

JAPANESE COMMUNIST PARTY

## *Resolution of the 25th Congress*

### PART I: 'NEW PERIOD' IN JAPANESE POLITICS AND POWER THAT CREATED IT

#### *1. JCP 24th Congress Resolution and the beginning of major changes in Japanese politics*

We are holding the 25th Party Congress amid a turbulent situation marking the beginning of major changes in Japanese politics.

The Resolution of the JCP 24th Congress four years ago stated, “The crisis facing LDP policies is more serious than ever, in both foreign and domestic policies,” adding that underlying all this are “three aberrations in LDP government policies” unprecedented among the capitalist countries in the world: justifying the past wars of aggression; always acting at the U.S. beck and call; and always acting in the interest of large corporations. The Resolution set forward policies to put an end to these aberrations and remake Japan in line with the direction set out in the Program of the Japanese Communist Party.

\* Adopted on January 16, 2010.

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The JCP 24th Congress Resolution referred to the fact that the Liberal Democratic Party led by then Prime Minister Koizumi Jun'ichiro, won a substantial increase in the number of its seats in the House of Representatives in the 2005 general election, using the deceptive tactic of asserting that postal reform was the main issue. Regarding this deceptive LDP tactic, the Resolution states: "If their lies and tricks are exposed, a major political cataclysm will inevitably follow," adding that the situation in Japan today "is entering an historic period that calls for a new direction in politics to replace the outdated LDP political framework."

This proposition proved to be accurate in foreseeing how the Japanese political situation would evolve, in the light of the major political changes that have taken place during the past four years.

### *2. A breakthrough in the historical questions and tasks ahead*

Regarding the aberration of "justifying the past wars of aggression," criticism of then Prime Minister Koizumi Jun'ichiro, who had continued his official visits to Yasukuni Shrine, grew not only in Japan but also internationally. The Koizumi government was thus isolated from the international community and his successor Abe Shinzo gave up the reins of government halfway through his term in office after failing to reintroduce the prewar political system under the slogan: "Break away from the postwar regime." All this dealt a heavy blow to the pro-Yasukuni Shrine forces, leading to a positive resolution of the situation. The JCP has made clear that breaking with the aberrant politics that justifies the past wars of aggression and achieving a drastic policy change without waiting for the establishment of a democratic government is one of the most urgent tasks (JCP 24th Congress Resolution). Thus, the JCP has played an important role in overcoming the adverse current.

However, there remains the need to resolve the issue of the inappropriate history textbooks that justify and even glorify the past Japanese wars of aggression, and to use textbooks that reflect the country's remorse over the past Japanese colonial rule and wars of aggression. As to the issue of sex slaves of the former Imperial Japanese Army, the urgent task is for the government to offer a sincere apology and compensation to the victims.

The year 2010 marks the 100th year after Japanese imperialism used military forces to annex Korea. Sharing common understanding of the basic part of history with China and South Korea, at the government level as well as the people's level, is an important task in our effort to lay the groundwork for building true peace and friendship with East Asian people in the 21st century. The JCP will continue to do its utmost to implement this task. In facilitating the normalization of relations between Japan and North Korea, we must tackle head-on the historical question as one of the pending issues that need to be resolved.

*3. House of Representatives general election has opened door to a new period that can be characterized by a 'transitional situation' in politics*

The voters' verdict in the House of Representatives general election in August 2009 opened a "new period" in Japanese politics that can be characterized by its "transitional nature."

With a huge majority of voters passing the verdict to put an end to the Liberal Democratic-Komei rule, Japanese politics took a historically important step forward. This is an event that we welcome. In this general election, many voters were demanding policies to relieve them of everyday hardships and put an end to policies endangering peace implemented by the LDP-Komei government. They also had high expectations for a major change in political direction. This latest electoral verdict is not just a temporary one; it has an ongoing impact on the post-election situation that is evolving.

However, the reality shows that there are no prospects in sight for overcoming the "two aberrations": Japan's extraordinary subservience to the United States and the tyrannical rule of large corporations and the business circles. Although the public said "No" to the LDP-Komei government in the general election, this does not mean that voters threw unquestioning support behind the policies of the Democratic Party of Japan. The verdict did not give an answer to the question about what kind of politics will replace LDP-Komei politics. Many people throughout the country are still trying to find the answer regarding the cause of hardships people are experiencing in their everyday lives and the crisis endangering peace, and are considering what new policies should replace the old policies. This is a new period

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in which people are beginning to explore policy options.

The transitional character in the new DPJ-led government is a reflection of the transitional nature of the present political situation in an early stage of evolution. The new government's policies include some positive aspects that reflect public demands. There are even elements that to some extent contradict the direction envisioned by Japanese business circles as well as U.S. interests. At the same time, we must point out that the new government does not present any new policies or political direction that would pull Japan out of its commitment to the two political aberrations. It even goes against public interest on a number of issues. The DPJ harbors intentions that would put parliamentary democracy at risk as shown by its proposal to reduce the number of House of Representatives proportional representation seats. We cannot afford to overlook the negative ideology inherent in the DPJ.

The JCP will work hard to live up to the expectations of the people hoping for a change in politics under the new government and tackle problems the people are faced with and relieve their anxiety in order to move Japanese politics forward as an opposition party engaging constructively with the new government.

### *4. People's voices and movements as well as JCP's efforts opened new period*

What were the forces that helped open this new period of Japanese politics? They were contradictions between the old politics that had undermined people's livelihoods and peace and their interests, as well as the rise in public dissent and increase in political movements. Nationwide struggles emerged in various fields in society calling for measures to be taken against the increase in poverty and economic inequalities that was brought about by neoliberal economic policies promoted under the name of "structural reform." Such struggles had a great influence in moving Japan's politics in a new direction.

The JCP has played an important role in creating positive changes in Japanese politics. Every time a political decision crucial to people's livelihoods was made, the JCP played an important role in pushing politics in a progressive direction. The JCP was the only party that opposed such adverse measures as the 1999 revision of the Worker Dispatch Law that lifted restrictions on the use of temporary workers

in all business sectors, including manufacturing; the “supplementary resolution” on the 2000 revision of the Health Insurance Law which laid the groundwork for establishing a separate health insurance system for the elderly aged 75 and older; and the liberalization of rice imports implemented over the period 1993-1995. At present, the JCP’s opposition to these adverse measures represents the opinion of the majority of the public. It is thus influencing on-going political processes.

The JCP 24th Congress called on the public to wage a social struggle in social solidarity against the brutal attack made by the Koizumi and Abe cabinets under the name of “structural reform” policy. The party has worked hard to help increase and strengthen solidarity and cooperation with people’s movements in various fields, playing an important part in forcing the “structural reform” policy into bankruptcy.

