the JCP in support of ruling party policies. In the 1990s, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, they attacked us by arguing that choosing a socio-economic system is what politics is all about.

Today, the key element of their attacks is the attempt to mould Japan’s political parties forcibly into a “two-party” system as means of excluding the JCP from the political world.

### ***‘Two-party’ led campaign has a history***

#### ***‘Non-LDP’ forces vs. LDP in 1993***

The “two-party system” campaign has a history. When it first appeared in 1993, it took on the form of a confrontation between the LDP and non-LDP forces. Immediately before the House of Representatives general election in 1991, a group led by Ozawa Ichiro -later called themselves *Shinseito*, or the Japan Renewal Party, broke away from the Liberal Democratic Party to form a non-LDP coalition with all opposition parties except the JCP, and urged voters to choose between the LDP and the non-LDP.

As the result of the general election the LDP was replaced as the ruling party by the non-LDP forces and Prime Minister Hosokawa Morihiro’s Cabinet was formed. The Hosokawa Cabinet lay the institutional groundwork for establishing a two-party system by introducing the single seat constituency system and the government subsidy system to political parties. The policy agreement signed by the 8 coalition parties stated that they would take over the basic policies from the previous government.

In selling the virtue of “non-LDP” politics, they said to the public, “Please feel at ease. This is a change of government within the framework of LDP policies.” They also said that this is just a change within the LDP political framework and that what matters is the change of hands.

#### ***‘Two party’ system campaign in 2003***

Another campaign for a “two-party” system came up in the House of Representatives general election in 2003. Just before this general election, the Democratic Party merged with the Liberal Party to form the new Democratic Party of Japan. The business sector was the main sponsor of the campaign to make this election one of choosing the LDP or the DPJ.

Unlike in the 1993 election, they no longer use the call for “taking over LDP policies” as the key slogan. As the LDP and the DPJ share the same policy goals of increasing the consumption tax rate and revising the Constitution, they simply

competed for effectiveness in implementing these policies. This was a manifestation of the deepening contradictions between LDP policies and the public interest.

### ***Calling for a campaign to 'choose a prime minister'***

In the recent House of Councilors election, they called on the voters to choose a prime minister as the way to draw voters' attention to the "choice between the LDP and the DPJ" just as they had done in the previous election. However, there were two new features.

One is the start of the Abe Cabinet made up mainly of politicians from the pro-Yasukuni Shrine group. This explains more clearly than ever that the LDP's political base was further declining.

The other is that the DPJ changed its campaign tactics. Four years ago, it tied to vie with the LDP for effectiveness in achieving the policy goals which it shared with the LDP. It found this basic tactic no longer viable and carried out a confrontational campaign. This made it easy for the DPJ to absorb people's criticisms of the LDP-Komei government, but it failed to present voters with an alternative to LDP policies.

This is basically what the recent "two party system" election was about.

Look at LDP politics. It is in decline. I think it important to note that this is exactly what makes the LDP campaigning toward a "two party system" look differently.

### ***A historical view of 2007 election***

Chair Shii has just talked in detail about the election results. I want to talk about them in a historical perspective and in the light of the JCP Program.

The day after the election and vote counting, the JCP Standing Executive Committee published a statement. It gave the following three characteristic features of the election results.

First, it said that the LDP defeat is attributable not just to some politicians' scandals. It said, "Clearly, the voters have judged that the political framework of the LDP-Komei coalition does not provides the public with a promising future."

In fact, the post-election moves of the Abe Cabinet and the LDP show that cracks are further widening between them and the general public. To begin with, Mr. Abe was chosen to become a prime minister in September 2006 simply because he was considered useful in improving the public's image of the ruling party in the elections. The recent election results showed clearly that they had the wrong expectations of him. But they have no choice but to allow Mr. Abe to continue to lead the government because they did not have an alternative. This clearly shows the LDP in decline, doesn't it?.

Secondly, the JCP Standing Executive Committee statement is straightforward in pointing out that the election results do not show that the public is clear about an alternative to the LDP-Komei government. This is how the Japanese and foreign media view the election results.

Thirdly, the JCP statement gave a clear view about how Japan's politics will develop. It says that a new era has begun in which we will explore an alternative to LDP-Komei government policies, adding that the importance of discussing it in parliamentary discussions and national elections will be greater than ever.

These three points are at the core of the JCP Executive Committee statement.

### ***Quest for a new political process and JCP Program***

We have repeatedly issued the warning about LDP politics forcing Japan into a no-way-out situation. This view is shared by many people.

