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Secretary of State
Washington
A-766, August 5

Red Fleet of August 2, "Internal political situation in Japan" by K. Sidus, states Japanese economy is chaotic owing to sabotage of big business. Equally responsible are Shidehara and Yoshida governments and US occupation authorities. Katayama government asked help of British Labor Party in Britain socialist, but is defending capital and attempting to restore Kuriles to Japan with approval of MacArthur.

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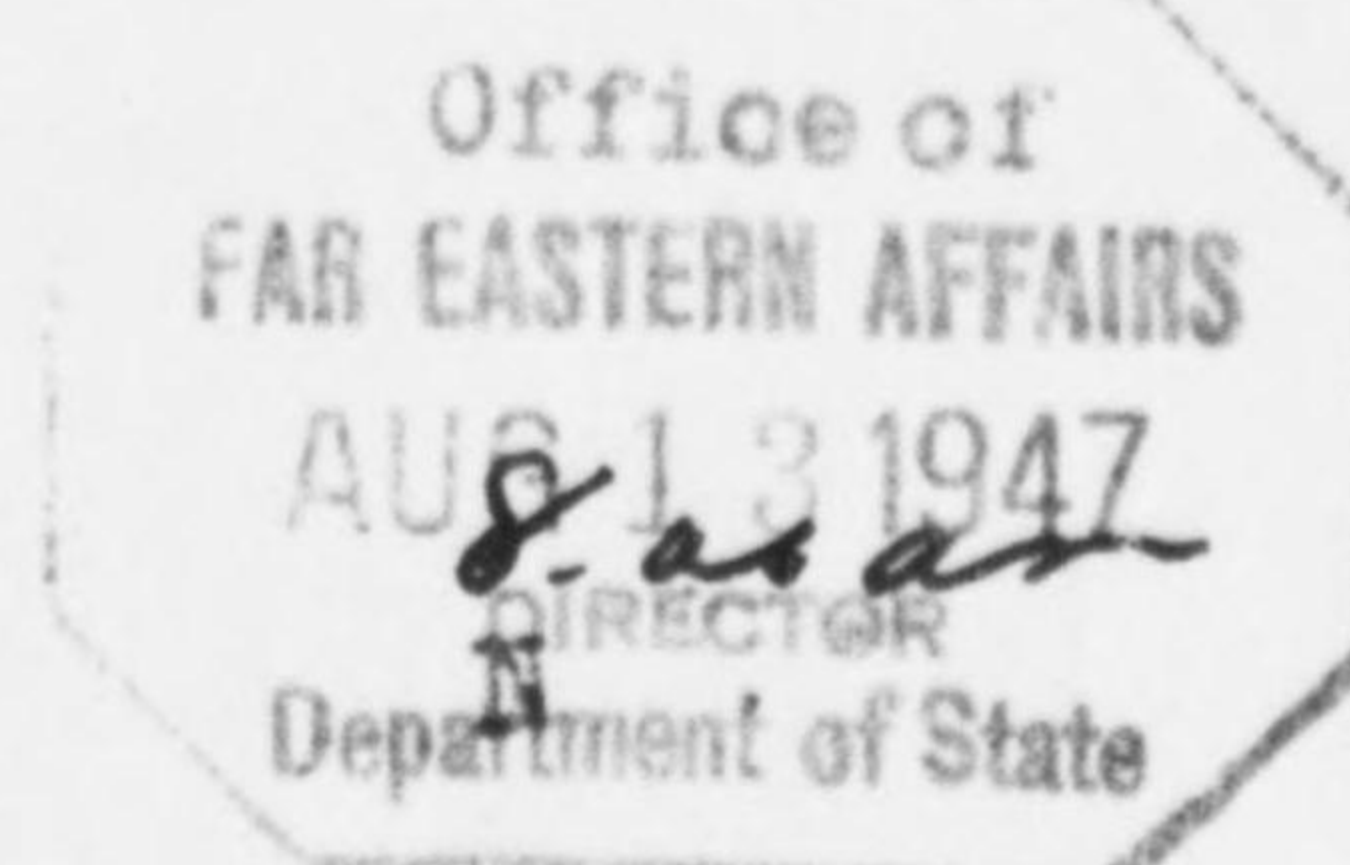
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Rec'd August 12, 1947
11:37 a.m.

PROM: Mukden
 TO: Secretary of State
 NO: 206, Twelfth



TUNG PEI CHIEN FENG JIH PAO (CC organ) Mukden editorial August 9 expresses concern reemergence strong Japan and criticizes United States too lenient policy toward Japs. Cautions China be watchful when making Jap peace terms.

Editorial same paper August 10 advocates reorganiza- tion northeast government structure, with abolishment superfluous bureaus and personnel, elimination duplica- tion functions, and introduction greater efficiency. Northeasterners should be given more responsibility and active participation NE government.

OHUNG YANG JIH PAO (KMT organ) Mukden editorial August 10 frowns on trade with Japan unless definitely in interest China and even intimates adoption anti-trade policy.

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The Political Adviser for Japan has the honor to forward under separate cover five copies of a special report published recently by the Civil Intelligence Section of General Headquarters, Far East Command, entitled "Left Wing-Right Wing". The report contains an historical analysis of Japanese proletarian political movements from 1882 to the present, together with appendices providing additional information concerning important labor and agrarian groups and certain political parties in Japan.

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FAR EAST COMMAND
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SPECIAL REPORT

LEFT WING - RIGHT WING

JAPANESE PROLETARIAN POLITICS

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LEFT WING RIGHT WING

Japanese Proletarian Politics

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SOURCES

1. Yearbooks:

AIKOKU UNDO NENKAN (Patriotic Movement Yearbook), 1938-1939 editions.
 ASAHI NENKAN (Asahi Yearbook), 1926-1946 editions.
 DAI NIPPON SEIJI NEMPO (Great Japan Political Yearbook), 1942-1943 editions.
 Japan Yearbook, 1933-1945 editions.
 JIJI NENKAN (Jiji Yearbook), 1926-1944, 1947 editions.
 MAINICHI NENKAN (Mainichi Yearbook), 1926-1946 editions.
 NIHON BUNKA DANTAI NENKAN (Japan Cultural Group Yearbook), 1943 edition.
 SEITO NENKAN (Political Parties Yearbook), 1943.

2. Newspapers:

AKAHATA (Red Flag), 1945-1947.
 ASAHI SHIMBUN (Asahi Newspaper), 1923-1947.
 Japan Times and Mail, 1936-1940.
 Japan Times and Advertiser, 1940-1941.
 NIPPON TIMES, 1942-1947
 Japan Weekly Chronicle, 1923-1941
 MAINICHI SHIMBUN (Mainichi Newspaper), 1924-1947
 YOMIURI SHIMBUN (Yomiuri Newspaper), 1924-1947.

3. Magazines:

CHUO KORON (Central Review), 1935-1942.
 Contemporary Japan, 1932-1945.
 KAIZO (Reform), 1931-1940
 KOA (Rise-Asia), Published by DAI NIHON KOA DOMEI
 KOKUHON (National Foundation), 1924-1935.
 KOKUMIN SHISO (National Thought), 1932-1935.
 NIHON OYOBI NIHONJIN (Japan and the Japanese), 1929-1939.
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 SEKAI SHUHO (World Weekly), 1945-1946.
 YOKUSAN SEIJI (Imperial Rule Assistance), published by the IRAA.

4. Official Records:

Trial records of the Supreme Court of the Ministry of Justice:

KOTOKU SHUSUI JIKEN (Kotoku Shusui Incident)

Trial Records of Army and Navy Courts Martial:

2-26 Incident (26 February Incident)

5. Official Publications:

SEIKAI UNDO NO JOKYO (Report on Social Movements), restricted official publication of the Police Bureau of the Home Ministry, 1931-1943 editions.
 KOKKA KAIZO RONS.KU SHU (Collection of Essays and Programs of Reformation in Japan), compiled by the Peace Preservation Bureau of the Home Ministry, 1935.

6. Directories:

JINJI KOSHIN ROKU (Japanese Who's Who), 1937-1943.
The Orient Yearbook, 1942.
Who's Who in Japan, 1933-1945.

7. Books:

KINDAI NIHON SEIJI SHAKAI SHISO SHI TAIKEI (Outline of Political and Social Thought in Modern Japan) by NOMURA Shigeomi, 1941.
MUSAN SEITO RON (Essays on Proletarian Parties) by ROYAMA Masamichi (Seido), 1930.
NIHON KOKKA SHUGI UNDO SHI (History of the Japanese National-Socialist Movement) by KINOSHITA Hanji, 1939.
SHAKAI UNDO NO JOSEI (Situation of Social Movements) published by the KYOCHO KAI (conciliation Society), 1933.

8. Pamphlets:

Summary History of the Japanese Communist Party, mimeographed notes of Procurator HASEGAWA Kiyoshi, undated.

PREAMBLE

There is a strong tendency for those who are not well acquainted with Japanese social and political history to believe that political circles in the country are and always have been sharply divided into leftist and rightist camps which have become analogous in the minds of many with communist and ultra-nationalist cliques. There is a tendency to consign the old-line parties such as the SEIYUKAI and the MINSEI-TO, as well as the Imperial Rule Assistance organizations which flourished during the Pacific War, to the ultra-nationalist or rightist camp, and to relegate the whole proletarian movement to the communist side of the fence.

A proper understanding of proletarian politics in Japan is necessary for proper understanding of the present-day political situation, and indeed is of vital importance in judging possibilities for the future. This is because for the past thirty years the influence of the proletariat has been growing stronger than a casual observation of modern Japanese history would lead one to believe, and because "government of the people, by the people and for the people" should be the very basis on which the "democratization" of Japan must stand. It would be foolish indeed to endeavor to encourage a new "democratic" order without an understanding of the efforts which have been made by the Japanese masses themselves to increase their voice in government.

Japanese proletarian politics have always been replete with factionalism ranging from the deep red of the Japanese Communist Party to the reverent purple of the national socialists. The factions, based fundamentally on labor and agricultural unions and groups thereof, have rallied to the support of groups of leaders who have in many instances drawn their followings with them in their maneuvers to the right and to the left between the pure-socialist and national-socialist camps. Sectarian rivalries and jealousies have had almost as much influence in the divisions and realignments of the proletarian parties as in the case of the nationalist societies.

Pure socialism has been divided roughly into left-wing, right-wing, and center factions, plus a steadfast group based on the Japan Federation of Labor, whose moderate activities over a period of some thirty-five years labels it as nearly democratic as any clique in the country. The difference between the various popular parties has been not so much in their platforms as in the extent of their demands and the manner in which they have attempted to implement them. The main lines of demarcation have always been between the communists and the socialists on the left hand, and between the socialists and the nationalists on the right. The primary difference between the communists and the socialists has been one of allegiance; whereas the communists, a subversive party before the war, have always acknowledged the control of the Comintern and have received all of their policies from Russia, the socialists, a group of perfectly legal, registered parties, have maintained their allegiance to the Emperor, have refused all connection with the communists at home or with the Comintern abroad, and have carefully kept within the bounds of Japanese law by adhering to parliamentary methods. The primary difference between the socialists and the nationalists has been that the socialists cried loudly against the waging of "imperialistic war" while the nationalists called for an offensive expansion of Japanese rights and territories.

No group in the Japanese proletarian movement has ever trusted any other group to the right or to the left of its own stand; hence the bitter charges of leftism or rightism between broadly similar factions in the socialist camp. This mistrust is particularly true of the communists and the socialists. Historically it is as apparent that the legal left-wing parties made a clean and irreparable break with the communists in 1925 as that the communists have always maintained a close relationship with

the Comintern quite regardless of international boundaries except as the haunts of immigration officials and water-police.

This study, based primarily on official documents and records, is an attempt to explain the history and colorations of Japanese proletarianism as an aid to the study of the post-war political picture in Japan. The first part consists of an historical running account of the development of the popular groupings, while the second part gives the histories of the important parties and unions for ready reference. It is dangerous to label individuals by ideological categories on the basis of transient affiliation with specific parties or unions; for proper understanding the individual's career should be studied as a whole.

Note to Readers:

Similarities in the names and organizations of the political parties and unions has made it impossible to differentiate as clearly as could be wished between the various bodies mentioned in the historical text of Part I. Hence it is suggested that Readers refer for clarification to the histories of the various organizations in Part II as new names appear.

LEFT WING RIGHT WING

PART I

JAPANESE PROLETARIAN POLITICS

CHAPTER I

EARLY SOCIALISM
1882-1912

Socialism in Japan was born as early as May, 1882, in Shimabara, Nagasaki Ken, where the first socialist party, the TOYO SHAKAI TO (Oriental Socialist Party) was formed under the leadership of TARUI Tokichi and AKAMATSU Taisuke. These leaders stated as their simple purpose, "Our principle is equality and our objective the greatest happiness of the people." Because the party was a shocking new departure in the politics of the Empire it was soon ordered to disband by the police, having apparently accomplished nothing. That the foetus of proletarianism had been engendered, however, was evidenced by the fact that the first Japanese labor union was formed about the same time by OKUMIYA Takeyuki, a 24-year-old extremist crusader who twenty-nine years later was to be executed as an anarchist for his part in the 1910 reformist conspiracy of KOTOKU Denjiro, better known by his pseudonym Shusui. OKUMIYA's objective was to aid the lowly rikisha man, whose livelihood was threatened by the horse-drawn coach. It was a clever play upon the generic word for socialism (SHAKAI SHUGI) to call his union the SHAKAI TO (車界党 -- Vehicle World Party).

The socialist and labor movements gained no serious headway until after the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895, because until that time the country remained almost completely agricultural. With success in China came industrialization, and with industrialization organization of labor. To meet concomitant unrest the CHIAN KEISATSU HO (Peace Police Law) was promulgated in March, 1900, with the inevitable result that the labor movement went underground and the socialists resorted to study circles and political activity instead of labor agitation.

The first of the study groups was the SHAKAI SHUGI KENKYU KAI (Socialism Research Society), organized in 1898 by social-minded members of the Unitarian Church, ABE Isoo, KATAYAMA Sen*1, SUGIMURA Kotaro, and KOTOKU Shusui. These men held monthly meetings for study and discussion for two years before they split into two groups, one of which accepted the principles of socialism and one of which did not. After the withdrawal of the conservative dissenters the remaining members reassembled as the SHAKAI SHUGI KYOKAI (Socialist Society), of which the chairman was ABE Isoo and the directors NISHIKAWA Kojiro and S. ITO Kanejiro and of which the membership of about forty included KATAYAMA Sen, KAWAKAMI Kiyoshi, KINOSHITA Shoko, KOTOKU Shusui and MATSUZAKI Genkichi. This society, which published the magazine SHAKAI SHUGI (Socialism), lasted until November, 1904, when it was disbanded by the police.

Meanwhile, in May, 1901, the year after the foundation of the SHAKAI SHUGI KYOKAI, ABE Isoo, KATAYAMA Sen, KAWAKAMI Kiyoshi, KINOSHITA Shoko, KOTOKU Shusui and NISHIKAWA Kojiro, all prominent members of the study group, turned their eyes toward politics. They planned a new political party to implement their ideas, the SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party). It was obvious that the group was under official observation, for its application for registration as a party with the Home Ministry was promptly rejected on the day it was submitted. Another application by the same men in the name of the NIHON HEIMIN TO (Japan Commoners' Party) met with the same reception in June, 1901, despite Prince KATSURA Taro's succession to Prince ITO Hirobumi as premier. Discouraged for

*1 KATAYAMA Sen later became a pure and simple communist and died in Russia as Japanese representative on the Central Executive of the Comintern in 1933.

the time being. ABE and his colleagues made no further effort to set up a political party, but devoted their energy to the theoretical HEIMIN SHA (Commoners' Society), formed in 1903 by KOTOKU Shusui and SAKAI Toshihiko with the help of KATO Tokijiro and KOJIMA Ryutarō. KOTOKU and his friends were soon joined by ISHIKAWA Sanshiro and NISHIKAWA Kojiro, who were likewise members of the SHAKAI SHUGI KYOKAI. The HEIMIN SHA published the HEIMIN SHIMBUN (Commoners' Paper), which devoted itself to anti-war propaganda in the face of growing hostility toward Russia. Contributors included ABE Isao, KATAYAMA Sen, KINOSHITA Shoko, KOIZUMI Sakutarō, OISHI Seinosuke, SHIBA Teikichi, SUGIMURA Kotaro and many others. In due course the headquarters of the SHAKAI SHUGI KYOKAI amalgamated with the HEIMIN SHA, thus making it the center of proletarian activity in Japan.

On 12 October 1903 KOTOKU Shusui and SAKAI Toshihiko published their opposition to war in the newspaper MANCHO HO (Ten Thousand Dawns News) by which they were employed; since the paper's policy had veered to support the hostile feeling toward Russia, they were forced to resign from its staff. On 17 January 1904, two weeks before the 10 February declaration of war, the HEIMIN SHIMBUN published a leader entitled "We Object Categorically to War." When this was followed on 27 March by an editorial entitled "Alas! More Taxation", the edition was suppressed by censorship. On 13 November 1904, the anniversary of the foundation of the HEIMIN SHA, the paper was again banned because it translated the platform of the Russian Communist Party. Oddly enough, the SHAKAI SHUGI KYOKAI, not the HEIMIN SHA, was ordered by the police to disband. The HEIMIN SHA continued to exist until 9 October 1905 when it expired, not because of official pressure but because of a lack of funds and a clash of ideas between the materialistic KOTOKU Shusui and SAKAI Toshihiko on the one hand and the humanitarian ISHIKAWA Sanshiro and KINOSHITA Shoko on the other. The last number of the HEIMIN SHIMBUN was printed entirely in red ink on 9 October 1905.

While SAKAI Toshihiko attempted unsuccessfully to issue another magazine, the SHAKAI SHUGI KENKYU (Study of Socialism), KOTOKU Shusui took a trip to America in the autumn of 1905. Upon his return it was obvious that he had turned pure anarchist, for within five days of disembarkation at Yokohama he made a public address entitled "The Tide of World Revolution" in which he openly denied the parliamentary form of government and advocated the kind of "direct action" which was to deliver him to the hempen garrot*1 five years later.

In January, 1906, Prince KATSURA Taro, who had been premier for almost five years, was succeeded by Prince SAIONJI Kimochi, who was considered much more democratic. As a test case, HIGUCHI Den and NISHIKAWA Kojiro applied for registration of a new political party, the NIHON HEIMIN TO (Japan Commoners' Party), which proclaimed universal suffrage as its most important objective. To the surprise of all concerned the application was accepted. This turn of events encouraged SAKAI Toshihiko to apply for registration of another party, the NIHON SHAKAI TO (Japan Socialist Party), which aspired to effect the practical application of socialism in government. SAKAI's application likewise was accepted. The two new parties held a joint general meeting in Tokyo on 24 February 1906, at which the attendance numbered about 200. Considering the many societies allied to the NIHON SHAKAI TO from Aomori to Kagoshima, however, the Metropolitan Police investigation showed

*1 KOTOKU and his friends died by the old Japanese method of executing commoners,--throttling with a hempen cord.

about twenty-five thousand socialists throughout Japan at this time. This spiritual union of the NIHON HEIMIN TO and the NIHON SHAKAI TO resulted in January, 1907, in the joint publication of the NIKKAN HEIMIN SHIMBUN (Daily Commoners' Newspaper), which was promoted by KOTOKU Shusui, NISHIKAWA Kojiro and SAKAI Toshihiko and which received literary contributions from such rising figures on the proletarian front as ABE Isoo, KATAYAMA Sen, OKUMIYA Takeyuki and OSUGI Sakae.

The graduation of tints and shades in the Japanese proletarian movement began to show more clearly at the second general meeting of the NIHON SHAKAI TO, held on 17 February 1907, at which a heated ideological discussion cut the party into three distinct factions. TAZOE Tetsuji advocated promulgation of socialist reforms solely by parliamentary legislation. SAKAI Toshihiko advocated promotion by parliamentary methods supplemented by "direct action", KOTOKU Shusui advocated "direct action" only, going even so far as to reject universal manhood suffrage as a means toward the party's ends. Here in embryo lay the basic differences between left-wing, center and right wing proletarianism as they developed thenceforth through the years. When a vote was taken, TAZOE had two supporters, SAKAI twenty-eight and KOTOKU twenty-two. The NIHON SHAKAI TO was ordered to dissolve. The edition of the NIKKAN HEIMIN SHIMBUN which published KOTOKU's speech was suppressed, but the newspaper continued despite official pressure and financial difficulties. However, it too folded its tent in April, two months after it had lost the party support.

After the demise of the NIKKAN HEIMIN SHIMBUN, the left-wing ideologies were perpetuated by the OSAKA HEIMIN SHIMBUN (Osaka Commoners' Newspaper), later renamed the NIHON HEIMIN SHIMBUN (Japan Commoners' Newspaper), which was edited by MORICHIKA Umpei*1 with the assistance of MIYATAKE Gaikotsu, and which received contributions from such left-wingers as KOTOKU Shusui, SAKAI Toshihiko and YAMAGUCHI Gizo. The parliamentarians KATAYAMA Sen, NISHIKAWA Kojiro and TAZOE Tetsuji in turn voiced their ideas in the publication SHAKAI SHIMBUN (Socialist Newspaper).

Not to be forgotten in connection with the NIHON SHAKAI TO was the famous AKAHATA JIKEN (Red Flag Incident) of 1908, because it is cited today by the elephant-memored leftists as one of the early injustices perpetrated upon the proletarian movement. Although the incident occurred more than a year after the suppression of the party, it had its beginning in a party-inspired demonstration against a rise in Tokyo tram fares, in which YAMAGUCHI Gizo was arrested for rabble-rousing. Upon YAMAGUCHI's release from gaol on 22 June 1908 a welcome party was held by some of his friends at the KINKI KAN (Glittering Brocade Hotel) in Kanda. When the meeting dispersed a number of the group marched noisily through the streets of Tokyo waving red flags. In the ensuing clash with the police ten men including ARAHATA Katsuzo, OSUGI Sakae, SAKAI Toshihiko and YAMAKAWA Hitoshi were arrested. Placed on trial, the men were sentenced to twelve to eighteen months' imprisonment. This incident had a direct bearing upon the immediate development of extremist socialism in that it was cited by KOTOKU Shusui and his colleagues as the prime incentive for their abortive coup d'etat of 1910, which is commonly known as the KOTOKU JIKEN (KOTOKU Incident).

The affair of KOTOKU and his fellow conspirators, designated officially as the DAIGYAKU JIKEN (The High Treason Case), was carefully

*1 MORICHIKA Umpei was to be executed with KOTOKU Shusui in January, 1911.

hushed up because the nature of the plot was deemed detrimental to the maintenance of public peace. The trials were secret and the facts of the case beyond the names of the culprits and the sentences imposed upon them have never been made public. The announcements revealed that twenty-five men and one woman had been arrested on a charge of high treason, that the extreme penalty had been decreed for twenty-four including the woman, but that twelve of the death sentences had by special dispensation been converted to life imprisonment. Public interpretation of the incident has been stated briefly by Morgan Young*1 in his book, "Japan Under Taisho Tenno, 1912-1926", published in 1928:

"Later some more extreme ideas came in from Russia, and in 1911 KOTOKU Shusui and eleven others were executed, after a secret trial. They are supposed to have been guilty of a plot against the life of the Emperor. The Russian extremists always thereafter hated the Japanese bureaucracy for these executions, exhibiting then that vendetta hatred which they adopted in their war against royalty. Royalty killed them when it could; they killed royalty when they could. Authority regarded the anarchist as a venomous reptile; the anarchist regarded authority as a blood-thirsty tyrant."

The secret trial records of "The High Treason Case," resurrected now for the first time from the dusty dossiers of the Japanese Ministry of Justice, give the official account of the affair. KOTOKU Shusui, had been allied with practically every proletarian political development since the turn of the century when he was connected with the SHAKAI SHUGI KENKYU KAI (Socialism Research Society). After his return from a visit to the United States in 1906 he turned rabidly against the parliamentary system as a means to effect governmental reform and became an advocate of anarchist "direct action". It was KOTOKU's argument at the 17 February 1907 meeting of the NIHON SHAKAI TO (Japan Socialist Party) which was primarily responsible for the suppression of the party. He was in the habit of declaring that some day the "comrades of revolution" would realize by "direct action" the "anarchist ideals". He was particularly indignant over the measures taken by the authorities with respect to the Red Flag Incident of 1908 and declared that the socialists must find some means of reprisal.

Returning to Tokyo from his ancestral home in Kochi Ken, KOTOKU passed through Shingu in Wakayama Ken, where he met OISHI Seinosuke, NAKUISHI Heishiro, SAKIKUBO Seiichi, TAKAGI Kemmyo and MINEO Setsudo, a doctor, a storekeeper, a farmer and two priests respectively whose ideas were sympathetic with his own. Continuing on toward Tokyo, he met at Hakone, Kanagawa Ken, UCHIYAMA Gudo, a Buddhist priest with whom he discussed the Red Flag Incident and to whom he declared that plans must be made to avenge. It is recorded that KOTOKU told his confederates in September, 1909, that in order to effect a revolution he needed only about fifty men to attack the Imperial Palace in Tokyo, drive off the guards and force the Emperor to sign a rescript implementing his ideas,--exactly, it will be noted, the plan of the March, 1931, program for a rightist coup d'etat as described by TANAKA Kiyoshi. Yet it is doubtful if KOTOKU himself intended to carry out any such plan, for he was slowly dying of tuberculosis, and his friends were anxious that he should retire from all political activity to devote himself to the compilation of a reformist history. He actually went into seclusion at Yugawara, Kanagawa Ken, in March, 1910, when the chief conspirators, FURUKAWA Rikisaku, MIYASHITA Takichi, NIIMURA Tadao and the woman SUGANO Suga, decided to exclude him from the conspiracy.

*1 Morgan Young was the most knowledgeable liberal foreign newsman that Japan has ever known. His Japan experience covered the years 1912 to 1940. His "Kobe Chronicle" was the most censored paper in the country. He was a great man.

SUGANO Suga, the only woman connected with the plot, was a socialist of several years' standing. She had been arrested at the time of the Red Flag Incident. Although acquitted of all charges, she had retained her red-hot indignation at the treatment meted out to her friends and had sworn revenge. It was therefore understandable that she should become attached to KOTOKU and his group, who cried to avenge the Red Flag Incident arrests. In due course she became KOTOKU's common-law wife.

MIYASHITA Takichi was a mechanic who became interested in socialism through reading the OSAKA HEIMIN SHIMBUN (Osaka Commoners' Newspaper). When he received several copies of the pamphlet NYUGOKU KINEN MUSEIFU KYOSAN (In Remembrance of Imprisonment; Anarchism and Communism) by the priest UCHIYAMA Gudo, he took them to Obu station of the Tokaido Railway Line and distributed them in a crowd gathered to watch the imperial train pass by. Waxing ardent, he addressed the gathering on the subject of anarchism. So long as he discussed his theme in the abstract the crowd appeared to be interested, but when he narrowed his subject to an attack on the imperial family his audience scattered. This apparently trivial incident caused MIYASHITA to decide that the first step toward realization of communist ideals was the removal of the Emperor. Hence he proceeded to learn from an acquaintance how to manufacture an explosive, and with NIIMURA Tadao, a twenty-three-year-old farmer whom he had met at KOTOKU's home, he made some bombs from two pounds of potassium chloride, three pounds of realgar and some crude tin containers. After MIYASHITA and NIIMURA had admired the efficacy of their product in the mountain fastnesses of Nagano Ken, they reported their readiness for action to their confederates in Tokyo in January, 1910.

UCHIYAMA Gudo the priest was at first averse to violence. He planned a program of mass education by secret publication of revolutionary literature. His pamphlet NYUGOKU KINEN MUSEIFU KYOSAN (In Remembrance of Imprisonment; Anarchism and Communism) was widely distributed. It would seem that he practiced what he preached in the minutiae of daily life; when asked during trial why he had pasted a portrait of the imperial family on the wall of the privy in his home he replied, "That was done through carelessness. It had no special significance." Later he appeared to change his views; when he heard of the KOTOKU plot, he advised the assassination of the Crown Prince instead of the Emperor in order to kill two birds with one stone: "When the 'oyaji' (the father) hears of the death of the 'segare' (the son)", he said, "the 'oyaji' will die of shock"*1.

It was decided to attack the imperial coach in the autumn when the Emperor should proceed to his annual inspection of the Imperial Guards Regiment. With this in view MIYASHITA prepared a map of the route which would be followed by the Imperial Cortège. But the plot was discovered in the summer. The twenty-six conspirators were arrested and a search of their quarters revealed twenty-four empty soup tins and one-third of a pound of the explosive mixture.

The actual plot to assassinate the Emperor or the Crown Prince was made by only four people, FURUKAWA Rikisaku, MIYASHITA Takichi, NIIMURA Tadao and SUGANO Suga. The other conspirators were all associated with KOTOKU Shusui and his ideology, either personally or simply as readers of the anarchist paper OSAKA HEIMIN SHIMBUN edited by OKUMIYA Takeyuki. Most of them could hardly be called conspirators. They came from all walks of life, including a doctor, three Buddhist priests and OKUMIYA Takeyuki, who had published the OSAKA HEIMIN SHIMBUN. The reason given unanimously by the accused for their actions was that superstitious worship of the Emperor must be destroyed before Japan could hope to attain

*1 This language alone was sufficient to convict UCHIYAMA.

a rational political life. The trials were held in secret. Judgements were pronounced on 18 January 1911, but some of the sentences were immediately converted. The eventual sentences were:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Profession</u>	<u>Original Sentence</u>	<u>Sentence Imposed</u>
FURUKAWA Rikisaku	26	Horticulturist	Death	Strangulation
KOTOKU Shusui	39	Writer	Death	Strangulation
MATSUO Uichita	31	Farmer	Death	Strangulation
MIYASHITA Takichi	35	Mechanic	Death	Strangulation
MORICHIKA Umpei	29	Farmer	Death	Strangulation
NARUISHI Heishiro	28	Storekeeper	Death	Strangulation
NIIMI Uichiro	31	Unemployed	Death	Strangulation
NIIMURA Tadao	23	Farmer	Death	Strangulation
OISHI Seinosuke	43	Medical Doctor	Death	Strangulation
OKUMIYA Takeyuki	52	Unemployed	Death	Strangulation
SUGANO Suga	29	Common-law wife of KOTOKU	Death	Strangulation
UCHIYAMA Gudo	36	Buddhist Priest	Death	Strangulation
KOMATSU Ushimatsu	34	Poultry man	Death	Life
MINEO Setsudo	25	Buddhist Priest	Death	Life
MIURA Yasutaro	22	Tinsmith	Death	Life
NARUISHI Kanzaburo	30	Druggist and Farmer	Death	Life
OKABAYASHI Toramatsu*1	34	Hospital employee	Death	Life
OKAMOTO Eiichiro	30	Electric Company employee	Death	Life
SASAKI Dogen	21	Unemployed	Death	Life
SAKAMOTO Seima*1	25	Typesetter	Death	Life
SAKIKUBO Seiichi	25	Farmer	Death	Life
TAKAGI Kemmyo	47	Buddhist Priest	Death	Life
TAKEDA Kuhei	35	Metal engraver	Death	Life
TOBIKATSU Yojiro	21	Unemployed	Death	Life
NIIMURA Zembei	29	Farmer	8 years	5½ years
NITTA Yuzuru	30	Mechanic	11 years	6½ years

This was the first high treason case in modern Japanese history and was therefore important. Although the sentences cannot be said to have been unusually severe in terms of the letter of the law, they were a great shock to the country, which recalled that no violence had actually taken place. Thoroughly frightened, the left-wing socialists retired temporarily from active duty, to operate subversively as members of the BAIBUN SHU (Vendors of Letters Society), led by ARIMATA Katsuzo, OSUGI Sakae, SAKAI Toshihiko, TAKABATAKE Motoyuki and YAMAKAWA Hitoshi.