The business circles representing large corporations and the financial sector as well as other ruling forces have been promoting a “two-party system” since 1993. This attempt has had two aims. One is to establish a system in which “two major parties” will take power in turns based on the old political framework and compete for similarly adverse policies, thus helping to prolong the old politics faced with a crisis. The other is to exclude the JCP from the Japanese political scene, or if circumstances allow, to erase its very existence. To achieve this aim they have introduced the single-seat constituency system and campaigned to force voters to choose between the two major parties as the only viable option.

However, in the recent House of Representatives general election, voters passed the verdict that the LDP and the Komei Party, which had stuck to old politics, must go. Many voters in this election strongly called for an end to the old political framework. Despite the ruling forces’ intent to exclude and erase the JCP from the political scene as their ultimate goal, the JCP has defended its position in the past several national elections and vigorously carried out a diverse range of activities thanks to support and struggles by our supporters, members of supporters associations, and party members. This was the ruling forces’ worst misjudgment.

Contradictions between the ruling system and people’s interests have become apparent and have contributed to the movement of people

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taking to the streets demanding a new direction in politics. This is what is taking place before our very eyes. Convinced by and proud of the people's voices and movements and JCP's own struggles that opened the new period in Japanese politics, the JCP will make the best use of its wisdom and power so that the politics in this transitional situation will be transformed into a more progressive direction.

### PART II: JCP'S TASKS UNDER TRANSITIONAL SITUATION

#### *5. The developmental process of public awareness and the JCP's tasks in the transitional situation*

Although there may be various trials and errors in the process of people's quest for better politics and the development of their political awareness, it is inevitable that their political awareness and capabilities to further advance the political process will be heightened through the following political experiences starting from the struggle to realize their pressing demands:

— Under the present political circumstances, conditions exist for us to achieve people's demands to a certain extent depending on the development of popular movements and a subsequent change in power relations. Demands that were hard to achieve under the old politics can be realized under the new situation. This change will help increase people's awareness and conviction that "we can change politics if we raise our voices together."

— At the same time, many people will realize by experience that there are big obstacles to the realization of their demands. For example, the effort to fundamentally revise the Worker Dispatch Law is resisted by the business circles. The effort to resolve the issue of the military bases in Okinawa has to confront the Japan-U.S. military alliance structure. It becomes clearer than ever that people's demands are hampered by the "two major aberrations."

— The characters and roles of the various political forces will be tested in the present political process. The DPJ-led government has limitations and problems because of its character as a stop-gap government. The LDP with its reactionary stance continues to defend the old policies characterized by the two aberrations. The JCP's role is one of constructively engaging with the new government. The stances of these political forces will become clearer to the public over time.

— These political experiences will help people increase political awareness and capabilities in the quest for new politics. If they are to achieve their wishes regarding better livelihoods and world peace, they will have to understand through these experiences the need to put an end to the two aberrations and move on to build a new Japan in which the people are the protagonists.

This is not an automatic process. People's quest for a new direction in politics will make progress in the struggle between the serious demands of the people and the various adverse moves that hamper the realization of these demands. The real question is how we can build up the power among the public to pull Japanese politics from the "aberrations." The JCP's task in the present transitional situation is to help increase such awareness and capabilities among the people.

The following three tasks are particularly important:

*6. To move real politics in a progressive direction in response to public demands*

The first task is to move politics in a progressive direction in response to the demands of the public. The keen demand of the people should be the starting point and we will do our utmost to further advance policies reflecting the public interest. At the same time, it is necessary to insist that a drastic reform to correct the two aberrations is essential to fully achieve people's demands. In each area, struggles focusing on the following points to be changed in the previous policies are essential:

*A. Livelihoods and economy*

**Jobs:** We call for the payment period for unemployment benefits to be extended and for relief measures for the unemployed to be fundamentally improved. We demand an end to the policy of deregulating labor laws, which has increased the poverty rate and widened social gaps in Japan, and change it to one of strengthening regulations, including the fundamental revision of the Worker Dispatch Law. We call for this struggle as part of the effort to build a society in which workers are regular full-time employees as a rule. We will also aim to establish a national uniform minimum wage system

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so that every worker will be paid at least 1,000 yen an hour.

**Social services:** We will fight to revoke all cutbacks in social services that have left numerous negative legacies, including the health insurance system separating the elderly aged 75 and over from the existing health insurance system. We demand of the government that it should put an end to the “beneficiary-pays principle” and reduce the burdens to beneficiaries of the fees for social services, including medical care, nursing care for the elderly, and services for the disabled, with a view to ultimately making them free of charge. The government must end the policy of neglecting its responsibility for social services and surrendering them to large corporations that seek to maximize their profits, thus leaving them to market forces and privatized entities. Instead it must improve nursing care for the elderly, childcare, medical care and pension services. We will seek to have the Constitution’s Article 25 (the right to live), which provides for the right to social services, guide all areas of society.

**Small- and medium-sized enterprises:** As part of the effort to avoid bankruptcies and financial crises in small- and medium-sized businesses, we demand that the government drastically improve and expand relief measures for them, including credit guarantees and other finance-related measures, and to offer direct finance to help failing businesses rebuild themselves or secure incomes to those who have to suspend operations. The industrial policy must focus on protecting small- and medium-sized businesses as the key players in the Japanese economy instead of giving priority to defending the interests of large corporations. From this point of view, it is essential to implement programs to help develop products, human resources, and business successors as well as measures to protect small- and medium-sized enterprises from hostile actions by large corporations.

**Agriculture, forestry and fisheries:** We call for price guarantees and income compensation through subsidies to be implemented as a measure to ensure that farmers will earn incomes adequate to be able to continue farming. Along with this measure, we also call for border measures, including tariffs, to be strengthened. Ending the policy of unlimited liberalization of agricultural imports holds the key to changing the agricultural policy. We demand an end to the obligatory import of the so-called minimum access rice and oppose the conclusion of a free trade agreement (FTA) with the United States



and an economic partnership agreement (EPA) with Australia, which will give a heavy blow to Japanese agriculture. We also call for the establishment of trade rules and regulations to guarantee food sovereignty for all countries, including revision of the Agriculture Agreement of the World Trade Organization (WTO) exclusively aiming at trade expansion. Forestry should be given an important place in the national policy as an industry indispensable for developing both the local economy and a low-carbon society. Forestry and its associated lumber industry should be rejuvenated by shifting the policy of depending on imported timber to one of increasing the use of domestic timber, and by preserving and improving forests. Fishery should be promoted and fishing villages be developed through fishery assistance programs such as conservation and restoration of fishery resources, price stabilization of fishery products, and introduction of energy saving measures, so that the fishery sector can play an important role in the supply of food, and conserve the sea, the land and the environment as a whole.

