



# The Failures and Changes of the Japanese Left, led by Tetsuzo Fuwa in the Localization of Marxism

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## Abstract

This research explores the similarities and differences between the Chinese rhetoric and the Japaneseization of Marxism. It does so in order to present the failure of socialist movements in Japan regardless of whether those movements opt for a revolutionary strategy or gain power through parliamentary democracy. As a result of the altered conditions, the Japanese Communist Party has enacted a variety of party policies, both internal and external, that take into account all local and worldwide problems, and has made more popular judgements.

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## 1. Introduction

The indigenization of communist parties in Japan is proceeding in a totally different manner than it does in his neighbour since Japan is a developed nation with a capitalist society. "The communist parties in developed countries are at the forefront of the development of contemporary capitalism", as was also mentioned in the introductory essay of the Study of the Thought of Tetsuzo Fuwa. As a result, their understanding, analysis,

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and research on the economic, political, and social development of contemporary capitalism, which is in their presence, is not only more practical and timely, but it is also more profound and comprehensive. As a result, it is of very important reference value and inspiration for people in developing countries to understand the development of contemporary capitalism, and as a consequence, to evaluate the likelihood of revolutionary events occurring and the progression of social thinking in developed countries.

There is a degree of universal application to Marxism; nevertheless, the necessity for adaptation to Marxism typically has varied requirements depending on the country, either as a result of distinct national circumstances or as a result of different phases in the country's historical development. To commit the error that Deng Xiaoping referred to as "fundamentalism" — that is, to apply Marxism directly to particular activities — would be to make a mistake. For instance, Mao Zedong learned the lessons of the revolution, gathered the wisdom of the whole party and the people, opened up a new path for the revolution, and saved the party at a critical moment in 1935 at the Zunyi Conference, which fully illustrates that theory must be verified by practice. This conference took place during a critical period in the development of the Chinese revolution. The topic of the localization of Marxism is not limited to China, there are problems of Marxist adaptation all over the world, so it is necessary to conduct the inquiry of localization of Marxism, develop a theory that is more in line with national conditions, and obtain better development of economic, social, and cultural thought under the challenges and opportunities of the background of the time.

## 2. Indigenization and the Japanese Communist Party (JCP)

When we are studying the localization of Marxism, we have to investigate what the national condition of our country is. In order to have a full understanding of the national situation, we need to first arrive at an accurate assessment of the stage of development that our country is now in. The different degrees of development of the two countries, including hard and soft power, are the source of the distinction between Japanization and Sinicization. The different stages of development must lead to different development directions and programs in order to accommodate the differences in stages of development. "Erst kommt das Fressen und dann die Moral." This proverb warns us that nations in various levels of economic development will take completely unique approaches to Marx's localization in their own cultures. In order to have a full understanding of the state of the nation, we need to conduct an investigation into the social structure of our country using scientific

methods. We will not be able to differentiate between enemies, allies, and friends until we have a better understanding of the socioeconomic standing and psychological condition of each class and strata. The Communist Party has to keep a close eye on the differences in power that exist between the different social classes and social strata so that it can accurately predict how the revolutionary situation will evolve and adjust its strategy and tactics appropriately. The Yamato nationality of Japan is quite different from the multi-ethnic scenario that exists in China. It is important for us to pay attention to the cultural practices and customs that are unique to the many ethnic groups, as well as the connections that exist between these groups. The localization of the Communist Party should not only be consistent and generally applicable in its methods, but it should also be enhanced in some areas to suit regional, ethnic, and customary distinctions.

Marx's localization should also take into account the characteristics of the times, including the following: the background of the era of economic globalization has brought various new challenges to the socialist movement; the development of military science and technology has challenged the way in which the working class gains power; the growth of trade and the formation of the multilateral trade system has challenged the relationship between the two social systems; the easing of social contradictions has challenged the relationship between the two social systems; the reduction of social tensions in industrialized nations has posed a challenge to the revolutionary fight of the working class in those nations (Day, 2010). The current era presents significant opportunities as well as significant challenges for the development of socialist countries. Additionally, the growth of potential communist parties within capitalist countries that embody Marxist-Leninist ideas, of which the Japanese Communist Party is a typical representative, also faces challenges in a variety of different ways (Wang & Wang, 2021).

The Japanese Communist Party was created on July 15, 1922, when it was proclaimed illegal by the Japanese government. It was dissolved in 1924, re-established in 1926, and outlawed once again in 1928. The Japanese Communist Party was not legalized until August 15, 1945, when Japan surrendered in defeat and ushered in a new period of post-war transition. In December 1945, the Japanese Communist Party convened its fourth congress and defined the party's program of action and constitution, advancing the slogan of abolition of the imperial system and establishment of a people's republic. After the war, the Japanese Communist Party believed that power could be attained peacefully through parliamentary elections in order to transition Japan to socialism. However, certain party members disputed this view, and the Japanese

Communist Party divided into two groups. In June of the same year, the U.S. occupation forces said they would prohibit the political activities of all central committee members of the Japanese Communist Party and opposed the socialist goal of the party, which was again pushed underground. In October 1951, a faction led by Kyuichi Tokuda convened the Fifth National Accord and approved the May Day Program and the instructions for armed struggle. The party split damaged the Japanese Communist Party's political strength. In July 1955, the divided parties convened the Sixth National Conference, pondered on the lessons of the preceding revolution, elected a united Central Committee, and ended the separation. In the Party's platform and constitution, the phrase "Marxism-Leninism" was changed to "scientific socialism" during the 13th Congress in July 1976. Working class power was substituted for "dictatorship of the proletariat." Since its Seventh Congress, the Japanese Communist Party has fought against the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and for independence, democracy, peace, and the betterment of the lives of the people. The party argues for the legal and democratic formation of a coalition government with a Diet majority, followed by a transition to socialism.