On the other hand, in November, 1911, the right-wing socialists, who had remained very much in the background of the political agitation, formed the JINJI SODAN SHO (Personal Problems Consultation Office) under the auspices of the Unitarian Church of Tokyo, of which ABE Isoo was president. This "consultation office", supervised by SUZUKI Bunji, was, as its name implied, a place where the working man could ask advice with regard to his personal affairs. The JINJI SODAN SHO in turn developed into the YUJI KAI (Friendly Society)*2. This YUJI KAI was inaugurated

*1 SAKAMOTO Seima (62) and OKABAYASHI Toramatsu (71), the only surviving members of KOTOKU's group, were reinstated to full civil rights on 24 February 1947. The YOMIURI SHIMBUN, with tongue in cheek, declared that they were just in time to run for the 1947 elections.

*2 The YUJI KAI was highly important because it developed into the NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor).

CHAPTER II

THE LEFT WING SHEDS ITS PIN-FEATHERS

1918-1923

The first World War and Japan's alignment with the Allied Powers gave impetus to democratic and proletarian ideologies. The magazines and newspapers of the day competed with one another to print the writings of "liberal professors" such as YOSHINO Sakuzo, FUKUDA Tokuzo, OYAMA Ikuo and MORITO Tatsuo, and of figures like NITOBE Inazo, later Under-Secretary-General of the League of Nations, and HASEGAWA Manjiro, editorial writer of the OSAKA ASAHI better known by his pen-name NYOZEKAN (The-Easy-Going-Fellow). This democratic tendency, plus the uneasy forebodings of economic difficulties aroused by the rice riots of 1918, greatly assisted the YUAI KAI (Friendly Society) in increasing its membership.

On the other hand the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the German Revolution of 1918 focused world attention on "anarchism" or "communism", which to all appearances had disappeared from the Japanese political scene after the KOTOKU Shusui Incident of 1910. Marxism was formally introduced to the country by KAWAKAMI Hajime, professor at Kyoto Imperial University, in his SHUKAI MONDAI KENKYU (Study of Social Problems) of 1919. This revival of leftist extremism spurred the government to counter action and the conservative groups to opposition. The nationalistic societies and leagues which spearheaded this opposition varied in intensity of purpose from the comparatively mild introvert societies which devoted themselves to oriental studies in the hope of building up the culture of the East against imported radical ideas to the revolutionary extrovert groups which adopted a policy of aggressive expansionist reform. Some of the nationalists were mere ultra-conservatives who did not wish to see the old order change and who worked for social improvements under the old forms of Japanese society while others set up fanatically anti-communist organizations. Still others, enamored of the possibilities of socialism or communism as a panacea for the agrarian and industrial evils of the country but unable to break with the past, tried to combine the two ideologies. A fourth category played upon the discontent of the masses to plot revolutionary reforms by "direct action".

The SEIYUKAI Cabinet of HARA Kei, formed on 29 September 1916, was lauded by the liberals of the day as the first political party government after the long series of peers, generals, admirals and senior statesmen in the premier's chair. This attitude immediately drew fire from the dyed-in-the-wool conservative nationalists. An editorial in the ASAHI SHIMBUN (Asahi Newspaper) which praised the democratic policy of appointing a premier from the ranks of the majority party in the Diet raised the particular ire of the GENYO SHU (Dark Sea Society) of TOYAMA Mitsuru and of the KOKURYU KAI (Amur River Society) of UCHIDA Ryohei. These societies held meetings in Tokyo and Osaka to impeach the ASAHI newspaper. MURAYAMA Ryuhei, the president of the ASAHI, was attacked by members of the KOKURYU KAI, who tied him to a telegraph pole in Nakanoshima Park, Osaka.

YOSHINO Sakuzo, professor at Tokyo Imperial University, proceeded to criticize the actions of the KOKURYU KAI in the CHUO KORON (Central Review) and thereby further incensed the nationalists. The GENYO SHU and the KOKURYU KAI thereupon joined forces to form the RONIN KAI (Ronin Society) and challenged YOSHINO to an open debate on nationalist and proletarian ideologies. That the challenge was accepted and that the debate ended in the complete defeat of the RONIN KAI groups is still a cherished memory in the minds of the gray-haired liberals and socialists of today.

As an outcome of the debate the REIMEI KAI (New Dawn Society) and the SHINJIN KAI (New Man Society) were established in December, 1918. The members of the REIMEI KAI included:

ANEZAKI Masaharu, professor at Tokyo Imperial University
 FUKUDA Tokuzo, professor at Keio University
 MORITO Tatsuo, professor at Tokyo Imperial University
 NITOBE Inazo, later Under-Secretary-General of the League of Nations
 SODA Kiichiro, professor at Waseda University
 TAKAHASHI Seiichiro, professor at Keio University
 URABE Momotaro, professor at Keio University
 WATANABE Tetsuzo, professor at Tokyo Imperial University
 YOSHINO Sakuzo, professor at Tokyo Imperial University

The SHINJIN KAI was composed of YOSHINO's students, including ASO Hisashi, AKAMATSU Katsumaro, MIYAZAKI Ryusuke and many others who came to play leading parts in the right wing of socialism.

About the same time the MINJIN DOMEI (Citizens' League) was promoted at Waseda University by ASANUMA Inejiro, KITAZAWA Shinjiro, KONDO Eizo, OYAMA Ikuo, T. KATSU Seido (Masamichi), and others who were likewise to become important in the proletarian movement. This league soon split into two groups, the KENSETSU SHI DOMEI (Constructors' League) led by ASANUMA Inejiro and KITAZAWA Shinjiro, and the GYOMIN KAI (Citizens of Dawn Society) led by KONDO Eizo and T. KATSU Seido. This separation was a typical parting of the ways toward the right and the left. As the GYOMIN KAI veered more and more strongly toward communism, many of its members were apprehended, in 1921. This first large-scale apprehension became known as the GYOMIN KYOSIN TO JIKEN (Citizens of Dawn Communist Party Incident).

In 1919 ASO Hisashi and TANAHASHI Kotoru, both members of the SHINJIN KAI, joined the seven-year-old YUAI KAI (Friendly Society) to take part in its reorganization. ASO Hisashi and TANAHASHI Kotoru were followed into the YUAI KAI group by a number of young men eager to partake in labor movements. At the society's general meeting of 31 August 1919 it was renamed the DAI NIHON RODO SODOMEI YUAI KAI (Great Japan Federation of Labor Friendly Society). This title was again changed to NIHON RODO SODOMEI YUAI KAI (Japan Federation of Labor Friendly Society) by dropping the "DAI" (Great) in 1920. A third change in the name of this group was to take place in 1923 when the "YUAI KAI" was eliminated and the association became a full-fledged power on the labor front. The NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor) was to last as the most influential union until its dissolution by police order in 1940, and was to be reborn after the war. It was to be a constant target of the extreme right as well as the extreme left because it always advocated cooperation between capital and labor. Although the YUAI KAI was perhaps the most active of the labor groups at this time, it was by no means the only one, for other associations were likewise increasing their membership, and new societies were forming, notably the extremely radical SHINYU KAI (Faithful Friends Society) of SUGIZAKI Kunitaro, MIZUNUMA Tatsuo and the anarchist OSUGI Sakae, a reorganization of a union of Roman alphabet typesetters who had been operating since 1907.

In 1919, under the SEIYUKAI cabinet of HARA Kei, many factions in Japanese politics felt that the time was ripe for Japan to adopt universal manhood suffrage. Suffrage bills were introduced both by the KENSEI KAI (Constitutional Government Society), predecessor to the MINSEITO, and by the KOKUMIN TO (People's Party), an offshoot of the SEIYUKAI under the leadership of INUKAI Tsuyoshi. Although both bills were defeated in the Diet, the movement for universal suffrage became the fashion of the day. Labor unions throughout the country participated in the agitation until the activities of the extremists became so boisterous

that many conservative organizations, like the YUAI KAI, decided to withdraw from politics altogether for the time being.

After the first Japanese May Day demonstration, which took place in 1920, the RODO KUMIAI DOMEI KAI (Labor Unions League) was organized by nine of the most influential labor unions:

DAISHIN KAI (Great Progress Association)
 HANRO KAI (Universal Labor Association), a union of Tokyo Arsenal workers
 KEIMEI KAI (Enlightenment Association), a union of primary school teachers promoted by SHIMONAKA Yasaburo
 KOJIN KAI (Workers Society), a union of naval arsenal workers
 KOYU KAI (Workers' Friends Association)
 NIHON KOTSU RODO KUMIAI (Japan Transport Workers Union)
 SHINYU KAI (Faithful Friends Society), a type-setters' guild
 SHOSHIN KAI (Straight Progress Association), a union of printers
 NIHON RODO SODOMEI YUAI KAI (Japan Federation of Labor Friendly Society)

It soon transpired that the object of the extremists in permitting the two unions under their control, the SHINYU KAI and the SHOSHIN KAI, to join this league of conservative factions was to draw the strongest of the unions, the NIHON RODO SODOMEI YUAI KAI, into their camp. NIHON RODO SODOMEI YUAI KAI promptly withdrew from the congress in 1921.

Again, in September, 1920, another amalgamation, the NIHON SHAKAI SHUGI DOMEI (Japan Socialist League), was proposed to present a united proletarian front by:

<u>Promoter</u>	<u>Society or Union Represented</u>
AKEMITSU Katsumaro ARIMATSU Katsuzo ASO Hisashi	SHINJIN KAI (New Man Society)
FURUKAWA Katsura HASHIURA Tokio HAMMORI Hamaji	NIHON RODO SODOMEI YUAI KAI (Japan Federation of Labor Friendly Society) SHOSHIN KAI (Straight Progress Association) HOKKO JICHI KAI (North City Self-Government Society)
IWASA Sakutaro KATO Kazuo KATO Kanju	RODO KUMIAI KENKYU KAI (Labor Union Research Association) HOKUFU KAI (North Wind Society)
KONDO Kenji	NIHON RODO SODOMEI YUAI KAI (Japan Federation of Labor Friendly Society)
KYOTANI Shuichi MIZUNUMA Nitei	TOKYO RODO UNDO DOMEI (Tokyo Labor Movement League) KOFU SODOMEI (Miners' Federation)
MIZUNUMA Tatsuo	KOTSU RODO KUMIAI (Transport Workers' Union)
NOBUSHIMA Eiichi OBI Kako OKI Chiyohiko OSUGI Sakae SHIMONAKA Yuzo	TOKYO RODO KUMIAI DOMEI KAI (Tokyo Labor Unions League) SHINYU KAI (Faithful Friends Society) CHOSOKUKA KUMIAI (Authors' Union)
TAKABATAKE Motoyuki TAKATSU Seido TAMURA Daishu UEDA Kotaro	BUNKA GAKU KAI (Cultural Study Association) TAMBU SHI (Masses Society) GYOMIN KAI (Citizens of Dawn Society) FUSHIN Kai (Help the Faith Society of Hosei University)

WADA Iwao	KENSETSU SHA DOMEI (Constructor's League of Waseda University)
WATANABE Mitsuzo	TOKEI KO KUMIAI (Watchmakers' Union)
YAMAKAWA Hitoshi	
YAMAZAKI Kesaya	
YOSHIDA Tadaji	YOKOHAMA AKAHATA KAI (Red Flag Society of Yokohama)
YOSHIKAWA Morikuni	

Three thousand applications for membership were received. The inaugural meeting took place on 9 December 1920. After the second general meeting in May, 1921, the league was ordered to disband because its left-wing elements were becoming too obstreperous. After the dissolution the division between the anarchists and communists on the one hand and the conservatives on the other became more pronounced.

On 30 September 1922 a third attempt was made to reconcile the various factions in the proletarian movement when the NIHON RODO KUMIAI SORINGO SORITSU TAIKAI (Inaugural Meeting of the General Alliance of the Labor Unions of Japan) was convened with an attendance of representatives from some sixty unions including the left-wing GYOMIN KAI (Citizens of Dawn Society), the right-wing SHINJIN KAI (New Man Society) and the left-wing ZENEI SHI (Front Line Society). The meeting witnessed the usual quarrel. The RODO KUMIAI DOMEI KAI (Labor Unions League) insisted officiously that the NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor) should undergo a fundamental reorganization to make each component union an autonomous body. The NIHON RODO SODOMEI retorted that it would brook no such meddling on the part of an outside organization and that its member unions must remain as branches of its national headquarters.

This question of reorganization of the NIHON RODO SODOMEI, however, was not the only point of disagreement between the two factions. More fundamental, important and typical were their attitudes toward the suffrage and the International Labor Conference at Geneva. Since the anarchistic left recognized no weapon except direct economic action, it denied both the desirability of increasing the electorate and the possibilities of international labor arbitration. The right wing, represented by the NIHON RODO SODOMEI, which had risen from the school of Unitarian social service, however, stood for legal parliamentarianism, was a pillar of strength in the fight for the suffrage law, and indeed supplied most of the Japanese representatives to the International Labor Conferences throughout the years.

In the wake of the Great Earthquake of 1 September 1923 came the elimination of the last great anarchist enemy of conservative proletarianism in Japan, OSUGI Sakae. The story of bare-handed strangulation and body-snatching horrified the nation and titillated the ideological imaginations of the nationalists. OSUGI had been a leader of the extreme left from the early days, having first gained prominence as a literary contributor to the NIKKAN HEIMIN SHIMBUN (Daily Commoners' Newspaper) in 1907. Morgan Young aptly describes him as "a man of powerful mind, profoundly read in all revolutionary literature and with a fanatical devotion to individual liberty." After breaking diplomatic relations with a mistress*1 who had attempted to murder him in jealous rage, he had taken as his common-law wife ITO Noe, a fiery damsel whose political convictions matched his own and who had deserted her lawful mate to join him. During the great fire which followed the September 1923 quake a large crowd surged toward the Imperial Palace park in an

*1 OSUGI Sakae's murderous mistress, KAMICHIKA Ichiko, who served two years in prison for her attempt to cut him up, threw her hat into the political ring in 1947 when she ran for the Diet.

effort to escape the flames. When the police and the palace guards attempted to hold back the mob, many people were arrested. Although OSUGI was not among the number, an over-zealous gendarmerie captain named AMAKASU Masahiko noted the omission, sought OSUGI out on 15 September and arrested him, his wife and Noe's seven-year-old nephew who was living with the family. At the Kojimachi gendarmerie station AMAKASU, accompanied by two non-commissioned military policemen, visited the OSUGI family in their cells, strangled all three with his naked hands, and threw their bodies into an unused well. During AMAKASU's court-martial the defence counsel emphasized the patriotic motive of the crime and the extremist life histories of the victims, but to no avail in the light of evidence of cold-blooded sadistic murder. AMAKASU*1 received a sentence of ten years' imprisonment.

As if to prolong OSUGI's hectic career, he and his family were not allowed to go quietly to their graves. After the bodies had been discovered, cremated and delivered to their friends, a funeral was planned at the headquarters of the RODO UNDO SHU (Labor Movement Society) in Hongo, Tokyo. During preparations, IWATA Fumio and members of his ultra-nationalist TEIKAI KAI (Great Change Society) invaded the premises and made off with the common urn. Although the police eventually retrieved the ashes and saw to it that the OSUGI remains were properly interred, the event proved an exciting topic of the day.

The disappearance of the "anarchists" from the political scene did not mean that the NIHON RODO SODOMEI and other conservative elements in the proletarian front were left unmolested. The attack from the anarchist camp was followed by double attack from the newly identified communist camp represented by the subversive NIHON KYOSAN TO (Japan Communist Party) inaugurated in July, 1922, and by nationalist reform groups, of which the number was steadily growing year by year. Moreover, when manhood suffrage became a certainty in 1923, this signal victory meant that the proletarian movement in Japan had attained political maturity and must henceforth fight its battles on an equal footing with the old-line political parties, the SEIYU KAI and the MINSEI TO.

*1 What has never been pointed out to the public is that AMAKASU was quietly released from prison in a very short time. In 1927 he was seen aboard the "Hakusan Maru" traveling incognito from London to Marseilles, a strange performance in itself since few people choose to go by water from Britain to Southern Europe. In 1932 he was director of the Police Affairs Bureau of the Public Peace Department of Manchukuo. In 1936 he was Chief of the General Affairs and Planning Bureau of the MANCHUKOKU KYOWA KAI (Manchukuo Concordia Association). In 1939 he was Managing Director of the Manchukuo Motion Picture Corporation. Although he was never shown in any Japanese official record or "Who's Who" after the murders, the Manchukuo Yearbook of 1942 listed his career in some detail, carefully avoiding all reference to the OSUGI incident. After the 1945 Japanese surrender, at a final meeting of the MANCHUKOKU KYOWA KAI, AMAKASU appeared as a speaker. Placing a revolver against his temple, he cried, "Let me show you how to die!" and blew out his brains before the eyes of his audience.

CHAPTER III

THE COMMUNISTS AND THE SOCIALISTS SHOW THEIR COLORS
1922 - 1932

Meanwhile preparations for the organization of a Japanese communist political party as a branch of the Third International were initiated in April, 1922, by ARAHATA Katsuzo, HASHIURA Tokio, KONDO Eizo, TAKATSU Seido and YAMAKAWA Hitoshi, all well-known figures on the proletarian front. KONDO Eizo, TAKASE Kiyoshi and TOKUDA Kyuichi undertook to obtain funds and instructions from the Far Eastern Bureau of the Comintern in Shanghai. Thus the first NIHON KYOSAN TO (Japan Communist Party) was convened on 15 July 1922 with four planks in its platform:

1. Abolition of the Tenno System.
2. Adoption of universal suffrage.
3. Freedom of speech, press, assembly and association; abolition of anti-labor laws; and liberty to organize labor unions.
4. Confiscation of land belonging to the Imperial Household, temples and large owners.

While the list of officials of the new party was in itself an interesting grouping of names, the offices held provided a key to the manner in which the organization proposed to set about its business:

SHIKKO IIN CHO (Executive Committee Chairman):- SAKAI Toshihiko
 SHIKKO IIN HISHO (Executive Committee Secretary):- NAKAZONE Genwa
 KOKUSAI GAKKO IIN (International Liaison Member):- SANO Manabu
 SEIJI BU IIN (Political Section Member):- HASHIURA Tokio
 GUNTAI BU IIN (Army Section Member):- ICHIKAWA Yoshio
 RODO BU IIN (Labor Section Member):- WATANABE Masanosuke
 NOSON BU IIN (Agricultural Village Section Member):- URATA Takeo
 GAKUSEI BU IIN (Student Section Member):- INOMATA Tsunao
 OSAKA SHIBU CHO (Osaka Branch Chief):- KOIWA Kiyoshi
 KYOTO SHIBU CHO (Kyoto Branch Chief):- TSUJII Taminosuke

In other words the party intended to concentrate its efforts upon army, farm and student groups in general and upon the metropolitan populations of Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto in particular, a pattern typical of extremism the world over. This pattern was further developed by the formation of the first labor movement directed from Moscow, the REFUTO (Left) in March, 1922, and by the organization of the NIHON KYOSAN SEINEN DOMEI (Japan Communist Youth League)*1 in April, 1923.

*1 The NIHON KYOSAN SEINEN DOMEI (Japan Communist Youth League) was first organized in April, 1923, but died out five months later when its leader KAWAI Yoshitora was killed in the September earthquake. It was revived in July, 1925 after KITAJURA Sentaro, who had been in Russia since 1922, returned with orders from the International Communist Youth League (familarly known as KIM) to organize a branch in Tokyo. Promoters were KITAJURA, TOKUDA Kyuichi and WATANABE Masanosuke; the Central Committee was composed of KITAJURA, KATAYAMA Mineo and KISHINO Shigeharu. Successive attempts to promulgate the League in Japan were unsuccessful because of arrest of would-be leaders, but contacts with KIM were well maintained. SANO Hiroshi became a member of the Orient Section of KIM when he went to Russia in May, 1926. NAKAO Katsuo interviewed the Orient Section Chief before his return from Moscow in July, 1927. SANO Hiroshi and YAMAMOTO Kenzo attended the 5th General Meeting of KIM in August and September, 1928. When the Japan Communist Party was reorganized in 1931, KONNO Yojiro, in charge of the Youth Section, reestablished the league under the leadership of MIYAGAWA Torao and GENGOROMURU

In September, 1922, TAKASE Kiyoshi went to Russia to present the "provisional rules" of the Japan Communist Party to the Fourth World General Meeting of the Comintern. These "rules" were formally approved, and the Japan Communist Party was duly accepted as a branch of the Third International. In November, 1922, the Comintern developed the party program into a detailed declaration of aims which incorporated, sometimes twice or thrice for emphasis, practically every demand which has been made by the Japanese masses from that day to this:

1. Political Objectives:

- a. Abolition of the monarchy
- b. Abolition of the House of Peers
- c. Universal suffrage for men and women over 18 years of age
- d. Freedom to organize labor unions, political parties, workers' clubs, et cetera
- e. Freedom of speech, press and association
- f. Freedom of assembly in and out of doors
- g. Freedom to hold demonstrations
- h. Freedom to strike
- i. Abolition of the army, the police, the gendarmerie, the secret police and all such police authorities

2. Economic objectives:

- a. Enforcement of an eight-hour working day
- b. Establishment of labor insurance, including unemployment insurance
- c. Establishment of a minimum wage and a minimum standard of living
- d. Control of production by factory committees
- e. Recognition of labor unions as public organizations by the nation in general and by the capitalists in particular

3. Agrarian and financial objectives:

- a. Transfer of ownership of land held by the emperor, by temples and by great land-holders to the state
- b. Issuance of bonds to aid impoverished farmers
- c. Promulgation of a graduated income tax
- d. Establishment of special luxury taxes

The first general meeting of the Japan Communist Party*1 was held on 4 February 1923 at Ichikawa, Chiba Ken. The second general meeting, held on 15 March 1923 at Shakuji, Tokyo Fu, was attended by all who

(continued from previous page)

Yoshiharu and sent GENGOROMARU to Russia for orders. ISHII Teruo took GENGOROMARU's place when the latter was arrested on 1 December 1932, after returning to Japan in April.

*1 The first general meeting of the Communist Party of Japan was attended by ARAHATA Katsuzo, HASHIURA Tokio, KAWAUCHI Tadahiko, KONDO Eizo, NAKAZONE Genwa, SAKI Toshihiko, SANO Manabu, TADOKORO Tokiaki, TAKASE Shigeki, TAKATSU Seido, TSUJII Taminosuke, URAI Takeo, WATANABE Mitsuzo and YOSHIKAWA Morikuni.

had been present at the first meeting plus several new names*1. Police records show that at this period the party was composed of ten cells and fifty-eight members. But in June, 1923, the party as such was practically exterminated by the general arrest of its leaders in what is known as the first communist mass arrest. So in March, 1924, ARAHATA Katsuzo, ICHIKAWA Shoichi, NOZAKA Sanzo, TOKUDA Kyuichi and WATANABE Masanosuke, who had been released from prison on parole, decided that the time was not yet ripe for formal political activity. They dissolved the party forthwith and formed a "bureau"*2 in preparation for a second coming.

In August, 1925, at a meeting held in the home of SANO Manabu, attended by ARAHATA Katsuzo, KITAJURA Sentaro, MINAWA Suekichi, SANO Manabu, TOKUDA Kyuichi and WATANABE Masanosuke, a break in the party resulted in the withdrawal of a number of former communist leaders, including ARAHATA Katsuzo, SAKAI Toshihiko and YAMAKAWA Hitoshi, to form the RONO H. (Labor-Farmer Group). The Communist Bureau was forthwith abolished and was replaced by the so-called KYOSAN SHUGI DAN (Communist Group), with a definite political organization similar to that of the first Communist Party:

CHUGO IIN CHO (Central Committee Chairman): TOKUDA Kyuichi
 SEIJI BU CHO (Political Section Chief) and Editor of the
 MUSEN SHI SHIMBUN (Proletarian Paper): SANO Manabu
 KUMEN BU CHO (Unions Section Chief): WATANABE Masanosuke
 SEINEN BU CHO (Youth Section Chief): KITAJURA Sentaro
 KANSAI CHIHO SHIKKO IIN CHO (Kansai District Executive
 Committee Chairman): ARAHATA Katsuzo

As a result of the secessions from the party, TOKUDA Kyuichi was sent to Moscow in December, 1925, to obtain instructions for reorganization. Upon his return in June, 1926, the instructions were accepted at a meeting in the bed of the Usui River near Isobe, Gumma Ken, attended by ICHIKAWA Shoichi, KAWADA Kenji, NAKAO Katsuo, SANO Fumio and TOKUDA Kyuichi. It was decided to hold the inaugural meeting of the second Japan Communist Party in February, 1927, but orders from Moscow to organize immediately hastened the plans. After a quick series of meetings on the part of the usual small group of agitators, the new party was inaugurated on 4 December 1926 at Goshiki Hot Spring, Yamagata Ken*3, where the Central Committee*4 set up its duties in the

*1 The second general meeting of the Japan Communist Party was attended by ARAHATA Katsuzo, HASHIURA Tokio, KAWAUCHI Tadahiko, KONDO Eizo, NAKAZONE Genwa, SAKAI Toshihiko, SANO Manabu, TADOKORO Tokiaki, TAKASE Shigeki, TAKATSU Seido, TSUJII Taminosuke, UETA Takeo, WATANABE Mitsuzo, YOSHIKAWA Morikuni, ICHIKAWA Yoshio, NISHI Masao, NOZAKA Sanzo, TAKANO Takeji, WATANABE Masanosuke and YAMAMOTO Kenzo.

*2 Members of this Communist Bureau were NOZAKA Sanzo, SANO Manabu and TOKUDA Kyuichi. It should be noted that two of the three great figures of post-war Japanese Communism had already established themselves in the party history in the earliest days of the movement, NOZAKA Sanzo and TOKUDA Kyuichi. SANO later recanted.

*3 Present at Goshiki were FUKUMOTO Kazuo, FUJII Tetsuo, KADOYA Hiroshi, KATAYAMA Mineto, KIIRI Toratoro, KIKUDA Zengoro, KOKURYO Goichiro, KUSAKABE Chiyoichi, MATSUO Naoyoshi, MITAMURA Shiro, MIZUNO Hisao, NAKANO Hisao, NAKAO Katsuo, SAITO Hisao, SANO Fumio, TOYODA Naoshi and WATANABE Masanosuke.

*4 Police records of this period make the first mention of KOHO SHI (Candidates), a group of reserve leaders duly elected to fill the shoes of members of the Central Committee in case of arrests. This became an established custom of the Japan Communist Party which was readopted when the party came legally into the open after the 1945 surrender.

usual pattern:-

Chairman of Central Committee, Chairman of Agrarian Section:
 SANO Fumio
 Chairman of Political Section, Propaganda Section, Political
 Party Section, Intelligentsia Section: FUKUMOTO Kazuo
 Chairman of Organization Section, Unions Section:
 WATANABE Masanosuke
 Editor of MUSAN SHA SHIMBUN (Proletarian Paper), Chairman of
 Party Paper Section: SANO Manabu
 Representative in Japan of Comintern: TOKUDA Kyuichi

The presence on the committee of FUKUMOTO Kazuo, who had resigned his post as professor at Yamaguchi Commercial College to enter the party, is interesting because he was the central figure in the struggle with the RONO HA. This struggle was considered of sufficient importance to warrant dispatch of NAKAO Katsuo, KAWAI Etsuzo, FUKUMOTO Kazuo, WATANABE Masanosuke and SANO Manabu to Moscow during December, 1926, and early 1927, in successive attempts to find a solution to the argument and to draw the recalcitrant leaders back into the fold.

The members of the former Communist Bureau who had turned their red coats inside out and paraded in pretty pink linings advocated a moderation of the party's policies which would make the group acceptable as a legal political party to the authorities and to the country at large. Whereas the communist regulars held to their theory that the root of all social evils lay in the Tenno system as the backbone of feudalism and looked to the overthrow of the Emperor, YAMAKAWA Hitoshi and his friends proclaimed that the system of empire was a hand-maiden to capitalism and emphasized the necessity for an economic revolution. The scarlet extremism of FUKUMOTO Kazuo, SANO Manabu and the far-leftists came to be known as "FUKUMOTO SHUGI" (Fukumoto-ism), while the platform of the conservatives was called "YAMAKAWA SHUGI" (Yamakawa-ism) or RONO SHUGI (Labor-Farmer Doctrine). As YAMAKAWA's ideology faded to flush-pink socialism, the clique of which he was the leader became known as the RONO HA (Labor-Farmer Group).

Comintern representatives in Japan attempted mediation between the FUKUMOTO group and the YAMAKAWA group but without success. In July, 1927, a special Japan Communist Party commission was established to investigate the quarrel and to decide what attitude the Party should assume toward it. The commission decreed, "It is essential for the Communist Party to develop as an independent organization. On this point YAMAKAWA's mistake must be corrected. On the other hand FUKUMOTO's theory would divorce the party from the masses. In future the party must strive for a foothold among the people". This was obviously an attempt to persuade the two factions to kiss and make up, but neither side was mollified. FUKUMOTO and his friends continued their attack on the secessionists in the Communist Party organs "Marxism" and "MUSAN SHA SHIMBUN" (Proletarian Paper), while YAMAKAWA and his people published their counter-assault in their magazine the "RONO" (Labor-Farmer)*1.

By withdrawal from the Japan Communist Party the secessionists severed all connections with the Comintern International. The group, as such, was never a political party but rather an ideological clique

*1 The "RONO", established in October, 1927, had as its editorial staff ADACHI Katsuaki, AONO Suekichi, ARAHATA Katsuzo, INOMATA Tsunao, KOBORI Jinji, KURODA Hisao, OMORI Yoshitaro, SAKAI Toshihiko and SUZUKI Masaburo, to whom were later added HASHIURA Tokio, INAMURA Junzo, ITO Yoshimichi, KITAJIMA Sentaro, NONAKA Seishi, OGIWARA Atsuo, OKADA Soji, TAKANO Minoru, TORIUMI Atsuzuke and YOSHIKAWA Morikuni.

of social evangelists who sought to bring about political and social reforms by education of the masses. The principles and objectives of the RONNO HA, voiced by YAMAKAWA and published in the first issue of the RONNO, were quoted in the 1938 SHAKAI UNDO NO JOKYO (Report on Social Movements) of the Police Bureau of the Home Ministry:

- "1. That the target of our political war is the political power which rests in the hands of the bourgeoisie is so clear that it needs little comment. The capitalistic development of our country has reached a state in which power is a monopoly of the great capitalists. It is a mistake to adopt any other political objective. Japan today should not be likened to the Russia of 1905 or indeed the Russia of 1917.
- "2. How was this bourgeois government established? The Restoration of MEIJI marked a change in the nature of political power in our country from absolute despotism to capitalism. The chief factors in this revolution were the lower-class 'samurai', not the bourgeoisie. Because the 'samurai' had no economic backing, however, they came to depend upon the new-born bourgeoisie and later to represent its interests. Thus the government passed into the hands of reactionary leaders, not into the hands of the people.
- "3. What is the situation today? The power of the old feudal hierarchy is still extant. It is represented by the peers, the bureaucrats and the military cliques. These groups have been absorbed into the bourgeoisie and have thus consolidated their power. The influence of the bourgeoisie has been extended to encompass and subjugate the land-owners."

The group disseminated its ideas in the RONNO and later in the ZENSHIN (Forward March) and in the SENKU (Forerunner), and in the writings of its members such as YAMAKAWA Hitoshi and SAKAI Toshihiko in non-party magazines like the KAIZO (Reform), the CHUO KORON (Central Review) and the SHAKAI HYORON (Social Review). The group was always careful to keep within the bounds of the law. Although the RONNO HA was never a political party, some of its politically minded members like SUZUKI Mosaburo, KURODA Hisao and SUGIYAMA Motojiro sponsored political parties as the years went by and indeed became tent-poles in the socialist camp. Others, eschewing politics altogether, became active in the sociological field by supporting labor unions. Certain idealistic sympathizers such as ARISAWA Hiromi, MINOBE Ryokichi, TAKAHASHI Masao and WAKIMURA Yoshitaro who devoted themselves to the promulgation of their ideas through their position as teachers in the universities became known as the RONNO HA KYOJU GURUFU (Labor-Farmer Professors Group).