**Support for childcare:** Along with the need to improve child allowances and other economic allowances to assist in child rearing, the key part of the comprehensive efforts should be to reform the present social framework in which parents are experiencing difficulties in bringing up their children. As part of the efforts, it is necessary to regulate the long working hours, to reform labor laws to help enable both men and women to carry out their family duties, and to substantially increase the number of authorized childcare centers so that no children are put on the waiting lists for vacancies.

**Global environment:** The government's mid-term goal of reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 25 percent by 2020 from 1990 levels is an important step forward. In order to make this goal effective, it is essential for the government to conclude an official agreement with the business sector, which is responsible for 70 percent of Japan's greenhouse gas emissions, and to force large corporations to fulfill their social responsibility and assume their share of the costs for global warming. We need to break away from fossil fuel dependence and drastically increase renewable energy use. We oppose promoting nuclear power generation under the pretext of reducing greenhouse gas emissions, as it could devastate the environment through radioactive contamination.

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**Tax system:** We call for the excessively favorable tax system for large corporations and the wealthy to be changed to re-establish a democratic tax system (tax-exemption on living costs, progressive and composite taxation system, and direct tax as the major components) based on the principle of taxation according to the ability to pay. The JCP strongly opposes increasing taxes on ordinary people through an increase in the consumption tax and the discontinuation of the system of tax deductions for spouses and dependents.

### *B. Peace and democracy*

**U.S. military bases:** We oppose the strengthening and perpetuation of U.S. military bases under the name of “U.S. military realignment” and demand their reduction and removal. The present issue of the U.S. Marine Corps Futenma Air Station in Okinawa will test the new administration’s promise of an “equal relationship with the United States.” We cannot solve the problem by continuing to stick to the old arguments that “the Marine Corps is necessary as deterrence” and “we are bound by the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty.” We resolutely demand that the government give up its plan to relocate the Futenma base within Okinawa as well as the policy of the U.S. returning its site on condition that a new base will be constructed, and that the base be removed without condition. We will develop a powerful nationwide movement to establish an Okinawa and a Japan without U.S. military bases by vigorously promoting solidarity between the mainland and Okinawa. We also demand that the government stop paying the costs for the stationing of U.S. forces in Japan under the “sympathy budget” and cancel its promise to pay the expenses for the U.S. military realignment that includes three trillion yen for the cost of the transfer of a part of the U.S. Marine Corps from Okinawa to Guam.

**Self-Defense Forces:** We demand a withdrawal of Self-Defense Force units from abroad by immediately ending their unconstitutional dispatches to the Indian Ocean and the coast of Somalia. We demand that the permanent “anti-piracy” law to dispatch SDF to any places in the world be repealed and oppose the enactment of a permanent law to deploy the SDF abroad to enable Japan to militarily intervene in international conflicts. We call for Japan to make a shift to implement far-reaching disarmament measures by canceling the development

and installation of equipment for overseas dispatches.

**Nuclear weapons:** We urge the government to make public all secret nuclear agreements with the United States and have them rescinded, take steps to implement without condition arrangements of “prior consultation\*” and strictly implement the Three Non-nuclear Principles (not to possess, manufacture, or allow nuclear weapons to be brought into Japan). Japan must break away from the U.S. nuclear umbrella in order to become nuclear weapon-free in both name and reality. We call on Japan as the country to have suffered an A-bomb attack to take the initiative to swiftly start international negotiations on the total elimination of nuclear weapons in order to achieve a world without nuclear weapons.

\* prior consultation: When the Japanese and U.S. governments revised the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty in 1960, they agreed on the following as the subjects of prior consultation: any major changes in the deployment into Japan of U.S. armed forces, major changes in their equipment, and use of U.S. bases in Japan for military combat operations outside Japan.

**Constitution:** The advocates of constitutional revision have suffered a severe blow due to the recent change in the political situation, but we cannot underestimate the danger of a future move toward constitutional revision. The DPJ in its election Manifesto clearly states its intention to revise the Constitution based on its “Proposal on the Constitution.” It is persistent in calling for a revision to the interpretation of the Constitution to allow Japan to constitutionally use military forces abroad if such action is in conformity with a United Nations resolution. We will continue to make efforts to win the majority of the public to oppose the adverse revision of the Constitution and develop movements to make use of the Constitution as a guide to world peace and improved qualities of life. We will work to further this cause in solidarity with the increasingly globally influential “Article 9 Association.”

**Education:** We will work to have the government begin to reduce the class size at schools, reduce household costs for education and institute free education at all levels, especially at high schools and higher education. We will work to end the excessively competition-driven education system based on ranking, which is unparalleled in the world, as well as the state control of education, including the

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imposition of educational guidelines. We demand that the Fundamental Law of Education, which was adversely revised in violation of the Constitution prohibiting state intervention in education, be fundamentally revised. Based on the Constitution and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, we will work to build a national consensus in support of the enactment of a new Fundamental Law of Education that will help defend and develop the right to education and defend the freedom and independence of education, aiming for the perfection of the humanistic character of each and every child as a sovereign.

**Academic, cultural and sports fields:** We will not allow budget cuts on the basis of the short-term efficiency and results-based policy of the government in the academic, cultural and sports fields. We demand a substantial increase in the budgets for university basic funds, basic research on science and technology, and assistance to young researchers. The government must fulfill its responsibility to support art, culture and sports. We will work for a society where culture and sports will be guaranteed as a fundamental right of the people.

**Gender equality:** We will work to have the government apply the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women in order to eliminate discrimination against women in every area of society. More than half of Japanese women workers are contingent workers. Their working conditions are unstable and their wages extremely inadequate. They are discriminated against in promotion policies. The task is for us to change this unjust situation affecting women and achieve gender equality so that both men and women can work as well as fulfill family responsibilities.

### *7. Reform to end two aberrations (1) – End extraordinary subservience to the United States*

The second task is to put an end to the two aberrations that have plagued Japanese politics for many years and build a national consensus on remaking Japan so that people are the key players, as outlined in the JCP Program.

In addressing this task, we will make specific efforts to explain to the public about a new era of democracy, which will be realized by achieving the urgent demands of the people and making clear the

necessity of reform, while carrying out policies for remaking Japan the JCP is aiming for. The party will publicly discuss how extraordinary Japanese politics reveals itself to be in the light of what is going on in the rest of the world. It will also show the public how reasonable and necessary it is to remake Japan.

First, Japan must end its subordination to the United States and move to become a truly independent and peaceful nation.

The year 2010 marks the 50th anniversary of the revised Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, which was signed in defiance of nationwide massive protests against the treaty's revision. How has the world situation in relation to military alliances changed in the past half century? What are the defining features of the Japan-U.S. military alliance in the present international context? We will try to show the answer to these questions from a broader perspective and show the path needed to break away from it.

Many countries during the last half century have broken away from military alliances to embark on paths to join regional communities of peace that are open and without potential enemies.

