

RONO TO
 (Labor-Farmer Party)
 November, 1929 - July, 1931

Left-wing

On 22 December 1928, following upon the April dissolution of the RODO NOMIN TO (Labor Farmer Party) by government order, leaders such as HOSOSAKO Kanemitsu, NAKAMURA Takaichi, OYAMA Ikuo and Tabei Kenji attempted to organize a new party, the RONO TO (Labor-Farmer Party), but this was dissolved by police orders three days later. Undaunted, the leaders immediately organized a preparatory committee to form another party, the SEIJI TEKI JIYU KAKUFOKU RONO DOMEI (Political Freedom Acquisition Labor-Farmer League), which was in turn dissolved by the authorities on 28 December 1928. Realizing the futility of further consolidated effort, many of the leaders then withdrew to form political groups of their own, of which the only one which could claim any success was the RONO TAISHU TO (Labor-Farmer Masses Party) of MIZUTANI Chozaburo. Further activity on the part of the group as a whole was postponed by the murder of YAMAMOTO Senji, a member of the House of Representatives of the RODO NOMIN TO group, during the Diet session of March, 1929, and by the general apprehension of leftists on 16 April 1929.

In August, 1929, HOSOSAKO Kanemitsu, KAMIMURA Susumu, OKUMURA Jinno-suke, SUZUKI Genji and OYAMA Ikuo, with the approval of KAWAKAMI Hajime and KOIWAJI Kiyoshi,--all prominent members of the RODO NOMIN TO (Labor-Farmer Party),--proposed to establish a "lawful" left-wing political party. The inaugural meeting of the resultant party, the RONO TO (Labor-Farmer Party), often referred to as the SHIN RONO TO (New Labor-Farmer Party) to distinguish it from the December, 1928, failure, was held on 1 November 1929 when the platform was announced:

1. Protection and expansion of the interests of laborers, farmers and other oppressed groups.
2. Development of labor and farmers' unions.
3. Unification of the proletarian front.
4. Acquisition of political freedom for the oppressed proletariat.

This platform was developed into a detailed statement of objectives which aimed to correct practically every social complaint which had been voiced since the MEIJI Restoration:

1. Freedom of speech, press, assembly and association.
2. Revision of the Election Laws to feature suffrage for men and women of 18 years of age and above.
3. Complete autonomy of local government with popular election of prefectural governors, mayors and other local public servants.
4. Abolition of the Peace Preservation Law, the Peace Police Law and other legislation deemed oppressive to the proletariat.
5. Outlaw of punishment without trial, of unlawful arrest, of unlawful detention and of forced entry without proper writ or authority.
6. Severe penalties for abuse of authority and for the exercise of unlawful detention, violence, insult or bribery.
7. Right of public trial.
 Election of juries by popular vote.
 Delegation of increased power and authority to such popularly elected juries.
8. Improvement of conditions in houses of detention and prisons, with freedom of reading, correspondence, interview and

- exercise. Immediate parole of arrestees after preliminary examination and pending trial.
Abolition of bail.
9. Abolition of police funds, political funds and other secret budgets.
 10. Establishment of a property tax, an absentee-ownership tax and a luxury tax.
Elevation of exemption limits on inheritance, income, land and business taxes, and imposition of those taxes on a graduating scale.
 11. Rescission of such taxation of the proletariat as rent, horse and vehicle levies.
 12. Repeal of consumer commodity taxes and tariffs.
 13. Establishment of the rights of labor organization, walk-out and collective bargaining.
 14. Enforcement of an eight-hour day for ordinary workers and a six-hour day for laborers in hazardous industries.
 15. Establishment of a minimum wage system.
 16. Enactment of unemployment relief.
 17. Governmental guarantee of a proper standard of living to the sick, the injured and the aged as well as to low-salaried workers and to bereaved families.
 18. Drastic revision of the factory, maritime, seamen's insurance and health insurance laws.
 19. Enactment of special health insurance laws for protection of day-laborers, miners and employees in salt fields, electric power stations, transportation, shipping, construction and public works.
 20. Farm security embodying repeal of the right of foreclosure of mortgages on cocoons and other farm products as well as revision of land-tenancy laws.
 21. Abolition of compulsory governmental inspection of rice, wheat and other farm produce.
 22. Socialization of the farming industry to embody free governmental loans of fertilizer, farm implements and seed as well as security legislation to provide aid to farmers in case of famine, sericultural depression or confiscation of land.
 23. Freedom of use by farmers of governmental or public lands, forests, rivers and lakes.
 24. Abolition of agricultural associations, production cooperatives and fishery guilds together with a drastic reform of the Farm Land Adjustment Law and the Fisheries Law.
 25. Reduction of compulsory military service to one year in all branches in the armed forces, with guarantee of employment after discharge.
 26. Better treatment of soldiers with full recognition of their individual rights.
 27. Enactment of a security law guaranteeing the livelihood of military conscripts.
 28. Outlaw of the apprentice system and guarantee of special treatment for female and juvenile laborers.
 29. Increase in the number of public schools and training centers with payment of school expenses by the government.
 30. Freedom of the individual in choice of studies in the schools.
 31. Abolition of official youth associations, youth training institutes and reservists' association and establishment of special schools to supplement the regular public schools.
 32. Abolition of social, legal and economic discrimination against women.