This communist-RONNO HA dispute accentuated the differences between the proletarian factions as the disorganized anarchists never had been able to do. In 1923 Marx-inspired young men from Kyoto Imperial University and other seats of learning infiltrated into the NIHON RODO SODOMEI and in due course the leftist sympathizers withdrew from the union to form the NIHON RODO KUMLAI HYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions Conference). The development of the NIHON RODO KUMLAI HYOGI KAI*1 was of lasting importance because an offspring of this

*1 That the NIHON RODO KUMLAI HYOGI KAI and its successors were communist is affirmed by the statements of KOKURYO Goichiro and by the fact that 8 representatives were sent to the 5th Profintern World Meeting in August, 1930. The first communist labor movement had been formed in March, 1922, at the direction of the International

labor group sponsored the SANGYO BETSU RODO KUMIAI (Labor Unions for Each Industry) which became the far-left feature of the labor front after the 1945 surrender.

In December, 1923, AKAMATSU Katsumaro, AONO Suekichi, SHIMANAKA Yuzo, SUZUKI Mosaburo, TAKAHASHI Kamekichi and other intellectuals gathered together to form the SEIJI MONDAI KENKYU KAI (Political Problems Investigation Society). By April, 1925, when the first general meeting of this society was held, the association had fifty-three branches with four thousand members and published a monthly magazine, the MINSHU SEIJI (Democratic Government). The general meeting elected a central committee composed of FUJII Tei, FUSE Tatsuji, KURODA Hisao, MATSUSHITA Kichio, MIWA Juso, NAKAZAWA Benjiro, OIKE Yoshio, OKU Umeo (a woman), OYAMA Ikuo, SANO Kesami, SHIMANAKA Yuzo, SUZUKI Mosaburo, TAKAHASHI Kamekichi, TAMEO Goro, and YAMAZAKI Kazuo, whose varying ideologies showed that the group was a composite one representing all factions of the socialist camp. But in May extremists of the NIHON RODO KUMIAI HYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions Conference) had infiltrated and began to gain the upper hand over the conservatives in the SEIJI MONDAI KENKYU KAI. At the second general meeting in October, 1925, the moderates were ousted completely, and the new central committee elected at the meeting, composed of FUSE Tatsuji, KURODA Hisao, NISHIMURA Seiichi, OHSHI Harufusa, OYAMA Ikuo, SANO Fumio, SANO Kesami, SUZUKI Mosaburo, and UEDA Otoichi, proved that leadership of the society had passed pretty well into the hands of the left-wing.

The same left-wing right-wing struggle was taking place in agrarian circles. The first union of Japanese tenant farmers had been organized as early as 1875 in Gifu Ken to promote friendly relations between land-owners and tenants and to improve farming in general. NOMURA Shigomi, in his NIHON SEIJI SHAKAI SHISO SHI TAIKEI (Outline History of Political and Social Thought of Modern Japan), says that some sixty tenant-farmer unions were organized between 1875 and 1907, that the number increased more rapidly thereafter until there were three hundred seventy-three in 1921. In 1921, when the proposal of KAGAWA Toyohiko and SUGIYAMA Motojiro to form a nation-wide agrarian union was publicized in the OSAKA MAINICHI SHIMBUN (Osaka Daily Newspaper), there was a rush of applications to join the new organization. The inaugural meeting of the resultant NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (Japan Farmers' Union) on 9 April 1922 was attended by one hundred forty representatives from thirty-three prefectures. The resemblance of this union to the YUMI KAI and its successor NIHON RODO SODOMEI lay not only in the fact that its promoters, KAGAWA and SUGIYAMA, were Christian reformists like SUZUKI Bunji and ABE Isao, but in the fact that it was joined by young men from Waseda and other universities who were interested in Marxian

(continued from previous page)

Labor Congress (Profintern) and was called by the simple, explicit term REFUTO (Left). It was reorganized as a branch of the Comintern in September, 1926, but dissolved in December of the same year when the second Japan Communist Party was organized. A group from the REFUTO assumed the leadership of the NIHON RODO KUMIAI HYOGI KAI upon its formation in May, 1925. When KOKURYO Goichiro represented Japan at the Fourth Profintern World Conference in Moscow, in 1928 and when KOKURYO and NIBEYAMA Sadachika were elected to the Profintern Central Committee, the NIHON RODO KUMIAI HYOGI KAI was recognized as a branch of the Profintern and was immediately suppressed by the police. In June, 1928, ITO Tamotsu, MITAMURA Shiro, NISHIMURA Saiki and ZENNOO Zenshiro organized the NIHON RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU KYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions National Congress) to take its place on the communist front, thus exterminating the left-wing socialists. It was this body which sponsored the SANGYO BETSU RODO KUMIAI about 1930.

ideals and who succeeded for a time in coloring its policies.

In 1926 the various socialist cliques showed their coloration clearly and unmistakably by forming four distinct political parties representing the left wing, the center and the right wing. Early in the year a number of RONO HA leaders confirmed their withdrawal from the Communist party by announcing:

"A new party must be organized to the exclusion of the communist group. All labor unions which may cause difficulties in the establishment of this new political party shall be summarily rejected." Thus the RODO NOMIN TO (Labor-Farmer Party) was established on 5 March 1926 under the leadership of SUGIYAMA Motojiro, MIWA Juso, ABE Isoo and KAGAWA Toyohiko and with the support of ten prominent labor and agrarian unions, most prominent of which were the NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor) and the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (Japan Farmers' Union). The party had hardly been formed when a disagreement arose as to whether the original resolution to exclude the "communist group" would permit the acceptance for membership of men who belonged to the NIHON RODO KUMIAI HYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions Conference) and other "communist-tinted" cliques. The NIHON RODO SODOMEI adamantly insisted upon the exclusion of such members while the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI claimed that the exclusion policy held good only during the initial stages of the organization of the party. The dispute ended with the withdrawal of the NIHON RODO SODOMEI and other sympathetic groups in October, 1926, leaving only the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI and a union of ceramic workers to support the party. This dispute in turn caused the right wing of the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI led by HIRANO Rikizo to withdraw from the union at its fifth general meeting in March, 1926, and to organize the ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI DOMEI (All-Japan Farmers' Unions League). The ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI DOMEI proceeded to promulgate a second political party, the NIHON NOMIN TO (Japan Farmer Party), on 17 October 1926, with the slogan "A Farmers' Party for the Farmers". That this party represented the extreme right wing of the agrarian movement can be deduced from its statement "The NIHON NOMIN TO has been created to give lustre to the three thousand years of Japanese history".

When the NIHON RODO SODOMEI withdrew from the RODO NOMIN TO in October, 1926, some of the labor unions affiliated with the party disagreed equally with the NIHON RODO SODOMEI's decision to secede and with the RODO NOMIN TO's extremism. A number of the member groups of the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI likewise took issue in the squabble and formed the ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (All-Japan Farmers' Union). These factions joined forces to establish the NIHON RONO TO (Japan Labor Farmer Party) on 9 December 1926. The activity of this element in the RODO NOMIN TO dispute and the character of its leaders such as ASO Hisashi, MIWA Juso and SUNAGA Ko placed the party in the conservative center of the socialist movement of the day.

As if the proletarian political front were not yet sufficiently confused, the intelligentsia who had withdrawn from the SEIJI MONDAI KENKYU KAI (Political Problems Investigation Society) upon its abrupt turn to the left formed the DOKURITSU RODO KYOKAI (Independent Labor Association)*1. When ABE Isoo, YOSHINO Sakuzo and HORIE Kiichi, a Keio University professor, proposed to form a "social-democrat party", this

*1 This interesting group included ABE Isoo, BABA Tsunego, FUJI Tatsuma, FUJII Tei, HARA Hyo, HAYASAKA Jiro, KAGAWA Toyohiko, KATAYAMA Tetsu, KAWARA Jikichiro, KITAZAWA Shinjiro, MITSUSHITA Kichie, MIYAZAKI Ryusuke, NAKAZAWA Benjiro, SAWADA Ken, SHIMONAKA Yuzo, SHIMONAKA Yasaburo, and TAKAHASHI Kamekichi.

DOKURITSU RODO KYOKAI and the NIHON RODO SODOMEI rallied to support. Thus the SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party) was organized on 5 December 1926 with the backing of:

NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor)
 NIHON KAIIN KUMIAI (Japan Seamen's Union)
 NIHON KOJIN KURABU (Japan Factory Workers' Club)
 NIHON KAIIN KYOKAI (Japan Seamen's Association)
 KANGYO RODO SODOMEI (Federation of Government Workers)
 KAIGUN RODO KUMIAI REMMEI (Naval Labor Unions League)

to which in 1927 was added the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Farmers' Unions). A peculiar feature of the organization of this party was that ABE Isoo, one of the promoters, was a duly elected member of the central executive committee of the RODO NOMIN TO. The party declared:

"We believe the establishment of political and economic systems based upon the principles of the working classes to be the primary means of achieving a healthy national life. We pledge ourselves to the realization of this project.

"We consider capitalist methods of production and distribution harmful to the national life. We pledge ourselves to reform these methods by lawful means.

"We reject both the old-line political parties which represent the privileged classes and the radical parties which ignore the natural steps in social progress."

So in 1927 the proletarian parties and the important labor and agrarian unions were clearly divided into camps. The left-wing RODO NOMIN TO was supported by the leftist agrarian NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI. The right-wing NIHON RONO TO was supported by the right-wing agrarian ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI. The right-wing NIHON NOMIN TO was supported by the right-wing agrarian ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI DOMEI. On the labor front another socialist party, the SHAKAI MINSHU TO, was supported by various labor unions as a democratic amalgamation of labor interests, left, right and center.

That the proletarian front was gaining power and recognition was proved by the fact that eight socialist candidates were elected to the Diet in the election of 16 February 1928, the first election after the promulgation of universal manhood suffrage.

<u>Party</u>	<u>Candidate</u>
SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party)	ABE Isoo KAMEI Kanichiro NISHIO Suehiro SUZUKI Bunji
RODO NOMIN TO (Labor-Farmer Party)	MIZUTANI Chozaburo YAMAMOTO Senji
NIHON RONO TO (Japan Labor-Farmer Party)	KAWAKAMI Jotaro
KYUSHU MINKEN TO (People's Constitution Party of Kyushu)	ASAHARA Kenzo

Proletarian votes totaled 476,000, about 4.6% of all votes polled. That the proletarian front was gaining enemies in the nationalist

camp was likewise proved on 2 March 1929 when YAMAMOTO Senji*1 was brutally stabbed to death by an ex-policeman, in a Tokyo hotel. Although the murderer was an unimportant ex-policeman, one of three members of a newly-formed reactionary society, the political motive was clear.

On 15 March 1928 the second round-up of communists by the police took place. This became known as the 3.15 JIKEN (March 15 Incident). Into the dragnet were drawn leaders of the RODO NOMIN TO (Labor Farmer Party) and its supporting unions. The Ministry of Justice explained that this action had been taken because the RODO NOMIN TO maintained principles similar to those of the communists, because certain leaders such as TOKUDA Kyuichi, SANO Manabu and NABEYAMA Sadachika were common to the two groups and because the RODO NOMIN TO put into practice directives issued by the Comintern. An attempt by the unarrested leaders of the RODO NOMIN TO to form another party in December, 1928, was immediately discouraged by the Home Ministry. No further political effort was made by the left-wing until November, 1929, when it succeeded in organizing the RODO TO (Labor-Farmer Party).

Meanwhile the slogan of the right-wing on the proletarian front, represented by the NIHON RONDO TO (Japan Labor-Farmer Party) was "unification of the proletariat in one great party". For a time it found supporters in both the left-wing and right-wing cliques. Indeed the NIHON RONDO TO seriously considered the possibility of amalgamation with the SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party). The result of this effort to unify, however, was not a juncture with the SHAKAI MINSHU TO but a fusion with the agricultural NIHON NOMIN TO (Japan Farmer Party) and five minor parties to form the NIHON TAISHU TO (Japan Masses Party) on 20 December 1928. This NIHON TAISHU TO in turn united with several unimportant right-wing parties in May, 1930, to form the ZENKOKU TAISHU TO (All-Japan Masses Party) and finally drew in the RONDO TO to establish the ZENKOKU RONDO TAISHU TO (All-Japan Labor-Farmer Masses Party) in July, 1931. The final unification of the proletarian political front was at last achieved in July, 1932, when the ZENKOKU RONDO TAISHU TO and the SHAKAI MINSHU TO united in the SHAKAI TAISHU TO (Social Masses Party).

This consolidation was in large part motivated by the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident, which was reflected in the set-back experienced by the proletarian candidates in the election of February, 1932. Whereas the socialist parties had polled 504,000 votes in 1930, they achieved only 299,000 in 1932. The Manchurian debacle had had a drastic effect upon the psychology of the country.

*1 In June, 1928, when YAMAMOTO's friends attempted to erect a tombstone bearing a quotation from one of his speeches, the police forbade the memorial on the grounds that the stone was a monument, not a tomb, and that the erection of monuments was subject to special permission.

CHAPTER IV

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE COMINTERN
1928 - 1935

During the election campaign of February, 1928, pamphlets bearing the stamp of the Japan Communist Party aroused the authorities to action and led to the "discovery" of the "secret" NIHON KYOSAN TO (Japan Communist Party). At dawn on 15 March 1928 more than one thousand men and women were arrested throughout the country. Publication of the facts concerning this round-up was forbidden until 10 April 1928 when the Ministry of Justice announced:

"The Communist Party in Japan was established in 1922 as a branch of the Third International. It was practically exterminated in May, 1923, when its members were imprisoned. In 1924 preparations were made for reestablishment, and in December, 1926, a number of men who followed the doctrines of FUKUMOTO Kazuo met in secret at a hot-spring in Yamagata Ken, where the general principles and regulations of the party were decided. In February, 1927, FUKUMOTO Kazuo, WATANABE Masanosuke, SANO Manabu and TOKUDA Kyuichi went to Russia to receive criticisms and instructions. It was decided that the party's past strategy had been fundamentally wrong. After the return of the emissaries to Japan the instructions of the Third International were closely followed. Instead of forming 'cells' of five members each as theretofore, the basis of activity became groups of factory workers. The party started to publish a paper, the AKAHATA (Red Flag), and to disseminate pamphlets. Moreover, the principles of the party were so constituted that a member could continue his activity as a communist even though he became affiliated with other organizations. Thus the party was able to increase its membership to several hundred throughout the country. Efforts were made to gain adherents among young men, especially the youth of the army.

"The Communist Party of Japan, as a branch of the Third International, has tried to draw our empire into the whirlpool of world revolution. It has tried to rock our national constitution from its foundations by establishing a dictatorship of the laboring and farming classes along communist lines of reasoning. To achieve the first stage in the development of its plan the Japanese Communist Party tried to destroy our parliamentary system of government from within by infiltrating its members into the Diet. In the recent election there were about ten candidates officially recognized by the Communist Party*1."

An interesting reminder of the Justice Ministry's accusation that the Communist Party was striving to gain adherents among the youth of the army was given eight years later during the February 26 Incident trials of 1936 when Captain KODA Kiyosada, one of the defendants, testified:

"During my second year at the Military Academy, I came under the influence of democratic thought and communism. I was unable to come to any decision between them. Even after I entered the cadet school, I could not decide about communism. I felt that I must solve this problem. There was a time when I thought I could never become a soldier, but before I could make up my mind what to do I graduated. Later when I became attached to my regiment, I came into contact with enlisted men; it was they who taught me that all men are subjects of

*1 The authorities were referring to the candidates of the various proletarian parties.

one emperor. After that I felt I could be an officer.

"I became interested in politics when I became aware of the great differences between the rich and the poor in Japan. Until that time I had tried to think out these problems alone. I felt that unless the cause of the difficulties were removed there would be no remedy, because every year when new men were mustered into the unit there were always two or three among them who had come under the communist influence and because the number of men who received military charity from the War Ministry increased every year. These men had no fighting spirit. I thought that unless we had soldiers with more fighting spirit we could not meet the national crisis which had been brought about by the London Treaty.

"I came into touch with other officers about the time of the October Incident when the first and second lieutenants of the First Regiment met and heard about the affair from KURIHARA. Then a day or two later I was taken to meet Captain SUGANAMI. That was my first meeting with officers who had the same ideas as I."

Retired from active duty by the March 1928 arrests were TOKUDA Kyuichi, FUKUMOTO Kazuo*1, SANO Manabu, SANO Fumio and KOKURYO Goichiro. In August and October a number of other leaders were apprehended, including W.T.NABE Masanosuke, who was captured in Formosa and promptly committed suicide*2. On 16 April 1929 another general apprehension of communists disposed of ICHIKAWA Shoichi, MITAMURA Shiro, NABEYAMA Sadachika and others. A few remaining old timers made an attempt to reorganize the party under the leadership of T.N.K. Seigen, but they too were arrested in July, 1930.

The Seventh World Congress of the Comintern*3 held in August, 1930, announced certain changes in communist world policy. It decided to combine agitation against fascism with agitation against imperialistic war. More significantly, it scrapped the old slogan "Uniform Internationalism" in favor of a new policy to make different plans to correspond with requirements in different countries. It proposed a consolidated "front populaire" which would attempt to unite all proletarian organizations, including socialist and democratic ones. It would attempt to further communism through infiltration into "lawful movements". After the Seventh World Congress the Comintern began to send to Japan propaganda literature printed in Japanese by the American Communist Part

About January, 1931, the Japan Communist Party again became active under the leadership of KAZAMA Jokichi, an iron worker who had gone to Moscow in September, 1925, for training and who had returned home in November, 1930. KAZAMA was assisted by IWATA Yoshimichi, a graduate of Tokyo Imperial University, and KONNO Yojiro. The publishing department was particularly busy producing the .K.H.TA (Red Flag), an anti-mili-

*1 FUKUMOTO Kazuo and his group had been eliminated from the Central Executive Committee of the NIHON KYOSAN TO in December during the endeavor to reconcile the RONO HA (Labor-Farmer Group).

*2 The police records declared that W.T.NABE committed suicide. The Japanese communists affirmed that he was murdered by the police, "canonized" him as a "saint" and ever after celebrated 7 October, the anniversary of his demise, as a day of remembrance.

*3 At the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, IIZUKA Hiroshi represented Japan.

tarist paper called the HEISHI NO TOMO (The Soldiers' Friend), the TO KENSETSU SHA (Party Organizers), and a host of pamphlets, leaflets and handbills. Much effort was directed toward the proselytizing of young men in schools, in agricultural villages, in munitions factories, in the army and in the navy. At the same time, for the purpose of collecting funds, providing hide-outs and engaging in other miscellaneous enterprises which could not safely be undertaken by those actively affiliated with the party, the party organized a network of "sympathizers", unregistered fellow-travelers whom the police declared to include professors, lawyers, pressmen and indeed the sons and daughters of substantial families.

On 30 October 1932 occurred another communist mass apprehension, the so-called ATAMI JIKEN (Atami Incident), in which about one hundred twenty police officers and "guides" surrounded a hotel in Atami where eleven representatives of local branches of the party were holding a meeting. Sixty of the attackers wore bullet-proof vests and helmets. The communists fought back with revolvers. Three policemen were wounded in the fray, but all eleven representatives were arrested. This was followed by other apprehensions throughout the country, with the result that every member of the party's central committee was arrested, including GENGOROMARU Yoshiharu, HASEGAWA Shigeru, ISHIDA Wakizo, IWATA Yoshimichi*1, KAZAMA Jokichi, KODAMA Shizuko (a woman), KONNO Yojiro, MIMURA Ryoichi, MIYAGAWA Torao, MOTANI Koichiro, T.J. Tamoshichi and WATANABE Sakichi. When IWATA died suddenly on 3 November, the police announced that he had been suffering from advanced tuberculosis of the lungs and beriberi, that he had died of over-exertion while fighting off arrest; the communists, on the other hand, martyred him and designated 3 November as one of their "saint days". After the Atami arrests another reorganization of the Communist Party was effected by YAMAMOTO Masayoshi, who had returned from Moscow in December, 1932, after a six-year stay in Russia. After his arrest in November, 1933, his place was temporarily taken by NORO Eitaro, who was followed by MIYAMOTO Kenji and then by a triumvirate composed of HELMI Shigeo, AKIZASA Masanosuke and HAKAMADA Satomi, while the Comintern tried desperately to get representatives into the country without losing them to the Japanese gaols.

The communist trials threw the spotlight upon a new phase of leftism, the implications of which became historically important because the outcome has always been cited as one of the prime examples of police suppression of liberty in Japan. This was the arrest and indictment between October, 1933, and March, 1934, of fifteen lawyers who had been active in the communist trials*2. In June, 1926, when TOKUDA

*1 On 18 April 1931 IWATA Yoshimichi's eight-year-old daughter Misago left for Moscow as companion and screen of SEKI Matsu, the morganatic wife of YAMAMOTO Kenzo, Japanese representative on the International Labor Congress (Profintern). At the age of twenty-five she returned to Tokyo as companion of Mrs. NOZAKI Saizo on 22 January 1947.

*2 The fifteen lawyers arrested were:

AOYAGI Morio	KUBOTA Teizaburo
FUSE Tatsuji	MIURA Jiro
ITO Yoshio	NASHIKI Sakujiro
KAKIMI Shuzui	OMORI Akio
KAKUDA Morihei (a Communist Party member)	SHIBATA Sueharu
KANIMURA Susumu	SHINDO Kanji
KAWAI Atsushi	TSUCHIYA Hideo
	YOMOGIDA Takeshi

Kyuichi returned from Russia, he carried among his instructions a plan to organize a society for the relief of communists who encountered difficulty with the law. TOKUDA set up a preparatory committee and awaited his chance. The chance was provided by the organization of the KAIHO UNDO GISEISHA KYUEN KAI (Emancipation Movement Victims' Relief Society) in 1928. This relief society, promoted by MIJIMA Kan, a medical man friendly with various factions of the proletarian movement, and KINOSHITA Otoichi, secretary of the TOKYO KISHA REMMEI (Tokyo Pressmen's League), announced that its aim was to aid with spiritual and legal assistance the victims of any sort of anti-proletarian pressure, regardless of their political inclinations. Its roster of officials*1, composed of right-wingers, left-wingers and liberals was sufficient proof that it was not a communist organ. Formation of the relief society was specifically motivated by desire to give assistance to people involved in a labor dispute in a shoyu factory at Noda, Chiba Ken. But attention was soon diverted to the communists who had been arrested en masse on 15 March 1928 and who continued to be apprehended as time went on. Pre-occupation with these communist "victims" made the society a handy tool in the hands of the extremists. The center and right-wing groups were gradually pushed into the background. The SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party) renounced all affiliation with the association. In December, 1928, MIJIMA resigned in a huff. The SHAKAI UNDO NO JOKYO reported that the society was definitely affiliated with the "KOKUSAI SEKISHOKU KYUEN KAI" (International Relief to the Reds Society)*2. And after the society's second general meeting in April, 1930, the name was changed to NIHON SEKISHOKU KYUEN KAI (Japan Relief to the Reds Society).

In April, 1934, the NIHON SEKISHOKU KYUEN KAI organized the KAIHO UNDO GISEISHA KYUEN BENGOSHI DAN (Emancipation Movement Victims' Relief Lawyers Group), which was shortly renamed RONO BENGOSHI DAN (Labor-Farmer Lawyers Group), to handle the defense at the mass communist trials. The gaolled defendants formed a committee behind the bars, with ICHIKAWA Shoichi, KOKURYO Goichiro, MITAMURA Shiro, SANO Manabu, SHIGA Yoshio, SUGIURA Keiichi and TOKUDA Kyuichi as members. Defendants out of prison formed a second committee with KANEKO Kenta, KOREEDA Kyoji, MATSUO Shigeki, MINATO Shichiro, SEIKE Toshizumi, SEKINE Etsuro and SHIGA Taeko as members. These two committees collaborated with the lawyers to plan defence tactics such as filling the courtroom with left-wing elements during sessions, taking short-hand notes and distributing copies to the public, holding meetings of protest, printing and distri-

*1 Officials of the KAIHO UNDO GISEISHA KYUEN KAI were:

KAIICHO (Chairman):	ABE Isao	
HYOGIIN (Consultants):	EGUCHI Kan	KOMAKI Chikao
	HASEGAWA Manjiro	KURIHARA Reiji
	HOSOSAKO Kanemitsu	MIJIMA Kan
	ICHIKAWA Fusae	MITSUTANI Yojiro
	IWAUCHI Tomio	MIWA Juso
	KAMEI Kanichiro	MIYAZAKI Ryusuke
	KAMIMURA Susumu	MIZUTANI Chozaburo
	KASAWARA Chizu	NISHIO Suehiro
	KAWAKAMI Jotaro	SASAKI Takamaru
	KAWASAKI Natsuko	SUZUKI Bunji
	KINOSHITA Otoichi	TAKETA Tamotsu
		YAMAMOTO Senji
KAIKEI (Treasurer):	ISHIJIMA Haruji	
KAIKEI KANTOKU (Auditors):	FUSE Tatsuji	YAMAZAKI Kesaya

*2 The international Relief to the Reds Society was established in November, 1922, by a resolution passed at the 4th World Congress of the Third International.

buting the "gaol correspondence" of the accused. And so in due course the lawyers too found themselves in trouble.

Analysis of the history of the Japan Communist Party shows a well-defined pattern of control by the Comintern. In the first place, a Japanese member sat permanently on the Central Committee in Moscow as representative of the Japan Communist Party. That member was KATAYAMA Sen from 1924 until the day of his death, 5 November 1933; he was succeeded by NOZAKA Sanzo, who held the post until his return to Japan after the war. Moreover, YAMAMOTO Kenzo, who went to Russia in 1924, was the permanent Japanese member of the International Labor Congress (Profintern) until 1932.

In the second place, the head of the Communist Party in Japan was the designated representative of the Comintern in Tokyo. Apparently every effort was made to keep in this chair someone trained in Russia and in recent touch with Moscow. Whether replacement of arrested party chairmen by men out of the Russian headquarters was due to malice of forethought or because men at home qualified to wear the mantle were in gaol, the result was the same. More than half of the successive chieftains and prospective heads were fresh out of Moscow:

<u>Name</u>	<u>In Russia</u>	<u>Period of office</u>	<u>Date Arrested</u>
SAKAI Toshihiko		Jul '22-Jun '23	Jun 1923
TOKUDA Kyuichi	Dec '25-Jun '26	Aug '25-Mar '28	Mar 1928
	Jan '27-Jul '27		
WATANABE Masanosuke	Jan '27-Jul '27	Apr '28-Oct '28	Oct 1928
ICHIKAWA Shoichi	Jul '28-Sep '28	Dec '28-Apr '29	Apr 1929
KAMIHIGIWARA Kageo	-Jan '30	May '30-Jul '30	Jul 1930
IWAO Iesada	-Apr '30	May '30-Jul '30	Jul 1930
TANAKA Seigen		Jul '29-Jul '30	Jul 1930
KAZAMA Jokichi	Sept '25-Nov '30	Nov '30-Oct '32	Oct 1932
YAMAMOTO Masayoshi	Jun '26-Dec '32	Feb '33-May '33	May 1933
TADA Katsuji	Dec '32-May '33		May 1933
NORO Eitaro		May '33-Nov '33	Nov 1933
MIYAMOTO Kenji		Dec '33-Jan '34	Jan 1934
KANDACHI Hachiro		'31-Feb '34	Aug 1934
IIZUKA Hiroshi	Dec '29-Sept '34		Nov 1934
HEMMI Shigeo			Feb 1934
AKIZASA Masanosuke		Jan '34-Feb '34	Apr 1934
NAKAMURA Satomi		Apr '34-Jan '35	
TAKAYA Kakuzo	-Jul '34		May 1935
KOBAYASHI Isema	-1936		1936

It will be noted that men without training abroad apparently took office only after the failure of attempts to import replacements or at such times as successive arrests outran the Trans-Siberian Railway and the vessels of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha.

In addition, there was a constant flow of messengers, sub-rosa communications and reports between Comintern headquarters and the party in Japan. Prior to 1931 this liaison was apparently effected primarily through the Far Eastern Bureau of the Comintern in Shanghai by means of complicated arrangements designed to elude the watchfulness of the Japanese police and illustrated by the last set of messages which passed back and forth by way of China. In February, 1931, a Chinese messenger from the Far Eastern Bureau arrived in Tokyo under cover of the Japanese alias H.T. Teiichi. He contacted the Japanese Central Committee through a YOMIURI SHIMBUN cartoonist, YAMASE Shoroku by name. He met a man named MATSUMURA to whom he gave eleven hundred yen and instructions that a representative of the committee be sent promptly to Shanghai. KONNO Yojiro, who was chosen for the task, left Tokyo on 15 March 1931 and returned on 18 April with instructions that the head of the party proceed

immediately to Shanghai. ~~KAZAMA~~ Jokichi departed on 5 May 1931 and returned on 24 May with instructions that:

1. All liaison be maintained with Shanghai direct.
2. At least one member of the Central Committee always absent himself from meetings in order to assure the continuity of the party in case of mass arrests.
3. Two members of the committee reside in Shanghai, for safety as well as for the sake of liaison.
4. The organization of "cells" in factories be carried out with caution.
5. A designated member of the Central Committee maintain a roster of all members of the party and pay surprise visits from time to time in order to guarantee against back-slidings.
6. The carrying of weapons be strictly forbidden.

According to these instructions, the Central Committee decided to delegate ~~KAZAMA~~ Jokichi or ~~IWATA~~ Yoshimichi to Shanghai, but before this plan could be carried out the Far Eastern Bureau was dissolved by the arrest of its members on 15 June 1931.

For some time after the dissolution of the Far Eastern Bureau in Shanghai, the liaison, particularly with respect to labor communications of the International Labor Congress (Profintern), was maintained through Vladivostok. For example, in March, 1932, the Pan-Pacific Bureau of Labor Unions entrusted a message to ~~YAMAMOTO~~ Kenzo, who was returning to Japan via Siberia from Russia. These instructions illustrated not only one method by which contact was maintained between Moscow and Tokyo but also the extent of the Profintern's control:

- "1. Plans to organize a Fishermen's Union will be disseminated by pamphlets.
- "2. Five representatives will be dispatched to the preparatory conference to be held at Vladivostok in May in connection with the formation of the new union.
- "3. All future communications will be routed through the Chair Club (?), Vladivostok, using copies of the TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO (Oriental Economic News) and a simple cypher based on the iroha syllabary.*1"

As official pressure on communism in Japan became more and more severe, efforts to maintain communications between the Comintern and the Japan Communist Party became more and more complicated. In June, 1934, ~~KANDACHI~~ Hachiro, who was returning to Japan to reorganize the party after five years in Russia, was told to receive instructions on

*1 The TOYO KEIZAI SHIMPO was ~~ISHIBASHI~~ Tanzan's magazine! ~~ISHIBASHI~~ became Finance Minister in the ~~YOSHIDA~~ Cabinet in 1946. In the cypher 101 signified "i"; 102, "ro"; 103, "ha"; down through the sonant syllables which began with 149, "ga". Numbers were indicated in the stock exchange quotations on page eleven of the paper by underlining with milk. The underlines could be made visible to the recipient of the message by applying tincture of iodine.

the 10th, 20th and 30th of each month through an American whom he would meet on the beach by the Haihin Hotel in Kamakura. After KANDACHI's arrest on the boat between Shanghai and Nagasaki on 9 August, the police investigated a man found loitering at the appointed spot with a large sum of money in his pockets, but released him because of insufficient evidence. In July, 1934, after HAKAMADA Satomi had endeavored desperately and vainly to send some couriers to Moscow, TAKAYA Kakuzo returned with instructions*1 that:

1. His arrival in Tokyo be communicated to Moscow through the advertising columns of the Tokyo SAHI SHIMBUN.
2. "Printed matter" from Tokyo sent to a certain address in Paris.*2
3. "Lawful printed matter" be sent to a certain address in Moscow.
4. Emergency messages be sent to a certain address in Brooklyn, New York.