During the last half century, many military alliances have dissolved or become dysfunctional or weakened. The military bloc led by the former Soviet Union was disbanded or dissolved itself following the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

In the U.S.-led military alliances, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) in the Mideast were dissolved, and the Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the United States (ANZUS) in Oceania, and the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (Rio Treaty) have both ceased to function. At present, only four U.S.-led military alliances are functional: the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, the U.S.-ROK Mutual Security Treaty, and the U.S.-Australia Security Treaty. All these alliances involve 31 countries, which account for only 16 percent of all U.N. members. Their total population of 1.08 billion accounts for just 16 percent of the world's total population.

In 1960, 52 countries were members of U.S.-led or Soviet Union-led military alliances. They accounted for 53 percent of all U.N. member states and 67 percent of the world's population that included countries under colonial rule. The number of people living under

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military alliances has decreased sharply from 67 percent to 16 percent of the world's population. This means that the days when military alliances were dominant in the world have almost disappeared. Thus, it is clearly anachronistic to maintain military alliances that are remnants of the 20th century.

Worse still, the Japan-U.S. military alliance has the following abnormal features, which have no parallel even among the four U.S.-led military alliances:

— The Japanese land area occupied by U.S. military bases and facilities (including those shared with the Japanese Self-Defense Forces) has more than doubled since the 1980s. Even though the number of U.S. troops deployed worldwide has decreased to 280,000 from 610,000 since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the U.S. troops stationed in Japan has remained unchanged at about 40,000.

— The United States has strengthened its U.S. military bases in Japan as a major foothold for the U.S. global strategy for intervention by deploying forward-based strike forces that have nothing to do with the defense of Japan, including the Marine Expeditionary Force, the Carrier Strike Group, the Expeditionary Strike Group, and the Aerospace Expeditionary Force.

Japan is the only country in the world to host the U.S. Marine Expeditionary Force (in Okinawa and Iwakuni), and the Carrier Strike Group and the Expeditionary Strike Group (at their homeports in Yokosuka and Sasebo. U.S. Department of Defense's reports show that the U.S. Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps in Japan have constantly deployed between 2,000 and 3,000 troops in the war in Afghanistan and Iraq during the last several years. Thus, U.S. bases in Japan are always prepared to participate in wars as frontline bases.

— U.S. bases in Japan are forcing local residents to suffer enormously due to various accidents and crimes committed by U.S. military personnel. Following the gang rape on a girl by several U.S. Marines in 1995, it became known that the number of U.S. servicemen who had been brought to justice for assaulting women or indecently assaulting minors in Japan is much higher than that in other countries hosting U.S. bases. This situation remains unchanged. U.S. military personnel who commit crimes go unpunished because they have extraterritorial rights under the Japan-U.S. Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA). Although this humiliating

situation has repeatedly been called into question, the SOFA has not been revised for more than a half century.

— Japan, generously using tax money to help the United States continue to station its forces in Japan, is the world's most aberrant country. It stands out as the most "generous" host nation to the U.S. forces. In its 2004 report on "Allied Contributions to the Common Defense" released by the U.S. Department of Defense, the amount of Japan's monetary contribution for the stationing of U.S. forces on its territory was the highest among the 27 U.S. allies and was higher than the amount of contributions by 26 countries combined. This is why U.S. government officials say that it is much more economical for the United States to station its forces in Japan than in the United States. This encourages the United States to continue stationing its forces in Japan and even strengthen their bases.

— When the Security Treaty was revised in 1960, Japan and the United States agreed to hold "prior consultation." This system was touted as a step to make the treaty equal and to ensure Japan's sovereign independence. Recent revelations, however, show that the "prior consultation system" is associated with secret agreements the two countries had concluded regarding the entry of nuclear weapons into Japan as well as other matters and that it was a fiction invented to deceive the Japanese people. It is now an undeniable fact that the two governments concluded secret agreements allowing U.S. nuclear weapons to be brought into Japanese territory on airplanes or ships in transit without prior consultation, as well as the use of U.S. bases in Japan for military combat operations outside Japan, and that the agreements remain in force to this day.

— Under the name of "transformation and realignment," the Japan-U.S. military alliance setup has taken on a more aggressive role as a global alliance that breaks out of the bounds of the framework of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. The Japanese prime minister and the U.S. president at their summit in June 2006 issued a joint statement entitled "The Japan-U.S. Alliance of the New Century." It was a declaration of a "new U.S.-Japan Alliance of Global Cooperation for the 21st Century." The statement declares that the two countries share common strategic goals, seek to integrate the SDF with the U.S. forces, and intend to dramatically strengthen the U.S. bases in Japan. This is what they are promoting at present.

— The Japanese economy, bound by the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, is in a state of subordination to the United States. Since 1994, the U.S.

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government has issued the “Annual U.S.-Japan Regulatory Reform Report” urging Japan to implement neoliberal policies and do more to open its market. Financial deregulation and the privatization of postal services in Japan came about due to pressure exerted by the United States. Japan is the only country to have its economic subordination institutionalized. This institutionalization of blatant U.S. demands, combined with the tyrannical demands by the Japanese business circles and large corporations, has further distorted the Japanese economy. What is more, this distortion has forced the public into extraordinarily serious hardships under the global economic crisis.

Although the present Japanese government is stressing the need to put its alliance with the United States “on an equal footing,” this alliance by its very nature is firmly structured on the premise that Japan remains in a permanent state of subordination to the United States. Japan’s degree of subservience under the military alliance with its extremely aggressive foundation is unparalleled in the rest of the world. Due to its extraordinary aberration, the Japan-U.S. alliance is fundamentally incompatible with the Japanese Constitution’s Article 9, a pioneering provision declaring pacifism.

In order to abrogate the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and build a Japan based on the principles of sovereign independence and peace without foreign military bases, we must achieve the consensus of a majority of the public. The JCP will make efforts to advance this struggle to win the demands of the people for peace in cooperation with the broad range of people irrespective of political differences. We will do this while explaining to the public that the existence of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty is the fundamental obstacle to the realization of their demands. At the same time, as we observe the 50th anniversary of the revised Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, the JCP will do its utmost to share with broad sections of the public the recognition that Japan is bound by the Japan-U.S. military alliance as a subordinate ally and that the alliance has many dangerous features.

As we work to help develop a truly peaceful atmosphere in East Asia, we must make efforts to create a national consensus on the need to abrogate the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. Regarding the effort to resolve the issue of North Korea, the JCP calls for the Six-Party Talks framework to be reactivated in order to attempt to comprehensively resolve the issues related to nuclear programs and missile development



as well as abductions and other historical questions. The JCP calls for the Six-Party Talks to be developed into a framework for peace and stability in the region.