Then, how can we break this impasse? The public does not have an answer to this question yet. The JCP statement says that the nation is at a new stage in which all sectors of the people are called upon to share past experiences to seek and find an answer.

Take a close look at the present situation and you will find that the ideas of the public and the JCP's position will become closer. Why? It is because the JCP Program presents a clear argument regarding how the present no-way-out situation in Japanese politics can be overcome.

Some of the pressing political questions facing Japan may be resolved by opposition parties in their common efforts on agreed points, but others can only be resolved through replacing the LDP political framework.

### ***Domestic policies and the question of fiscal resources***

When we look at domestic problems in Japan, including social welfare services, gaps between rich and poor, pension schemes, and poverty, we always face the question of fiscal resources needed to solve them. The LDP's attitude is tantamount to telling us to give up our proposals on the grounds that the country has fiscal shortfalls.

But the present problem facing Japan is not about fiscal shortfalls. There are two major problems.

#### ***80% of tax paid by ordinary people is used to help reduce burdens of big business***

We must first ask where is taxable money to be found to increase revenue. During the election campaign we repeatedly said that Japan's large corporations capitalized at one-billion yen or more earn greater ordinary profits now compared to 1989 when the economic bubble was at its peak. Their ordinary profits in 2006 totaled 33 trillion yen, 1.8 times the 1989 profits that totaled

18-trillion yen. However, the amount of tax paid by these large corporations for fiscal 2005 was 20-30% less than in the period of the economic bubble. Actually, their profits were 1.8 times larger, so it stands to reason that they pay 1.8 times the tax they paid during the economic bubble years. But the amount of tax they paid was much lower. If the general public is given the same tax breaks as large corporations, our living conditions would be much better.

How absurd it is that only large corporations are given tax cuts even though they are earning more.

How such absurdity be allowed to continue? I want you to take a look at the following figures.

One problem we should look at is the consumption tax. Many people have difficulty paying the consumption tax. The consumption tax was introduced in 1989. Over the years up to the current fiscal year, it is estimated that a total of 188 trillion yen has been collected in consumption taxes. In the same period, large corporations have been given a tax cut 160 trillion yen. This means that 85% of the consumption tax paid by the general public has been used to give large corporations tax cuts.

The other point I want to make is how taxes have been increased/cut in the 8 years of the LDP-Komei coalition government. The government, almost every year, forced the general public to pay more in taxes. The total amount of yearly tax increases has reached about 5.4 trillion yen. In contrast, the government has cut taxes on large corporations and the wealthy almost every year amounting to 4.3 trillion yen a year. This means that 85% of the tax paid by ordinary people is given away to large corporations.

#### ***Unrestricted expenditure on wasteful military buildup***

The second question concerns the wasteful use of tax money. TV and other media nowadays are critical about the wasteful use of tax money, but there is one particular area that TV reports do not take up. That is the military expenditure, the only area where a large-scale waste of tax money is allowed without question.

Until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Japan implemented various military buildup programs at the request of the United States for the Self-Defense Forces ostensibly in case of a Soviet attack. Even after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the SDF did not stop these programs on the grounds that they had already been in place.

The Ground SDF provides a typical example of wasteful spending. It has procured more than 320 Type-90 tanks, most of which are deployed in Hokkaido. The Type-90 tank weighs about 50 tons. It is too heavy to travel over roads and bridges in Japan. It is for this reason that Type-90 tanks were deployed in Hokkaido after constructing special roads and bridges in the event of an invasion by Soviet forces. All of the 320 tanks were deployed after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Including the portion for fiscal 2007, the procurement has cost 300 billion yen.

The Maritime SDF has a similar case of wasteful spending. The MSDF procured 6 Aegis ships. The Aegis equipped ship is the most expensive warship in Japan. Japan spent 760 billion yen for them. Japan first ordered them ostensibly with the aim of defending the sea lanes from Soviet attack with Backfire fighter jets. Although these warships were completed years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the MSDF has bought 6 Aegis ships. I found that these warships have been used only for refueling U.S. war ships in the Indian Ocean. Actually, it is of no use in any other areas.

These are just two examples to show how tax money is wasted without any accountability.

We know how taxes are collected and expended. Why are many political parties in Japan silent about this fiscal irresponsibility?

It is not that they lack the wisdom to do that. They lack a program with which to take issue with Japanese large corporations and the United States. But from now on, political parties' positions on this question will be called into question.

### ***How can Japan's diplomatic stalemate be broken?***

Let's talk about Japan's diplomacy. Many in the world know that Japan's diplomacy is at an impasse. They also know what the cause is.