33. Prohibition of traffic in women and minors on indenture or straight payment.
34. Enforcement of limitations on house-rents and increase in the number of government-owned homes for the poor with management in the hands of the inmates.
35. Abolition of racial and feudal (class) discrimination.
36. Emancipation of the natives of the Japanese colonies.
37. Prohibition of secrecy with respect to foreign policy.
38. Opposition to interference in Chinese affairs.
39. Opposition to imperialistic expansionism.
40. Rescission of the Labor Disputes Arbitration Law.
41. Rescission of the Small Property Holdings Law.
42. Government management of free lodging houses and free medical clinics.
43. Drastic revision of the House-Rent Law and the Land-Lease Law.
44. Establishment of a system of weekly payment of salaries by employers.

The party was allowed to continue by the comparatively liberal HAMAGUCHI Cabinet, which had succeeded the reactionary government of TANAKA Giichi on 2 July 1929. However, difficulties arose within the ranks of the RONDO TO itself when a group of leaders in Osaka including AKAMATSU Iwomaro, HATTORI Minetaro, KAYAMURA Jiro, KOIWA Kiyoshi, KONO Tesshi and NISHINO Kusutaro proposed dissolution on the basis that a legal political party could not help the proletarian cause. The proposal was approved by HOSOSAKO Kanemitsu, KAMIMURA Susumu, KAWAKAMI Hajime, and SHINDO Kanji, but was strongly opposed by OYAMA Ikuo. OYAMA won the day and the dissenters were expelled from the party. The majority of the remaining members joined the ZENKOKU RONDO TAISSHU TO (All Japan Labor-Farmer Masses Party) on 5 July 1931.

The RONDO TO elected one candidate to the Diet in February, 1930,-- OYAMA Ikuo. The only important concrete accomplishment to its credit was the formation under its aegis of the NIHON RODO KUMINGI SHIYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions General Conference) on 18 April 1931.

SHAKAI MINSHU TO
(Social Democratic Party)
December, 1926 - July, 1932

Democratic

In December, 1923, AKAMATSU Katsumaro, KONO Suekichi, SHIMANAKA Yuze, SUZUKI Mosaburo, TAKAHASHI Kamekichi and other intellectuals joined together to form the SEIJI MONDO KI KENKYUKAI (Political Questions Investigation Society). By April, 1925, when the first general meeting 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 Kichie, MIWA Juso, NAKAZAWA Benjiro, OIKE Yoshio, OKU Umeo (a woman), OYAMA Ikuo, SANO Kesami, SHIMANAKA Yuze, SUZUKI Mosaburo, TAKAHASHI Kamekichi, TAMETO 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 the extremist element which had withdrawn from the NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor) to form the NIHON RODO KUMINGI SHIYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions Conference) began to gain the upper hand over the conservatives in the SEIJI MONDO KI KENKYUKAI. At the second general meeting in October, 1925, the moderates were ousted altogether.

It was this group which formed the DOKURITSU RODO KYOKAI (Independent Labor Association) and in due course, under the leadership of ABE Isoo, YOSHINO Sakuzo and HORIE Kiichi, a Keio University professor, proposed to establish a "social democratic party."

As a result of this proposal, the SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party) was formed on 5 December 1926, with the backing of:

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

Officers elected were:

Chairman: ABE Isoo
 Vice-Chairman: SUZUKI Bunji
 Chief Secretary: KATAYAMA Tetsu
 Advisers: HORIE Kiichi
 YOSHINO Sakuzo

Central
 Committee: AKAMATSU Katsumaro NISHIO Suehiro
 MATSUOKA Komakichi SHIRAYANAGI Shuko
 MIYAZAKI Ryusuke TAMAN Kiyoomi

The most interesting feature about this group is that here for the first time were affiliated politically the principal figures who stood for "social-democratic" principles throughout the pre-war years and came to the fore again after the war in the NIHON SHAKAI TO (Japan Socialist Party).

The party announced as its platform:

"We believe 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 capitalistic 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 parties which represent the privileged classes and the radical parties which ignore the natural steps in social progress."

By the end of 1928 this platform had flowered into an encyclopedic set of principles:

1. Essential Election Reforms.
 - a. Lowering of the age limit for suffrage to 20 years.
 - b. Establishment of the right for women to participate in politics.
 - c. Adoption of a system of political representation in proportion to population.
 - d. Establishment of the principles whereby election expenses shall be defrayed by the government.
 - e. Abolition of restrictions on the establishment of legal residence.