The closure of the Far Eastern Bureau of the Comintern in Shanghai, which had provided the Japan Communist Party with funds, threw the Japanese party into financial straits. The increasing pressure of the Japanese police curtailed the activity of the wiser leaders and gradually threw the management into the hands of hot-heads and thugs. Monetary difficulties led to robberies, embezzlements and other malpractices. On 6 October 1932 communist gangsters robbed the Kawasaki 100th Bank at Omori of ¥30,000 in broad daylight. Other armed attempts were made to rob banks in Tokyo, Okayama and other cities. "Sympathizers", sons and daughters of good families, were in certain instances persuaded to make off with parental money, securities and valuables.

Whereas party members who turned state's evidence or committed other acts against the interests of the party were punished by expulsion or other disciplinary measures so long as the Central Committee was well organized, the collapse of the central authority marked the beginning of a series of lynchings and torturings as horrifying in their small way as the political murders of the nationalists. On 14 August 1932 MURAKAMI Takio, member of a sub-section of the Central Committee, shot to death a Korean member IN Ki-kyo in Ueno Park. On 14 September 1932 KAMADA Shiro and two companions attempted to strangle and stab HIRAKAWA Tsunetaka. And on 23 December 1933 the Central Com-

*1 TAKAYA's itinerary is interesting:

- 15 Mar Departed Moscow with Chinese student's passport, 40 marks and 1500 francs.
- 17 Mar In front of American Express Company, Avenue Scribe, Paris, met an American woman, who introduced him to a German, who in turn introduced him to a Russian, from whom he received money and the passport of a certain native of Kagoshima Ken. Remained in Paris 50 days.
- 3 May Left Paris for Tokyo via Marseilles and Shanghai, where he received more money from an American woman on Nanking Road and a Frenchman in the French Settlement.
- 5 July Arrived in Tokyo via Shimonoseki, Tsingtao, Dairen and Seoul.

*2 TAKAYA actually sent some "printed matter" to this address in July, 1934.

mittee itself tried to settle its differences by sadistic murder.

After the arrest of NORO Eitaro on 28 November 1933, MIYAMOTO Kenji stepped into his place as head of the NIHON KYOSAN TO, with AKIZASA Masanosuke, HAKAMADA Satomi, HEMMI Shigeo, OBATA Tatsuo and OIZUMI Kenzo on his Central Committee. NORO's arrest fanned the flames of discord in the Committee between the so-called "intelligentsia" group consisting of MIYAMOTO, AKIZASA, HAKAMADA and HEMMI, which had a certain amount of education, and the labor group consisting of OBATA and OIZUMI, which had risen from the plebeian ranks. The "intelligentsia" accused OBATA and OIZUMI of betraying NORO to the police. And so MIYAMOTO, AKIZASA, HAKAMADA and HEMMI, together with four others, KIJIMA Takaaki, KIMURA Suzuko (a woman), RIN Sho-nan (a Korean) and YOKOYAMA Misao, summoned the two suspects and OIZUMI's common-law wife KUMAZAWA Mitsuko to AKIZASA's home on 23 December on the pretext of holding a committee meeting. There in an upstairs room HAKAMADA, KIJIMA and AKIZASA threatened these comrades with a pistol, a hatchet, and a knife in an attempt to force confessions of treason. Failing with OBATA, they bound him with wire, stuffed his mouth and ears with cooked rice, blindfolded him, bound him a second time with rope, and then proceeded to beat and torture him until he was dead. They buried him under the floor.

From OIZUMI and the KUMAZAWA lady they succeeded in obtaining written confessions of guilt, but these did not save the couple from further brutalities. The murderers set about to plan the "shinju" (lovers' suicide) of the couple and in pursuit of this conspiracy spirited them away to KIJIMA's home on 14 January 1934. On the following day, while YOKOYAMA was on guard alone, OIZUMI and his madame overpowered him and screamed for help. Their cries were heard by a policeman who was passing on his beat. And so they were saved from the Buddhist purgatory reserved for suicides. All of the lynchings were arrested immediately except AKIZASA and HAKAMADA. AKIZASA was apprehended on 2 April 1934, and HAKAMADA on 4 March 1935. The culprits were found guilty and sentenced. The heaviest penalties were paid by HAKAMADA and MIYAMOTO*1, 13 years and life imprisonment respectively.

Nor were these the only instances of berserk brutality in the final years of semi-overt communist agitation. On 21 December 1933 ABE Katsuko, NISHIZAWA Ryuji, TAKAHASHI Zenjiro and TANAKA Saiko, all members of the Party Printing Bureau, tried unsuccessfully to assassinate their comrade OGUSHI Masami. When OGUSHI escaped from the printing plant basement where he had been hog-tied, TAKAHASHI was accused of aiding him in his flight; SUZUKI Masaji was assigned to murder him but was arrested before he could accomplish the task. From 12 January to 17 February 1934, FUJII Shinnosuke, KIJIMA Takaaki and NEMBA Akira of the Party Finance Bureau held their fellow-worker OZAWA Takeo in NEMBA's house, binding him with rope and threatening him with knives, hammers and a gun; they released him only after he had signed a confession that he had cooperated with the police. From 17 January to 17 February 1934, KATO Ryo, KIJIMA Takaaki, KIN Ri-shaku (a Korean) and NISHIMURA Meriko tortured HATA Shikaru for expressing sympathy for the murdered OBATA Tatsuo until he confessed and wrote an apology for treason to the party. And when AKIZASA Masanosuke, MIYAMOTO Kenji and others of the OBATA murder party came to suspect that KIJIMA had revealed their deed to the police, they planned to kill him. While MIYAMOTO was being detained at the Kojimachi Police Station after his

*1 HAKAMADA and MIYAMOTO were released by the Justice Ministry under the general amnesty of political prisoners sponsored by the Allied Occupation in October, 1945. Both became members of the Central Committee of the legalized post-war Japan Communist Party.

arrest on 25 December 1933, NISHIZAWA Ryuji; SUZUKI Masaji, SUZUKI Masashi, YOKOYAMA Shinichi and YAMAGOE Ryu conspired to shoot and bomb their way to his rescue. All in all, between December, 1933, and February, 1934, the police arrested seven hundred thirty six people, including one hundred thirty-four women, in connection with communist murder attempts. Fifty-three of the arrestees were indicted and sentenced.

Although the Comintern attempted to send trained organizers into Japan in 1936, the effort failed; KOBAYASHI Isamu and two Koreans were arrested in Kwantung and Korea. With leaders in gaol and with the police on the alert to implement the Peace Preservation Law and other restrictive legislation down to the ground, activity went completely undercover. There was no more sensational communist news until the arrest of the SORGE spy-ring in the autumn of 1941, which was an international espionage case with no connection whatsoever with the Communist Party in Japan.

CHAPTER V

LEFT - WING COMPROMISES
1931-1933

Suppression of the Communist Party by the SEIYUKAI government of the late twenties was in many ways the turning point in the short democratic period of Japanese political development. Governmental pressure on the proletarian parties, particularly upon the groups supported by the agrarian unions, was ruthless because the SEIYUKAI constituencies were composed importantly of landed gentry in the rural districts, who feared the land reforms and agrarian programs of the socialists as well as the excesses of the communists. As a result of the promulgation of universal manhood suffrage in 1924, the agrarian and labor elements in the populace began to encroach upon the old-established sphere of influence of the SEIYUKAI and other old-line parties.

Pressure upon the proletarian groups was not limited to official channels, for reactionary elements were tacitly encouraged in their violence. When OYAMA Ikuo, the leader of the RODO NOMIN TO (Labor-Farmer Party), heard of the dissolution of his party and returned in haste to the capital from a canvassing trip to the Sanin District on 11 April 1928, he was attacked by a band of ruffians at Tokyo Station and suffered serious injury. When press reporters queried the Chief of the Hibiya Police concerning the incident, they were told that the labor leader's police escort had failed to observe any such gangsters. While the Diet was in session on 5 March 1929, YAMAMOTO Senji, another RODO NOMIN TO leader, was stabbed to death in his hotel room by KURODA Hokuji, an ex-policeman who was a member of the SHICHISEI GIDAN (Seven Lives Righteous Group), a self-constituted reactionary body of three unimportant members.

Prior to this time the conservative elements on the Japanese proletarian front, represented primarily by the SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party) after 1926, had encountered their chief opposition in the communists and the far-left labor and agrarian factions of the socialist camp. As governmental pressure eliminated the communists and the far-left elements from the political arena, the direction of attack shifted to the right. Encouraged by the "scandalous factional struggles" of the old-line parties and goaded by the patriotic fervor engendered by the Manchurian Incident, the nationalist parties took up the cudgels laid down by the communists when they went to gaol.

KOKKA SHAKAI SHUGI (National Socialism) had its birth in Japan in 1919 when TAKABATAKE Motoyuki, originally a communist, established the KOKKA SHAKAI TO (National Socialist Party). Actually a previous KOKKA SHAKAI TO (National Socialist Party) had been founded in 1901 by NAKAMURA Daihachiro, YAMANE Goichiro and SHIBA Teikichi, who evolved a theory that social reform should be evolved through aid from the Imperial Family, which "in ancient times was in a certain sense socialist". TAKABATAKE's party, however, was the first national-socialist party in the modern Japanese sense. Although his attempt proved abortive, TAKABATAKE was interesting as an example of a typical leftist who donned a green hat and walked into the nationalist camp. From 1914 to 1918 a group of ideological reformists led by OKAWA Shumpei, MITSUKAWA Kametaro, MIYAGAWA Ikkan, OKA Teiji, KA Morizo*1, YAMADA Ushitaro and HIRAGA Isojiro had been holding meetings for the discussion of current problems. They called

*1 K. Morizo's name piques the entomological interest because the surname is pure Korean. His family has lived for centuries in a Kagoshima town whose population is predominantly of Korean ancestry.

their informal group the SANGO KAI (3-5 Society). In October, 1918, the group founded the ROSO KAI (Old-Young Society) with the objective of assembling a heterogeneous nucleus of men and women from various walks of life to exchange ideas. This society invited TAKABATAKE to lecture on such subjects as "The World Situation As Viewed By The Socialists" and "What Is Socialism?" While SAKAI Toshihiko and TAKAO Heibei, likewise left-wing members of the ROSO KAI, stood firm by their proletarian guns, TAKABATAKE's association with OKAWA and his ilk marked the turning point in his career toward nationalism. In 1918 TAKABATAKE established the TAISHU SHA (Masses Society), whose membership*1 and publication, the KOKKA SHAKAI SHUGI (National Socialism), clearly denoted its nationalist character. In 1919 TAKABATAKE promoted the KEIRIN GAKUMEI (Statecraft Scholars' League) in collaboration with UESUGI Shinkichi and IWATA Fumio. While this combination of a socialist, a reverer-the-emperor imperialist and a terrorist reformer may at first blush appear queer, the three men symbolized the basic ingredients of Japanese national socialism which later effectively bridged the political gap between proletarian socialism and nationalism.

That some of the socialists found interests in common with the nationalists is not strange. TAKABATAKE openly declared in the socialist organ SHIN SHAKAI (New World) that he had been refused entrance to the liberal-socialist REIMEI KAI (New Dawn Society) of Professors FUKUDA Tokuzo and YOSHINO Sakuzo, that he had been welcomed royally by the ROSO KAI and that he found much sympathy with the national socialists who were prepared to carry out revolution under the banner of the Emperor. Nationalism differed basically from liberal socialism in that its program of reforms was cloaked in a deep reverence for the Emperor and the Japanese imperial system of government and in a fanatical belligerence toward the reduction of imperial powers, which were declared or implied as objectives by the communists on the one hand and by the socialists on the other. However, the basic similarity of the two ideologies is well illustrated by a comparison of the programs of KITA Ikki, the nationalist writer who, it will be remembered, had spent his earlier years in the Chinese revolutionary camp, and of the Japan Communist Party:

Communist Program 1922-1927

I. Political

1. Abolition of the monarchy.
2. Abolition of the House of Peers.

KITA Program 1919 --

I. Political

1. The Emperor is the sole representative of the people and symbolizes the fundamental principles of the national constitution.
2. The House of Peers, which separates the Emperor from the people, shall be abolished in order that the spirit of the Meiji Restoration may be clarified. As a foundation for national reform, the Emperor shall suspend the constitution, dissolve both houses of the Diet and proclaim a three-year period of martial law.

*1 Membership of the TAISHU SHA consisted of: ISHIKAWA Junjuro, IWATA Fumio, KAMINAGA Bunzo, MITSUNOBU Shigeji, MOGI Kyuhei, OGURI Keitaro, OKI Yuzo, OZAKI Shiro, TSUKUI Tatsuo and YABE Shu. The publication lived for only five issues in 1919.

Communist Program 1922-1927

3. Suffrage for men and women over 18 years of age.

4. Abolition of the army, the police, the gendarmerie, the secret police and the like.

II. Economic and Social

1. Abolition of ownership of land by the Emperor, temples and large holders. Land to be owned by the State.

2. Freedom of speech, assembly, press and association.
Freedom to hold demonstrations.
Freedom to strike.

KITA Program 1919 --

During the period of martial law a National Reformation Cabinet shall be convened. This Reformation Cabinet shall exclude from membership the military clique, the financial clique, party politicians and bureaucrats. There shall be production ministries without portfolio in the Cabinet to carry out the reformation program. All prefectural governors shall be replaced.

3. All males over 25 years of age shall have suffrage and right of election to the House of Representatives as well as to local government assemblies. Women shall not have the right to vote.

4. The country shall maintain forever the present conscription system for the safety of the nation.

Enforcement of the Reform laws and maintenance of the peace during the period of martial law shall be in the hands of the ZAIGO GUNJIN D.N. (Reservists' Group).

II. Economic and Social

1. The Emperor shall set an example by donating his lands, forests and securities to the State. Imperial expenses shall not exceed ¥30,000,000 annually.

Private property shall be limited to the value of ¥1,000,000 per family. No man shall be permitted to transfer property to a blood relative in order to circumvent this law. Property in excess of ¥1,000,000 shall be donated to the State without compensation.

Possession of land shall be limited to the value of ¥100,000 per family. Holdings in excess of this value shall be donated to the State.

Holdings of private enterprises shall be limited to the value of ¥10,000,000. Holdings in excess of this limit shall be nationalized, with compensation in 3% bonds to the stockholders within the ¥1,000,000 limit.

Contraventions of these property laws shall be punishable by death. Enforcement shall be in the hands of the ZAIGO GUNJIN D.N.

2. Laws which have suppressed public freedom such as the Civil Service Appointment Ordinance, the Peace Police Law, the Newspaper Law and the Press Law shall be abolished.

Communist Program 1922-1927

Freedom to organize labor unions, political parties, workmen's clubs, etc.

Recognition of labor unions as public institutions by the nation at large and by the capitalists in particular.

Control of production by factory committees.

3. Enforcement of an 8-hour working day.

4. Establishment of minimum wages and a minimum standard of living.

5. Establishment of a system of labor and unemployment insurance.

6. Flotation of land bonds to aid impoverished farmers.

7. Establishment of a progressive income tax.

8. Establishment of luxury taxes.

KITA Program 1919 --

Employees in private enterprises shall choose representatives to take part in administration thereof. Employees in public enterprise shall have voice in the management through representation in the Diet. Employees in corporations shall have the right to become shareholders.

A Ministry of Labor shall be established in the Cabinet to protect the rights of the employees in national and private enterprises. Labor disputes will be arbitrated by this Ministry.

The following industrial ministries shall be established in the Cabinet:

Ministry of Banking - capitalized by confiscated property.

Ministry of Mining

Ministry of Agriculture

Ministry of Industry

Ministry of Commerce

Ministry of Railways

Profits of these industries shall be paid into the National Treasury.

3. Enforcement of an 8-hour working day.

4. As a rule wages will be decided by free contract. Disputes as to wages will be arbitrated by the Ministry of Labor.

Employees in private enterprise, engaged in manual or intellectual activity, shall receive one-half of the net profit in the form of shares proportionate to wages. Farm labor shall receive overtime pay during the rush seasons.

Employees in national enterprises shall receive semi-annual benefits in lieu of distribution of profits.

6. A law shall be established to protect tenant farmers from landowners.

III. Miscellaneous

1. Female labor shall be on an

Communist Program 1922-1927

KITA Program 1919 --

- equal basis with male. After the Reformation, national policy will permit abolition of female labor.
2. Employment of minors under 16 shall be prohibited. Violations shall be punished with penal servitude.
 3. Fatherless children under 15 shall receive governmental support and education through payments to their guardians.
 4. The old and disabled who have no means of support shall be supported by the government.
 5. Boys and girls shall receive education for a period of 10 years, between the ages of 6 to 16.
 6. Women's rights shall be protected.
 7. Personal rights shall be safeguarded.
 8. Special privileges shall be granted men distinguished in public service.
 9. Property rights shall be guaranteed.
 10. Husbands may inherit their wives' property. In the absence of a will all children will inherit equally.
 11. The policies of the Reformation shall extend to Korea and to all present and future territories.

There were other early examples of men who transferred their allegiance from the socialist camp, or even from the far left, to nationalism, notably AKAO Bin who had founded the KENKOKU KAI (National Construction Society) in 1926, but noticeable migration did not start until shortly before the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident in 1931. The initiative was taken by AKAMATSU Katsumaro after he became familiar with OKAWA Shumpei in the spring of 1931. This extraordinary meeting of the minds is vouched for by the NIHON AIKOKU UNDO SO RAN (General Survey of Japanese Patriotic Movements), which states that the introduction was made by MATSUNOBU Shigeji, a member of AKAMATSU's TETSUDO JUGYOIN KUMIAI (Railway Worker's Union) as well as chief of the labor section of OKAWA's GYOCHI SHA (Act-on-Earth Society). AKAMATSU proceeded to deliver a patriotic lecture

at Waseda University on 16 June and in September became a charter member of the NIHON SHAKAI SHUGI KENKYU JO (Japan Socialism Research Institute)*1 which was organized by MATSUNOBU Shigeji, TSUKUI Tatsuo, OKAWA Shumei and ISHIKAWA Junjuro and whose policies declared:

"We consider the Tenno System the most suitable form of government for the Japanese people. We expect to carry out all administration in accordance with this system.

"We hold that all Japanese should have equal rights and equal duties. We demand that no one seek to further his private interests to the detriment of public interests. Any one who disobeys this principle shall be deemed a traitor.

"We believe that all nations should enjoy rights to natural resources in proportion to their populations and in quantities sufficient to support those populations. We therefore demand that all nations having surplus lands and natural resources open their door to immigration.

"We consider the present suppression of the colored races by the whites to be intolerable. Hence, we pledge ourselves to establish a league of all colored races to emancipate their kind throughout the world."

The NIHON SHAKAI SHUGI KENKYU JO published an article by AKIMATSU entitled KOKKA SHUGI TO SHAKAI SHUGI (National Socialism and Pure Socialism) in which he declared his allegiance to the former. Indeed, AKIMATSU had come a long way from his earlier beliefs.

In November, 1931, SHIMONAKA Yasaburo of the SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party) formed the KEIZAI MONDAI KENKYU KAI (Economic Problems Research Society) with MITSUKAWA Kametaro, SUGITA Shogo and SASAI Itcho. He entered into consultation with some members of the ZENKOKU RONO TAISHU TO (All-Japan Labor-Farmer Masses Party), the AIKOKU KINRO TO (Patriotic Labor Party) and the NIHON SHAKAI SHUGI KENKYU JO (Japan Socialism Research Institute) as well as with some members of his own party. By 17 December 1931 the group*2 was ready to promote a new socialist party. Likewise in December, 1931, SAKIMOTO Kozaburo, leader of the NIHON RODO KUMIAI SORENGO (Japan Labor Unions General Association), decided to throw in his lot with the new group, declaring that his labor congress

*1 The NIHON SHAKAI SHUGI KENKYU JO, organized in September, 1931, published the NIHON SHAKAI SHUGI (Japan Socialism) and was absorbed into the NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI SHUGI GAKUMEI (Japan National Socialism Students' League) in November, 1932. The institute bore the same relationship to OKAWA's JIMMU KAI (Jimmu Society) as did the SHAKAI KYOIKU KENKYU JO (Social Education Research Institute) to the GYOCHI SHI.

*2 SHIMONAKA Yasaburo's group consisted of:

AKIMATSU Katsumaro	SASAI Itcho
KANDA Hyozo	SHIMONAKA Yuza
KONDO Eizo	SHIMONAKA Yasaburo
MATSUSHITA Yoshio	YAMAMOTO Kamejiro
MORI Eiichi	YAMAZAKI Kosaya
	YOSHIKAWA Suejiro

would divorce the ZENKOKU RONNO TAISHU TO and marry the new party. Many other small regional political parties followed suit.

The NIHON KOKUMIN SHAKAI TO JUMBI KAI (Japan People's Socialist Party Preparatory Society) sponsored by SHIMONAKA and his friends met on 17 January 1932 and set the day for inauguration of the new party as 11 February*1. But the jealous indecisions of the principal promoters predicted failure. The inauguration was postponed awaiting AKAMATSU's withdrawal from the SHAKAI MINSHU TO. AKAMATSU, finding himself supported by the ZENKOKU RONNO TAISHU TO group of IMAMURA Hitoshi and not always in agreement with SHIMONAKA, first tried to draw the SHAKAI MINSHU TO en bloc into national socialism; voted down at a general meeting of 15 April 1932, AKAMATSU seceded from the SHAKAI MINSHU TO and on the same day organized the KOKKA SHAKAI SHUGI SHINTO JUMBI KAI (National Socialist New Party Preparatory Committee), with a view to setting up his own shop. SHIMONAKA persuaded him to desist, however, and the joint effort was to be launched on 29 May as the KOKUMIN NIHON TO (People's Japan Party). The final disruption occurred on the chosen day, when SHIMONAKA's group organized the SHIN NIHON KOKUMIN DOMEI (New Japan People's League), and AKAMATSU and IMAMURA joined hands to set up the NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI TO (Japan National Socialist Party).

In October, 1931, after the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident, MATSUTANI Yojiro, at that time a member of the ZENKOKU RONNO TAISHU TO, made an inspection trip to Manchuria with several other members of the House of Representatives. He returned with the conviction that the measures taken by the Japanese army had been necessary to protect Japanese settlers and Japanese interests in Manchuria and that the dispatch of additional troops was unavoidable. He became opposed to his party's slogan, "Oppose Imperialistic Wars". Sulking in his tent, he absented himself from the party general meeting in December and wrote an article entitled "My Opinion With Regard to the Sending of Troops to Manchuria and Mongolia", in which he stressed the following points:

- "1. Japanese interests in Manchuria and Mongolia must be protected.
- "2. Japanese interests in Manchuria and Mongolia should be stripped of capitalist control and placed in the hands of laborers and farmers.
- "3. The two million unemployed in Japan should be sent to Manchuria and Mongolia to take over Japanese interests there.
- "4. The ZENKOKU RONNO TAISHU TO must fight to the last ditch for the achievement of these objectives."

While the sensation caused by this statement kept MATSUTANI away from all ZENKOKU RONNO TAISHU TO meetings, it did not prevent his nomination as a KOMON (adviser) of the SHAKAI TAISHU TO (Social Masses Party) when the new party was formed in July, 1932. He refused the appointment and on 1 August 1932 withdrew from the SHAKAI TAISHU TO with the statement, "The insistent adherence of the party to social-democratic ideas and its opposition to imperialistic war are against my conviction. Hereafter I shall follow my ideal, which is national socialism." On 12 September 1932 he sent out a prospectus for a new political party,

*1 11 February is Kigensetsusai, annual holiday celebrating accession of the Emperor JIMMU to the Japanese throne.

the SHIN NIHON KENSETSU DOMEI (New Japan Construction League)*1, of which the inaugural meeting was held on 16 October. After consultation with OTAKE Kanichi of ADACHI Kenzo's KOKUMIN DOMEI (People's League), MATSUTANI found that the principles of the two parties agreed. The two groups became closely affiliated. Eventually in April, 1934, the SHIN NIHON KENSETSU DOMEI amalgamated with KONDO Eizo and other seceders from the SHIN NIHON KOKUMIN DOMEI (New Japan People's League) to form the KINRO NIHON TO (Labor Japan Party).

Farther to the left, SANO Manabu and NIREYAMA Sadachika, communists who had been sentenced on 30 October 1932 to life imprisonment, startled their fellow travelers and the country by issuing a joint statement of recantation, which was published in the 10 June 1933 newspapers. Since October, 1932, the two men had shown signs of a change in attitude, which the Superintendent of Ichigaya Prison encouraged by handing them pen and paper. Their statement suggested that if they had been free to do so they would have marched with AKIMATSU, MATSUTANI and their like straight into the nationalist camp:

"1. In the first place, we believe that the Communist Party has drifted away from the struggles of the Proletariat. We believe that today the Party stands aloof from proletarian concerns.

"In the second place, we believe that the Comintern International has abandoned its interest in proletarian life and proletarian struggles in the various countries of the world and that internationalism is a lost cause.

"In the third place, we believe that the defeatism which the Comintern has saddled upon the Japanese Communist Party is harmful to the Japanese people and to the laboring classes of Japan.

"For these three reasons we advocate withdrawal from the Comintern.

"2. Although the nation as a whole approaches a crisis both internal and external, the Communist Party has become disassociated with the practicalities of every day life and has become the organ of an extremist petite bourgeoisie. Despite the desperate individual efforts of our comrades the Party has fallen into dismal sectionalism. This state of affairs is directly attributable to the Party's affiliation with the Comintern and the Comintern's mistaken leadership.

"3. The Comintern has lost its original spirit and has become centralized and bureaucratic. Regardless of time or place, emphasis is laid upon the importance of the Russian Revolution. The internationalism of the Comintern has in reality become but an instrument in the hands of the Soviet Union. The Comintern is replete with contradictions and should dissolve upon the outbreak of

*1 The SHIN NIHON KENSETSU DOMEI was formed by some five hundred seceders from the SHAKAI T. ISHU TO, led by:

INOUE Toshimaru

KOMATSUBARA Mitsutaro

TSURUOKA Sadayuki

MATSUTANI Yojiro

TAWARA Tsugio

the inevitable new world war. We as individuals have devoted ourselves to the cause for eleven years but we find that we can no longer continue to do so and at the same time remain loyal to the cause of the proletariat of Japan.

- "4. We are opposed to the anarchic defeatist attitude of the Comintern toward war. Japan's war against Chinese militarism and American capitalism is an evolutionary war; the proletariat must support control of production and mobilization because both are inevitable in time of war. War against the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Government, however, would be neither evolutionary nor advisable because wars must be won.
- "5. We must endeavor to materialize a socialism whose basis is national, not international. We believe in the ability of the Japanese people to achieve an original and appropriate type of socialism because they have a long tradition of united national life, because their labor has a high productivity, because they have accumulated oriental culture, and because never in their long national life have they been held in bondage.
- "6. We believe that the Communist Party is wrong in viewing Japanese monarchism and Russian czarism in the same light. For proper understanding it is necessary to grasp the natural feeling of the masses toward the monarchy. The Japanese monarchy is a symbol of racial unity. This Japanese racial unity is a strong assurance of the national power which has its basis in the people. Japanese labor does not believe that this racial unity is necessarily incompatible with monarchy as it was in Russia.
- "7. The Comintern's policy to separate the Japanese colonies from the mother country is erroneous. We oppose capitalist exploitation of the colonies; we consider that we should endeavor to establish a great socialist state to unite the proletariat of Japan, Manchuria, Formosa and Korea.
- "8. All components of left-wing labor should be divorced from the influence of the Comintern. After a thorough purge of all bourgeois ideas the labor movement should be re-constructed on the basis of national socialism. The communist Party should abandon its opposition to racial discrimination and become a party to unite the proletarian front in Japan, Manchuria, Formosa and Korea. The most pressing problems of today are the agricultural question and the solution of the China war.

"We hereby make public to all proletarians our new conviction, with a special appeal to our comrades in the party and in the NIHON RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU KYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions National Congress)".

This declaration of SANO and MABEYAMA, is a lucid and typical example of the psychological rationalization which, for many socialists and leftists, bridged the gap between socialism and nationalism. The turn-coat socialists, who did not have so far to travel to the nationalist gate, justified their actions in a similar vein, minus the references to Russia and the Comintern.

CHAPTER VI

HAMMER AND PLOUGH

1932 - 1940

Labor organizations in Japan may roughly be divided into three groups, social-democratic, communist and nationalist. As in the case of the proletarian political parties there were constant divisions, sub-divisions and realignments of the legal, non-communist groups, but the different factions could never agree. Their divisions and realignments followed roughly the splits and reorganizations of the proletarian political parties. The unions became politically important in the early 1920's when liberalism, exemplified most concretely in the passage of the 1924 universal suffrage bill, became the fashion of the day. Their importance grew through the twenties and the thirties with the increasing proletarian vote. The labor organizations lost their nominal identity with the abolition of political parties and unions in 1940 and 1941 when the TAISEI YOKUSAN KAI (Imperial Rule Assistance Association) and the HOKOKU UNDO (Serve-the-Country Movement) eclipsed all independent political and social thought behind the shadow of cooperative patriotism. But the stresses and strains continued behind the curtain, to reappear unchanged in their separate ideologies after the war.

The most stable and durable of the factions was the conservative social-democratic one, which based its activity on conservative trade-unionism and which aimed to improve the living of the proletariat in general and the conditions of labor in particular through arbitration with capitalist interests and through parliamentary legislation of labor laws. The most important single factor in this conservative social-democratic labor front was the NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor), which lasted under one title or another until it was dissolved in 1940. This federation was the back-bone of the movement which carried the banner of conservative socialism and fought both extreme leftism and extreme rightism through the years.

In September, 1932, labor unions belonging to this conservative group organized the NIHON RODO KUMIAI KAIGI (Japan Labor Unions Conference) with the motto "Sound Trade Unionism". This league, whose chief concrete features were anti-communism and support of the International Labor Conference at Geneva, started with a membership of more than 220,000 and with the support of most of the important labor unions such as:

- KAIIN KYOKAI (Seamen's Association)
- KINGYO RODO SODOMEI (Federation of Government Workers)
- NIHON KAIIN KUMIAI (Japan Seamen's Union)
- NIHON RODO KUMIAI SORENGO (Japan Labor Unions General League)
- NIHON RODO SOREMMEI (Japan Labor General League)
- NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor)

*1 The name YUAI KAI calls to mind an outburst of TOKUTOMI Ichiro published in his monthly magazine, the KOKUMIN NO TOMO (Friend of the People) way back in September, 1890, while he was still a Christian and a Socialist. "Ah", he cried, "where is the man who would help the working man! The only hope for the working men is that they form a mutual aid society to help one another in times of sickness, misfortune and disaster. Perhaps such a society should be called the YUAI KYOKAI (Friendly Association). If necessary to enforce their wishes, men of the same trade could unite and refuse to work."

ZENKOKU RODO KUMIAI DOMEI (All-Japan Labor Unions League)

But gradually some of the affiliate unions, like the NIHON RODO KUMIAI SORENGO in 1932, became nationalistic in ideology and withdrew. Others, like the KANGYO RODO SODOMEI, were forced to secede because of the Army policy forbidding its workers to belong to unions. As the patriotic tenor of the nation accelerated, the withdrawals increased, until by 1939 only four organizations continued to support the NIHON RODO KUMIAI KAIGI, namely:

- NIHON KOWAN JUGYOIN KUMIAI (Japan Harbor Workers' Union)
- NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor)
- NIHON SEITO RODO KUMIAI DOMEI (Japan Ceramic Labor Unions League)
- TOKYO GASUKO KUMIAI (Tokyo Gas Worker's Union)

and the conference had only 45,480 members. The NIHON RODO KUMIAI KAIGI did not oppose the SANGYO HOKOKU UNDO (Production Serve-the-Country Movement) per se in the late thirties, but it did maintain that the movement left room for the parallel existence of labor unions because the proposed SANGYO HOKOKU KAI (Production Serve-the-Country Societies) could not properly represent the interests of the working man. When the SHAKAI TAISHU TO (Social Masses Party), which had always had the support of the NIHON RODO KUMIAI KAIGI, expelled its members who supported SAITO Takao in his famous 1940 speech in the Diet, the KAIGI took the recalcitrant members' part and announced its readiness to support the new political party which they proposed to promulgate. When the new party was forbidden, the KAIGI and its affiliated unions were forced to disband.