I want to take up three issues. First, the Yasukuni Shrine view of history. No country that says Japan's past war was a just war is qualified to speak internationally in the present-day world. The second issue is about Japan maintaining the basic policy of subservience to and unconditional support for the United States since the two countries are in alliance. Such an absurd view cannot earn support anywhere since the end of the Cold War. The third issue is Japan's inclination toward promoting a policy of strength. It is a policy of responding militarily to any event. Japan has a poor hand in diplomacy, an element which is more important than anything else in international politics. In the 6-Party Talks on North Korea's nuclear program, when most participants are making earnest efforts to resolve the issue and considering establishing a Northeast Asian regional peace organization after a successful resolution of the North Korea issue, Japan does not show willingness to do the same and it even shows dislike for progress toward achieving peace. Many in the world are worried about Japan's diplomatic stance.

The biggest banner of present Japanese foreign policy is a call for constitutional revision enabling Japan to send troops abroad and carry out further arms buildups. Is there a party that can present a way to solve Japan's diplomatic stalemate? None other than the JCP can do so.

The JCP Program presents a basic policy for peaceful diplomacy replacing the Japan-U.S. military alliance with a bilateral relationship based on equal rights. It calls for peace to be created through negotiations and for Japan to base its diplomacy on a critical review of its part war of aggression. In realizing this, the

JCP Program will prove to be effective for the people to have a choice.

The JCP Program includes the party's view of the world. In view of the three major changes that took place in the 20th century, namely the collapse of colonialism, the development of countries striving to achieve socialism, and the end of Soviet hegemony, the JCP Program provides analysis on the world trends in the 21st century, and presents a comprehensive view of peace and social progress. This world outlook has drawn keen attention in all countries we visit. The key to the success of the JCP's opposition diplomacy is its principled yet flexible diplomacy based on this world outlook.

### ***Network for grassroots efforts***

The other point I want to make is that the effort to tell the public about a "new politics" that the Japanese people need is not something that the JCP center alone does. During the election campaign, all members of the JCP and the JCP supporters' associations had discussions with the public about a new political framework. Through the process of a popular quest for new politics, we mean to continue the day-to-day efforts that we made during the election in response to public needs. Let us set out to create nationwide networks in which all JCP branches and all JCP supporters associations reach out to the public and explain what the JCP Program entails.

### ***We firmly stand for a revolutionary view of the future***

The JCP Program is not a temporary "manifesto" for a particular election campaign. Ours is a manifesto that provides a basic course for Japan to defend the interests of the people and secures the present and future national interests of Japan. This perspective is not something we are forcing the public to accept. If you are serious about defending the public interest, you will necessarily face two major obstacles, the autocratic behavior of large corporations and the business sector and Japan's subservience to the United States. If you were to remove these obstacles, you would necessarily come closer to JCP policies. I think it important for us to have confidence in this potential.

Of course, people's ways of thinking may change. However, people's views and their political awareness will make progress in the long run, as people will learn from past experiences. The JCP has made every effort to bring success to every struggle in defiance of all difficulties before, during, and after World War II. The JCP has carried on struggles by maintaining this revolutionary perspective and without being overly elated or discouraged at the outcome of each struggle. This is a revolutionary tradition that has run through the 85 years of existence of the JCP.

As we mark the 85th anniversary of the JCP, I want to call on you to reaffirm our unbending determination and the spirit of pioneers and explorers in order to acquire the revolutionary stance to enable us to always view the future in a broader perspective so that we can surmount any difficulties we may face. Let us work hard for a bright future for Japan and the world. Thank you for listening.  
- Akahata, August 12, 2007



# **Funeral Speech for the Late JCP Central Committee Chair Miyamoto Kenji**

**FUWA Tetsuzo**

*The following is the speech given by Fuwa Tetsuzo, former Japanese Communist Party Central Committee Chair, on behalf of the JCP Central Committee at the funeral on August 6 for the late Miyamoto Kenji, former JCP Central Committee Chair:*

Comrade Miyamoto Kenji, allow me to speak on behalf of the Japanese Communist Party Central Committee to bid you final farewell and talk about some of my personal emotions.

Miyamoto joined the JCP in 1931, nine years after the JCP's founding. I want pay my deep respects for his life, devoted for 76 years to the cause of peace and social progress and to the building of the foundations of the JCP.

## I

Soon after he joined the JCP, Miyamoto began to work at JCP headquarters as a member of the party leadership. That was a period in which the JCP had to go through one of the most difficult ordeals in its history. The despotic power that was rushing the country to a war of aggression tried not only to exterminate the party championing pacifism and people's sovereignty by launching an extremely brutal suppression, but also to destroy the JCP's moral authority, using every possible means, including the use of agents provocateurs to incite the JCP to commit serious crimes. Miyamoto Kenji was made a target of these vicious attacks against the party.