- f. Abolition of the guarantee of funds system with respect to elections.
 - g. Declaration of election days as public holidays.
 - h. Protection of suffrage rights upon change of residence.
2. Reforms concerning freedom of speech, assembly and organization.
- a. Abolition of the Peace Preservation Laws.
 - b. Abolition of reform of the Peace Police Laws.
 - c. Abolition of all control laws.
 - d. Revision of the newspaper and publication laws.
3. Parliamentary Reforms.
- a. Abolition of the House of Peers' privilege to amend or veto the national budget.
 - b. Prolongation of the sessions of the Diet.
4. Foreign Policy Reforms.
- a. Emancipation of suppressed peoples.
 - b. Opposition to the aggressive policies of the capitalists.
 - c. Opposition to a reactionary policy against China.
 - d. Establishment of freedom of emigration throughout the world.
5. Military Reforms.
- a. Reduction of armament.
 - b. Increase of soldiers' pay.
 - c. Relief for families of conscripted men.
6. Administrative Reforms.
- a. Abolition of governmental utilization of political policies.
 - b. Establishment of autonomous local governments.
7. Financial and Tax Reforms.
- a. Defrayments and reductions.
 - (1) Abolition of taxes on the laboring classes.
 - (2) Abolition of capital subsidies.
 - (3) Reduction of army appropriations.
 - (4) Utilization of monies in the Deposit Bureau of the Finance Ministry for the benefit of the laboring classes.
 - b. Taxation Reforms:
 - (1) National Tax Reforms:
 - (a) Creation of a property tax.
 - (b) Increase of the land sales tax.
 - (c) Imposition of heavy taxes on capital interest and inheritances on a graduated scale.
 - (d) Imposition of taxes on unearned income.
 - (e) Abolition of the sugar consumption tax.
 - (f) Abolition of tariffs on necessary commodities.
 - (2) Regional Tax Reforms:
 - (a) Abolition of special land taxes.
 - (b) Abolition of prefectural business taxes on bath-houses, barber shops, etc.
 - (c) Abolition of miscellaneous taxes on bicycles, carts, etc.
 - (d) Establishment of a minimum tax limit on small real estate holdings.
 - (e) Increased tax rates on property and income.

(f) Abolition of house taxes.

8. Industrial Reforms.

- a. Public management of public utilities such as transportation, communication, electric, gas and water facilities.
- b. Public management of wholesale markets.
- c. Creation of a central national bank.
- d. Establishment of public managed people's banks.

9. Land Reforms.

- a. Nationalization of metropolitan residential districts.
- b. Prevention of the sale of public lands.

10. Labor Legislation.

- a. Enforcement of an eight-hour working day.
- b. Establishment of the right to organize and strike.
- c. Establishment of a minimum wage law.
- d. Reform of the health insurance, factory, mining and maritime laws.
- e. Establishment of laws for the protection of laborers in public works, construction, fishing, transportation and other out-of-door industries.
- f. Negotiation of an international labor treaty.

11. Agrarian Reforms.

- a. Establishment of a tenancy law.
- b. Establishment of a law covering cultivation rights which will outlaw illegal ejection of land-owners, and foreclosure on rents, loans, etc. by confiscation of crops.
- c. Establishment of a maximum rent law.
- d. Establishment of the farmers' right to dispute land tenancy.
- e. Establishment of the farmers' right to organize.
- f. Improvement of a banking system for the farmers.
- g. Reform of the production cooperatives and the agricultural associations.
- h. Establishment of an agricultural insurance system.
- i. Nationalization of the fertilizer and farm implements industries.
- j. Electrification of agricultural villages.

12. Reforms beneficial to the salaried man.

- a. Establishment of an eight-hour work day.
- b. Establishment of retiring allowance at fixed rates.
- c. Guarantee of civil rights.

13. Educational Reforms.

- a. Establishment of a system for government payment of all expenses incurred during compulsory education.
- b. Establishment of a governmental system of agricultural and labor schools.
- c. Expansion of the governmental system of night schools.
- d. Increased salaries for primary school teachers.
- e. Participation of representatives of the people in conferences for improvement of school textbooks.

14. Social Reforms.

- a. Establishment of social insurance for the sick, the aged and the injured.
- b. Improvement of sanitary and health facilities in slum areas.
- c. Establishment of public nurseries for children.
- d. Establishment of public medical clinics.
- e. Divorce of the medical and pharmaceutical professions.

15. Unemployment Reforms.

- a. Promotion of public works such as construction, cultivation of lands, reforestation, etc.
- b. Establishment of an unemployment insurance system.
- c. Establishment of employment agencies under labor management.

16. Court Reforms.

- a. Recognition of national compensation for false accusation.
- b. Abolition of the qualification limiting selection of jurymen to tax payers.
- c. Abolition of the death penalty.
- d. Abolition of secret preliminary examinations.
- e. Establishment of a system to aid members of the proletariat in law suits.

17. Economic and Legal Reforms for Women.

- a. Establishment of an equal wage scale for men and women.
- b. Establishment of laws to benefit mothers of minor children.
- c. Abolition of the traffic in women.
- d. Abolition of night-work and the dormitory system with respect to female labor.
- e. Reformation of the family and inheritance laws.
- f. Establishment of the right of inheritance for wives.

18. Residential Reforms.

- a. Establishment of restrictions on rents.
- b. Increase of public managed residences for laborers.
- c. Abolition of the deposit system.
- d. Establishment of a tenants' union law.