On the left wing the oldest organization was the NIHON RODO KUMIAI HYOGI KAI, inaugurated by leftist seceders from the NIHON RODO SODOMEI in 1925. When this body was dissolved by the police in April, 1928, following the second general apprehension of communists on 15 March, the NIHON RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU KYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions National Congress) was sponsored subversively by the Japan Communist Party and indeed by the Profintern in June, 1928. This organization succeeded in setting up "cells" in factories throughout the country and in propagating subsidiary regional congresses in almost all prefectures. When it was recognized as a branch of the Profintern its leaders were arrested one after another, and its central organization was eventually destroyed in 1934.

To the right of this extremist Russian-controlled KYOGI KAI, the NIHON RODO KUMIAI SOHYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions General Conference) was set up in April, 1931, as a concord of legal unions which supported the left-wing RONTO TO (Labor-Farmer Party). In July, 1932, when the RONTO TO joined the ZENKOKU RONTO TAISHU TO (All-Japan Labor-Farmer Masses Party), the NIHON RODO KUMIAI SOHYOGI KAI was divided as to whether it would support the new political party. When the ZENKOKU RONTO TAISHU TO joined the SHAKAI TAISHU TO (Social Masses Party), the NIHON RODO KUMIAI SOHYOGI KAI withdrew from politics because it would not go along with the center-of-the-road elements in the new political combine. KATO Kanju, TAKENO Minoru, YASUHIRA Shikaichi and other politically minded left-wing laborites showed their dissatisfaction by organizing the ZENRO TOITSU ZENKOKU KAIGI (All-Labor Unification National Council) in March, 1933, with a resolution to destroy the NIHON RODO KUMIAI KAIGI. In February, 1934, thirteen leaders of the ZENRO TOITSU ZENKOKU KAIGI were arrested, and in the following November the two left-wing labor organizations, the ZENRO TOITSU ZENKOKU KAIGI and the NIHON RODO KUMIAI SOHYOGI KAI, amalgamated to form the NIHON RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU HYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions National Conference), the last of the formal left-wing labor organizations until after the war, which was dissolved by the police in December, 1937, after its chief exponents had been arrested with some four hundred sixty leftist leaders.

On the right wing, such ultra-nationalist political parties as the

DAI NIHON SEISAN TO (Great Japan Production Party) and the AIKOKU KINRO TO (Patriotic Labor Party) claimed that they had the backing of the proletarian masses, but this support was actually insignificant. The national-socialist political parties, in contrast with the nationalist parties, were for the most part organized by men who had the backing of labor unions and who drew those labor unions into the national socialist camp. The NIHON RODO KUMIAI SO RENGU (Japan Labor Unions General League) was one of the first unions to make public its change of heart when it withdrew its allegiance to the ZENKOKU RONO TAISHU TO (All-Japan Labor-Farmer Masses Party) in 1932 to follow SAKAMOTO Kozaburo, MORI Eiichi and their group into SHIMONAKA Yasaburo's SHIN NIHON KOKUMIN DOMEI (New Japan People's League). In the same category may be placed the TEIYU DOSHI KAI (Communication Worker's Comrades Society), an affiliate of the NIHON RODO SODOMEI which in 1932 accompanied AKAMATSU Katsumaro into his new NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI TO (Japan National Socialist Party). A third example was the NIHON RODO DOMEI (Japan Labor League), formed in May, 1932, by IMAMURA Hitoshi, OYA Shozo, SHIRAFORI Hirochika and others who left the ZENKOKU RODO KUMIAI DOMEI (All-Japan Labor Unions League) to join AKAMATSU in his new political endeavor.

At first these groups stood squarely behind the national-socialist program advocating a socialist Japan under the Emperor which would eventually become the foundation stone of a union of all the people in Asia. Gradually they forgot the socialist part of their platforms until they became patriotic labor groups ripe to partake in the SANGYO HOKOKU UNDO (Production Serve-the-Country Movement) of the late 1930's. By May, 1933, AKAMATSU Katsumaro and his close associates had so far out-stripped the TEIYU DOSHI KAI in the advance toward nationalism that they withdrew to set up the NIHON TEISHIN JUGYOIN KUMIAI (Japan Communications Workers' Union). This caused the NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI TO and its affiliated NIHON RODO DOMEI to divide into national-socialist and nationalist camps. While the national socialists rejoined the ZENKOKU RODO KUMIAI DOMEI and the NIHON RODO SODOMEI, the nationalists inaugurated the NIHON SANGYO GUN (Japan Production Corps), which eventually in 1937 amalgamated with the agrarian AIKOKU RODO NOMIN DOSHI KAI (Patriotic Labor Farmer Comrades Society).

The NIHON SANGYO RODO KURUBU (Japan Production Labor Club) was organized in December, 1932, by a number of nationalistically inclined unions to contribute aircraft to the Army and the Navy. When this initial purpose was accomplished it developed strong opposition to the middle-of-the-road NIHON RODO KUMIAI KAIGI. In April, 1936, it joined hands with the NIHON RODO KUMIAI SORENGO and eleven other unions to form the AIKOKU RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU KONWA KAI (Patriotic Labor Unions All-Japan Discussion Society). Since the NIHON SANGYO RODO KURUBU refused to participate in politics, it withdrew, leaving the league entirely under the control of the NIHON RODO KUMIAI SORENGO, which in November, 1938, changed its name to NIHON KINRO HOKO RENMEI (Japan Labor Service League) and advocated patriotic cooperation of capital and labor for increased production, the basic principle of the SANGYO HOKOKU UNDO.

As the China Incident dragged on with no end in prospect, it was decided in various quarters that some sort of adjustment of labor conditions was necessary. The KYOCHO KAI (Conciliation Society), described by Morgan Young as an organization founded in 1918 which "frittered away time and money on the publication of a magazine, which nobody read, and the collection of futile statistics", convoked in February, 1938, a committee composed of labor specialists, government officials and others with KAWARADA Kakichi as chairman, to which were invited men representing various interests, to plan a coordination of capital and labor. The four men invited were:

MATSUOKA Komakichi, representing the ZENKOKU RODO KUMLAI KAIGI,
The democratic labor unions council.
MORITA Yoshio, representing the ZENKOKU SANGYO DANPAI RENGO KAI,
(All-Japan Production Organizations League), an employers'
organization.
NISHIYAMA Nisaburo, representing the NIHON SANGYO RODO KURABU,
the nationalist labor union.
TAKAYAMA Kyuzo, representing the NIHON KINRO HOKO REMMEI, the pa-
triotic labor union.

The product of this committee was the SANGYO HOKOKU REMMEI (Production Serve-the-Country League) inaugurated on 30 June 1938, in which government, capital and labor were represented. The patriotic and nationalistic unions all eagerly supported the new league; in deference to its solidarity, however, most of them dissolved to form regional SANGYO HOKOKU KAI (Production Serve-the-Country Societies). The NIHON RODO SODOMEI and the NIHON RODO KUMLAI KAIGI refused to disband and held out as long as they could, protesting that labor unions could exist alongside the league and must do so in order to afford proper representation to the working classes, but they too were finally forced to dissolve in July, 1940, after the SAITO Takao debacle in the Diet. By the middle of 1940, there were no longer any representative labor unions in Japan. The final step toward nationalization of labor took place on 23 November 1940 with the establishment of the DAI NIHON SANGYO HOKOKU KAI (Great Japan Serve-the-Country Association), a drawing together and expansion of the regional SANGYO HOKOKU KAI which would attempt, in vain, to supplant the proletarian organization of labor.

Like the labor movement, the organization of the agrarian groups flowered after the first world war as a result of the farmer-landlord tenancy disputes, which became frequent around 1920 and reached a climax of two thousand two hundred cases in 1925. As in the case of the labor unions, the groups never could agree; fracture after fracture resulted in a melange of agrarian leagues with titles so similar or indeed identical that the greatest care must be exercised not to confuse communist, left-wing, right-wing and center groups with like or identical names.

The initial nation-wide farmers' league was the center-of-the-road first NIHON NOMIN KUMLAI (Japan Farmers' Union) of SUGIYAMA Motojiro and KAGAWA Toyohiko, which must not be confused with the right-wing agrarian union of exactly the same name promoted later by HIRANO Rikizo. Left-wing elements in the organization gradually acquired the control. So in April, 1926, the right wing withdrew to form the ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMLAI DOMEI (All Japan Farmers' Unions League) under HIRANO Rikizo. The middle-road set of SUGIYAMA Motojiro and KAGAWA Toyohiko retired in March, 1927, to form the ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMLAI (All Japan Farmers' Union), which in turn should not be confused with the second ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMLAI of NAKAZAWA Benjiro and HIRANO Rikizo. About the same time the NIHON NOMIN KUMLAI SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Farmers' Unions) was organized as an affiliate of the NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor) under SUZUKI Bunji, KATAYAMA Tetsu, MATSUNAGA Yoshio and ABE Isao. Thus in 1927 there were four national agricultural unions:

NIHON NOMIN KUMLAI, supporting the left-wing RODO NOMIN TO (Labor Farmer Party)
ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMLAI DOMEI supporting the right-wing NIHON NOMIN TO (Japan Farmer Party)
ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMLAI supporting the democratic SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party)
NIHON NOMIN KUMLAI SODOMEI supporting the democratic SHAKAI MINSHU TO

Toward the end of 1927 it was suggested that the four be fused into

one great agrarian league, but again the right-wing and left-wing differences would not be reconciled. So the ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI amalgamated with the parental NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI in May, 1928, to become the ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI (All-Japan Farmers' Union), and in July, 1928, the ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI DOMEI swallowed up local agrarian unions in Kagawa Ken and Niigata Ken to become the second ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (All-Japan Farmers' Union), not to be confused with the left-wing outfit of the same name which had been incorporated into the ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI two months before. Thus from 1928 to 1931 there were three national agricultural unions:

ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI, whose members included advocates of the extreme left as well as of the RONNO TO (Labor-Farmer Party) and the ZENKOKU TAISHU TO (All-Japan Masses Party)
 NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI SODOMEI, supporting the democratic SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party)
 ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI, supporting the left-wing RONNO TO (Labor-Farmer Party).

An indication of the relative strength of the parties is given by figures showing that the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI had 52,000 members to the ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI's 20,000.

In January, 1931, the ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI joined the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI SODOMEI to form the second NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (Japan Farmers' Union), which gave political support to the SHAKAI MINSHU TO. This combination was shortlived, however, because right-wing elements represented by HIRANO Rikizo got control and adopted a national-socialist policy to which the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI SODOMEI group would not agree. Hence the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI SODOMEI returned to independent organization in April, 1932, supporting the SHAKAI TAISHU TO. In August, 1931, the far-left group in the ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI declared its independence as the ZEN NO ZENKOKU KAIGI (All Farmers' All-Japan Congress), and in December, 1933, a politically unimportant group set up the nationalist KOKOKU NOMIN DOMEI (Imperial Farmers' League). Thus from 1933 to 1936 there were five agricultural unions on a national scale:

ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI, supporting the SHAKAI TAISHU TO
 NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI, supporting the KODO KAI (Imperial Way Society)
 NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI SODOMEI, supporting the SHAKAI TAISHU TO
 KOKOKU NOMIN DOMEI, without political connections.
 ZEN NO ZENKOKU KAIGI, supporting the subversive Japan Communist Party

The legal headquarters of the ZEN NO ZENKOKU KAIGI, came to an end in March, 1933, when the majority of its leaders were arrested; the remaining leaders, who were less extreme, devoted their primary efforts to the organization of local unions, which one by one became disaffected and joined the ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI. The last of these local unions, in Saga and Fukuoka, severed the connection in August, 1936, leaving the headquarters helpless. The coup-de-grace came to the ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI as well as to the ZEN NO ZENKOKU KAIGI in 1938 after mass arrests had deprived the two unions of their leaders.

Remaining exponents of the ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI endeavored to reorganize by uniting with the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI SODOMEI, but the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI SODOMEI declined the honor; hence the ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI remnants established the DAI NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (Great Japan Farmers' Union) in February, 1938. On the other side of the fence, a national-socialist group from the ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI joined the NIHON NOMIN REMMEI (Japan Farmers' League), organized in January, 1938, to support NAKANO Seigo's TOHO KAI (Eastern Society). In

November, 1939, the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI, the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI SODOMEI, the DAI NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI and a small group of seceders from the TOHO KAI held hands to promote a society for land reform called the NOCHI SEIDO KAIKAKU DOMEI (Agricultural Land System Reform League), advocating nationalization of tenanted farm-lands and the creation of a landed farmer class.

The NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI SODOMEI was dissolved in October, 1940, along with its affiliated NIHON RODO SODOMEI and the SHAKAI TAISHU TO; it was too democratic for its time. The DAI NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI, the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI and the NIHON NOMIN REMMEI disbanded in the summer and fall of 1940 in order that their leaders might devote their efforts to the NOCHI SEIDO KAIKAKU DOMEI. The ineffectual KOKOKU NOMIN DOMEI lasted inactively until 1941. The NOCHI SEIDO KAIKAKU DOMEI continued to carry the agrarian national-socialist banner, but it too was dissolved in March, 1942, on the grounds that its land reform activities were detrimental to the public peace.

Another phase of the agrarian movement which must not be overlooked was the NOSON KYODO TAI KENSETSU DOMEI (Agricultural Village Cooperative Structure Construction League), which was promoted by ARIMA Yoriyasu, familiarly known to his opponents as the "socialist count". ARIMA was president of the NIHON SANGYO KUMIAI (Japan Production Cooperative Union), originally a government-sponsored movement which was greatly influenced by liberal ideals after the first World War. In 1940 when ARIMA was drawn into the planning of the TAISEI YOKUSAN KAI (Imperial Rule Assistance Association) by Premier Prince KONOYE, he decided that he could coordinate the NIHON SANGYO KUMIAI's youth group into the new movement by using it to establish village cooperatives which would practice concrete agrarian reforms. The result was the NOSON KYODO TAI KENSETSU DOMEI. Members of the SHOWA KENKYU KAI (Showa Research Society) of GOTO Ryunosuke and of the SHIRAKAWA KAI (Shirakawa Society)*1 of Kyoto Imperial University became interested and had a voice in deciding the league's policies.

Although the NOSON KYODO TAI KENSETSU DOMEI cooperated with the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, it was considered by the authorities to be too liberal and democratic, on the ground that cooperative villages were a danger to the national constitution and contrary to governmental policy. Unofficial pressure led to the resignation of ARIMA Yoriyasu, GOTO Ryunosuke and their group from their Imperial Rule Assistance Association posts in March, 1941. These factors, however, did not cause any appreciable decrease in the popularity of the cooperative movement. By the end of 1941 the NOSON KYODO TAI KENSETSU DOMEI had 1377 branches in thirty-six prefectures and a membership of 27,500.

But the movement was doomed. The league was linked in the minds of the authorities with the SHOWA KENKYU KAI and the SHIRAKAWA KAI. The police had looked down their noses at the SHOWA KENKYU KAI and its SHOWA JUKU (Showa Academy) since the establishment of the organizations; in 1938 the SHAKAI UNDO NO JOKYO reported, "Some of the nationalist look upon the SHOWA JUKU as a patriotic academy patterned after the model of YOSHIDA Shoin's*2 private school of the Meiji Restoration

*1 The SHIRAKAWA KAI was named for a district of Kyoto.

*2 YOSHIDA Shoin (1831-1860) was a zealous promoter of the imperial cause. He ran a patriotic academy to instruct youths in his ideology. He was eventually executed for attempting to murder the emissary sent to Kyoto to obtain the imperial consent for the opening up of Japan to foreign commerce.

period. Yet others regard it as a poignant danger to true nationalism and say that it must be destroyed because many of its central figures have been connected with the communist or the socialist movement." The arrest of members of the SHOWA KENKYU KAI and the SHIRAKAWA KAI for engaging in left-wing activities added to the difficulties. The apprehension of OZAKI Hozumi, a leading light in the SHOWA JUKU, in October, 1941, for collaborating with Richard Sorge, the communist spy, was a crowning blow. From December, 1941, to March, 1942, several Nagano and Miyagi leaders of the NOSON KYODO TAI KENSETSU DOMEI were arrested, as were KATSUMATA Seiichi and INABA Hidezo at the headquarters, - all members of the SHIRAKAWA KAI. The Home Ministry was about to ban the league when it dissolved voluntarily in March, 1942.

At last all agrarian and labor organizations had been successfully channeled into the HOKOKU UNDO (Serve-the-Country Movement) under the Imperial Rule Assistance Association. The various HOKOKU organizations thenceforth stood unchallenged in the field.

CHAPTER VII

THE WATER-LEVEL MINORITY

No survey of the Japanese proletarian front would be complete without some mention of the ETA because the "new commoners" have always been so loudly vocal in their isolation as to attract more attention than they would seem at first blush to deserve. Although these people as a matter of pride carefully avoid identifying themselves by the highly opprobrious term ETA or indeed as SHINHEIMIN (New Commoners) or SUIHEISHA (Water Levelers) except in their organizational activities, their plaints, protests and petitions are so stylized as to be easily recognized.

In thirteenth century Japan there were four classes of society, the KUGE (court nobles), the BUKE (warriors), the BONGE or CHIGE (commoners), and the SEMMIN (base people). The lowest of these classes, the SEMMIN, was in turn divided into two groups, the HININ (outcasts) and the ETA (polluted masses). Whereas the HININ was composed of men and women who engaged in beggary, entertainment and other ostracized vocations and whose stigma was not hereditary, the ETA was a congenital group which performed such functions as burial of the dead, slaughter of animals, tanning of hides, et cetera, - trades which contravened the tenets of Buddhism because of their affiliation with death. The Japan Weekly Chronicle of 10 May 1923 discussed the origin and status of the ETA as follows:

"Frequent references have been made in these columns to the movement started by the ETA against the social discrimination to which they have long been subjected at the hands of their fellow-citizens. In their manifestoes and speeches they are reiterating that they were once outcasts but that they are now the elect. They also boast of a 'spirit which has been tempered in the course of one thousand years (of oppression and maltreatment)'. 'Water-level' is the name by which their organization and movement go; but it is rather doubtful what the expression exactly means---whether it refers to their aspiration to come up to the water-level themselves or to the more ambitious object they may possibly be entertaining of reducing all sorts and kinds of people to the same social level. Perhaps it refers to both, or is destined to do so. This is what makes their movement of particular interest. Mr. Sano*1, writing in the current number of the KAIHO (Emancipation), refers to the intense feeling, almost of religious fervour, by which the movement is actuated, and also the great power of cohesion which characterized the ETA, for it is said that, started as it was last year, the authorities of the SUIHEISHA expect to unite all the ETA in the country in one general federation before the autumn of this year. One result of the movement has been an agitation for the abolition of the title of SHIZOKU (knights) above that of HEIMIN (commoners) which has been taken up by an influential member of the SEIYUKAI, though it is hard to imagine how this will serve the cause of the ETA, for the ETA have been HEIMIN to all legal intents and purposes since 1871. The term ETA is now entirely unrecognized in law, and let it be said to the honour of the Japanese Press that it is a word which is carefully avoided in the vernacular papers. If the word is used in the CHRONICLE it is simply because it is more familiar to foreign readers and it is hoped that if there are any ETA among its readers, they will be liberal enough to allow that it is used for no other reason and without any implication of depreciation or discrimination.

"The word ETA is more or less familiar to foreign readers, of

*1 SANO Manabu the communist.

course, chiefly because of the story of 'The ETA Maiden and the Hata-moto' included in Mitford's ever delightful Tales of Old Japan. In the note to the story it is written that 'At Asakusa, in Yedo, there lives a man called Danzayemon, the chief of the ETA. This man traces his pedigree back to Minamoto no Yoritomo, who founded the Shogunate in the year A.D. 1192. The whole of the ETA in Japan are under his jurisdiction...The occupation of the ETA is to kill and flay horses, oxen, and other beasts, to stretch drums and make shoes; and if they are very poor, they wander from house to house, working as cobblers, mending old shoes and leather, and so earn a scanty livelihood. Besides this their daughters and young married women gain a trifle as wandering minstrels, called Torioi, playing on the samisen, a sort of banjo, and singing ballads. They never marry out of their own fraternity, but remain apart, a despised and shunned race.

"At execution by crucifixion it is the duty of the ETA to transfix the victims with spears; and, besides this, they have to perform all sorts of degrading offices about criminals, such as carrying sick prisoners from their cells to the hall of justice, and burying the bodies of those that have been executed. Thus their race is polluted and accursed, and they are hated accordingly.'

"Whatever truth there was in Mitford's days in the rather sweeping remark about the whole of the eta in Japan being under the jurisdiction of the man called Danzayemon, such is certainly no longer the case now. In them there does not seem to exist any sense of what may be called masonic fraternity among them, the only sentiment that is common to them and unites them being the intense resentment they feel at the contempt in which they are held by the other sections of society, for in point of blood they are as much Japanese as other Japanese. But as to their being 'a despised and shunned race' Lord Redcliffe is entirely right. Ordinary Japanese would have no great objection to admitting Koreans to their households as servants, but most of them would not listen to the idea of sitting on the same floor and sleeping under the same roof as eta in whatever capacity, to say nothing of intermarrying with them.

"Dr. Kita, Professor of Japanese history at the Kyoto Imperial University, who is the greatest authority on the subject, says, in the course of a lengthy article he has contributed to the May number of Emancipation, that from the careful investigations he has made into the matter, he is convinced that the eta are not of a different race from the ordinary Japanese and the contempt in which they are socially held is due entirely to the misconception that their person is polluted on account of their occupations. The word eta is now represented by the Chinese characters meaning 'much pollution,' but there are many instances of Chinese characters of kindred sound and meaning being used in order to express foreign words which really have no connection with them, and these are grievous traps for the etymologist. For instance, characters meaning 'foreigners' slave' are used for guide, characters meaning 'common enjoyment place' for club, characters meaning 'rich knight' or 'peerless' for (Mount) Fuji, which is supposed to be derived from the Ainu word for 'fire', the mountain having been an active volcano in ancient times. But the word eta is a transformation of otori (catchers of food--for falcons and dogs) who were attached to chief falconers and whose business it was to procure food (flesh) for the falcons and dogs kept by their masters. The name gradually extended to butchers in general until in the Heian period (794-1184) butchers and meat eaters were known as otori, which in the Kamakura period (1185-1332) was changed to eta.

"In earliest times in this country, no public stigma was attached to butchering and meat eating. Animal flesh was offered even to the

gods. Boars' meat and venison were served even at the Emperor's table at least until about the beginning of the tenth century. Owing to the prevalence of Buddhism, however, the custom was developed of regarding life-taking as evil, and meat-eating as polluting. The belief then came into existence that the gods did not like butchers and meat-eaters to come near them. At the time of Oye no Tadafusa, who died in the year 1111, it became obligatory for persons who partook of boars' or deer's flesh to refrain from attending Court for three subsequent days. In the Kamakura period, the name eta extended to other people in the same social position as the eta proper, even cleaners and scavengers and the like being included in the category and the obnoxious characters meaning 'much pollution' came to be employed for designating the word eta. In the Muromachi period (1392-1603), loafers and vagabonds who, being unable to make their livelihood in their native places, drifted to great cities and earned their living by rendering miscellaneous services to the citizen, and who lived in huts built at such places as the dry bed of the Kamo-gawa and the slopes of Higashiyama in Kyoto--that is, on the outskirts of towns--were also called eta or hinin (literally 'non-human').

"Hunters and fishermen were also regarded as no better than eta, because they made lifetaking their pursuit. Nichiren, the famous Buddhist saint, called himself the son of an eta, because he was the son of a fisherman.

"Chiefs of eta, who were evolved in course of time, found their principal occupation in looking after the police affairs of the towns and villages to which they belonged, and they were in receipt of good pay for their services and had also various privileges conferred upon them, the leather business being one of them. But the generality of eta were day-labourers and, in some cases, wandering minstrels.

"Until the beginning of the Tokugawa period, eta and hinin were exchangeable terms, and there was no distinction between them, but as the people coming under the category of eta or hinin grew in number, hinin were divided from eta, the latter name being exclusively reserved for those who actually made it their business to guard against thieves in towns and villages, and who monopolized the leather business, their bodies being regarded as polluted because of their habit of handling leather and eating animal flesh, it being ruled that they and their descendants should always remain eta. During the same period, the oppression of the military gentry was such that the farming and trading population hardly showed any increase, whereas the number of eta increased at a rapid rate owing to the good incomes made and the easy life they led. The result was that living became more difficult with them as time went on, until they became the poor and congested communities, which they now are. Cooped up as they were in the limited areas, many of them tried to make their living outside their own communities by passing themselves off as ordinary people, but the outsiders would have nothing to do with them because of the pollution that contact with them was supposed to produce.

"The hinin, who went to swell the ranks of eta, were, proceeds Dr. Kita, social stragglers who for various reasons could not enjoy the privileges of full citizens. They probably included descendants of previous inhabitants who had not had an opportunity to participate in the benefit of Imperial Rule, and descendants of criminals who had slipped through the meshes of the law. But most of them were people who, unable to stand the maladministration of local governors in the Heian period, abandoned civil rights of their own accord and went out of the family registries in the guise of shave-pated priests. Referring to the existence of a large number of such people in the Engi period (901-923), Miyoshi Kiyotsura, a noted scholar in those days,

said that two-thirds of the whole population of this country were now shave-pated fellows, and also that they had wives and children at home and took flesh in their mouths, that they were like priests in shape but were eta (butchers) at heart. There is no doubt that some of these hinin (non-citizens) attached themselves as warriors to local chieftains, temples and shrines and stalked haughtily in society, but not a few of them wandered to big towns and became eta.

"The Doctor laughs at the absence of a clear idea of the origin of the eta even on the part of the educated classes, and even of these people who, like administrators, police officers and school teachers, are found to come in direct contact with them in the discharge of their official functions. They labour, he says, under totally mistaken ideas of the eta, such as that they are descendants of naturalized Koreans, or that they are descendants of prisoners of war. Their lack of understanding in this respect is reflected in the little real sympathy which even administrative officials and educationists have with the eta. For instance, when at a small gathering of officials and educationists recently held near Osaka, the question was asked by the Doctor whether they were prepared to eat and drink with eta in their homes, nearly half of them hesitated to answer in the affirmative. Certainly the majority of the eta are poor, but they are not worse off than the ordinary citizens living in slum quarters. But the eta whether rich or poor, are not easy to associate with and their manners and customs are somewhat different from those obtaining outside their own circles. All this is due to the pressure and isolation to which they have been condemned for many years. The fault does not lie with them, but rather with the outside public.

"According to the same authority, those who are known as hinin in the Tokugawa regime have practically merged with common people in the course of the half-century elapsing after the abolition of the name eta in 1871, when all eta-hinin became commoners. But the eta mostly remain in fact, shin-heimin (new commoners) being the name by which they were popularly called for a long time afterwards. But as this was no less objectionable than the word eta many words have been devised to call them by more agreeable names such as tokushu buraku (special communities), koshin buraku (junior or less advanced communities), saimin buraku (poor communities), misshu buraku (congested communities), but buraku-min, that is, members of (special) communities seems to be the name by which the eta are oftenest called, it is not known with what satisfaction to the eta themselves. The Doctor once questioned the authorities of the Home Office who are interested in the welfare of the special communities as to how they referred to the eta, and elicited the answer that they had no particular name to call them by, but that when it was absolutely necessary to refer to them they used the expression 'those people.' How inconvenient and awkward! exclaims the Doctor, but this is all the result of their having long been discriminated against.

"It is not discriminating terms, but discriminating facts and, more especially, discriminating sentiments, that matter most to the people affected. And it is exactly those discriminating sentiments that are most difficult for the Suiheisha people to fight against."

In short, in olden times the ETA lived in special areas commonly referred to as TOKUSHU BURAKU (special villages), married and had their being in their own special social class, and were segregated by a special legal status. This special legal status, was abolished in 1871 when the Emperor Meiji passed a law which placed the ETA in the ordinary HEIMIN (commoner) class with legal rights and opportunities equal to those of other commoners. For a time the outcasts were called SHIN HEIMIN (new commoners), but this term soon became as distasteful as "ETA", to the extent that it too was never used in

public. The ETA adopted the name SUIHEISHA (Water-Level Society) presumably in reference to their struggles for equality. Despite the change in their legal status the ETA continued to live a segregated existence, plying their hereditary trades and storing up social discontent. The social prejudice continued.

After the first World War "liberation" of the ETA became the basis for a social movement, the SUIHEI UNDO (Water-Level Movement), which was promoted and encouraged by broadminded individuals outside the pale*1 as well as by members of the outcast group. This SUIHEI UNDO was originated by the TSUBAME KAI (Swallow Society), which was organized in Nara Ken by SAKAMOTO Seiichiro and SAIKO Mankichi*2 in January, 1920, and which aimed to free the ETA class from the trammels of social ostracism by action within the group itself and without depending upon aid from governmental and public welfare organizations. By March, 1922, the movement had spread to such an extent that the nation-wide ZENKOKU SUIHEISHA (All-Japan Water-Level Society) could be formed on 3 March at an inaugural meeting attended by more than two thousand representatives from Hyogo, Kyoto, Mie, Nara, Okayama, Osaka, Shiga, Tokyo and Wakayama Prefectures. This became the strongest of all ETA organizations, lasting through the years until the present day.

In November, 1923, an extremist group in the ZENKOKU SUIHEISHA led by TAKAHASHI Sadaki, classed by the police as a communist, set up the ZENKOKU SUIHEISHA SEINEN DOMEI (All-Japan Water-Level Society Youth League). This society became the ZENKOKU SUIHEISHA MUSAN-SHA DOMEI (All-Japan Water-Level Society Proletarian League) in September, 1925, when its leadership fell into the hands of communist-minded leaders. It maneuvered close connections with the NIHON RODO KUMLAI HYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions Conference), the left-wing element which had seceded from the NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor) in May, 1925, and with the NIHON NOMIN KUMLAI (Japan Farmers' Union), which cast out its own right-wing in March, 1926. It gave its political support to the RODO NOMIN TO (Labor Farmer Party). In April, 1933, KITAHARA Taisaku, a member of the Standing Executive Committee of the ZENKOKU SUIHEISHA, joined the Japan Communist Party and attempts were made to set up communist "cells" in the "special villages".*3

To oppose the activities of the ZENKOKU SUIHEISHA SEINEN DOMEI and the leftists a reactionary group in the ZENKOKU SUIHEISHA inaugurated the ZENKOKU SUIHEISHA JIYU SEINEN RENMEI (All-Japan Water-Level Society Free Youth League), which proceeded to force TAKAHASHI Sadaki to withdraw from the SUIHEI UNDO on the grounds that he was not an ETA by birth. In 1927 the NIHON SUIHEISHA (Japan Water-Level Society) was organized in Kyoto by MINAMI Umokichi, who was rabidly anti-communist. Although this group lasted nominally until November,

*1 The ZENKOKU YUWA DOMEI RENMEI (All-Japan Conciliation League) and the DOI KAI (Brotherly Love Society) for improving the status of the ETA were formed by Count ARIMA Yoriyasu.

*2 SAIKO Mankichi has used the name SATO Santaro during certain periods of his life.

*3 Other communist members were MIYAMOTO Hideo of the ZENKOKU SUIHEISHA KYUSHU RENGU KAI (All-Japan Water-Level Society Kyushu League) and IWASA Juichi of the ZENKOKU SUIHEISHA HIROSHIMA KEN RENGU KAI (All-Japan Water-Level Society Hiroshima Ken League).