Despite the fact that it has never had power, the Japanese Communist Party's status in Japan has made it an effective watchdog on the party that is now in control. The Japanese Communist Party has become an important force in the Japanese political arena for opposition supervision as a result of its policies adapting to the shifting social norms over time. This has resulted in an ongoing process of enriching and bettering the party's guiding principles and policies. A cursory examination of the modifications that the Japanese Communist Party has made to its postwar strategy reveals that the Japanese Communists' political theory is evolving in the direction of one that is more active and more focused on the domestic arena.

### 3. Major Changes and Characteristics of the JCP

Over the course of the previous seven decades, the fundamental ideology of the Japanese Communist Party has undergone significant development and transformation. At the moment, the fundamental purpose of the Japanese Communist Party's constitution is to end the dominance of the zaibatsu and the United States over Japan and to bring about Japan's full autonomy, in which the nation's policies are based solely on the nation's circumstances and in which there is no intervention from or guidance from any other foreign power. The Japanese Communist Party refers to

what is happening right now as the democratic revolution. This is a blend of the fundamental ideas of socialism and the socioeconomic realities of Japan, and its vision of "democracy and the livelihood of the people" is both revolutionary and practicable in a highly developed capitalist society like Japan. The Communist Party of Japan recognized Japan as a highly developed capitalist country and agreed to have an emperor, not to abolish the emperor, and not to change the existing system, which was controversial within the party. The Japanese Communist Party advocates for the reform of social welfare programs and the improvement of people's living conditions. Because of this, the Japanese Communist Party enjoys a favorable reputation in the country of Japan and is making steady progress toward increasing its support among younger voters.

The Communist Party of Japan is resolute in its pursuit to protect Japan's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and it has made it clear that it expects Russia to restore the four islands located in Japan's northernmost archipelago. The Secretary General of the Communist Party of Japan, has strongly backed the operations of the Coast Guard and adopted a foreign policy of "protecting historical areas, fighting for marine territories, and vigorously assaulting" in regards to the subject of the East China Sea. No national political party will ever stop fighting for the rights and interests of other countries, but in a climate where nationalism is on the rise and Japanese society as a whole is moving to the right, a policy that is both radical and nationalistic may garner more support from the general population. At the same time, the Japanese Communist Party seeks peace and is opposed to war. Its perspectives on World War II are essentially the same as those of the Chinese Communist Party; is, they both reject war, an act of aggression and desire peace. In the new millennium, the Japanese Communist Party has been very active in both the promotion of socialist theory and the active development of links with communist parties based outside of Japan (Maeno, 1974). In the realm of international affairs, it has on several occasions taken on the role of a mediator in various disputes and has made significant contributions to the maintenance of global peace.

Even though the Japanese Communist Party does not currently hold political power, it is evident from the political initiatives that it has undertaken in the new century that it is gradually re-evaluating both its domestic and international policies in light of the knowledge gained from its earlier revolutions. It is anticipated that the Japanese Communist Party will play a role that is increasingly significant in the politics of Japan and on the global arena in the foreseeable future.

## 4. The Four Major Theories

These four theories basically constitute the basic framework of the Japanese Communist Party's domestic and foreign policies. These policies were combined with the realities of the time and reflected the collective wisdom of the Japanese Communist Party, and played a significant role in guiding the development of the Japanese Communist Party.

### 4.1. The "People's Parliamentarianism" Theory

The conventional communist revolution necessitated an appeal to the working class to band together in order to mount a violent challenge to the established order. The Tetsuzo Fuwa's Parliamentarianism Theory, on the other hand, was founded on the internal realities of the Japanese Communist Party. In Japan throughout the 1970s, the Japanese Communist Party was experiencing a surge in popularity, which resulted in an increase in the number of members and seats held by the party (Inoguchi, 2000). Tetsuzo Fuwa had high hopes that the Communist Party's goals might be enacted through the use of a parliament in light of the favorable circumstances that existed at the time. To a certain extent, the Japanese Communist Party partially abandoned the practice of violent revolution. However, during this time period, it also proposed that whenever reactionary forces at home or abroad violently undermined democracy and seriously harmed interests of the people, the Communist Party would face them with the attitude of the enemy.