In the election of 16 February 1928 the SHAKAI MINSHU TO seated four of its candidates in the lower house of the Diet, NISHIO Suehiro, SUZUKI Bunji, ABE Isao and KAMEI Kanichiro. It was significant of the influence of the NIPPON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor) behind the party as well as in the broadening proletarian front that all four candidates were supported by the Federation.

The first split in the SHAKAI MINSHU TO took place in 1929 when MIYAZAKI Ryusuke and his group, including FURUNO Shuzo, IZEKI Takao, TAMAN Kiyomi and YAMADA Tetsukichi, withdrew to organize the ZENKOKU MINSHU TO (All-Japan Democratic Party) in 1930. Perhaps as a result of this weakening of the party, only two candidates were returned to the Diet in the election of 20 February 1930, despite the fact that the

total number of proletarian votes substantially increased. It was the Manchurian Incident which brought about the second split in the party and indirectly caused the dissolution of the SHAKAI MINSHU TO. AKAMATSU Katsumaro met OKAWA Shumei, the nationalist publicist, in 1931 and came under his influence. After a patriotic lecture at Waseda University he withdrew from the party, taking with him HIRANO Rikizo, KOIKE Shiro, SHIMANAKA Yuzo, YAMAMOTO Kamejiro and about one-third of the party's members. These people formed the NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI TO (Japan National Socialist Party) in May, 1932. At the same time the only other proletarian party of the day, the ZENKOKU RONO TAISHU TO (All-Japan Labor-Farmer Masses Party) underwent a similar schism and lost about one-third of its members. In July, 1932, the remainder of the two parties amalgamated to form the SHAKAI TAISHU TO (Social Masses Party).

SHAKAI TAISHU TO

(Social Masses Party)

July, 1932 - July, 1940

Democratic

The SHAKAI TAISHU TO (Social Masses Party) was established on 24 July 1932 by amalgamation of the SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party) and the ZENKOKU RONO TAISHU TO (All-Japan Labor-Farmer Masses Party). Officials elected at the inaugural meeting were:

CHUO IINCHO (Central Committee Chairman): ABE Isao
 SHOKI CHO (Chief Secretary) : ASO Hisashi
 CHUO SHIKKO IIN (Central Executive Committee):

ABE Shigeo
 ASANUMA Inejiro
 HARA Toraichi
 HIRANO Manabu
 HOSONO Michio
 KAKUTA Tozaburo
 KAMEI Kanichiro
 KATAYAMA Tetsu
 KAWAKAMI Jotaro
 KIKUGAWA Tadao
 KONO Mitsu
 MATSUMOTO Junzo
 MITSUNAGA Yoshio

MIWA Juso
 MIYAKE Shoichi
 MIZUTANI Chozaburo
 NAKAMURA Takaichi
 OKAZAKI Ken
 SUNAGA Ko
 TAMAN Kiyoomi
 TAMETO Goro
 WADA Misao
 WATANABE Sen
 WATANABE Toshinosuke
 YAMAKAWA Sohin
 YOSHIKAWA Morikuni

YOSHIKAWA Suejiro

KOMON (Advisers): BABA Tsunego
 HORIUCHI Choei
 KAGAWA Toyohiko
 SAKAI Toshihiko

SUGIYAMA Motojiro
 SUZUKI Bunji
 T.KANO Iwasaburo
 YAMAZAKI Kesaya

Basically, the party announced that it would oppose capitalism, communism and fascism. The general principles of the party were:

- "1. Our party fights to protect the livelihood of the laborers, the farmers and the working masses in general.
- "2. Our party pledges itself to crush capitalism and emancipate the proletariat."

The party proposed to implement these principles by a detailed program of reforms:

General Platform

1. Establishment of government control of major industries and banking institutions; establishment of a labor system ensuring control of products by labor and the livelihood of the producer; establishment of a social security system.
2. Establishment of a tenancy system ensuring cultivation rights to resident farmers and national ownership of land; administration of farm lands by independent cooperatives; mechanization of farming; national control of important agricultural products.
3. Establishment of an economic congress; establishment of an agricultural public school system; public administration of housing and medical facilities.
4. Coordination of industry and agriculture; establishment of public utilities in farm villages comparable to those available in the municipal areas.
5. Assurance of world racial equality and universal peace.

General Policies

1. Abolition of the political police system and establishment of local self-government; establishment of universal suffrage and public management of election; abolition of laws and regulations oppressive to the proletariat and severe punishment of government officials who may abuse their authority or accept bribes.
2. Establishment of taxation on a progressive scale, including taxes on property, inheritances, capital and land; abolition of duties on necessary commodities; exemption from taxation of annual income up to ¥2,000; reduction of rail transportation, mail, telegram and tobacco prices.
3. Reduction of armaments; abolition of capitalist and imperialist aggressive policies; abolition of world customs barriers.
4. Improvement of treatment of soldiers; national relief for conscripts, disabled soldiers, war casualties and their families; establishment of pensions of the aged, widowed and the orphaned; governmental payment of all expenses incurred during compulsory education.
5. Abolition of feudalistic ideologies and customs; abolition of the peerage.