*8. Reform to end two aberrations (2) – Struggle to achieve an economy governed by rules*

Second, we need drastic reform to put an end to the “tyrannical rule of the business circles and large corporations,” which has no parallel in the world, and to build an economy governed by rules in defense of people’s rights and livelihoods.

The JCP Program points out that in order to promote its reform plan to build an economy governed by rules by overcoming the present state of capitalism without rules, it is important “to take into account what has been achieved in major capitalist countries in Europe and through international conventions.” This means that our plan for immediate economic reform is not just an idea on paper. Our reform plan is intended to establish rules in a way that fits in with Japanese conditions based on rules enshrined by international conventions reflecting struggles of the world’s people and rules achieved in major European capitalist countries.

Look at what have been achieved in major European capitalist countries and through international conventions, and you will find how extraordinarily out of step Japan’s situation is.

*A. In the light of what has been achieved by international conventions*

We need to first look at the Japanese situation in the light of what has been achieved by international conventions.

Of the 183 International Labor Organization (ILO) conventions, excluding five that are no longer in force, the Japanese government ratified only 48. Japan has not ratified any of these 18 conventions on working hours and holidays, including Convention No. 1 on the eight-hour day. Japan and the United States are the only major capitalist countries to take such a negative position on these basic labor issues. Equally, Japan has not ratified a recent series of other important conventions, including Convention No.111 (Convention concerning Discrimination in Respect of Employment and

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Occupation), No.158 (Termination of Employment Convention), and No.175 (Part-Time Work Convention). Such a negative attitude of the Japanese government has only worsened the abysmal working conditions causing *Karoshi* (death from overwork) and the emergence of the tent city for those who lost their temporary jobs and places to live, a phenomenon that is rare in any other countries.

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in 1979, is a landmark international treaty requiring all parties to implement its provisions, including those related to employment and women's participation in society in harmony with their family affairs. Japan technically ratified it but has done nothing to implement it.

The U.N. Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women in August 2009 issued recommendations to the Japanese government, stating: "The Committee is concerned that the Convention has not been given central importance as a binding human rights instrument and as a basis for the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women and the advancement of women in the State party." The Committee urged Japan to implement the convention fully in order to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women.

The U.N. Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights expressed its concern about Japan's public pension system setting no minimum in the amount of benefits and recommended that Japan establish a system clearly guaranteeing a minimum amount of benefits. Only Japan and Madagascar reserved endorsement of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights' provision calling for free education. It is disgraceful that Japan's costs for education are the world's highest.

The JCP will continue to demand that the government implement world-level standards achieved through international conventions, in the areas of employment, social security, education, gender equality, human rights and democracy as well as other areas.

### *B. In the light of what major European countries have achieved*

In the light of achievements in major European countries, Japan is seriously lagging behind.

In Europe, where an economic community of nations is developing, the European Union (EU) is pushing ahead with the establishment of the region's common social rules. Especially since the 1990s, the EU is moving toward creating common standards for social and labor policies.

Common EU rules, known as EU Directives, include the directive providing for the 48 hours-maximum working time per week, including overtime and discretionary work schedules; the directive on part-time work calling for equal treatment of part-time workers with full-time workers; the directive on fixed-term work, which allows employers to use fixed-term contract workers only when they have justifiable reasons to do so; and the directive on equal treatment between full-time regular workers and temporary workers. An institutional framework for rulemaking has already been in place, where Europe-wide discussions are carried out between trade unions, employers associations, and public authorities for concluding collective bargaining agreements. These EU efforts can be an important example for us to consider when we push ahead with democratic change in the Japanese economy.

The scale and form of the impact of the present global economic crisis on people's livelihoods differ from country to country depending on whether the country has social rules and regulations to protect workers. The adverse effects of the global economic crisis are also being felt in European countries, but workers who are forced out of work do not become homeless as is the case in Japan, where a temporary tent city had to be opened to those who lost jobs and became homeless. In Europe, contingent workers account for just around 10 percent of the total labor force, and unemployment benefits are available for 1-3 years. Welfare assistance programs are in place, and the right to have a domicile is established. In Japan, a capitalist country without rules, people are severely affected in many ways by economic crises.

Turning Japanese society into one governed by rules is essential for paving the way for the sound development of Japanese society and its economy by solving the following problems facing the Japanese economy and society: the increasing poverty rate and growing economic inequalities, the prevalence of the use of throwaway workers, the worsening situation in regard to the availability of social services and uncertainty about the future, health problems of workers who are

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being forced to work long hours and the ensuing hardships placed on their families, the falling birth rate, disappearance of local communities, and environmental disruption.

This is also the most efficient way for the Japanese economy to overcome its current crisis and achieve stable economic growth based on a sound household economy thereby increasing domestic demand and spending. The present global economic crisis is characterized as a combination of a financial crisis and an overproduction crisis. What we are seeing in Japan is primarily an overproduction crisis. In the past decade or so, employee compensation has significantly dropped while large corporations have sharply increased internal reserves. Profits amassed by large corporations are not returned to working people and are accumulated as colossal internal reserves. This has led to a dramatic decrease in the household economy and in domestic demand, reducing the Japanese economy to a fragile one mainly depending on foreign demand. This is a clear indication of the inviability of “capitalism without rules.” We need a change in policy to force large corporations to return their excess internal reserves for the benefit of workers, small businesses, and society at large. Building “an economy with rules” is a concrete step that needs to be taken to accomplish such a change. We want to stress that this policy will also help to contribute to the sound development of large corporations in both the medium- and long-term.

In order to make progress in carrying out this reform policy, it is necessary to “control large corporation’s economic tyranny with democratic regulation as the main means.” (JCP Program) Regarding this task, the JCP had meetings with the Japan Business Federation (Nippon Keidanren) and major corporations, which are mercilessly firing temporary workers as well as fixed-term contract workers, to encourage them to accept their social responsibility for employment. This activity is significant for protecting workers’ livelihoods and rights, and for us to improve our political abilities to become a party capable of taking power. Repeating the mantra of maintaining “international competitiveness,” big corporations and business circles are trying to evade their social responsibilities. It is important to expose the fallacy of their selfish argument. As a “political party that speaks out against the excesses and abuses of large corporations,” we will make every effort, working together with the people, to have our policies

of remaking Japan with the view of making a society governed by rules implemented.

*9. We will prevent reactionary policies from reviving*

The third task is to prevent Japanese politics from turning reactionary.

We describe the present political situation as “transitional.” This means that a new political situation emerged as a result of the recent electoral verdict but that we are not sure how it will evolve because its direction will be determined by public influence as expressed by increased public awareness and pressures exerted by social movements, and by the balance of political power. We must never underestimate the danger that the attempt to push back the present positive political development into the old political framework consisting of two aberrations as outlined above may emerge.