1942, it had few members and attained little influence. Although the general arrests of the late twenties and early thirties forced the leftist factions in the SUIHEISHA as well as the Communist movement, underground, the police records of 1935 reported that there was still a group of ETA, especially in Kyushu, which held that liberation could be attained only with proletarian help but which was prevented by its communist sympathizers from disbanding and joining agrarian and labor unions because the solidarity of the SUIHEISHA based on class prejudice could be put to good use. Hence the continuing opposition of the right wing.

The SUIHEISHA endeavored to take part in politics from the outset of their movement. In 1923 when the RODO NOMIN TO (Labor Farmer Party) was formed, the left wing of the Water-Levelers supported it. In 1926 the left-wingers set up the RONO TO SHIJI RENMEI (Labor-Farmer Party Supporters' League) to back the NIHON RONO TO (Japan Labor-Farmer Party), and many of its leaders were arrested on 15 March 1928 and 16 April 1929 with other left-wing politicians and laborites. Despite this left-wing activity the chief force of the SUIHEISHA aligned itself behind the SHAKAI TAISHU TO (Social Masses Party), on whose ticket two ETA were elected to the Diet in 1937. As with the country at large the Manchurian Incident and subsequent hostilities influenced many SUIHEISHA to the right, and in 1940 the YAMATO HOKOKU K.I (Yamato Serve-the-Country Society) was inaugurated with many SUIHEISHA leaders on its roster of officers even though the inherent discontent of the ETA made them by far and large more susceptible to left-wing socialism than to the extreme right.

Perhaps the most typical phobia of the ETA is its historic hatred of the TOKUGAWA family, based on recollection of the restrictions placed upon the class during the years of the TOKUGAWA Shogunate (1603-1868). Demands that TOKUGAWA lands and properties be transferred to the "oppressed villagers", that shrines dedicated to the TOKUGAWA family be burned, that members of the TOKUGAWA be purged from public life are almost certain proof of ETA origin. Other demands range from normal pleas for reform which might emanate from any socialist faction in the land to exorbitant crack-pot claims for special treatment of the ETA such as governmental aid to their special trades, abolition of discriminatory treatment, and reparations for traditional social injuries.

Whether discriminatory words and actions were intentional or unpremeditated, the SUIHEISHA tempest in the social teapot has always boiled. The ETA have always made it a point to take up each and every case with protest loud and long. The protests have taken different forms but have often been riotous enough to invite police interference. The trouble reached its climax in 1924 and 1925 when there were more than one thousand cases of SUIHEISHA disturbances on the police blotter. Later, as the movement became less riotous the ETA became satisfied with apologies from their defamers, but the unrest continued, as evidenced by figures from the books of the Welfare Ministry's Social Bureau:

Year	Number of Incidents	Settlements		Others
		Apology	Law Suits	
1933	741	556	16	179
1934	824	630	19	175
1935	715	515	28	172
1936	676	533	27	116
1937	486	397	12	77
1938	503	416	14	73

Bases for disputes were listed as "speech", "action", "literature", "treatment" and "others". A few typical disturbances will illustrate the type of commotion caused by the ETA:

In November, 1926, MATSUMOTO Jiichiro and SATO Santaro were sentenced to four months hard labor on a charge of threatening to assassinate Prince TOKUGAWA for refusing to resign his post as speaker of the House of Peers.

In June, 1927, members of the Fukuoka SUIHEISHA threatened to blow up the army barracks in that city in retaliation for discriminatory treatment in the army. MATSUMOTO Jiichiro was again involved and sentenced to three and one half years' imprisonment.

In 1931 when Kurashiki City in Okayama Ken planned to build a crematorium in a section of the town where there were twenty-four ETA homes, a hue and cry of discrimination was raised. A minority of the offended householders was prepared to compromise for a solatium of one thousand yen, whereupon the others attacked them with bamboo pikes and clubs. The riot was quelled by the police, and the incident was eventually settled by a present of one thousand yen from the city government, relief to the "victims" by remission of the fines which they could not pay, and a public lecture on abolition of discrimination against the ETA.

The best remembered SUIHEISHA incident of recent years was the Takamatsu Law Court case which began with the arrangement of a marriage. In making the match two ETA second-hand dealers of Kagawa Ken who acted as go-betweens failed to disclose the fact that the bridegroom was a SUIHEISHA. They were accused by Procurator SHIRAMIZU Katsuoki of participation in a marriage by abduction. This infuriated the whole SUIHEISHA population, and developed into a nationwide demonstration in 1933.

SUIHEISHA headquarters investigated the case, held a central committee meeting and passed a resolution demanding cancellation of the judgement against the match-makers, release of the two second-hand dealers and punishment of the judicial officers concerned. A meeting of representatives of prefectural branches was held on 28 August at Osaka, attended by one hundred thirty-three men from twenty-four prefectures with MATSUMOTO Jiichiro as chairman. Regional committees were formed to agitate throughout the country. Mass meetings and street parades were held everywhere. Plans were formulated for a procession of four hundred men to march on foot from Fukuoka to Tokyo to present protests to the Minister of Justice and the Procurator General, but the police persuaded the promoters to go by train and the number of the marchers eventually was diminished to forty. The SUIHEISHA as a whole adopted a policy of passive resistance by resorting to non-payment of taxes, truancy from schools, evasion of conscription into the armed forces and neglect of other public duties. In the course of the agitation many violent intramural quarrels took place, which in one case resulted in murder. The police had a thoroughly bad time of it because intervention was interpreted as a form of discriminatory suppression and served to fan the flames of indignation. Even after Procurator SHIRAMIZU, the little acorn from which the oak tree grew, had been transferred from Takamatsu, the malcontents were not satisfied. Members of the SUIHEISHA central committee such as MATSUMOTO Jiichiro, IMOTO Rinshi, FUJIWARA Gontaro and YAMAMOTO Bonji followed him to his new post at Fukuchiyama, Kyoto Fu, with demands that he resign. It was a long time before governmental disregard of the demonstrations convinced the ETA that they might as well consign the incident to

limbo*1.

In 1934 Lieutenant General SATO Kiyokatsu wrote an open letter to the YOROZU CHOHO newspaper criticizing the attitude of former Railway Minister OGAWA Heikichi in the famous Railway Scandal as "worse than that of the ETA". Again the entire SUIHEISHA was in an uproar. When General SATO apologized, the ETA demanded that an apology be printed in the YOROZU CHOHO, that an explanation of the incident be inserted in the SENYU (Army Friend) organ of the Reservists' Association, and that General SATO give suitable instructions to the Army regarding treatment of the SUIHEISHA. HASEGAWA Zenji, the president of the YOROZU CHOHO, printed the apology and offered the management of the paper to SUIHEISHA for a period of one month free of charge for propaganda purposes. The offer was refused; the furor died down; but this was the forerunner of many small SUIHEISHA incidents in the Army*2. Agitation died down only when the ETA dissolved their organization at the beginning of the war.

Although the SUIHEISHA dissolved their formal organization in January, 1942, they reorganized after the war and are hence a present-day problem.

Latest figures on ETA population compiled by the Welfare Ministry are as of 1 July 1946:

Prefecture	No. of Cities and Towns Having Communities	No. of Communities	No. of Households	No. of Individuals
Aichi	18	22	2,196	10,081
Chiba	26	32	697	3,762
Ehime	238	463	16,039	81,332
Fukui	6	6	559	2,892
Fukuoka	180	542	17,071	75,826
Gifu	10	11	887	4,474
Gunma	68	148	4,016	23,177
Hiroshima	249	426	8,232	38,434
Hyogo	222	341	24,043	128,963
Ibaragi	41	41	1,131	7,246
Ishikawa	11	16	517	2,311
Kagawa	43	45	1,698	8,545
Kagoshima	43	54	1,908	9,934
Kochi	55	69	7,206	37,709
Kumamoto	13	21	1,543	8,348
Kyoto	93	155	11,499	55,654
Mie	86	167	8,604	42,197
Nagano	215	331	4,296	22,221
Nagasaki	13	15	205	1,065

*1 The ill-mated bride and groom had long since been lost from sight in the shuffle.

*2 During a physical examination a soldier in the Kurume regiment held out four fingers, the insulting four-footed animal sign of the SUIHEISHA, and remarked to a fellow-recruit "You have flat feet like these people". The object of his keen observation, who happened to be one of those people, reported the remark to SUIHEISHA headquarters. Again the fat was in the fire.

Prefecture	No. of Cities and Towns Having Communities	No. of Communities	No. of Households	No. of Individuals
Nara	49	77	7,399	37,444
Niigata	30	33	991	5,783
Oita	44	62	1,964	10,197
Okayama	241	332	11,294	52,650
Osaka	44	58	12,649	61,583
Saga	19	20	454	2,366
Saitama	128	263	5,402	32,875
Shiga	53	68	8,537	36,605
Shimane	91	136	1,660	7,896
Shizuoka	44	47	3,130	18,478
Tochigi	47	73	2,805	17,491
Tokushima	58	68	7,619	38,094
Tokyo	21	21	1,225	6,240
Tottori	66	98	4,685	25,250
Toyama	120	228	1,434	7,052
Wakayama	55	76	11,578	50,520
Yamaguchi	59	86	3,573	16,597
Yamanashi	18	36	449	2,451
Total	2,840	4,709	200,233	1,000,087

A survey published by the Welfare Ministry in March, 1946, showed distribution of ETA families by industries:

Prefecture	Farming	Manufacturing	Commerce	Fishing	Others	Total
Aichi	549	961	316	13	893	2,732
Akita	0	16	0	0	0	16
Chiba	300	13	129	26	91	559
Ehime	7,270	17	840	841	815	9,783
Fukui	466	18	0	0	75	559
Fukuoka	13,917	509	212	0	1,136	15,774
Fukushima	1	23	133	0	16	173
Gifu	225	11	496	0	178	910
Gunma	4,782	170	172	3	129	5,256
Hiroshima	4,510	891	1,921	1,443	257	9,022
Hyogo	17,046	1,229	140	0	5,628	24,043
Ibaragi	846	28	1	1	1	877
Ishikawa	80	18	2	22	441	565
Kagawa	390	38	510	60	695	1,701
Kagoshima	1,795	17	22	74	0	1,908
Kanagawa	533	49	153	0	198	933
Kochi	3,442	594	0	2,885	285	7,206
Kumamoto	2,150	111	429	0	0	2,690
Kyoto	4,088	0	20	0	5,875	9,893
Mie	6,179	698	130	0	1,296	8,303
Miyazaki	92	8	86	0	25	211
Nagano	3,956	0	0	0	0	3,956
Nagasaki	387	0	0	0	0	3,956
Nara	5,218	0	0	0	1,261	1,648
Niigata	338	0	1,745	0	427	7,399
Oita	1,447	47	0	0	402	787
Okayama	9,456	44	279	0	0	1,770
Osaka	2,986	40	43	3	230	9,772
Saga	85	7,644	1,496	0	9,439	19,565
Saitama	4,902	235	78	0	56	454
		453	1	0	46	5,402

<u>Prefecture</u>	<u>Farming</u>	<u>Manufacturing</u>	<u>Commerce</u>	<u>Fishing</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Shiga	3,560	0	101	27	2,174	5,862
Shimane	698	274	382	141	232	1,727
Shizuoka	973	1,378	21	80	203	2,655
Tochigi	2,526	0	55	0	0	2,581
Tokushima	3,030	110	423	21	1,342	4,926
Tokyo	274	1,104	0	0	0	1,378
Tottori	3,216	6	5	0	608	5,835
Toyama	664	226	178	13	520	1,601
Wakayama	7,483	1,818	0	0	414	9,685
Yamagata	7	94	0	0	156	257
Yamaguchi	3,425	90	460	88	411	4,484
Yamanashi	245	96	0	0	0	341
Total						192,197

These statistics are obviously incomplete because there are certainly SUIHEISHA families in unlisted prefectures like Miyagi and the Hokkaido. Figures for certain prefectures are unavailable; figures for others are incomplete because of the post-war confusion; and certainly many ETA families have crossed the social boundary and have been absorbed in the common citizenry. MATSUMOTO Jiichiro and TAHARA Haruji estimate present ZENKOKU SUIHEISHA membership at three million. TAHARA believes the total ETA population of Japan to be about five million.

Although the status of this minority is a social rather than a legislative problem because the legal stigma was removed by the 1871 law, and although improvement of the status of the ETA must in the last analysis come through social education---of the class itself in cleanliness, self-respect and personal ambition and of other classes in toleration and cooperation, the SUIHEISHA have always considered their problem a political one. Maladjustment of the ETA society at large has always nurtured their inferiority complex and has made them peculiarly amenable to persuasion on the part of their own malcontent leaders as well as on the part of other discontented groups. The importance of the solidarity of this minority in politics was to be clearly indicated by the election of MATSUMOTO Jiichiro to the new SINGIIN (House of Councillors) of the Diet in April, 1947, with the third largest vote in the country.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PRE-WAR DECADE

1932-1941

While the labor and agrarian groups were undergoing their series of divisions, upheavals and readjustments throughout the troublous thirties, the nationalists proceeded to utilize the military activity on the continent to their advantage in fanning the flames of popular patriotism. Yet the Manchurian Incident, - and later the China Incident, - while the most obvious factor in promoting nationalism, could not be called the only phenomenon which advanced the nationalist cause. More basic was the reaction to the left-wing activity of the twenties, as attested by the platforms of the many rightist societies and associations dating back well beyond the outbreak of hostilities and by the statements of the extremist participants in the various violent incidents such as the Blood Brotherhood Incident, the 5:15 Incident, the Gods' Troop Incident and the 2:26 Incident. Nearer to the heart of the nation were the economic depression and the distressed condition of the agricultural villages. For the deplorable state of the nation the nationalists blamed the mal-administration and corruption of government officials and the political parties, citing as proof the so-called GIGOKU JIKEN (Scandal Incidents), of 1929 such as the Decorations Scandal which involved Decorations Board Chief AMAOKA Naoyoshi, the Railway Scandal which involved Railway Minister OGAWA Heikichi and Education Minister KOBASHI Ichita, and the Korean Government Scandal which involved Governor General YAMANASHI Hanzo.

The nationalist and national-socialist societies organized at this time, such as the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO (Great Japan Production Party), the JIMMU KAI (Jimmu Society) and the KODO KAI (Imperial Way Society), adopted platforms which incorporated socialist reform programs blatantly opposed to capitalistic economy. They pledged themselves to the overthrow of the old political parties. In fact the only basic difference between the left-wing and nationalist programs was the latter's adherence to imperialistic expansion and its noisy "Revere the Emperor" slogan. Thus the nationalist parties, like the socialist groups, were designed to extend a popular appeal to the malcontent lower classes.

From 1931 and 1932 the nationalist and national-socialist groups took a definite stand in politics by organizing definitely political groups such as:

DAI NIHON SEISAN TO (Great Japan Production Party), June, 1931
 NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI TO (Japan National Socialist Party), May, 1932
 SHIN NIHON KOKUMIN DOMEI (New Japan People's League), May, 1932
 SHIN NIHON KENSETSU DOMEI (New Japan Construction League), August, 1932
 KODO KAI (Imperial Way Society), April, 1933
 KOKUMIN KYOKAI (People's Association), August, 1933

Behind this political front were the countless ideological societies, of every degree of importance and rabidity from petty pedagogical cults to murderous bands of conspirators who shot to kill, but all programmes were ostensibly carried out in the name of the Emperor. Despite the petty jealousies and differences which caused rifts, adjustments and amalgamations, the overall movement had the ideological backing of the Army, and various groups in the military were openly involved in the various arguments, abortive coups-d'etat and political assassinations from the March Incident of 1931 through the impeachment of Professor MINOBE Tatsukichi in 1935 to the February Incident of 1936. What has been frequently overlooked is the fact that the nationalist advance acquired increasing popular support for the simple reason that it promised utopian social reforms.

The overall activity of the nationalists was typified in an

exaggerated form in the history of the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO (Great Japan Production Party), whose long life and whose dual role in politics and extremism involved it in every phase of the movement. Formed in June, 1931 by UCHIDA Ryohei and other members of his KOKURYU KAI (Amur River Society), this party adopted a platform which stated clearly and concisely all of the basic principles of political and social nationalism:

"Political:-

- "1. Annihilation of all politicians who do not recognize the importance of the national constitution.
- "2. Destruction of capitalistic industrial monopoly.
- "3. Abolition of the MINSEITO and SEIYUKAI as parasites of plutocracy.
- "4. Encouragement of political activities which will lead the people to prosperity.
- "5. Maintenance of a positive foreign policy in accordance with DAI NIHON SHUGI (Great Japanism).
- "6. Encouragement of Manchurian and Mongolian independence.
- "7. Aid in developing China.
- "8. Expulsion of the aggressive white powers from the Far East, and establishment of a new order in Asia.
- "9. Reinforcement of the national defense.

"Economic:-

- "1. Fundamental reform of the nation's capitalistic economy.
- "2. National monopoly of production.
- "3. National monopoly of finance.
- "4. National monopoly of industry.
- "5. Improvement of living conditions of the laboring classes.
- "6. Security of employment, farm lands and housing.
- "7. Abolition of taxes on common necessities.
- "8. Reduction of levies on the proletariat.
- "9. Guaranty of gas, heat and water supply."

Within a few months eighteen Kanto Societies had joined the party, thus making it one of the strongest rightist organizations in the country. Branches were formed everywhere and soon achieved wide notoriety for their anti-liberal activities.

As early as November, 1931, a clash occurred in Tochigi Ken between the local branches of the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO and of the ZENKOKU HONO TAIJISHU TO (All-Japan Labor-Farmer Masses Party) when the former demanded that the latter drop its slogan "Opposition to Imperialistic War." This clash between the right and the left resulted in the death of four DAI NIHON SEISAN TO members and in the severe injury of ten more.

In May, 1932, the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO emphasized its interest in the Manchurian question by dispatching TSUKUI Tatsuo and DOMAE Mago-saburo to the scene to "console" the occupation troops. When ISHIBASHI Chokichiro was appointed to cover the annual military maneuvers for the Osaka MAINICHI, the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO accused him of communism, charged the paper with lese majeste and demanded that all press coverage of the maneuvers be prohibited. The publication of a written apology by the MAINICHI was tantamount to an open acknowledgment of the growing power of the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO. Again, in June, 1932, the party joined forces with the JIMMU KAI (Jimmu Society), the KINNO ISHIN DOMEI (Loyalist Restoration Alliance) and the NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI TO (Japan National Socialist Party) in a coalition called the KOKUMIN DOKAI RENGO KYOGI KAI (Associated Council for the Solution of the National Crisis). This council demanded immediate recognition of Manchukuo, improvement of living conditions of the masses and reform of the cabinet. In July the council

held a joint meeting with the KOKUYU KAI (Amur River Society) to reiterate the demand for recognition of Manchurian independence, and in August the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO protested the appointment of Vice-Admiral NOMURA Kichisaburo as Special Envoy to the United States, on the pretext that the appointment in view of existing relations between the two countries belittled the Japanese national dignity. And in the summer of 1932 the party became embroiled in a general strike of employees of the Tokyo Bay Steamship Company in which the company came away the loser.

In 1933 the involvement of SUZUKI Zenichi, head of the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO Youth Corps, and other members of the party in the SHIMBEITAI JIKEN (Gods' Troops Incident) caused the disbanding of the youth corps. The DAI NIHON SEISAN TO led a comparatively quiet existence until the culprits were released in March, 1935, in time to lead the society in the nationalist protest against MINOBE Tatsukichi's "Organic Theory of the Emperor."

In 1936 YOSHIDA Masuzo, managing director of the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO, brought the party's activities again to a boil by offering to cooperate closely with the conspirators of the 2:26 Incident in order to strengthen the relationship with the AIKOKU RODO NOMIN DOSHI KAI (Patriotic Labor-Farmer Comrades Society). At this point UCHIDA Ryohei became an advisor of the labor-farmer league while KOBAYASHI Junichiro in return became an advisor of the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO. KAGEYAMA Masaharu and other young members of the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO were particularly aggressive in the 2:26 Incident. When friction developed between YOSHIDA Masuzo and these younger members, some of the youngsters withdrew from the party. The death of UCHIDA Ryohei and YOSHIDA's succession to the presidency in the early summer did not serve to lessen these internal difficulties.

On 27 February 1937 when OZAKI Yukio made his famous speech in the Diet in opposition to the militaristic policy of the Japanese government, the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO declared that his speech branded Japan as an aggressor nation and demanded OZAKI's immediate resignation from parliament. Upon publication of OZAKI's article "Politicians and Assassins" in the magazine Yuben, the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO again demanded his head.

At a general meeting in March, 1938, the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO passed the following resolutions:

- "1. Clarification of the national constitution is in accordance with national mobilization. We demand an immediate change in the government's attitude toward this clarification, and the arrest of all adherents to the 'Organic Theory of the Emperor'.
- "2. The MINSEITO, SEIYUKAI and SHAKAI TAISHU TO must be immediately dissolved. The baneful influence of the MINSEITO and the SEIYUKAI can no longer be tolerated, since their leaders are obviously believers in the 'Organic Theory'. Leaders of the SHAKAI TAISHU TO should be similarly punished.
- "3. We demand educational reforms. Farmers' children are flocking to the universities where they are being perverted by city-educated people, who are mainly adherents to the 'Organic Theory'. We therefore demand dismissal of all liberal professors from the universities and a return to the true principles of the national constitution.
- "4. We demand a reform of the governmental bureaucracy.

- "5. We demand passage of the National Mobilization Act, and give whole-hearted support to this bill which is now being deliberated in the Diet. The political parties and the capitalists prove their guilt by opposing this act, the only means of reinforcing our national defense.
- "6. We demand a reorganization of the national finances by means of a moratorium or other effective procedure.
- "7. We demand a change in foreign policy. It has always been said that Japan wins in war and loses in diplomacy. It is most important to adopt a positive attitude toward Britain and Russia, and to watch carefully the policy of Foreign Minister HIROTA, who is a liberal and an internationalist."

In August, 1939, when Germany and Russia signed their neutrality pact and HIRANUMA Kiichiro resigned as Japanese Premier, CHIBA Tomojiro and two other DAI NIHON SEISAN TO members called on General ABE Nobuyuki and delivered the following resolutions:

- "1. Establishment of the Showa Restoration must be expedited.
- "2. The Cabinet must assume responsibility for all political policies.
- "3. Japan must stand firm against Britain and Russia."

After the outbreak of the war in Europe in September, the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO again sent a petition to the Cabinet, demanding that Japan remain aloof from the conflict and that it devote all effort to solving the China Incident by ignoring the existence of the CHIANG government. In October the party leaders called a meeting to rebuke a "pro-Russian attitude" among certain members. In October the society's anti-foreign stand was again illustrated when some of its members broke up a party held by British Ambassador Craigie at the Osaka Hotel to which had been invited prominent industrial and financial leaders of the Kansai district.

In 1940 Chief Secretary KAGEYAMA Masaharu, always an immature hothead, and several other party members were involved in the July 5 plot to kill Premier YONAI Mitsumasa and former Imperial Household Minister YUNSA Kurahei. President YOSHIDA immediately called a meeting at which he rebuked the culprits for their lawlessness and acknowledged the party's responsibility for the actions of its members. To avoid a recurrence of direct action, he demanded political, economic and educational reforms and a purge of political parties.

Although the generally obnoxious activity of the extreme nationalists was detested by many, no open protest could be made because these nationalists justified their deeds by calling upon the name of the Emperor. However, the opposition was clearly evident in the results of the general elections of 1936 and 1937. Although a majority of the extreme rightists denied the parliamentary form of government and advocated non-participation in elections, some of the extreme-right parties aspired to promulgate their programs through control of the Diet. This latter group, which included such societies as the TANKO KAI (Limpid Friendship Society) of ETO Genkuro, the KOKUMIN KYOKAI (People's Association) of AKAMATSU Katsumaro and TSUKUI Tatsuo, the AIKOKU SEIJI DOMEI (Patriotic Political League) of KOIKE Shiro and the DAI NIHON SEINEN TO (Great Japan Youth Party) of SUYAMA Tokutaro, banded together in February, 1937, to form the NIHON SHUGI SEIJI KAKUSHIN KYOGI KAI (Japanism Political Reform Council) in the hope that their united strength might win them at least an audible minority in the Diet.

Of the twenty-five candidates proposed by this union only five*1 were elected. The less extreme TOHO KAI (Eastern Society) nominated nineteen candidates of whom only eleven were elected. Other candidates submitted independently by societies which the police classed as nationalist were unsuccessful almost to a man. On the other hand the SHAKAI T. ISHU TO (Social Masses Party), classed by the police as the other extreme, succeeded in seating thirty-six of its sixty-six candidates, an increase of eighteen seats over the election of the previous year.

Meanwhile the RONNO HA (Labor-Farmer Group) leaders, the left-wing elements of the proletarian camp and the liberal intelligentsia who were not communists or communists sympathizers but who dared openly to criticize the rightists, had been left unmolested. However, in March, 1936, several of the left-wing labor and farmers' unions established the RONNO MUSAN KYOGI KAI (Labor-Farmer Proletarian Congress) headed by K. TO Kanju, which set up a platform diametrically and blatantly opposed to the political and expansionist trends of nationalism:

1. Oppose fascism and defend parliamentary politics.
2. Support a fundamental reform of election laws, severe punishment of corruption, and extension of the suffrage.
3. Reform or abolish the House of Peers.
4. Outlaw political bargaining between the government and the bourgeois parties.
5. Prevent inflation and stabilize the livelihood of the people.
6. Reduce the enormous military expenditure.
7. Promulgate fundamental tax reforms including special taxes on munitions industries.
8. Enact a law to limit dividends.
9. Improve the banking system for small trade and industry.
10. Establish a simple banking system for the farmers.
11. Support enactment of a labor union law and a tenancy law.
12. Support enactment of a law to protect shop employes and apprentices.
13. Establish a law to provide governmental defrayment of medical expenses.
14. Reform or abolish the national pension system.
15. Provide special relief for the poor in agricultural and fishing villages.
16. Support postponement of the payment of debts on the part of agricultural villages.

On 20 March 1937 this group became the NIHON MUSAN TO (Japan Proletarian Party), which in due course protested the outbreak of the China Incident along with its demands for social and political reforms. In the face of the China affair such outspoken non-cooperation with national policy could no longer be countenanced even on the part of the mild RONNO HA. And so on 15 December 1937 occurred the nation-wide roundup of some four hundred individuals believed to be connected with the RONNO HA, including the leaders of the NIHON MUSAN TO and numbers of liberal professors in the schools and universities.

The Japan Weekly Chronicle of 30 December 1937 quoted the "official statement" concerning the mass arrests as follows:

"The so-called Labor and Farmers' Party (the RONNO TO of 1929-1931)*2, a communist group, was controlled by such men as Kin (Hitoshi)

*1 The five men elected from the NIHON SHUGI SEIJI KAKUSHIN KYOGI KAI were K. M. TSU Katsumaro, ETO Genkuro, KOIKE Shiro, N. K. H. R. Kinji and Y. M. Z. M. Tsunekichi.

*2 Parenthetical translations, dates and alternate readings of names have been inserted for clarification.

YAMAKAWA, Kanson (Katsuzo) ARAHATA and Seido TAKATSU, who were the organizers of the first Communist Party in this country. Later, however, such men as Kanju KATO, Gitaro (Yoshitaro) OMORI, Toshio KURODA and Itsuro SAKISAKA joined the Party. All these men belonged to a unit within the Japan Communist Party, but inasmuch as their methods were apparently lawful and quiet, compared with those of the orthodox party, the authorities had hitherto been obliged to restrict themselves to the arrest of the orthodox Communist Party. However, since the Comintern headquarters began to take positive steps towards the realization of a world revolution following the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern in the summer three years ago (1935), the activities of the Labor and Farmers' Party, whose principles are akin to those of the Comintern, rapidly gained in strength. Shortly after the Seventh Congress, the Proletarian Council of the Labor and Farmers' Party (RONO MUSAN KYOGI KAI) attempted to form a united front against fascism by amalgamating with the SHAKAI TAISHU TO, the Labor Party. Since the SHAKAI TAISHU TO declined to join in, the Labor and Farmers' Party organized the above mentioned Proletarian Council of the Labor and Farmers' Party, which name was altered in April this year to the Japan Proletarian Party (NIHON MUSAN TO)."

"Since the outbreak of the China Affair in July this year, the (Japan Proletarian) Party, using methods similar to those used by the Comintern, did its best to propagate 'anti-war thoughts' in this country, apparently in the hope of expanding the so-called 'people's front movement' when the hostilities in China drew to a close by laying stress on political, economic, and social issues despite the fact that Japan is now faced with a grave national crisis.

"At a time when the whole nation should unite in overcoming the hardships and difficulties of the prevailing national crisis, the existence and activity of such organizations (as the National Council of the Japan Labor Union and the Japan Proletarian Party) will have a serious bearing both on the domestic and international situations, especially as their object is to alter the national constitution and to abolish private ownership. This is why the authorities effected the large-scale round-up and put a stop to the further expansion of these parties. The authorities declare that since the Comintern established the so-called 'peoples front' against fascism and started a 'within-the-law movement'. Communist agents insinuated themselves into various social and democratic associations or liberal organizations, with the intention of utilizing them for the propagation of communistic ideas. Under the circumstances, the authorities fear that there is a great danger of these organizations being turned into nurseries for the production of radicals such as those who have been arrested."

The implication of this statement, which ushers the RONO HA group straight from the first Communist Party of 1922 into the NIHON MUSAN TO without regard for the ideological changes of the intervening years, is clear that the men arrested were and always would be communists. Out of fairness to the RONO HA people as a whole and to such men as KATO Kanju and SUZUKI Masaburo, who are prominent in post-war socialist politics, however, it must be emphasized that the implication was not a direct accusation, but an indirect drawing of an analogy between certain policies of the Communist Party and of the NIHON MUSAN TO, principally their opposition to war. It must be emphasized that evidence indicates that the RONO HA made a clean and irreparable break with the

communists in 1925, and that such men as KATO and SUZUKI have never been called communists in the official records. Nevertheless the mass arrests of 1937 and 1938 obliterated the left wing of Japanese socialism so completely that it could not revive until after the war. Not only was the NIHON MUSEN TO disbanded, but a group which had seceded about that time from the SHAKAI TAISHU TO was forbidden to organize a new political party for fear of leftist leanings.

On 2 February 1940 SAITO Takao, MINSEITO Member of the Diet, posed his famous question concerning the government's responsibility to bring the China Incident to an end. "The government has made all manner of abstract statements as to its policy," he said, "but the nation remains in the dark as to its definite plans. The People are anxious to know how long the Incident will last and what will be the outcome. I wish to ask how far the governmental policy goes and what the import of the Incident will be. The affair was caused by lack of understanding of China on the part of Japan and by lack of understanding of Japan on the part of China. Japan as well as China is at fault in allowing the affair to continue so long. The sacrifices of the Japanese people are incomparably greater than those made in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars. If the burden on the nation is forgotten, the Incident will never be concluded. I wish to know what is going to happen.

"My second question has to do with the meaning of the 'establishment of a new order in East Asia', of which so much is heard nowadays. According to the KONOYE and WANG statements, this 'new order' means friendly relations, a united-front against communism, and economic cooperation. Does the government as a whole mean these things by the term? Why is it necessary to create a special committee to investigate the fundamental principles and the spiritual meaning of this 'new order'? The remainder of the speech was erased from the shorthand record by a decision of the MINSEITO leaders.

SAITO's speech threw the Diet into an uproar. A resolution was proposed for his expulsion from parliament. The SHAKAI TAISHU TO decided at a party meeting to support the resolution. Thereupon the former SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party) group of the SHAKAI TAISHU TO opposed the decision and absented itself from the Diet session at which the resolution was passed. These men were in turn struck from the roster of the SHAKAI TAISHU TO. When these dissenters endeavored to establish a new political party, the Home Ministry refused permission on the grounds that they held to the principles of social democracy in opposition to the SHAKAI TAISHU TO, which, the Home Ministry declared, had demonstrated its amenability to national socialism--by an abortive attempt to amalgamate with the TOHO KAI (Eastern Society) six years earlier in 1934. Such democracy could not be allowed under existing conditions.