Miyamoto was arrested, but he firmly defended the banner of peace and a democratic Japan without capitulating to torture. After the arrest, Miyamoto held fast to principle stating, "Although I am ready to formally speak in court, I refuse to speak at preliminary examination behind closed doors." Thus he refused to speak even a word in the preliminary examinations. This was a topic of discussion among young people who joined the party following the War's end. When Miyamoto suffered from the life-threatening disease of enteric tuberculosis in jail, a prosecutor came and tried to persuade him to give his deposition, saying, "If you die without saying a word, nothing about the truth will be recorded. If you let me take your deposition, I can move you to the hospital to die." But Miyamoto flatly rejected the offer. I knew of this story, and I asked him what he was thinking of at that time. He just said, "I believed in the future." I still vividly remember I was very impressed by this response.

Miyamoto's wartime court struggle lasted 5 years from 1940. He made

statements about reason and justice, and exposed all false charges made by state power against the party, thus shattering state power's attempts to destroy the party. In the early 1970s, I discovered the "Minutes of the Public Hearing" in a thick pile of documents at his home and read for the first time his statements before the court. I was deeply impressed to read Miyamoto's closing statement, in which he said that "the court of history, which is founded on human justice" should certainly prove that the suppression was wrong and that the party was right. Throughout his 12 years in prison, he was totally separated from the world. He was alone in his court struggle without coverage by the media. According to a chronological record kept by Miyamoto Yuriko, the court hearing that resumed in 1944, "The defendant Miyamoto was accompanied by no one. Only a lawyer, (his) wife, and guards occupied the observers' seats in courtroom. Nevertheless, the record of Miyamoto's undaunted court struggle has the unlimited power to encourage its readers to continue to struggle.

Kato Shuichi, a critic and one of founders of the Article 9 Association, wrote the obituary of Miyamoto for Akahata, lauding him for his "consistent opposition to the 15-year war". He said, "Mr. Miyamoto saved the honor of the Japanese people through his opposition to the war." I also want to point out that the indomitable struggle he waged in jail and in court totally frustrated the plot by state power to discredit the JCP and defended the political honor and moral authority of the Japanese Communist Party. Also, it was historically significant in that it made it possible for the prewar struggles to be remembered by those who were involved in struggles after the end of World War II.

## II

After the War's end, the Japanese Communist Party for the first time was legalized. It openly began activities calling for the establishment of national sovereignty, democracy, peace, and the defense of the people's living conditions. But several years later, the JCP faced a serious crisis. In 1950, the JCP came under unjustifiable persecution by the U.S. Occupation forces. The party was made semi-illegal and flagrantly interfered with by the Soviet and Chinese parties under Stalin's direction. This led to the dissolution of the Party Central Committee and the bringing in of the foreign-prepared armed struggle policy by those who caused the JCP to split. Thus, the party faced its most serious crisis ever. We call this the "1950 Question." It was about 40 years later that we got the full picture of the "1950 Question" following the collapse of the Soviet Union, which made it possible for us to read classified documents of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In 1950, I was a member of a JCP student branch and it was totally impossible for us to know the full-extent of the problem. I suspect that even Miyamoto, who dealt with this question at JCP headquarters, had to respond to this issue without the information needed to grasp the situation in its entirety.

Although he had to work within historical limitations, Miyamoto did his utmost to maintain party unity and displayed sound sense in trying to find a reasoned solution of the problem. Recently, I had an opportunity to give a lecture on the history of the Japanese Communist Party at a party school for young activists. I explained how Miyamoto and other party members had been

compelled to make a decision as to what should be done to deal with the “1950 Question” under circumstances in which only limited information was available. It was from this effort that the party drew an important lesson that led us to establish the firm position of sovereign independence on which the JCP will never allow any foreign parties to interfere with the JCP, no matter what great achievements they had made in past revolutionary movements. In the class at the party school, I shared my admiration of the effort at that time with students, saying, “It’s amazing that the party established the political line with confidence from that experience.”

When the JCP embarked on the path of restoring its unity after overcoming the party split, it drew the following three lessons from the bitter experience of turmoil. The first lesson was that the party must establish its sovereign independence. The second lesson was that in Japan, where people’s sovereignty and the political system of parliamentary democracy are established, any attempt to bring in an armed struggle policy must be rejected. The third lesson is that party unity must be defended based on inner-party democracy by excluding any kinds of divisionism. These lessons are the real guidelines for the party today. It was Miyamoto Kenji that drew these lessons from the “1950 Question” and led the effort to have all JCP members learn from these three lessons.