We particularly note that under the DPJ government, and in relation to this government, the following undemocratic features have appeared one after the other:

*A. On the DPJ's call for Diet reform in the name of ending dependence on bureaucracy*

Calling for the Diet to end its dependence on the bureaucracy, the DPJ is intent on carrying out its plan to reform the Diet. The plan has serious bearings on the constitutional principles of democracy and peace. It proposes establishing a law to prohibit bureaucrats from responding to Dietmembers' questions in the Diet. Such a measure will decisively weaken the power of the Diet and its members, the representatives of the people, to directly investigate into and supervise administrative and bureaucratic organizations associated with national politics.

The DPJ is emphasizing the need to prohibit the Cabinet Legislation Bureau director-general from answering questions in the Diet using the pretext that he is a bureaucrat. The new government has made it clear that it will not be bound by past statements expressed by the successive directors-general regarding interpretation of the Constitution on the ground that politicians should take the initiative. This will leave the door wide open for interpretational revision of the

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Constitution.

Successive directors-general of the Cabinet Legislation Bureau in their interpretational revisions of Article 9 of the Constitution have justified the unconstitutional overseas dispatch of the Self-Defense Forces. However, they could not circumvent Article 9's prohibition of the use of force outside of Japan and activities associated with the use of force. The DPJ asserts, however, that Japan's use of force is constitutional if it is used to implement a U.N. resolution. This is a very peculiar constitutional interpretation, which even the Legislation Bureau is unable to support.

The DPJ is calling for bureaucrats to be banned from answering questions in the Diet with the aim of having the freedom to change the interpretation of certain provisions of the Constitution under the pretext that politicians must take the lead so that they can freely impose their peculiar constitutional interpretations on the Diet. This is an extremely dangerous attempt because it will pave the way for making it constitutional for Japan to allow the SDF to use force abroad, something even the past LDP governments avoided adopting on the ground that it is unconstitutional.

The JCP is strongly opposed to any attempt to weaken the functions of the Diet as "the highest organ of state power" and to freely change interpretations of constitutional provisions in the name of political initiative.

*B. We oppose the business circles' blueprint for turning Japan into an authoritarian state*

What is the true intention of the DPJ government in pursuing political change with politicians taking the lead? In October 2002, the Japan Association of Corporate Executives (Keizai Doyukai) published policy proposals, providing a blueprint for a two-party system entitled, "In quest of the establishment of leadership under the prime minister and policy-based government." Apparently, the DPJ is now trying to faithfully implement these policy proposals. The centerpiece of Doyukai proposals can be summarized as follows:

— Leadership under the prime minister will be established through an effort to integrate cabinet and ruling party operations. The key policymaker of the ruling party should also serve as a cabinet member as part of the

integration. The prime minister should take the initiative for forming a cabinet so that ministers, senior vice ministers, and parliamentary secretaries can work effectively as a team.

— Political reform should be aimed at realizing policy-based politics. In the House of Representatives general election, each party will present voters with the policy platform (Manifesto) it intends to implement if it comes to power. Each party will make public its policy platform that includes details of numerical targets, time-frames to achieve them, and fiscal sources to achieve them so that it can implement them if it wins in the general election and comes to power. A political cycle should be established, in which the governing party will evaluate its policies by the time of the next general election, and voters can then evaluate government performance and decide whether the same government should continue or a change of government should take place (Political cycle based on Manifesto).

— A simple single-seat constituency system will be introduced with the aim of making a smooth change of government possible. A House of Representatives general election should offer voters an opportunity to choose a government. In the general election, all parties, ruling as well as opposition, should put forward their platforms (Manifestos) and the names of candidates for prime minister and other cabinet positions. We suggest considering the introduction of a simple single-seat constituency system as an election system that will make a smooth change in government viable. Thus, a general election under a simple single-seat constituency system will be an election to choose the government with a virtual public election of a prime minister.

In this blueprint, a general election is the only opportunity for the people, who have sovereign power, to reflect their opinions in national politics. If a political party is elected on the basis of a Manifesto in a general election, the winner that becomes the ruling party will virtually obtain *carte blanche* to put its policies into practice until the next general election. The proposal lacks any democratic procedure in which parliament as “the highest organ of state power” is asked to engage in fully-fledged discussions by constantly listening to the public before a decision is made on each policy.

The role of general elections will be reduced to a means to elect an incoming government and prime minister. A key aspect vital to parliamentary democracy will be ignored, i.e. electing representatives

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who can represent the diversity of public opinion and have those opinions considered in Diet deliberations. A simplified single-seat constituency system will thus lead to a distortion of the true role intended for general elections.

According to the blueprint, a prime minister elected following a general election is asked to display his leadership in a top-down formula by promoting an integration of cabinet and ruling party operations. Stating that Japan is under a parliamentary cabinet system, the Doyukai proposal says that the power and responsibility to make decisions on policies exists in the cabinet with the prime minister at its center. This is a statement that asserts that the prime minister has the highest political and administrative power.

What is common in these ideas is a negation of the power and role of the Diet as “the highest organ of state power” and “the sole law-making organ of the State” and of democratic process of constantly hearing the opinions of the sovereign people.

The JCP is firmly opposed to putting Japan under an authoritarian state control mechanism following a blueprint created by the business circles. The JCP will do its utmost to defend and develop the principles of people’s sovereignty and parliamentary democracy as stipulated in the Japanese Constitution.

C. Opposing reduction of the number of proportional representation seats, we call for democratic reform of political systems

The DPJ, which is now in power, has called for 80 seats to be cut from the proportional representation section of the House of Representatives in its election Manifesto. Such a reduction will be a serious milestone on the way to having all Diet members elected under the single-seat constituency system, which the business circles regard as the key part of the type of authoritarian state they want to build. It is the most important first move to destroy parliamentary democracy as we know it. If this policy is put into practice, the DPJ and the LDP will end up occupying more than 90 percent of the seats, and the harms of the single-seat constituency system that distorts the will of the people will be immeasurable. People’s voices, including those against a consumption tax increase and the revision of the Constitution’s Article 9, will not reach the Diet.



In 1994, a new election system combining a single-seat system and a proportional representation system was introduced in the House of Representatives under the government of Prime Minister Hosokawa Morihiro. The stated reason given by its advocates was that the single-seat constituency system helps to choose a government based on public opinion and that it would be combined with the proportional representation section with the aim of ensuring that “public opinion” is reflected. Under this combined election system, if the proportional representation section “which reflects public opinion” is sharply reduced, it will be tantamount to renegeing on the public promise they have made, by denying the most important democratic principle of the election system that “it should reflect public opinion.”

The JCP will fight against the move to cut the proportional representation seats by working with all political parties, organizations, and individuals against the adverse move so that the reactionary political plan will be defeated through a nationwide struggle.