Labor Policies

1. Establishment of a seven-hour working day and proper living wages; legislation of a labor union law recognizing the right to organize and strike.
2. Legislation of unemployment insurance and unemployment compensations; expansion and control of employment agencies by labor unions; establishment of disabled soldiers insurance; revision of health insurance laws.

3. Prohibition of night labor for women and children and state protection of mothers.
4. Establishment of a minimum wage for salaried men, store employees and fishermen.
5. Abolition of the apprentice and labor-contract dormitory systems.

Farm and Village Policies

1. Establishment of a tenancy system which will insure the cultivation rights of resident farmers; prohibition of seizure of crops and land by absentee owners; legislation of laws to allow reclamation and cultivation of waste lands by the proletariat; release of government-owned forests, rivers, lakes, etc. to the proletariats.
2. Government distribution of fertilizers, seeds and farm equipment; establishment of an agricultural banking system; establishment of governmental loans to farmers without mortgages.
3. Governmental guarantees against crop failures and poor silkworm productions; governmental compensation for farm prices due to low prices.
4. Higher taxation of absentee land owners and reduction of farm workers' taxes.
5. Establishment of self-government in villages by independent farmers.

In 1933 two prominent leaders MIYAZAKI Ryusuke and WATANABE Yoshihisa withdrew not only from the party but from political life altogether. About the same time a third man, YOSHIDA Kenichi, transferred his affections to the nationalist union KOKOKU NOMIN DOMEI (Imperial Farmers' League). Others, too, were influenced somewhat by the nationalistic patriotism which swept the country after the outbreak of the Manchurian Affair. When the army distributed so-called "National Defence Pamphlets," ASO Hisashi, the party's Chief Secretary, published articles in popular magazines which gave the impression that the SHAKAI TAISHU TO had abandoned democratic ideals. ASO's attitude was heavily criticized by the SHAKAI MINSHU TO and RONTO TO factions of the party, but since ASO's NIHON RONTO TO faction was in the majority, it carried the day and the SHAKAI TAISHU TO over-all policy gradually veered to conform with the policies of the government. At one time the party was accused even of collaborating with the Army.

In 1934, indeed, the SHAKAI TAISHU TO joined the nationalist TOHOKU KAI (Eastern Society) of NAKANO Seigo in an attempt to amalgamate all minor political parties in the Diet in a single party to oppose the SEIYUKAI and MINSEITO parties. The attempt failed because ADACHI Kenzo's KOKUMIN DOMEI (People's League) refused the invitation and because ABE Isoo and his group would not cooperate without the KOKUMIN DOMEI. In 1934 the slogan "Absolute opposition to imperialistic war" was changed to "Absolute opposition to capitalistic war."

The SHAKAI TAISHU TO presented a unified front in the 1936 and 1937 elections and was increasingly successful in its successive campaigns but the schism of ideologies, which remained to the end, was apparent in the background of the candidates which it elected:

Election of 20 February 1936:

NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor)

ABE Isao	KONO Mitsu
ASANUMA Inejiro	SUZUKI Bunji*1
KAWAKAMI Jotaro	TAMAN Kiyoomi
TSUKAMOTO Juso	

ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI (All-Japan Farmers Union)

KAWAMATA Kiyooto (Seion)	SATAKE Haruki
MIYAKE Shoichi	SUGIYAMA Motojiro
YAMAZAKI Kenji	

NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Farmers Unions)

KATAYAMA Tetsu

KANGYO RODO SODOMEI (Federation of Government Workers)

KAWAMURA Yasutaro

NIHON KOWAN JUGYOIN KUMIAI (Japan Harbor Workers' Union)

OKAZAKI Ken

None

ASO Hisashi
KAMEI Kanichiro
MIZUTANI Chozaburo

Election of 30 April 1937

ZEN NIHON RODO SODOMEI (All-Japan Federation of Labor)

ABE Isao	NAGAE Kazuo
ASANUMA Inejiro	NISHIO Suehiro
INOUE Ryoji	SUZUKI Bunji*1
KAWAKAMI Jotaro	TAMAN Kiyoomi
TSUKAMOTO Juso	

ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI (All-Japan Farmers Union)

ISHIYAMA Terekichi	NAKAMURA Takaichi
KAWAI Giichi	NOMIZO Masaru
KAWAMATA Kiyooto (Seion)	SATAKE Haruki
KIKUCHI Yonosuke	SUGIYAMA Motojiro
KURODA Hisao	SUNAGA Ko
MEGAWA Shoichi	T. HARA Haruji
MIYAKE Shoichi	TOMIYOSHI Ei ji
NAGAE Kazuo	YAMAZAKI Kenji

NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Farmers Unions)

KATAYAMA Tetsu
MITSUNAGA Yoshio

*1 SUZUKI Bunji was supported both by the NIHON RODO SODOMEI and by the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI SODOMEI.