Restoring party unity, the JCP held its 7th and 8th Congresses to adopt the JCP Program defining that the immediate task of the party is to achieve a democratic revolution for which the party will strive to win a majority in parliament in order to take power. The establishment of this programmatic line marked a new starting point of the Japanese Communist Party after the end of WWII. In taking the JCP out of the serious crisis and turning this crisis into a new turning point for a new development of the party, Miyamoto displayed great leadership.

### III

In the 1960s, the JCP experienced a new critical ordeal in its international relations. The party came under direct interferences and attacks by two large communist parties, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and China’s Mao Zedong group. Since I began my career at the JCP Central Committee in 1964, I have been with Miyamoto on various occasions of political activities, including the struggle against interference by foreign countries, though my responsibility varied from time to time.

Although the Soviet Union and China’s Mao Zedong group had different motives in interfering with the JCP, both were hostile to the fact that the JCP maintained its sovereign independence, and they carried out hegemonic attacks aiming at putting the Japanese progressive and peace movements under their control. We often described this struggle as a “life or death” struggle for the party. That was how we really felt at the time. At that time, the JCP was fast-growing, but its vote-getting strength in parliamentary elections was still around 4%. It had only around 4 seats in the House of Representatives. That was the strength that the party had when it faced the attacks by the two great powers using every possible means at their disposal. In fact, the difficulty we had to endure was

beyond prediction.

However, the party summoned the courage to deal with this difficulty and completely defeated the interventionist attacks. This struggle made the party stronger and led to successive party advances in the House of Representatives general elections in 1969 and 1972.

I cannot look back on our struggle against foreign interferences without recalling two historic events. One is what I witnessed in March 1966, when our talks with Mao Zedong in Shanghai ended in rupture and we spent a few days in Guangdong writing reports to be presented to the party on returning home. I remember Miyamoto looking sad as he sat in contemplation in a corner of the hotel garden. When I saw his face, I acutely felt his firm determination to defend the party in defiance of any adversity as well as his concern about many difficulties that may lie ahead.

The other is what I experienced in the final stage of preparation for the JCP 10th Congress in the same year. The portion that dealt with the party's international policy was mainly about how we would struggle against foreign attacks on two fronts. As we were finalizing the document, Miyamoto said, "It is necessary to mention not only the policy for the struggle but also the principles of party-to-party relations." After discussing his proposal, we reached the formula that the party should make efforts as much as possible to carry out joint action on issues agreed upon even with foreign parties that have differences with the JCP on other questions, unless their main policy is one of interfering with other parties. Although it was when the real struggle was about to begin against interference by foreign forces, he was thinking about the norms to be established after defeating the interference. I was very impressed by his farsightedness.

In fact, this formula was invoked when the JCP normalized relations with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1979 with the latter admitting that its interference with the JCP was an error, and when we normalized relations with the Communist Party of China in 1998 after working with the new CPC leadership to resolve the historical problems that had persisted between our two parties by making clear the error of the Mao Zedong group's "Cultural Revolution". This international policy provided us with the real power to develop the JCP's opposition party diplomacy.

#### IV

Throughout the more than 30 years of experiences with Miyamoto Kenji, I learned a lot. He had a considerable influence on me. When it comes to recalling his revolutionary life, I first remember his activities in these three periods.

These were periods during which we underwent major crises. In all these struggles, Miyamoto firmly maintained his indomitable spirit and a reasoned manner in responding to challenges, led the struggles to overcome the crises, and paved the way for new developments. He exerted such an enormous influence without which the JCP would have had a very different history.

Japan, where Miyamoto Kenji devoted his whole life to the cause of social progress and peaceful development, is in great turmoil at present. Miyamoto passed away during the House of Councilors election campaign. This election showed more clearly than ever that Japan will not have a bright future if the country's obsolete political framework remains unchanged, and that the pressing need now is to establish a new kind of politics that will meet the needs of the people.

The Japanese Communist Party has an even greater role to play in working to achieve the interests of the Japanese people, to work for social progress, and defend the peace of the world. Many difficulties may lie ahead, but we have learned from our party history that historical dialectics dictate that we must advance always by overcoming difficulties. In times of difficulty, we must maintain an undaunted determination and respond to problems with reasons. This is precisely what Miyamoto has taught us throughout his life. Taking this as a lesson, I bid farewell to Comrade Miyamoto Kenji. - *Akahata, August 7, 2007*