The JCP will continue to demand the following: the single-seat constituency system be abolished and the election system be fundamentally changed to one centered on the proportional representation system; the government subsidy to political parties be abolished; the amounts of deposits candidates are required to make to run for office be lowered to the average international level; free and democratic election campaigns be guaranteed; and corporations and other organizations be immediately prohibited from making political donations. In promoting reform in the election system, reinstating the mid-size constituency system, which elects 3 - 5 members from each constituency as was the practice before, is also a desirable option.

#### D. Japanese media are fundamentally called into question

Apart from questions that have direct bearings on the DPJ, we will now state our position regarding the role of the mass media. The business sector-led effort for a “two-party system” has continued in Japan for more than 10 years, and the main currents of the mass media have consistently praised the move and assisted in its promotion. We need to look at how this extraordinary structure actually works.

There is a group called “Forum for New Japan” or “21st Century Rincho.” It comprises business leaders, academics, media people,

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and some prefectural governors and mayors. Its predecessor started in 1992 as “Private Sector 21st Century Political Rincho,” which played a crucial role in introducing the single-seat constituency system and was later reorganized into the “Forum for New Japan” or “21st Century Rincho” in 1999. Since the reorganization, it has been engaging in activities as a movement aiming to “restructure the nation” and “pursue its unfinished agenda for political reform” as the “two wheels of one cart.” In fact, this group has all along been calling for a single-seat constituency system, the general election to choose a government, and the establishment of the leadership of the cabinet led by the prime minister.

The 21st Century Rincho’s pamphlet entitled “Story of 21st Century Rincho” illustrating its activities praised the policy proposal published in October 2002 by the Japan Association of Corporate Executives (Keizai Doyukai) by stating that Keizai Doyukai is “the first business organization to call in a clear form that the cycle of party politics must be restructured by political parties drafting their Manifestos.” Thus the 21st Century Rincho and Keizai Doyukai share the goal of building a state exercising power politics. In dealing with the agenda of parliamentary reform promoted by the DPJ, a group of academics within the 21st Century Rincho offered their analyses to the DPJ, thus playing the role of a brain trust for the ruling party.

We must particularly take a serious look at the fact that the 155 members of the 21st Century Rincho steering committee include 73 media people (as of November 2009). The “Story of 21st Century Rincho” proclaims itself as a “movement for reform first and foremost” and promises not only to publish its policy proposals but also to lead public opinion via the mass media on a day-to-day basis, putting the emphasis on the effort to formulate concrete reform plans and achieve them. This is nothing but a crude declaration that they intend to use the media to lead public opinion in a direction favorable to themselves. It is the very structure being constructed to promote the major campaign to establish a “two-party system.”

The Code of Ethics for Newspapers states that newspapers must be “accurate and fair” and “independent and generous.” The Broadcast Law requires broadcasters to be “politically impartial” and to make clear points at issue from as many angles as possible in dealing with questions over which public opinion may be divided. In the

light of the code of ethics for journalism, how can so many media people be allowed to participate in such a group set up for a movement calling for the peculiar cause of creating an authoritarian state as well as a “two-party system” under the initiative of the business circles with the aim of influencing public opinion? Isn’t this tantamount to throwing away the principles of impartiality, fairness and independence in journalism? The JCP candidly points this out, and demands that the mass media become aware of their responsibility to the public and change the way they operate, while cooperating with many conscientious mass media workers.

The important task is for the JCP to prevent the situation from turning reactionary, defend and develop the constitutional principles of peace and democracy.

*10. Toward a Japan in which ‘people are the key players,’ we will use every possible opportunity to build a broad-based movement*

In the present transitional political situation, the JCP will exert efforts to fulfill the three tasks: (1) moving politics forward in response to the demands of the public; (2) forming a national consensus on the need for reform to put an end to the two aberrations; and (3) preventing the political situation from turning reactionary. We will also help develop power among the people to help take Japanese politics out of the two aberrations. If the JCP successfully fulfills these tasks, Japanese politics can positively find a progressive way out of the present political situation of transitional character and pave the way for conditions for establishing a democratic coalition government, a democratic government under which the people will be the key players.

The JCP’s goal of democratic change “will be achieved by the force of a united front movement which consists of all people, including workers, working citizens, farmers, fishers, small- and medium-sized entrepreneurs, intellectuals, women, youth, and students, who aspire to achieve national independence, democracy, peace, and better living conditions for all.” (JCP Program)

It is important to note that under the new situation emerging in the aftermath of the recent House of Representatives general election, conditions began to prevail in which the vision of the JCP Program is in accord with what the public badly needs. A dramatic change is also

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taking place among people who have been regarded as conservatives, including officials of the agricultural cooperative unions, medical associations, dental associations, and people involved in municipal governments. These are organizations and business groups that had previously played key roles in the conservative support base. They are now considering withdrawing their support from the LDP and trying to build an “omni-directional” relationship with all political parties. This is a welcome development. Taking full advantage of the major changes emerging among the public as well as of new conditions coming up, and based on a broadened perspective, the JCP pushes ahead with its pursuit of the further development of joint national struggles and the further growth of the united front movement.

In the labor movement, cooperation based on common demands among unions of different national center affiliations is advancing in various fields. In order to promote such cooperation to realize the demands of workers, the Japanese Trade Union Confederation (Rengo) leadership is called on to overcome its two main weaknesses: support for a particular political party and labor-management collaboration. In advancing workers’ common action based on their demands, the National Confederation of Trade Unions (Zenroren), which is now celebrating the 20th anniversary of its founding, has to play an even bigger role, and its further development holds much promise.

The Association for a Peaceful, Democratic and Progressive Japan (Kakushinkon) marks its 30th anniversary in 2010, which was established in response to the call of the JCP in 1980. It continues to grow today and at present has 801 grassroots associations in local communities and workplaces, and among youth, with 4.5 million people participating. The Kakushinkon movement is entering a new phase to take another step forward by inviting a wide range of people, including intellectuals, cultural, economic and religious figures as well as conservatives and people with no political affiliation.

The cause of increased interest in the vigorous and attractive Kakushinkon movement comes from various grassroots activities based on people’s demands. The movement at the same time has boldly called for fundamental change in politics with its “three common objectives” of peace, democracy, and better living standards. It has consistently made efforts to invite every political party,

organization, and individual who expresses support for its three objectives in order to form the majority consensus needed for such major political change. The Kakushinkon movement is the only united front movement under the banner of progressive change in national politics, and its role has become even more meaningful amid the recent political developments emerging in the wake of the general election. The JCP recognizes the importance of the Kakushinkon movement as a movement in line with the JCP strategic tasks based on its Program, and the JCP uses all its wisdom and energy as a strong “advocate” of the movement to help further its advance.

That the JCP acquires sophisticated political and theoretical abilities, to reach out to a wide range of people of all social strata, to enhance its organizational strength, and to increase its political weight in both national and local politics, provides a decisive condition for developing a coming together of national struggles and the united front movement toward a new stage of political development. In this Congress being held in 2010 at a critical juncture, we renew our determination to dedicate ourselves to making this decade a historic turning point for JCP progress.