KANGYO RODO SODOMEI (Federation of Government Workers)	K.WAMURA Yasutaro
NIHON KOWAN JUGYOKU KUMIAI (Japan Harbor Workers Union)	OKAZAKI Ken
NIHON KAIIN KUMIAI (Japan Seamen's Union)	YONEKUBO Michisuke
ZENKOKU SUIHEISHA (All-Japan Water-Level Society)	MITSUMOTO Jiichiro
NOSON KOSEI RENMEI (Agricultural Village Reform League)	KOYAMA Ryo
SEITO RODO KUMIAI (Ceramic Workers Union)	KATO Ryozo
None:	ABE Shigeo ASO Hisashi MIZUTANI Chozaburo
	KAMEI Kanichiro MIWA Juso

The breach between the right wing and the left wing gradually widened until it finally came to a complete rupture over the question of SAITO Takao's speech in the Diet on 2 February 1940. SAITO, a MINSEITO member, openly questioned the import and the extent of the management of the China Incident. The Diet proposed a resolution for SAITO's expulsion. This resolution was opposed by the SHAKAI MINSHU TO faction of the SHAKAI T-ISHU TO, which pointedly absented itself from the session at which the resolution was passed. The SHAKAI T-ISHU TO held an emergency committee meeting at which the ten absentee Diet members*1 were struck off the rolls.

These expelled men endeavored to form a separate party but were refused permission by the Home Ministry. On 6 July 1940 the SHAKAI T-ISHU TO voluntarily disbanded in deference to the plan for establishment of the T-ISEI YOKUSAN KAI (Imperial Rule Assistance Association).

ZENKOKU MINSHU TO
(All-Japan Democratic Party)
January, 1930 - May, 1930

Center

The short-lived ZENKOKU MINSHU TO (All-Japan Democratic Party) was formed in January, 1930, by a right-wing group of seceders from the SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party) such as FURUNO Shuzo, IZEMI Takao, MIYAZAKI Ryusuke, T-IMAN Kiyoomi and Y-MAEDA Tetsukichi, with T-K-INO Iwasaburo as adviser. Its broad objectives were:

- "1. The party is formed to afford political representation to the interests of laborers, farmers, small merchants, small industrialists and wage-earners in general.
- "2. The party pledges itself to reform the political, economic and cultural structure of the country on the basis of proletarian interests.

*1 The expelled men were ABE Isao, KATAYAMA Tetsu, MITSUMOTO Jiichiro, MITSUNAGA Yoshio, MIZUTANI Chozaburo, NISHIO Suehiro, OKAZAKI Ken, SUZUKI Bunji, TOMIYOSHI Eiji and YONEKUBO Michisuke.

- "3. The party will strive to attain its objectives by lawful means based on the organized power of the proletariat."

On May, 1930, the party amalgamated with the NIHON TAISHU TO (Japan Masses Party) and the MUSHAN SEITO TOITSU ZENKOKU KOGIKAI (All-Japan Proletarian Political Parties Unification Congress), which was composed of ten regional proletarian parties, to form the ZENKOKU TAISHU TO (All-Japan Masses Party).

ZENKOKU RONNO TAISHU TO
(All-Japan Labor-Farmer Masses Party)
July, 1931 - July, 1932

Center

When the ZENKOKU RONNO TAISHU TO (All-Japan Labor-Farmer Masses Party) was formed on 5 July 1931 by amalgamation of the ZENKOKU TAISHU TO (All-Japan Masses Party), the RONNO TO (Labor-Farmer Party) and a small segment of the SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party) led by MUROBUSHI Takanobu, the ZENKOKU TAISHU TO group under the leadership of ASO Hisashi claimed a membership of about 50,000; the RONNO TO group claimed a roster of some 4,700 members; the group which followed MUROBUSHI from the SHAKAI MINSHU TO consisted of about 2,000 only.

The party announced as its objectives:

- "1. AS a group of farmers, laborers and other proletarian citizens, the party will fight for the extension and protection of all rights of the oppressed classes.
- "2. The party pledges itself to reform the capitalistic system and to liberate the proletariat.
- "3. The party will endeavor to expand and strengthen the labor unions, the farmers' unions and similar organizations."

Officers elected at the inauguration were:

SHOKICHO (Chief Secretary):	ASO Hisashi
KOMON (Advisers):	ABE Shigeo
JONIN CHUO SHIKKO IIN (Standing Central Executive Committee):	
ASANUMA Inejiro	NAKAMURA Takaichi
HIRANO Yutaka	SAKAI Toshihiko
ISHIWARA Yoshiyuki	SUGIYAMA Motojiro
KONO Mitsu	SUZUKI Mosaburo
MATSUPANA Yojiro	TABEI Kenji
MIWA Juso	TADAKORO Teruaki
MIYAZAKI Ryusuke	TAKANO Iwasaburo
MORITA Kiichiro	YAMAZAKI Kenji
MUROBUSHI Takanobu	YAMAZAKI Kesaya

Dissent in the ranks was apparent even at the inaugural meeting, from which the RONNO TO leader OYAMA Ikuo was conspicuously absent. The history of the party was a series of secessions. On 29 September 1931 a split over the Manchurian question caused the withdrawal of HANGAI Tamazo, HASHIMOTO Torataro, KANDA Hyozo and YAMAMOTO Naojiro. In December, 1931, MATSUPANI Yojiro resigned. In March, 1932, AKI Sei (Shigeru), FUJIOKA Bunroku, IMAMURA Hitoshi, IWAUCHI Zensaku and MOCHIZUKI Genji sent in their papers.