It was obvious even before SAITO's tirade and the excommunication of his supporters that the nationalists were getting entirely out of control and that separatist party politics could not resist the onslaught. Hence Prince KONOYE's timely proposal of a SHINTAISEI (New Structure) single party met little or no opposition, and was indeed welcomed by many non-nationalist elements in the nation, who hoped that the Prince could draw the bickering liberal groups together in a common front. KONOYE stated among other things that no good could be expected if his "New Structure" were to truckle to the Army in everything.

In an article entitled "The New National Structure" printed in the October issue of "Contemporary Japan", OZAKI Hozumi, newspaperman, sologogue, advisor to KONOYE and the drafter of the original plan, who was

subversively a communist of the Comintern variety, gave his opinion of the new deal as follows:-

"In the formation of the present KONOYE Cabinet there was practically nothing to show that sufficient consideration had been given to the establishment of a new political structure, but within one month the people saw the appointment of twenty-eight members to the preparatory committee for the creation of a new structure, along with the appointment of eight standing secretaries. Its first meeting was held on August 28. At this meeting Prince KONOYE outlined his conception of the new structure, stressing that it was to be in conformity with the national polity of Japan. In brief, his principle points may be enumerated as follows:

- "1. The basis of the proposed new national structure is the reorganization of the people with the object of the whole nation assisting the Throne in the conduct of State affairs.
- "2. There must be both a vertical and horizontal unification of economy and culture on a nation-wide scale.
- "3. There must be provision for the people to participate in the establishment of national policies.
- "4. The movement for the proposed national reorganization cannot be a so-called political movement, and it must, therefore, not attempt to find expression in a single party for the nation.
- "5. The proposed national organization must be of a permanent nature.

"In this address the Premier outlined the duties of the preparatory committee. First, it must draft plans for a general structure for the new political organization; second, organize a nerve centre for the national movement; and finally reconcile the new national organization with the existing parties and the present form of government."

"There are a number of points which have not been made clear in the proposed reorganization. For instance, while it has been emphasized that the Peoples' Co-operative Council for accelerating the creation of the proposed new national structure is not a political party, the exact relationship between the Central Headquarters, or the so-called nerve centre, and the Peoples' Co-operative Council is not clearly defined. As a matter of fact, some of the members of the preparatory committee pointed to the uselessness of the Peoples' Co-operative Council, while others were of the opinion that the Central Headquarters do not seem to have a very solid appearance. Furthermore, in what relation the new national structure as a whole stands with the high military command is another serious question left unanswered. In this connection, the Army has clarified its position of not participating in the Central Headquarters.

"With Japan facing a great turning point in world history, Japanese political leaders have sought to accomplish an important structural reorganization of the national life, a vital necessity for the construction of the new order in East Asia as a step toward the creation of a new world order. But to realize this proposed new national structure, the people, who have hitherto been left outside the domain of politics, must now be included within the new framework, and at the same time it is obvious that the Central Headquarters, or the guiding machinery must be a powerful organization. Even though it should not be a political

party in the sense it has been interpreted in the past, it would necessarily have to be tinged with a political colour. At first sight, the new organization as it is emerging today has the appearance of being a loosely arranged household, and the only way to give it the necessary strength is to translate courageously into action those policies that are considered to be relevant to the actual life of the people with their earnest and enthusiastic support. And only those who are competent and enthusiastic enough to carry out what they consider to be right should remain in the nerve centre to accomplish the desired end."

ISHIKAWA Tatsuzo, the novelist, commented, "The country is weary of the old political parties. In the new organization everyone must start from scratch. There should be no MACHIDA, no KUHARA, no NAKAJIMA*1. Even Prince KONOYE must not be allowed to act for the sake of his own face and his own personal interest. I expect more from ARIMA Yoriyasu because of his rebellious character."

KATO Kanju expressed the half-hearted support of the deactivated left-wing of socialism when he stated that he was unable to predict whether the "new structure" would form a strong enough party to lead the nation in the struggle of the latter half of the twentieth century which seemed to be headed for totalitarian controls. He continued that what was needed was an honest new political structure fitted to give the nation a desire to live.

However, the proposed "new party" drew sporadic fire. FUJIMORI Seikichi, the left-wing novelist, declared, "If it were only possible to form a new party based on the life and culture of the people and unafraid of any power! But we have been deceived too many times and have become too sceptical and indifferent." IWABUCHI Tatsuo, journalist and friend of Prince KONOYE, declared, "The most important implication of the new structure is that point in KONOYE's talk in which he said that it is useless if the Army's pleasure is blindly followed in everything."

Indeed it was useless, for even at this point, in August, 1940, before the "new structure" had crystallized into the TAISEI YOKUSAN KAI (Imperial Rule Assistance Association) there were strong signs that the nationalists were planning to take over the active management of the organization. Even at this early date TOURA Shoji of the TEIKOKU NOKAI (Imperial Agricultural Association) cried, "The propelling power behind the present political situation is the Army. Hence the Army must take up its responsibility. This is inevitable. Therefore I consider that any new political party can come off only second best." And HASHIMOTO Kingoro pointed up the issue in abstract terms, "The new party must not be a mere combination of the old bureaucrats and the Army. It must be prepared immediately to carry out the SHOWA Revolution."

After the dissolution of the political parties and the establishment of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association in October, 1940, the nationalists organized their attack on the liberal elements in the society. A group of societies such as the AIKOKU SHI (Love-Country Society), the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO (Great Japan Production Party), the KENKOKU KAI (National Construction Society), the KOKURYU KAI (Amur River Society), the MEIRIN KAI (Enlightened Way Society) and the NIHON SHUGI SEINEN KAIGI (Japan Doctrine Youth Council), which called themselves the KOKUTAI MEICHO HA (Constitutional Clarification Group), proceeded to spearhead the assault by the criticism that many officers of Imperial Rule Assistance Association had participated in socialist movements, and

*1 MACHIDA Chuji was president of the MINSEITO. KUHARA Fusanosuke and NAKAJIMA Chikane were the bickering rivals for leadership of the SEIYUKAI.

by charges that the association's policy was based on socialism, or even communism. The basis of this criticism was easy to understand because the original group which KONOYE appointed to plan the IRMA in August, 1940, included such men as ARIMA Yoriyasu, GOTO Ryunosuke, MATSUMOTO Shigeharu, OZAKI Hozumi and YABE Teiji, all old friends of the Premier and all considered anything but pro-military. ARIMA Yoriyasu and GOTO Ryunosuke proceeded to consolidate their positions in the IRMA by becoming secretary-general and chief of the organization bureau of the "new structure." ARIMA had long been prominent in social welfare work as president of the NIHON SANGYO KUMUMI (Japan Production Cooperative Union), which had been greatly influenced by democratic ideals after the first World War. GOTO had founded the SHOWA KENKYU KAI (Showa Research Society), which in turn had had a predominant influence in the founding of the NIKON KYODO TAI KENSETSU DOMEI (Agricultural Village Cooperative Structure Construction League) by ARIMA and the NIHON SANGYO KUMUMI in the autumn of 1940. The police had taken a pale view of the SHOWA KENKYU KAI from the beginning. OZAKI and YABE were leading lights in the SHOWA KENKYU KAI.

The arrest of twenty-four regional leaders of the NIHON SANGYO KUMUMI in December, 1940, on suspicion of left-wing activity put teeth into the nationalist criticism of ARIMA and his group. On 11 January, 1941 two hundred fifty nationalists headed by IWATA Kinoshige, AKAGAMI Ryojo, TERADA Inejiro and TAMBE Munehide, all definitely excluded from IRMA activity, held a mass meeting and passed a resolution to eject ARIMA, GOTO and their clique from the association. They proceeded to organize a committee of seven men, who called upon the Home Minister, the Justice Minister, the War Minister and the Navy Minister with a demand that strong measures be taken to sweep the IRMA household clean.

By this time certain constitutionalist elements in the Diet had become dissatisfied with the increasing interference of the IRMA in parliamentary affairs. At the opening of the Diet in February, 1941, the subject of the "new structure" became the center of a heated debate led by KAWASAKI Katsu, MINSEITO member of the House of Representatives, who declared:

- "1. The Diet is the only organization with constitutional authority to assist the Imperial Rule.
- "2. If the Diet is found inadequate in the performance of its duties, it should be dissolved, and an adequate successor should be elected.
- "3. The functions of the IRMA can and should be performed by the Diet."

unintentionally these constitutionalists by raising these futile objections to the IRMA as a whole, were playing directly into the hands of the nationalists, who took the opportunity to oust the prominently liberal elements from positions of authority in the organization at the end of March, 1941.

Thus, in the final months before the outbreak of the Pacific War the country was outwardly politically united in one party behind the government. The nationalist juggernaut could advance unhindered toward the suicidal attack.

Chapter IX

THE FOUR FREEDOMS

1945 -

During the war years, after the dissolution of the SHAKAI TAISHU TO (Social Masses Party) and after the "voluntary" dissolution of the NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor) in July, 1940, there were no more proletarian politics, and there were no more labor unions. Politically, the country was, to all intents and purposes, dedicated to the high-sounding patriotic unity of the TAISEI YOKUSAN KAI (Imperial Rule Assistance Association), and to its political successor the YOKUSAN SEIJI KAI (Imperial Rule Assistance Political Society). The regimentation of labor on a national scale was effected by the promulgation of an imperial ordinance, the KOKUMIN CHOYO REI (Popular Mobilization Order), on 19 October 1940, and on 8 November 1940 the Cabinet issued an expansive decision called the KINRO SHIN TAISEI KAKURITSU YOKO (Essential Plan For Establishment of Labor Under the New Order) on the basis of this imperial ordinance. To implement the ordinance and the Cabinet decision the Welfare Ministry established the so-called HOKOKU (Serve-the-Country) organizations most important of which was the SANGYO HOKOKU KAI (Production Serve-the-Country Association), which set up subsidiaries in all important factories. These HOKOKU bodies, placed under the aegis of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association and officered primarily by bureaucrats on the basis of concurrent governmental jobs, endeavored to replace the outlawed unions as the Imperial Rule Assistance Association tried to succeed party politics.

The Imperial Rule Assistance Association and the Imperial Rule Assistance Political Society, which failed miserably in their attempts to hold popular support in the face of catastrophic reverses in the war, dissolved in June, 1945. And with them died the HOKOKU bodies. An abortive effort was made to establish the DAI NIHON SEIJI KAI (Great Japan Political Association) to follow in the footsteps of the "New Order", and there was much talk of a KOKUMIN GIYU TAI (National Volunteer Corps) to handle the labor problem on a national scale. But the people of Japan were restive after years of control, and the proletarian leaders foresaw a chance to make a new start.

In the beginning of August, 1945, before the surrender, the leaders of the old SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party), KATAYAMA Tetsu, HARA Hyo, SUZUKI Bunji and MATSUSHITA Yoshio, were already meeting and planning the revival of a socialist political party. It is reported that they had arranged a meeting with their old colleague YONEKUBO Michisuke for the 15th of August, which had to be postponed one day because of the confusion of the surrender. On the night of 15 August NISHIO Suchiro visited MIZUTANI Chozaburo in Kyoto, and these two old hands of the SHAKAI MINSHU TO, in the Kansai, made contact with HIRANO Rikizo. Meanwhile, the left-wing of the socialist camp, represented by KATO Kanju, TAKATSU Seido and SUZUKI Masaburo, and the old NIHON RONDO TO (Japan Labor-Farmer Party), represented by KAWAKAMI Jotaro, KONO Mitsu and MIYAKE Shoichi, were likewise making plans.

On 4 October 1945 a directive was issued to the Japanese Government over the signature of the Supreme Commander for the occupying Allied Powers, which established the basis for a new political freedom. This directive read in substance:

"1. In order to remove restrictions on political, civil and religious liberties and discrimination on grounds of race, nationality, creed or political opinion, the Imperial Japanese Government will:

a. Abrogate and immediately suspend the operation of all provisions of all laws, decrees, orders, ordinances and regulations which:

(1) Establish or maintain restrictions on freedom of thought, or religion, of assembly and of speech, including the unrestricted discussion of the Emperor, the Imperial Institution and the Imperial Japanese Government.

(2) Establish or maintain restrictions on the collection and dissemination of information.

(3) By the terms of their application, operate unequally in favor of or against any person by reason of race, nationality, creed or political opinion."

This directive lifted the bans on political activity and unionism. The politicians and labor leaders were quick to take advantage of the new liberty and stepped forth into the post-war arena in all of their pre-war ideological fine feathers.

Hard upon the issuance of the October directive the ringleaders in the socialist camp issued invitations to all men of former prominence in the movement, over the signatures of ABE Isoo, KAGAWA Toyohiko and TAKANO Iwasaburo. Invitations were addressed to all groups, including MATSUMOTO Jiichiro's SUIHEISHA (Water-Level Society). The preparatory committee for the new party held its first meeting on 22 October, and the inaugural meeting, at which the title NIHON SHAKAI TO (Japan Socialist Party) was adopted, was held on 2 November. Thus the socialist party, composed of three groups*1 from the former SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Right), NIHON MUSAN TO (Japan Proletarian Party) (Left) and SUIHEISHA, got a head-start on the other parties such as the JIYU TO (Liberal Party) and the SHIMPO TO (Progressive Party).*2

The directive of 4 October 1945, in addition to establishing the abstract principles of freedom, ordered the release from the gaols of all political prisoners who had been incarcerated by reason of the rescinded laws and ordinances. Hence the Japanese Government set at large the old-time communist leaders, TOKUDA Kyuichi and SHIGA Yoshio, with all of their cronies, including HAKAMADA Satomi and MIYAMOTO Kenji, who had committed political murder in 1932. On 7 October, immediately after their release, TOKUDA, SHIGA, HAKAMADA and MIYAMOTO, plus KAMIYAMA Shigoo, KIN Ten-kai and KUROKI Shigenori, made a new start to revive the Japan Communist Party. No inaugural meeting was held because the communists considered that their party had continued to exist, although illegally, all through the years. On 20 October the party organ, the AKHATA (Red Flag), was resurrected after eleven years of suppression. The first number of the new series carried a foreword which read in part:

"Japanese Laborers, Farmers, Employes and All Members of the Japanese Proletariat!

"The AKHATA, organ of the Japan Communist Party, which for many years has struggled in your vanguard, is now being revived.

*1 In January, 1946, members of the NIHON RONO TO group, which had joined the NIHON SHAKAI TO, were declared ineligible for public office because of their affiliation with the ephemeral anti-IRAPS GOKOKU DOSHI KAI (National Defence Comrades Association) late in the war. Hence they left the party.

*2 The JIYU TO (Liberal Party) and the SHIMPO TO (Progressive Party), founded later in November, were as much the respective descendants of the pre-war SEIYUKAI and MINSEITO as was the NIHON SHAKAI TO the child of the SHAKAI MINSHU TO. The JIYU TO elected as its president HATAYAMA Ichiro, who, it will be remembered, had vied with KUHARA Fusamtsuke and NAKAMIMURA Chikuhei for leadership of the SEIYUKAI after the retirement of SUZUKI Kisaburo in 1939. The SHIMPO TO rallied to the support of seventy-two-year-old MACHIDA Chuji, ex-president of the MINSEITO.

"The Tennoism which we have so long fought is suddenly in process of losing its right of tyranny in deference to the Allied Peoples and their military might, and in deference to our internal opposition. The Tennoists, however, are monopolizing positions in government as heretofore, are sedulously endeavoring to protect their selfish interests, and are taking no effective steps whatsoever to ward off the hunger and destruction which presses upon the populace.

"We, the people of Japan, cannot stand idle in empty expectation that they will do something to better our lot. There is no other way but for us to organize labor unions, farmers' unions and other associations which, by their power, can save the life of the People."

That the communists were somewhat unsure of their newfound liberty was shown by the fact that the last sentence of the foreword read:

"Finally, it is requested that you take care, in your various endeavors, that this paper not fall into the hands of our enemies."

Quickly recovering from their hesitancy, however, they obliterated this sentence with India ink before distributing the paper, and came forth boldly with their old slogan "Down With The Emperor", for him who runs to read. The party had been fully organized by the time of its fourth general meeting, held for four days, 1-4 December. All that remained to complete the picture was for NOZAKA Sanzo*1 to return and join the party in January, 1946, after sixteen years in Moscow and Yenan. The Japan Communist Party was back at the old stand with its charter leaders and its old platform, but with a shiny new legal placard on its door.

Behind the proletarian parties, there was, as might be expected, a revival of labor unionism. On 10 October 1945 leaders of the pre-war legal unions, the NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor), the NIHON RODO KUMIAI DOMEI (Japan Labor Unions League) and the NIHON RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU HYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions National Conference), met at the invitation of MATSUOKA Komakichi to form an amalgamated union. The name NIHON RODO KUMIAI SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor Unions), was adopted at the first executive meeting in January, 1946, in memory of the pre-war organization. This federation set up its subsidiaries chiefly along the old line of prefectural organizations, but it took a leaf out of the left-wing book in sanctioning the establishment of unions according to industries, most importantly in the transport, tobacco, textile and mining fields. Politically, the NIHON RODO KUMIAI SODOMEI supported the NIHON SHAKAI TO, with which it shared its leaders. The NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (Japan Farmers' Union) reappeared in a coat of many colors in February, 1946.

When the Japan Communist Party fell into its stride, it advocated "one union for each industry", in the pattern supported in the early days by the illegal NIHON RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU KYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions National Congress) of 1928. The overall control of these unions apcd the earlier organization in its name, ZEN NIHON SANGYO BETSU RODO KUMIAI KAIGI (All Japan Industrial Labor Unions Congress), generally abbreviated to SANEETSU KAIGI. Nominally the labor unions of this group were supposed to be free of political coloration.

*1 Now it can be told because the facts are known. Everything happened to NOZAKA in March. He was arrested on 15 March 1928. In March, 1930 he was released on parole in order that he might obtain medical care for his failing eyesight. In March 1931 he slipped away from Japan with his wife and proceeded to Russia via Manchuria and Siberia. He adopted the alias OKINO Susumu after his arrival in Moscow. He went to Yenan in March 1940.

Belatedly, in October, 1946, labor members of the old RONO HA (Labor Farmer Group), who called themselves the "center" of the labor movement, rallied behind YAMAKAWA Hitoshi, MATSUMURA Shiro and KOBORI Jinji to form the NIHON RODO KUMIAI KAIGI (Japan Labor Unions Council). These people were willing to recognize subsidiary unions organized according to individual industries as well as geographic areas, but declared their ultimate purpose to unite all labor throughout Japan. This group too disclaimed any political allegiance.

In the 1920's no group in the proletarian movement fully trusted any other group to the right or to the left of its own stand. Hence the bitter charges of leftism or rightism among the various factions. However, the farmers and the laborers, who had always had so little, seemed to be reaching for the moon. They asked for more than they could reasonably expect from the society of the day. The differences between the various cliques were therefore less apparent in their platforms than in the extent of their demands and in the manner in which they sought to implement them, --depending to a greater or lesser degree on regular parliamentary reform. In the final analysis, the difference between the socialist parties lay intrinsically in the divisions between the supporting unions, labor and agrarian, and in adherence to groups of labor leaders. What was needed was a clearcut, practical statement of objectives compatible with current problems, not far-future ideals. The SHAKAI MINSHU TO stated the problem clearly and concisely in 1926 when it said:

"We reject both the old-line parties, which represent the privileged classes, and the radical parties, which ignore the natural steps in social progress."

In the 1930's, as pressure from the left and from the right increased, the socialist groups consolidated their front in a single party, the SHAKAI TAISHU TO. The charges of leftism and rightism were still bitter, but except for occasional outcroppings of extremist groups such as the NIHON MUSAN TO (Japan Proletarian Party), the unity was maintained. Historically, it was as apparent that the left-wing socialist leaders had made a clean and irreparable break with the communists in 1925 and maintained their allegiance to the Emperor as that the Communists were closely affiliated with their brethren in Russia. The demands of the socialists were still incompatible with the times, but the unified front was gaining strength through the years, as was proved by the successive election results.

The NIHON SHAKAI TO emerged in the pattern of the old SHAKAI TAISHU TO, an amalgamation of left and right wings backed by conservative unions in the SANBETSU KAIGI and by the liberal NIHON RODO KUMIAI SODOMEI, because the stresses and strains after the war were similar to those which the socialists encountered during the 1930's. Despite the fact that the socialists were stronger than ever, the same sort of double pressure developed from the communists to the left and from the conservative JIYU TO and SHIMPO TO to the right. The socialists realized that in union there was strength.

The "democratization" of Japan since the war has fulfilled many of the more important basic demands of the socialists, such as redistribution of land, legalization of unionism, establishment of an eight-hour working day, universal suffrage and abolition of the House of Peers. The socialists, in their adherence to the one-party NIHON SHAKAI TO despite left-wing right-wing differences, apparently realize the unity of their desires and the futility of division. But the social confusion of the post-war era provides a far more fertile field for propagation of extremist thought than the comparatively stable pre-war decade.

The stresses and strains which wrack the country are apt to force various groups in labor to the left or to the right along the lines of least resistance or of most golden promise. It remains to be seen whether in the long run the Japanese proletariat, encouraged by success, yet harrassed by ideological attacks and by the economic controls which the nation must endure for a long period to come, may be forced into political factionalism which may lead the country into one form or other of totalitarian extreme, to stifle individual ambition and democratic enterprise.

In the last analysis, basic leftism and rightism among the people lie in the way the majority vote and talk. Therein lie the salvation of and the danger to the "democratization" of Japan. It is all-important that social and political reform go slowly hand in hand with social and political re-education. As the SHAKAI MINSHU TO said in 1926, it is necessary that the natural steps in social progress be not ignored. Time will tell whether Japan can become a well-balanced democratic entity in the comity of nations which will provide the greatest possible amount of comfort for all classes of people or will in due course be forced slowly toward totalitarian nationalism or communism.

LEFT WING RIGHT WING

PART II

APPENDICES: HISTORIES OF IMPORTANT PARTIES AND UNIONS

APPENDIX I

PROLETARIAN POLITICAL PARTIES

and GROUPS

MUSAN T. ISHU TO (Proletarian Masses Party)
NIHON MUSAN TO (Japan Proletarian Party)
NIHON NOMIN TO (Japan Farmer Party)
NOMIN RODO TO (Farmer Labor Party)
NIHON RONO TO (Japan Labor-Farmer Party)
NIHON TAISHU TO (Japan Masses Party)
RODO NOMIN TO (Labor Farmer Party)
RONO HA (Labor-Farmer Group)
RONO MUSAN KYOGIKAI (Labor-Farmer Proletarian Congress)
RONO T. ISHU TO (Labor-Farmer Masses Party)
RONO TO (Labor-Farmer Party)
SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party)
SHAKAI TAISHU TO (Social Masses Party)
ZENKOKU MINSHU TO (All-Japan Democratic Party)
ZENKOKU RONO T. ISHU TO (All-Japan Labor-Farmer Masses Party)
ZENKOKU T. ISHU TO (All-Japan Masses Party)

MUSAN T. ISHU TO
(Proletarian Masses Party)
July, 1928 - December, 1928

Center

Following the arrest of communist leaders on 15 March 1928 and the dissolution of the RODO NOMIN TO (Labor Farmer Party) on 10 April 1928, the MUSAN T. ISHU TO (Proletarian Masses Party) was organized on 22 July 1928 by a group led by D. IDO Kenji, KURODA Hisao and SUZUKI Mosaburo, who were strongly opposed to the extreme attitude of the former RODO NOMIN TO. The party was supported by the following societies and unions:

BUNGEI SENSEN SHA (Literary Battle-Line Society)
EIGA JUGYOIN KUMIAI (Motion Picture Workers' Union)
KAMATA ROYU KAI (Kamata Friends of Labor Society)
RONO SHA (Labor-Farmer Society)
SHAKUYANIN DOMEI (Tenants' League)

In a short time the party gained country-wide influence by cooperation with local proletarian parties in Akita, Hyogo, and Nagano Prefectures such as the:

AKITA RONO TO (Akita Labor-Farmer Party)
HYOGO KEN MUSAN T. ISHU TO (Hyogo Ken Proletarian Masses Party)
KANSAI T. ISHU TO (Kansai Masses Party)
SHINSHU T. ISHU TO (Shinshu Masses Party)

On 20 December 1928, the party amalgamated with the

<u>Party</u>	<u>Representative</u>
KYUSHU MINKEN TO (People's Constitution Party of Kyushu)	ASAHARA Kenzo
MINSHU TO (Democratic Party)	NAKAZAWA Benjiro
NIHON NOMIN TO (Japan Farmer Party)	HIRANO Rikizo
NIHON RONO TO (Japan Labor-Farmer Party)	MIWA Juso
SHIMANE JIYU MINSHU TO (Shimane Liberal Democratic Party)	
SHINSHU T. ISHU TO (Shinshu Masses Party)	

to form the NIHON T. ISHU TO (Japan Masses Party). The short-lived MUSAN T. ISHU TO took part in no election, but it warrants attention in that it was the earliest important consolidation of the center-of-the-road elements which in 1932 amalgamated with the SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party) to form the SHAKAI T. ISHU TO (Social Masses Party), the flower of all pre-war socialist parties and the father of the post-war NIHON SHAKAI TO (Japan Social Democratic Party).

NIHON MUSAN TO
(Japan Proletarian Party)
March, 1937 - December, 1937

Left-wing

On 20 March 1937 the RONO MUSAN KYOGIKAI (Labor-Farmer Proletarian Congress) registered itself officially as the NIHON MUSAN TO (Japan Proletarian Party), with no change of platform. Officers of the party were:

IIN CHO (Committee Chairman):	K. TO Kanju
SHOKI CHO (Chief Secretary):	SUZUKI Mosaburo
K. IKKI (Treasurer):	MAKINO Matsutaro

KAIKEI KANSA (Audit Supervisor): KURITA Fujitaro
CHUO SHIKKO IIN (Central Executive Committee):
 IRISAWA Kozaburo OGIWARA Yoshinori
 KITADA Ichiro OKAMOTO Ushisaburo
 KOBORI Jinji OWAKI Matsutaro
 MIWA Morikichi S.SAKI Seizo
 MUROI Atsushi TAKATSU Seido (Masamichi)
 NAKAJIMA Kisaburo UEHARA Kurazo
 NAKANISHI Inosuke YABUSHITA Daikichi
 NAMBA Toraichi YAMANOUCHI Fusakichi
 YASUHIRA Shikaichi

The party made advances to the SHUKAI TAISHU TO (Social Masses Party) for amalgamation, but these advances were refused.

This was the last of the political parties which may be said to have been sponsored by the RONDO HA (Labor-Farmer Group). The SHUKAI UNDO NO JOKYO of 1938 quotes the party declaration as follows:

"Are we to support the Communist Party? We say 'no' because there can be only one proletarian party. It is necessary that it be the people's party. It will be a great mistake for the labor unions to declare that they support the Communist Party."

When the China Incident occurred the leaders agreed to:

1. Aid soldiers' families.
2. Insist upon payment of civilian salaries to soldiers without reduction.
3. Fight for reduction of rents on farms tenanted by the families of soldiers.
4. Plan means for relief of families of party members who have been called to the colors.
5. Appeal to the general public at every opportunity for a peaceful solution of the Incident and a shortening of the war.

For these declarations the party was declared subversive in that it had criticized government policy as "fascist". In December, 1937, four hundred sixty leaders of the NIHON MUSLIN TO and of the supporting NIHON RODO KUMILAI ZENKOKU HYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions National Conference) were arrested and the party itself was dissolved by government order.

NIHON NOMIN TO
 (Japan Farmer Party)
 October, 1926 - December, 1928

Right-wing

The NIHON NOMIN TO (Japan Farmer Party) was established on 17 October 1926, with the support of the ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMILAI DOMEI (All-Japan Farmers' Union League), which was the most conventional and right-wing of all the farmers' unions. The platform of the party emphasized the need for agricultural reform, particularly the reform of land-tenancy. In his "MUSLIN SEITO RON" (Essays on Proletarian Parties) ROYAMA Masamichi comments on the party as follows: -- "The party was organized by the men who seceded from the NIHON NOMIN KUMILAI (Japan Farmers' Union) at the 5th General Meeting of the union in March, 1926, declaring that the union policy regarding politics was too radical. The slogan of the party was 'A farmers' party for the farmers'. That the party represents the extreme right-wing of the proletarian movement can be deduced from its general policy which says, 'The NIHON NOMIN TO was created to give lustre to the 3,000 years of Japanese history.'"

Officials of the Party were:

SOMU IIN (Directorate):	ABE Otokichi IINUM Ichitaro	MORI Giichi SUGAI Kaiten
KOMON (Advisors):	GORAI Kinzo KITAZAWA Shinjiro	TAKAB.T.KE Motoyuki TAKAHASHI Kamekichi
KANJI CHO (Chief Secretary):	HIRANO Rikizo	
KANJI (Secretaries):	HANABUSA Kameaki HIRA Hirokichi INATOMI Ayato KINOSHITA Gengo KITAYAMA Iyozo	OFUDE Eita TAMURA Kanji TANAKA Masanori TERAYAMA Zenkichi YOKOTA Koichi
KIYOKI (Treasurer):	NIWA Kazuo	

On 20 December 1928 this party amalgamated with the

KYUSHU MINKEN TO (Peoples' Constitution Party of Kyushu)
MINSHU TO (Democratic Party)
NIHON NOMIN TO (Japan Farmer Party)
NIHON RONO TO (Japan Labor-Farmer Party)
SHIMANE JIYU MINSHU TO (Shimane Liberal Democratic Party)
SHINSHU TAISHU TO (Shinshu Masses Party)

to form the NIHON TAISHU TO (Japan Masses Party).

NOMIN RODO TO
(Farmer Labor Party)
1 December 1925

Left-wing

The NOMIN RODO TO (Farmer Labor Party), which was dissolved by police order after only three hours of its inaugural meeting on 1 December 1925, is important as the first effort of the politically minded Japanese labor and farmer unions to consolidate their efforts behind a proletarian political party. It was the first formal attempt of the socialists to enter the political arena.

According to the ASAHI SHIMBUN of 2 December 1925, the proposed party was supported by about thirty-five unions with a total membership of about 142,000, of which the more important elements were:

CHUBU NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (Central Japan Farmers' Union)
KANGYO RODO SODOMEI (Federation of Government Workers)
KIKAI RODO RENGOKAI (Mechanics' Labor League)
NAGOYA NIHON SEITO RODO KUMIAI (Nagoya Union of Japanese
Ceramics Workers)
NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (Japan Farmers' Union) with some 67,000
members
NIHON RODO KUMIAI RENGOKAI (Japan Labor Unions League)
NIHON SHICHU DOMEI (Japan Ships' Stewards' League)
OS.K. SHIDEN JIJOKAI (Osaka Tram Workers' Self-Aid Society)
TOKYO SHIDEN JICHIKAI (Tokyo Tram Workers' Self-government
Society)

The NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor) withdrew in the initial stages of preparation because it objected to the inclusion of leftist elements.