PART V: OUTLOOK FOR FUTURE: WORLD IN TURMOIL AND  
OUTLOOK FOR FUTURE SOCIETY

*23. Deepening contradictions of world capitalism and increasing attention being given to scientific socialism*

Viewing the 21st century world from a broader perspective, we realize that we have entered a period in which the capitalist system itself is being called into question. The topic of the limits to capitalism has been widely featured in news media at home and abroad. This reflects the deepening contradictions in capitalism worldwide.

As Karl Marx said, “The *real barrier* of capitalist production is *capital itself*,” i.e. contradictions and barriers within capitalism arise from its very motive and purpose of production to satisfy the greed for surplus value. Such a “profit-first principle” finds expression in the following social injustices and catastrophes in the contemporary world:

— Poverty is spreading and the gap between rich and poor is widening in

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each country and on a worldwide level. The poverty rates in the United States and Japan have reached the highest levels in the developed capitalist countries. According to the 2005 “Human Development Report” published by the U.N. Development Program, lifting 1 billion people living under \$1 a day above the extreme poverty level would require only 1.6 percent of the income of the richest 10 percent of the world’s population. The gap has widened to that extent.

— Capitalism cannot provide developing countries that achieved political independence with ways to achieve self-reliant development. The number of malnourished in the world was 842 million in 1990-1992. But in 2009, it is estimated to have increased to 1.02 billion.

— The current financial crisis and the overproduction crisis have revealed that capitalism, no matter what measures it takes, is unable to resolve the overproduction crisis, i.e., capitalism’s “sickness unto death.” The world dealt with the economic crisis with tentative financial and fiscal measures through international cooperation. But the world has not yet got out of the overproduction crisis.

— A report of the British government acknowledged that climate change is the greatest “market failure” ever seen, casting doubt upon the way capitalism functions. The destruction of the global environment raises the fundamental question whether capitalism is capable of sustaining life on earth or not. People involved in this issue in Europe, where the issue is being seriously addressed, pointed out that “global warming cannot be stopped if the profit-first principle continues to be maintained. A fundamental reform of the social system and rethinking of the economic system is necessary.”

How should we deal with these problems? What we should aim for first in Japan is democratic reforms within the framework of capitalism, namely a democratic change into an “economy governed by rules,” and internationally, “a democratic international economic order based on respect for the economic sovereignty of every nation with fair and equitable relations between all nations.” (JCP Program) However, even if we make every effort to pursue these reforms to the very limit within the framework of capitalism, the problems cannot be fundamentally resolved within the framework of the “profit-first principle”; conditions will mature for a new system that will overcome capitalism. This is our vision.

In November 2009, the BBC released the result of a global opinion

poll conducted in 27 countries and commented, “Twenty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, dissatisfaction with free market capitalism is widespread.” On free market capitalism, only 11 percent of respondents answered, “Capitalism works well and increased regulation will make it less efficient.” On the other hand, 51 percent answered, “Capitalism has problems that can be addressed through regulation and reform,” and 23 percent, “Capitalism is fatally flawed and a different economic system is needed (43 percent in France, 38 percent in Mexico and 35 percent in Brazil).” The fact that the national broadcasting station in the United Kingdom, the homeland of capitalism, conducted such a survey and that 23 percent of the respondents found it necessary to create “a new system” in the place of capitalism deserves our attention.

The slogan “Long live capitalism,” which was rampant after the collapse of the Soviet Union, is no longer being heard. Faced with the deepening contradictions of capitalism worldwide, anxiety and dissatisfaction in regard to the future of capitalism are spreading and many people throughout the world are searching for new forms of society to replace capitalism. An increasing number of people are giving attention to scientific socialism and the writings of Marx both in Japan and elsewhere, which is neither accidental nor a passing fad. This is partly due to the serious contradictions global capitalism is currently facing.

*24. A quest for a new form of future society arising from the developments of the 21st century*

Against the backdrop of the sea changes confronting the 21st century world, we should pay attention to the various moves toward a future society that are taking shape.

Capitalism, emerging in the 16th century, developed as much as it dominated the whole world from the 19th through the 20th centuries. But during the first half of the 20th century, some countries broke away from capitalism and began a new quest for socialism. This was followed, in the latter half of the 20th century, by the collapse of the colonial system. Now at the beginning of the 21st century, the population of the developed capitalist countries has been reduced to only 13.6 percent of the world’s population.

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Countries aiming for socialism have been gaining weight year by year both in world politics and the world economy. China, in particular, is gathering momentum with its huge economy to move ahead of capitalist countries before long. Let's look at the economic growth of various groups of countries in the world in the last 14 years since the collapse of the Soviet Union: that of developed capitalist countries rose by 1.8 times; countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America by 2.4 times; and countries aiming for socialism by 4.8 times. Countries aiming for socialism are still at the stage of developing countries in GDP per capita. We need continued and careful observation regarding the fact that this is in part at the basis of a number of "political and economic problems to solve" (JCP Program) in those countries.

As a matter of policy, countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have a lot in common in regard to independence, peace, nonalignment and opposition to hegemony. Only a handful of countries in these areas succeeded in achieving economic development by taking the capitalist path. We now see moves in Latin America seeking a different path from capitalism, based in part on their national struggles during periods of dependency and lessons learned after the inauguration of left governments.

Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador call for "socialism in the 21st century" as a model for nation-building. It is worth noting that, with their own characteristics, they are promoting social changes through elections, making use of a market economy without depending only on nationalization, accepting diverse forms of ownership of the means of production, and attaching importance to the specific conditions of each country without following the social model of the former Soviet Union.

### *25. The JCP Program specifies its projection of world history in the 21st century*

The JCP Program sets forth its outlook on world history in the 21st century as follows:

"Although there may be numerous ups and downs as well as temporary or long-term setbacks within the course of history, it will be inevitable in the long run for social development to be achieved through overcoming imperialism and capitalism and advancing toward socialism."



*Resolution of the 25th Congress of the JCP*

“The 21st century world will be an era characterized by an increase in movements working to overcome capitalism and advancing to a new type of society. This will arise from sharpening economic and political contradictions as well as from the increase in popular movements in the developed capitalist countries; from efforts to explore different paths to socialism in countries that break away from capitalism; and from the popular movements in many countries in Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America that are unable to find their path for future economic development within the framework of capitalism, even after achieving political independence.”

That the JCP is well aware of these prospects toward future society gives it the strength to make clear, utilizing a broad perspective, a path to create a breakthrough in solving urgent problems. Let us face the future with the deep conviction that the vision toward socialism and communism that is offered in the JCP Program is being realized in different ways in various countries throughout the world.