On 24 July 1932 the ZENKOKU RONO T. ISHU TO amalgamated with the SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party) to become the SHAKAI T. ISHU TO (Social Masses Party), which was, with unimportant, short-lived exceptions, the only socialist party in existence from that time until the war.

ZENKOKU TAISHU TO
(All-Japan Masses Party)
May, 1930 - July, 1931

Center

On 20 May 1930 the ZENKOKU TAISHU TO (All-Japan Masses Party) was formed as an amalgamation of the right wing ZENKOKU MINSHU TO (All-Japan Democratic Party) and the MUSAN SEITO TOITSU ZENKOKU KYOGIKAI (All-Japan Proletarian Political Parties Unification Congress), which in turn was composed of ten regional parties. Officers were:

CHUO SHIKKO IINCHO (Chairman of the Central Executive Committee):	ASO Hisashi
SHOKICHO (Chief Secretary):	MIWA Juso
CHUO SHIKKO IIN (Central Executive Committee):	
ASANUMI Inejiro	KONO Mitsu
KATO Kanju	KURODA Hisao
KONDO Eizo	MIYAZAKI Ryusuke
KOMON (Advisers):	SAKAI Toshihiko
KAGAWA Toyohiko	SUGIYAMA Motojiro
MITSUTANI Yojiro	TAKAHASHI Kamekichi
OYA Shozo	TAKANO Iwasaburo

The party's general principles were:

- "1. Our party works for the benefit of laborers, farmers, city proletarians and all other oppressed people.
- "2. Our party strives for the reformation of political, social, economic and cultural systems monopolized by the bourgeois class and for the emancipation of the proletarians.
- "3. Our party fights for these principles with lawfully organizational power of the proletariat."

The party's detailed program was:

1. Politics

- a. Establishment of universal suffrage for both sexes over 18 years of age.
- b. Freedom of speech, assembly, association and press.
- c. Abolition of the Peace Preservation Law, Peace Police Law, laws for control of violence and prevention of crime, and all other laws and regulations which oppress the proletariat.
- d. Abolition of political discrimination in the colonies.
- e. Absolute opposition to imperialistic war.

2. Foreign Policy

- a. Abolition of secret foreign policies.
- b. Absolute opposition to imperialistic aggressive policies.

- c. Right of laborers and farmers to enter and establish residence in all foreign countries.
- d. Freedom to participate in international proletarian movements.

3. Administration

- a. Radical reformation of the central administrative system.
- b. Public election of governors and mayors of cities, towns, and villages by popular vote.
- c. Abolition of the right of governors and mayors of cities, towns, and villages to execute policies introduced by themselves.
- d. Extension of the authority of district assemblies.

4. Military Administration

- a. Reduction of armament.
- b. Reduction of terms of military service and improvement of treatment of soldiers.
- c. Assistance to families of soldiers in active service and guarantee of employment after their discharge.
- d. Establishment of a system whereby civil officials may become War and Navy Ministers in the Cabinet.

5. Court System

- a. Popularization of the judicial system.
- b. Establishment of government compensation for illegal accusation and illegal arrest.
- c. Severe punishment of government officials guilty of malversation, illegal arrest, violence, and acceptance of bribes.
- d. Abolition of secret trials.
- e. Defrayment of legal expenses of proletarians by the national treasury.
- f. Revision of the Jury Law.

6. Central Tax System

- a. Establishment of a tax on capital and increased land values.
- b. Establishment of a progressive taxation on capital interest, inheritances personal income, land, and business income.
- c. Abolition of consumer taxes and customs duties.

7. Regional Tax System

- a. Abolition of the prefectural business tax.
- b. Abolition of the house tax.
- c. Abolition or revision of miscellaneous taxes.
- d. Establishment of an absentee land-owner tax, a vacant lot tax, and a garden tax.
- e. Establishment of a department store tax and a bank-check tax.

8. Education

- a. defrayment by the national treasury of primary, middle school, and other educational expenses.

- b. Opposition to military training and youth training schools.
- c. Participation of proletarian representatives in text-book compilation committee meetings.
- d. Abolition of censorship of text-books.
- e. Establishment of free research at schools.
- f. Establishment of state-administered labor schools and agricultural schools.

9. Labor

- a. Enactment of a labor union law establishing the right to organize, strike, and bargain.
- b. Establishment of a minimum wage system.
- c. Establishment of an eight-hour work day system (six hours for minors).
- d. Prohibition of employment of women and minors at night work, under-ground work and other dangerous labor.
- e. Revision of factory laws, mining industry laws, and miners' assistance regulations.
- f. Enactment of protective laws for transportation laborers, casual laborers, and fishery laborers.
- g. Revision of seamen's laws, maritime laws, and other laws and regulations relating to seamen.
- h. Enactment of a salary-men's protection law and a store-employee's protection law.
- i. Revision of health insurance laws and enactment of a seamen's insurance law.
- j. Establishment of unemployment insurance and other labor insurance laws to provide that expenses be borne by employers and the national treasury.
- k. Increase of employment and participation by labor unions in management.