### 4.2. The concept of the "power of the working class"

This notion was Tetsuzo Fuwa's original thesis, and when the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" was translated to Japan, the word "dictatorship" was readily connected with autocracy in Japanese. Tetsuzo Fuwa's initial thought was that the proletariat should rule the country (Fuwa, 2003, 2005). At the same time, the trend toward stronger capitalist parties was one of the defining characteristics of the post-war political environment in Japan. The "working class power theory" that was offered by Tetsuzo Fuwa in this context provided the foundation for the Japanese Communist Party to adapt to the evolution of the actual society. This was the context in which the "working class power theory" was proposed. Instead of the phrase "dictatorship," the Japanese Communist Party preferred to adopt the straightforward expression "working class power." Furthermore, the JCP did not preclude the participation of any other

political parties in government. As a result, this idea is the result of trying to find a middle ground between capitalism and the actual society.

#### *4.3. The concept of a "socialist market economy"*

It was proposed a little later than China's, and many of the theories were summarized by Tetsuzo Fuwa based on the experience and lessons learned from China's reform and opening up. The concept of a "socialist market economy" was first put forward in Japan in the year 1994, while its Chinese counterpart was first put out in 1992. As a natural consequence, the Japanese government's reform agenda is both more extreme and radical in terms of the institutional arrangements it entails. This is due to the fact that Japan has changed the Chinese idea since then. The Japanese Communist Party, which is restricted by the internal political context, is not particularly different from other capitalist parties in Japan on many subjects, including economic and social policy. This is because the JCP is constrained by the domestic political circumstances.

#### *4.4. The Theory of "Independence"*

Zhou Enlai's "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" were endorsed by the Japanese Communist Party in the 1970s, and at the same time, the Japanese Communist Party proposed the concept of independence. The Japanese Communist Party was unique among communist parties since it was not controlled by the Soviet Union like the other communist parties were. Domestically, it was doubly hampered by the distrust of other capitalist parties, and internationally, it did not stand on a unified front with the Communist International. Nevertheless, due of its policy of "independence," the Japanese Communist Party did not suffer as much as other communist parties did after the fall of the Soviet Union, which was catastrophic for all of the communist parties.

### **5. The Japanization and Sinicization of Marxism**

There are several parallels to be seen between Marxist Japanization and Marxist Sinicization; nevertheless, there are also key distinctions to be made between the two. After conducting an in-depth analysis of Marxist Japanization and combining this knowledge with what we already knew about socialism with Chinese features, we have come to the conclusion that Marxist Japanization and Marxist Sinicization are both distinct

applications of Marxism within the countries that are the focus of this analysis. Because of the shortcomings of Marxist theory when it is put into actual practice, it is necessary to combine Marxism with the fundamental reality of the nation in which it is intended to take root in order for it to be successful. This was previously mentioned. On this subject, the Japanese Communist Party did not ponder its position any less seriously than the Chinese Communist Party did, and it was one of the first organizations to propose the idea that Marxism might be "Japanized." On the other hand, in terms of concrete policy operations, the Japanese Communist Party actually encountered less resistance than other socialist parties due to the fact that it did not accept the guidance of the Soviet Communist Party and instead developed independently among socialist parties all over the world (Dixon, 1972). Because of this, Japanese Marxism was able to become more integrated with domestic policies and make more politically pertinent choices, but it also led to the international isolation of the Japanese Communist Party and a lack of support from the Communist International.

In terms of socialist market economy theory, which is a refinement and sublimation of the market economy theory proposed after China's reform and opening up. This theory was developed by the Japanese Communist Party as a reflection of the more revolutionary nature, as well as the fact that the Japanese Communist Party is deeply influenced by the social reality in Japan. Moreover, this is a reflection of the fact that the Japanese Communist Party is deeply influenced by the social reality in Japan. On the other hand, Japan's socialist economic ideas were never put into action since the Japanese Communist Party was never the leading party in Japan (Hazard et al., 1973). Even if they were not ideal, China's socialist market economy policies played a significant part in the country's process of opening up and reforming.

In terms of the strategy to seize power, the revolutionary policies of China were better suited to the national circumstances. The Japanese Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party were both founded around the same time, but after 90 years, the Chinese Communist Party has become the largest ruling party in the world, whereas the Japanese Communist Party has never held power. During the revolutionary struggle, the Chinese Communist Party created and summarized the theories of "encircling cities in the countryside" and "armed seizure of power"; politically, it focused on uniting the majority of the people and fully mobilized the people's struggle for power. The Japanese Communist Party, on the other hand, did not take an effective approach to seize power during the revolutionary period, and its excellent political career was cut short during the post-war period of political reconstruction in Japan due to

internal division. It failed despite years of work because it missed the finest opportunity to capture power (Kim, 1977; Fukushima, 2005).

## 6. Conclusion

This article explores the parallels and contrasts between the Japaneseization of Marxism and the Chinese rhetoric, presenting illuminating implications for the JCP development. In light of the changed circumstances, the Japanese Communist Party has implemented an array of internal and external party policies that take into consideration all local and international concerns, and has made more popular judgments. However, due to Japan's highly developed capitalism and the complicated international situation, there is currently no opportunity for the Japanese Communist Party to play a bigger role.

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## Conflict of Interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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