The officials elected were representatives of the various supporting unions:

SHOKI CHO (Chief Secretary): ASANUMA Inejiro
 KAIKEI (Treasurer): HOSONO Michio
 CHUO IIN (Central Committee):
 ARAYA Soji MORITA Seigoro
 KAWAMURA Yasutaro MURAMATSU Shintaro
 KOIWAI Kiyoshi SAKAMOTO Kozaburo
 MAEGAWA Shoichi SUNAGA Ko
 MORI Giichi TSUBOI Senjiro
 UEDA Kotoichi

In addition, the party was supported by many well-known socialists such as KAGAWA Toyohiko, OYAMA Ikuo and SAKAI Toshihiko. The party's platform was announced as:

1. Abolition of the Peace Preservation Laws, the Peace Police Laws and other suppressive laws.
2. Government compensation for abuse of juridical power.
3. Suffrage for men and women over 20 years of age.
4. Drastic reduction of armament.
5. Shortening of military service to one year, and economic relief for families of conscripts by government.
6. Opposition to all policies which aimed at militarization of the people.
7. Abolition of racial discrimination in the colonies.
8. Abolition of taxes on necessary commodities and of import duty.
9. Progressive taxation on lands, houses, unearned income, inheritance, et cetera.
10. Creation of a property tax.
11. Recognition of cultivation rights.
12. Democratic control of the distribution of fertilizer and farming implements.
13. Government subsidies for poor harvests, fishing catches, et cetera.
14. Price control of staple foods.
15. Recognition of the right to organize and to strike.
16. Recognition of collective bargaining.
17. An eight-hour working day.
18. Prohibition of employment of women and minors in night work and at hazardous labor.
19. Enactment of a minimum wage law.
20. Equal pay for equal work, without discrimination of sex, race, or age.
21. Abolition of the apprentice, the labor-contract and other feudalistic systems.
22. Measures to prevent accidents and sickness, and relief for victims thereof.
23. Unemployment relief by the government.
24. Administration of employment agencies by the labor unions.
25. Revision of the Factory, Mining, Maritime Laws.
26. Government relief for the aged, for mothers, and for orphans.
27. Medical and sanitary facilities for the proletariat.
28. Government supply of houses to the proletariat and administration thereof by the people.

29. Prohibition of the traffic in women.
30. Reform of the capitalistic system of compulsory education.
31. Compulsory education of the proletariat at government expense.
32. Abolition of secret foreign policies.
33. Abolition of unequal treaties with weaker nations and opposition to all aggressive policies.

In ordering the dissolution of the party, the Home Ministry stated its objection to items, 1, 12, 14, 28, 30 and 33 as smacking of communism.

NIHON RONDO TO
(Japan Labor-Farmer Party)
December, 1926 - December, 1928

Center

When the NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor) withdrew from the RODO NOMIN TO (Labor Farmer Party) in October, 1926, some of the labor unions affiliated with the party disagreed equally with the NIHON RODO SODOMEI's decision to secede and with the RODO NOMIN TO's extremism. Some of the member-groups of the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (Japan Farmers' Union) which had forced the withdrawal by insisting that members of the NIHON RODO KUMIAI HYOJI KAI (Japan Labor Unions Conference) and other "communist-tinged" groups be allowed to join the party likewise objected to the party's extremism. These groups, comprised of the:

NIHON KOTSU RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Transport Workers)
NIHON RODO KUMIAI DOMEI (Japan Labor Union League)
NIHON RODO KUMIAI SORENGO (Japan Labor Unions General League)
NIHON SHIYU DOMEI (Japan Ships' Stewards' League)
NIHON YOGYO RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Ceramic Workers)

joined to organize the NIHON RONDO TO on 9 December 1926, with a platform similar to the basic aims of the RODO NOMIN TO:

1. Political, economic and social liberation of the proletariat.
2. Reform by lawful means of land tenure, production and commodity distribution.
3. Abolition of the old-line political parties which represent the interests of the privileged classes, and a fundamental reform of the Diet.

and with the following officers:

CHUO SHIKKO IIN (Central Executive Committee):

ASO Hisashi	SUNAGA Ko
MIYAKE Shoichi	YAMANA Yoshitsuru
MURAMATSU Shintaro	YOSHIDA Kenichi
SHOKI CHO (Chief Secretary):	MIWA Juso
KAIKEI (Treasurer):	HOSONO Michio
KAIKEI KANTOKU (Auditors):	MITSUTANI Yojiro
	YAMAZAKI Kesaya

CHUO IIN (Central Committee):

FUJIOKA Bunroku	MAKI Choji
HORIKAWA Kojin	MITSUZAKA Eijiro
IMAMURA Hitoshi	MOCHIZUKI Genji
INOUE Asajiro	OZAKI Seikichi
IRIFUNE Shingo	SAKAMOTO Kozaburo
ISHIBASHI Genshiro	SEKIYAMA Hiroshi

ISHIYAMA Torakichi
IWAUCHI Zensaku
KURU Kozo

TANAHASHI Kotora
TERAJIMA Seichiro
YAMANE Gonzaburo

KYOIKU BUCHO (Chief of Training Section): KAMIJO Aiichi
SHUPPAN BUCHO (Chief of Publication Section): KIMURA Takeshi
BENSHU BUCHO (Chief of Editorial Section): HIRANO Manabu
ZAISEI BUCHO (Chief of Economics Section): MATSUTANI Yojiro
CHOSA BUCHO (Chief of Research Section): KONO Mitsu
SENDEN BUCHO (Chief of Propaganda Section): ISHIYAMA Torakichi
SOSHIKI BUCHO (Chief of Organizations Section): MIYAKE Shoichi
KANSAI HOMBUCHO (Chief of Kansai Headquarters): YAMANA Yoshitsuru

The activity of this political element in the RODO NOLIN TO dispute and the character of its leaders marks it as in the conservative center of the socialist movement of the day.

The NIHON HONO TO amalgamated with other groups to form the NIHON TAISHU TO (Japan Masses Party) on 20 December 1928. It died on the vine after having elected one candidate, KAWAKAMI Jotaro, to the Diet in February, 1928.

NIHON TAISHU TO
(Japan Masses Party)
December, 1928 - May, 1930

Center

On 20 December 1928 the NIHON TAISHU TO (Japan Masses Party) was formed by amalgamation of the

KYUSHU MINKEN TO (People's Constitution Party of Kyushu)
MINSHU TO (Democratic Party)
MUSAN TAISHU TO (Proletarian Masses Party)
NIHON NOLIN TO (Japan Farmer Party)
NIHON HONO TO (Japan Labor-Farmer Party)
SHIMANE JIYU MINSHU TO (Shimane Liberal Democratic Party)
SHINSHU TAISHU TO (Shinshu Masses Party)

The platform of the party embodied most of the demands which had been voiced by its ancestral groups:

1. Universal suffrage.
2. Abolition of suppressive laws.
3. Freedom of speech, assembly and association.
4. Reduction of armament, shortening of the term of compulsory military service, and improvement in the treatment of conscripts.
5. Abolition of military training of students, of youth training centers and of other policies designed to militarize the nation.
6. Relief legislation in favor of the families of conscripts, disabled soldiers and war dead.
7. Abolition of racial discrimination in the colonies.
8. Abolition of secrecy in foreign policy.
9. Governmental payment of damages for false accusations, unlawful detention and other unlawful infringements of individual rights.
10. Reform of the law courts, revision of the jury system and defrayment by the government of the legal expenses of the proletariat.
11. Legislation for compensation of damages caused by air pollution and smoke in mines and by other unhealthful or hazardous industrial conditions.

12. Democratization of local government.
13. Creation of a property tax, a graduated income tax, and an increase in the inheritance tariffs.
14. Repeal of taxation on necessities, of import duties and of other taxes born by the masses.
15. Revision of local taxes.
16. Establishment of the right to organize labor unions and to conduct strikes.
17. Abolition of the landlords' right to prevent cultivation and harvesting during tenancy disputes.
18. Establishment of minimum wages.
19. Establishment of an eight-hour working day for ordinary workers, a six-hour day for miners.
20. Outlaw of employment of women and of boys under 16 years of age at night work, aboard ships, in mines or at other hazardous work.
21. Revision of the Factory Laws, the Mining Laws and the Seamen's Laws and legislation of regulations to protect transport workers and casual laborers.
22. Repeal or revision of the Seamen's Laws, Marine Laws, etc.
23. Nationalization of the fertilizer industry.
24. Nationalization of sericulture, and governmental protection for other small-farm industries.
25. Democratic utilization of funds in the Deposit Section of the Finance Ministry for welfare purposes, reform of the production cooperatives, and establishment of other financial benefits in favor of the proletariat.
26. Governmental monopoly of sales of important agricultural products.
27. Governmental control of the prices of important foodstuffs.
28. Equal legal, social and occupational status for men and women.
29. Prohibition of traffic in women.
30. Extirpation of feudalistic ideas and customs.
31. Democratization of employment agencies.
32. Establishment of health insurance, seamen's insurance and other forms of social insurance.
33. Payment by the government of all expenses incurred by the individual during compulsory or vocational education.
34. Abolition of the right of eviction by land-owners, revision of the lease laws, and construction of state-owned domiciles.
35. Nationalization of hospitals, clinics and other medical agencies.
36. Provision for cultural facilities in rural districts.

Officers of the party were:

CHUO SHIKKO IINCHO (Central Executive Committee
Chairman):

SHOKICHO (Chief Secretary):

KOMON (Advisors):

ASO Hisashi

KONO Mitsu

SUGIYAMA Motojiro

MITSUTANI Yojiro

TAKEHASHI Kanekichi

SUNAGA Ko

TOSHI IINCHO (Control Committee Chairman):

CHUO SHIKKO IIN (Central Executive Committee):

AKI Sei

ASANO Inejiro

FUJIOKA Bunroku

HAMANO Suetaro

HAMANO Manabu

HIRAYAMA Isao

KATO Kanju

KAWAMOTO Kiyoto (Soion)

MINAGAWA Rikichi

MIWA Juso

MOCHIZUKI Genji

MORI Eiichi

HOSODA Tsunakichi
 HOSONO Michio
 IMAI Bukichi
 IMAI Yoshiji
 IMAMURA Hitoshi
 ISHIYAMA Torakichi
 ITANI Shokichi
 ITO Kiichi

NISHIMURA Kikujiro
 NOGUCHI Ryuzo
 SHINOZAKI Kazumori
 T. DOKORO Teruaki
 TAKAHASHI Chotaro
 YAMAGAMI Takeo
 YAMANA Yoshitsuru
 YAMAMOTO Akimitsu

YOSHIDA Kenichi

TOSEI IIN: (Control Committee): HISATOME Kozo
 SAKAMOTO Kozaburo
 TANAHASHI Kotora

Disagreement arose almost at once between the groups which had constituted the NIHON NOMIN TO (Japan Farmer Party) and MUSAN TAISHU TO (Proletarian Masses Party), when FUKUDA Kyoji accused HIRANO Rikizo and ASO Hisashi as traitors to the socialist cause. Although FUKUDA was struck from the rolls, the incident resulted immediately in the withdrawal of HIRANO Rikizo and his conservative ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMIJI (All-Japan Farmers' Union) and NIHON NOMIN TO (Japan Farmer Party) group, and later in the expulsion of INOMATA Tsunao, KURODA Hisao, SUZUKI Masaburo, NAKAZAWA Benjiro and their MUSAN TAISHU TO (Proletarian Masses Party) clique. This left only the former NIHON RONO TO (Japan Labor-Farmer Party) group to carry on until May, 1926, when the party was dissolved by amalgamation with the RONO TAISHU TO (Labor-Farmer Masses Party) and the ZENKOKU MINSHU TO (All-Japan Democratic Party) to form the ZENKOKU TAISHU TO (All-Japan Masses Party).

In February, prior to the dissolution, MATSUTANI Yojiro was elected to the Diet on the party ticket.

RODO NOMIN TO

(Labor Farmer Party)

March, 1926 - April, 1928

Left-wing

Early in 1926 a number of RONO HA (Labor-Farmer Group) leaders decided that "A new proletarian party must be organized to the exclusion of the communist group. All labor unions which may cause difficulties in the establishment of the new political party shall be rejected." The new party was established on 5 March 1926 as the RODO NOMIN TO (Labor-Farmer Party), with the support of the following labor leagues:

KAIIN SASSHIN KAI (Seamen's Reform Society)
 KANGYO RODO SODOMEI (Federation of Government Workers)
 NIHON HOKYU SEIKITSUSHA KUMIJI RENMEI (Japan Salarymen's Union League)
 NIHON KOTSU RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Transport Workers)
 NIHON NOMIN KUMIJI (Japan Farmers' Union)
 NIHON RODO KUMIJI HYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions Conference)
 NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor)
 SHIKUYUNIN DOMEI (Tenants' League)
 SEITO RODO SODOMEI (Federation of Ceramic Workers)
 SUIHEISHA RODO NOMIN TO SHIJI RENMEI (League of Water-Level Society Supporters of the Labor Farmer Party)

Chairman of the Central Standing Committee was SUGIYAMA Motojiro. MIWA Juso was Chief Secretary. The Central Standing Committee was composed of one representative from each of the supporting labor leagues

plus ABE Isoo and KAGAWA Toyohiko. The platform of the party was:

1. Political, economic and social liberation of the proletariat.
2. Reform by lawful means of land tenure, production and commodity distribution.
3. Abolition of the old-line political parties which represent the interests of the privileged classes, and a fundamental reform of the Diet.

This platform was developed in detail to read:

1. Establishment of universal suffrage.
2. Rescission of laws deemed oppressive to the proletariat.
3. Abolition of racial discrimination in the colonies.
4. Reduction of armament and improvement of treatment of enlistees in the armed forces.
5. Governmental compensation to wounded soldiers and to the bereaved families of men killed in war.
6. A fundamental reform of taxation to embody a graduating scale of property taxes, and the abolition of import tariffs and consumer taxes on daily necessities.
7. Democratic foreign policy in accordance with the will of the people.
8. Establishment of the rights of collective bargaining and contract as well as the right to cultivate land under tenure dispute.
9. Revision of land-cultivation rights.
10. Establishment of a minimum wage law.
11. Prohibition of employment of women and minors at night work, in mines and at other hazardous labor.
12. Establishment of a maximum eight-hour working day.
13. Reform of the Factory Laws, the Mining Laws and the Seamen's Laws.
14. Abolition of discrimination against women under public and private law.
15. Prohibition of the slave-traffic and the trade in women.
16. Outlaw of discrimination against women with respect to education and occupation.
17. Establishment of unemployment, disability, old-age and accident insurance.
18. Government compensation for unlawful arrest and detention.
19. Government compensation for all expenses incurred during compulsory education.
20. Abolition of the right of eviction from tenancy.

After the organization of the party, a disagreement arose as to whether the original resolution to exclude the communist group would permit the acceptance for membership of men who belonged to the NIHON RODO KUMIJI HYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions Conference) and other "communist-tinged" groups. The NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor) adamantly insisted upon the exclusion of such members, while the NIHON NOMIN KUMIJAI (Japan Farmers' Union) claimed that the exclusion policy held good only during the initial stages of the organization of the party. The dispute ended with the withdrawal of the NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor) and other groups in October, 1926, leaving only the NIHON NOMIN KUMIJAI (Japan Farmers' Union) and the SEITO RODO SODOMEI (Federation of Ceramic Workers) to support the RODO NOMIN TO. After the split, officers of the RODO NOMIN TO were:

CHUO SHIKKO IINCHO (Central Executive Committee Chairman):
 CHUO JONIN IIN (Central Standing Committee):
 AKIWA Matsugoro
 DAIDO Kenji
 KAMIMURA Susumu
 SHOKICHO REN KAIKEI (Chief of Secretariat and Treasurer):
 KAIKEI KANTOKU (Auditors):
 KOMON (Adviser):
 CHUO SHIKKO IIN (Central Executive Committee):
 CHIKUCHI Kanemitsu
 FUKUYAMA Shoji
 HORI Yoshijiro
 KUBOTA Yuichi
 MATSUMOTO Jiichiro
 MIYAMUKAI Kunihei
 MURAKAMI Kichizo
 NAGAO Yu
 WAKATSUKI Seisaku
 SOSHIKI SENDENBUCHO (Organization and Propaganda Bureau Chief):
 SHUNIN (Official in Charge):
 KYOIKU CHOS.BUCHO (Training and Research Bureau Chief):
 SHUNIN (Official in Charge):
 ZAISAI.BUCHO (Finance Bureau Chief):
 SHUNIN (Official in Charge):
 KIKANSHEI.BUCHO (Party Organ Bureau Chief):
 SHUNIN (Official in Charge):
 SEIJIBUCHO (Political Bureau Chief):

OYAMA Ikuo
 MAEGAWA Shoichi
 MATSUDA Matsutaro
 NAMBA Hideo
 HOSOSAKO Kanemitsu
 HAYASHIDA Tetsuo
 ONISHI Ryotaro
 FUSE Tatsuji
 NIIZU Tatsuzo
 OHLSHI Koichi
 OKAZAKI Kazuo
 SAKAMOTO Seiichiro
 TAKANO Seiichi
 TAKEDA Kakujiro
 TANAHASHI Sadao
 TSURU Kazuo
 AKIWA Matsugoro
 HARA Masao
 DAIDO Kenji
 MASUDA Toyohiko
 MATSUDA Matsutaro
 KURODA Hisao
 NAMBA Hideo
 HOSOSAKO Kanemitsu
 KAMIMURA Susumu

Leaders of the RODO NOMIN TO and its supporting labor unions were arrested in the wholesale round-up of communists on 15 March 1928. As a result, the Japanese authorities identified the party with the left-wing movement and ordered its dissolution on 10 April 1928. In the first general election after the adoption of universal suffrage, on 16 February 1928, two leaders of the RODO NOMIN TO, MIJUTANI Chozaburo and YAMAMOTO Senji were elected to the diet, but the main service of the party to the proletarian cause was as a mouthpiece for the agitation of its supporting unions and as a link between the abortive NOMIN RODO TO (Farmer-Labor Party) of December, 1925, and the RONO TO (Labor-Farmer Party) founded in November, 1929.

RONO HA
 (Labor-Farmer Group)
 1925 --

Left-wing

From about the time of the organization of the second Communist Party of Japan in April, 1925, some of its members, including YAMAKAWA Hitoshi, SAKAI Toshihiko and RAHETA Katsuzo, began to advocate a moderation of its policies which would make the group acceptable to the authorities and to the country at large as a legal political party. Whereas the communist regulars held to their theory that the root of social evils lay in the Tenno system as the backbone of feudalism and looked to the overthrow of the Emperor, YAMAKAWA and his friends proclaimed the system of Empire subsidiary to capitalism, and emphasized the necessity for an economic revolution. The scarlet extremism of FUKUMOTO Kazuo, SANO Manabu and the far-leftists came to be known as

"FUKUMOTO SHUGI" (Fukumoto-ism) while the doctrine of the conservatives was called "YAMAKAWA SHUGI" (Yamakawa-ism) or, more commonly, RONO SHUGI (The Labor-Farmer Doctrine). As YAMAKAWA's ideology faded to flush-pink socialism, the clique of which he was the leader became known as the RONO HA (Labor-Farmer Group).

Comintern representatives in Japan attempted mediation between the FUKUMOTO Group and the YAMAKAWA Group but without success. In July, 1927, a special Communist Party commission was established to investigate the quarrel and issue instructions as to the attitude which the Party would assume toward it. The commission decreed, "It is essential for the (communist) party to develop as an independent organization. On this point YAMAKAWA's mistake must be corrected. On the other hand FUKUMOTO's theory would divorce the party from the masses. In future the party must strive for a foothold among the people." This was obviously an attempt to persuade the two factions to kiss and make up, but neither side was mollified. FUKUMOTO and his friends continued their attack on the secessionists in the Communist Party organs, "Marxism" and "MUSAN SHI SHIMBUN" (Proletarian Paper), while YAMAKAWA and his people published their counter-assault in their magazine, the "RONO" (Labor-Farmer). The "RONO", established in October, 1927, had as its editorial staff ADACHI Katsuaki, AONO Suekichi, ARIMATA Katsuzo, INOMATA Tsunao, KOBORI Jinji, KURODA Hisao, OMORI Yoshitaro, SAKAI Toshihiko and SUZUKI Masaburo, to whom were later added HASHIURA Tokio, INAMURA Junzo, ITO Yoshimichi, KITAJIMA Sentaro, NONAKA Seishi, OGIWARA Atsuo, OKADA Soji, TAKANO Minoru, TORIUMI Atsusuke and YOSHIKAWA Morikuni.

By withdrawal from the Japanese Communist Party the secessionists severed all connection with the Comintern International. The group as such, was never a political party but rather an ideological clique of social evangelists who sought to bring about political and social reforms by education of the masses. Hence they escaped arrest at the time of the wholesale apprehension of Communists in March, 1928, (the 3.15 Incident) and in April, 1929 (the 4.16 Incident).

The principles and objectives of the RONO HA, voiced by YAMAKAWA and published in the first issue of the group's organ, the RONO (Labor-Farmer), are quoted in the 1938 SHUKU UNDO NO JOKYO (Report on Social Movements) of the Police Bureau of the Home Ministry:

- "1. That the target of our political war is the political power which rests in the hands of the bourgeoisie is so clear that it needs little comment. The capitalistic development of our country has reached a state in which power is a monopoly of the great capitalists. It is a mistake to attack any other political objective. Japan today should not be likened to the Russia of 1905 or indeed the Russia of 1917.
- "2. How was this bourgeois government established? The restoration of MEIJI marked a change in the nature of political power in our country from absolute despotism to capitalism. The chief factors in this revolution were the lower-class "samurai", not the bourgeoisie. Because the samurai had no economic backing, however, they came to depend upon the new-born bourgeoisie and later to represent its interests. Thus the government passed into the hands of reactionary leaders, not into the hands of the people.
- "3. What is the situation today? The power of the old feudal hierarchy is still extant. It is represented by the peers, the bureaucrats and the military cliques. These groups have

"been absorbed into the bourgeoisie and have thus consolidated their power. The influence of the bourgeoisie has been extended to encompass and subjugate the land-owners."

The group disseminated its ideals in its RONDO (Labor-Farmer) and later in its ZENSHIN (Forward March) and its SENKU (Forerunner) and in the writings of its members such as YAMAKAWA Hitoshi and SAKAI Toshihiko in non-party magazines like the KAIZO (Reform), the CHUO KORON (Central Review) and the SAKAI HYORON (Social Review). The group was always careful to keep within the bounds of the law.

Although the RONDO HA per se was not a political party, some of its politically minded members sponsored political parties such as the MUSAN T. ISHU TO (Proletarian Masses Party) of SUZUKI Masaburo and KURODA Hisao in 1928, the RODO NOMIN TO (Labor-Farmer Party) of SUGIYAMA Motojiro in 1926 - 1928, and the NIHON MUSAN TO (Japan Proletarian Party) in 1937, which by a series of splits and amalgamations with other groups became the SAKAI T. ISHU TO (Social Masses Party) of 1932 - 1940 and indeed the NIHON SAKAI TO (Japan Social Democratic Party) of the year of the peace, 1945.

Some of the RONDO HA sympathizers such as ARISAWA Hiromi, MINOBE Ryokichi, TAKAHASHI Masao and WAKIMURA Yoshitero continued to eschew politics and devoted themselves to the promulgation of their ideas through their position as teachers in the universities. This little band of theorists became known as the RONDO HA KYOJU GURUPU (Labor-Farmer Professors' Group).

Other members of the RONDO HA continued to eschew politics but became active in the social field by supporting labor unions such as the NIHON RODO KUMIJI SOHYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions General Conference) in 1931, the ZENKOKU RODO KUMIJI DOMEI (All-Japan Labor Unions League) in 1930, and the ZENRO TOITSU ZENKOKU KAIGI (All-Labor Unification National Council) in 1933, which amalgamated in 1934 to form the NIHON RODO KUMIJI ZENKOKU HYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions National Conference). In September 1932, the NIHON RODO KUMIJI SOHYOGI KAI reiterated the RONDO HA opposition to Communism by declaring:

- "1. The high price of commodities has been caused by excessive military expenditures.
- "2. The excessive military expenditures threaten the stability of our national life. Therefore a peace policy must be established without delay.
- "3. It is especially urgent that a peaceful relationship be established with the USSR and China.
- "4. It is necessary to control any speech or action on the part of the people which may incite war or international crisis.
- "5. A national control of the prices of essential commodities is required."

The last political party which may be said to have been definitely sponsored by the RONDO HA was the NIHON MUSAN TO (Japan Proletarian Party), whose platform is reported in the SAKAI UNDO NO JOKYO of 1928 as:

"Are we to support the Communist Party? We say 'no' because there can be only one proletarian party. It is necessary that it be the people

party. It will be a great mistake for the labor unions to declare that they support the Communist Party."

When the China Incident occurred the leaders agreed to:

1. Aid soldiers' families.
2. Insist upon payment of civilian salaries to soldiers without reduction.
3. Fight for reduction of rents on farms tenanted by the families of soldiers.
4. Plan means for relief of families of party members who have been called to the colors.
5. Appeal to the general public at every opportunity for a peaceful solution of the Incident and a shortening of the war.

For these declarations the party was declared subversive in that it had criticized government policy as "fascist". The leaders of the party were arrested in December, 1937, and the party itself was dissolved by government order. Among the officers arrested were:

Committee Chairman:	KATO Kanju	
Chief Secretary:	SUZUKI Masaburo	
Treasurer:	MAKINO Matsutaro	
Standing Committee:	KITADA Ichiro	NAMBA Toraichi
	KOBORI Jinji	SASAKI Seizo
	MIWA Morikichi	T.K.TSU Seido
	NARAJIMA Kisaburo	YAMANOUCHI Fusakichi
	N.KANISHI Inosuke	YASUHIRA Shikaichi

Whether the RONO HA actually abandoned all sympathy for the Comintern at the time of its break with the Communist Party is difficult to prove in the face of the indiscriminate classification of all left-wing groups as leftist in the Japanese official records. However, the distinction seems very clear. At the time of the wholesale arrests in 1928 and 1929 no RONO HA members were apprehended or accused. The attacks of the orthodox Communists upon the RONO HA and the RONO HA's rebuttals were so bitter that any sympathy between the groups seemed impossible. According to the 1938 SHUKAI UNDO NO JOKYO, YAMAKAWA's name was definitely struck off the rolls of the Communist Party at the Party's second organization conference (SOSHIKI K.IGI) in February, 1928, when the principle members of the group were:

ADACHI Katsuaki	KURODA Hisao
MONO Suekichi	OMORI Yoshitaro
AR.H.T. Katsuzo	S.KAI Toshihiko
INOM.T. Tsunao (deceased)	SUZUKI Masaburo
KIT.UR. Sentaro	T.K.NO Minoru
	YAMAKAWA Hitoshi

That RONO HA leaders were arrested in 1937 and 1938 does not prove them to have been communists because anti-leftism in Japan had become hysterical after the outbreak of the China Incident. Lastly, and perhaps most important, none of the RONO HA members joined the Communist Party in 1945 when the legalization of communist activity by the defeat and the occupation made it possible to do so openly.

A list of prominent members of the RONO HA and of the RONO HA KYOJU GURUPU (Labor-Farmer Professors' Group) is important in the post-war political picture because the affiliation explains why some of the members have refused to take part in the government of the Liberal-Progressive YOSHIDA Cabinet. The list is important in an overall study of the proletarian movement in Japan because it provides the key to the character of later groupings:

ADACHI Ketsuaki	INAMURA Junzo	KITaura Sentero
AOKI Soichiro	INOMATA Tsunao	KOBORI Jinji
ANO Suekichi	ITAGAKI Takeo	KOSAKA Itsuo
ARAHATA Katsuzo	ITO Minoru	KURODA Hsao
FUGONO Shinzo	ITO Yoshimichi	KURODA Morikuni
HAGIWARA Kosei	KATO Kanju	MAKINO Matsutero
HASHIURA Tokio	KITADA Ichiro	MIWA Morikichi
MURAI Kazuo	OSHINODA Tetsuo	TSUBAKI Shigeo
NAKAJIMA Kisaburo	SAKAI Toshihiko	TSUJII Taminosuke
NAKANISHI Inosuke	SASAKI Koza	TSUKAMOTO Senkichi
NAMBA Toraiichi	SASAKI Seizo	WATANABE Sozo
NITTA Saburo	SATAKE Shinichi	YAMAKAWA Hitoshi
NONAKA Masayuki	SUZUKI Mosaburo	YAMANOUCHI Fusakichi
OKADA Soji	TAKAHASHI Masao	YASUHIRA Shikeichi
OMICHI Taketoshi	TAKANO Minoru	YOKOTA Yoshishige
OMORI Yoshitaro	TAKATSU Seido	YOSHIKAWA Morikuni
ONISHI Tetsuo	TORIUMI Atsusuke	

RONO HA KYOJU GURUPU (Labor-Farmer Professors' Group)

Advisor: OUCHI Hyoe
 Committee Chairman: ARISAWA Hiromi
 Chief Secretary: ABE Isamu
 Members:

KASAGAWA Kinseku	SERIZAWA Hyoe
MINAMI Kinji	SUGIMORI Jiro
MINOBE Ryokichi	TAKAHASHI Masao
SAKISAKI Itsuro	TOYOKAWA Eitaro
OMORI Yoshitaro	UNO Hirozo
	WAKIMURA Yoshitaro

RONO MUSAN KYOGIKAI
 (Labor-Farmer Proletarian Congress)
 March, 1936 - March, 1937

Left-wing

The last left-wing political party of sufficient importance to place a representative in the Diet was the RONO TO (Labor-Farmer Party), which was fused into the ZENKOKU RONO TAISHU TO (All-Japan Labor-Farmer Masses Party) in 1931. When the socialist political front veered farther to the right by combining into one great party, the SHAKAI TAISHU TO (Social Masses Party), in July, 1932, the dissatisfied left-wing withdrew from political activity and busied itself with labor and farmers' unions. It was not until 1934 when the NIHON RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU HYOGIKAI (Japan Labor Unions National Conference), the TOKYO KOTSU RODO KUMIAI (Tokyo Transport Labor Union), the TOKYO SHI JUGYOIN KUMIAI (Tokyo Municipal Workers' Union) and the ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI (All-Japan Farmers' Union) held a mass meeting to demand a labor union law, a land-tenancy law and the dissolution of the Diet, that the group decided that the time was again ripe for political action.

The eventual result was the RONO MUSAN KYOGI KAI (Labor-Farmer Proletarian Congress) which was convened on 4 March 1936. Its officials were:

JONIN IINCHO (Chairman of the Standing Committee): KATO Kanju
 JONIN IIN (Standing Committee):

ENDO Chuji	MORIOKA Kamonji
KOBORI Jinji	ONO Shoza
MINAMI Kiichi	YAMABANA Hideo

JONIN SHOKI (Standing Secretary): KITADA Ichiro
 RENRAKU LIN (Liaison Member): OKADA Soji

Its platform was:

1. Oppose Fascism and defend parliamentary politics.
2. Support fundamental reform of election laws, severe punishment of corruption and extension of the suffrage.
3. Reform or abolish the House of Peers.
4. Outlaw political bargaining between the government and the bourgeois parties.
5. Prevent inflation and stabilize the livelihood of the people.
6. Reduce the enormous military expenditure.
7. Promulgate fundamental tax reforms and create special taxes on munition factories.
8. Enact a law to limit dividends.
9. Improve the banking system for small trade and industry.
10. Establish a simple banking system for the farmers.
11. Support enactment of a labor union law and a tenancy law.
12. Support enactment of a law to protect shop employees, apprentices, etc.
13. Establish a law to provide governmental defrayment of medical expenses.
14. Reform or abolish the national pension system.
15. Provide special relief for the poor in agricultural and fishing villages.
16. Support postponement of payment of debts on the part of agricultural villages.

This group registered itself on 20 March 1937 as the NIHON MUSAN TO (Japan Proletarian Party).

RONO TAISHU TO
 (Labor-Farmer Masses Party)
 January, 1929 - May, 1930

Center

After the dissolution of the RODO NOMIN TO (Labor-Farmer Party) as a result of the communist arrests of 15 March 1928, MILUTANI Chozaburo, who had been elected to the Diet in February on the RODO NOMIN TO ticket, and KITADA Hyozo separated from the group, with plans to organize a lawful proletarian party of their own. Eventually on 17 January 1929 they established a local party in Kyoto, the RONO TAISHU TO (Labor-Farmer Masses Party), with the following platform:

1. Acquisition and protection of political, economic and social rights for the laborer, the farmer, the small tradesman and other proletarian groups. Revision of the land tenancy and production systems.
2. Political freedom of the proletariat. Destruction of established political parties representing the privileged classes. Reform of the Diet and the local government system.
3. Unification of all proletarian parties.

The party remained a regional one until its amalgamation with other elements into the ZENKOKU TAISHU TO (All-Japan Masses Party) in May, 1930. Its importance lies in the influence of its leader MILUTANI Chozaburo, whose renown was increasing on the labor front.