10. Farm Villages

- a. Prohibition of the restriction of entrance and the seizure of cocoons on the part of land owners, and enactment of a tenancy law guaranteeing cultivation rights.
- b. Enactment of a maximum farm-rent system.
- c. Establishment of a legal price ceiling on important farm products.
- d. Government management of distribution of fertilizers, farm equipment and seeds.
- e. Enactment of an agricultural insurance law for sericulture and farming, expenses to be paid by land-owners and the national treasury.
- f. Establishment of a special financial organ for tenants.
- g. Extension of cultural facilities to farm villages.

11. Society

- a. Equalization of legal and social rights and of opportunity for men and women.
- b. Prohibition of traffic in women and children.
- c. Abolition of feudalistic ideologies.
- d. Abolition of the peerage system.
- e. Abolition of pension law and establishments of an old-age pension system.
- f. Establishment of an accident insurance law.

- g. Enactment of regulations providing aid for enlistees, disabled soldiers, their families and the families of war dead.
- h. Establishment of a system of compensation for injuries due to mine pollution, smoke poison, cave-ins, and other mining conditions.
- i. Establishment of residence rights, drastic revision of the lease laws, and public management of housing.
- j. Establishment of clinics operated at cost, free hospitals, free public nurseries and conversion of other medical facilities to public management.
- k. Popular utilization of Deposit Bureau funds and establishment of a proletarian banking system.
- l. Abolition of the company subsidy system.
- m. Abolition of monopolies and subsidies in the transportation, electricity, and gas industries.

The party was short-lived in that it joined the RONDO TO (Labor-Farmer Party) of OYAMA Ikuo and a small group of seceders from the SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party) to form the ZENKOKU RONDO TAISHU TO (All-Japan Labor-Farmer Masses Party) in July, 1931. Despite the brevity of its life, the party had two representatives in the Diet; MATSUTANI Yojiro and ASAHARA Kenzo had been elected on the RONDO TAISHU TO and KYUSHU MINZEN TO ticket before the amalgamation of their parties in the ZENKOKU TAISHU TO.

APPENDIX II

NATIONALIST AND NATIONAL SOCIALIST PARTIES

AIKOKU KINRO TO (Patriotic Labor Party)
AIKOKU RODO NOMIN DOSHI KAI (Patriotic Labor Farmer Comrades Society)
AIKOKU SEIJI DOMEI (Patriotic Political League)
DAI NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI TO (Great Japan National Socialist Party)
DAI NIHON SEINEN TO (Great Japan Youth Party)
DAI NIHON SEISAN TO (Great Japan Production Party)
DAI NIHON SEKISEI KAI (Great Japan Sincerity Society)
DAI NIHON TO (Great Japan Party)
KINRO NIHON TO (Labor Japan Party)
KODO KAI (Imperial Way Society)
KOKUMIN KYOKAI (People's Association)
MEIRIN KAI (Enlightened Way Society)
NIHON KAKUSHIN TO (Japan Reform Party)
NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI TO (Japan National Socialist Party)
SANROKU KURABU (3-6 Club) - MIJHO KURABU (Fresh Rice Plant Club)
SHIN NIHON KANSETSU DOMEI (New Japan Construction League)
SHIN NIHON KOKUMIN DOMEI (New Japan People's League)
TOHO KAI (Eastern Society)
YAMATO MUSUBI (Yamato Knot)

AIKOKU KINRO TO
(Patriotic Labor Party)
1919 - 1945

Nationalist

The AIKOKU KINRO TO (Patriotic Labor Party) was originally formed in 1919 by AMANO Tatsuo, a pupil of Professor UESUGI Shinkichi of the KEIRIN GAKUMEI (Statecraft Scholars' League), loud exponent of the "personal government by the Emperor" theory, as the unregistered political front for his NIHON SHUGI RONO DOSHI KAI (Japanism Labor-Farmer Comrades Society) in Shizuoka Ken. It was not registered, however, until 1930. The tone of the party was publicly advertised in 1925 when members of the NIHON SHUGI RONO DOSHI KAI opposed with flashing swords strikers at the Hamamatsu Musical Instruments Co. Ltd., of which AMANO's father was president. Principles of the party at time of registration were:

1. Establishment of a non-profiteering national economy.
2. National control of all industries by industrial laws and regulations.
3. Adjustment of wages for all labor.
4. Subjugation of privileged as well as communist political parties.
5. Racial equality and establishment of international justice based on equal distribution of resources.

Promoters of the society as a political party were:

AMANO Tatsuo
AYAGAWA Takeji
KAMINAGA Bunzo
KUCHIDA Yasunobu

NAKATANI Takeyo
OGURI Keitaro
TSUKUI Tatsuo
YABE Shu

AMANO was registered as the representative. Other officials were:

KOMON (Advisers): KANOKOGI Kazunobu
KITA Reikichi
OKAWA Shumei

CHUO IIN (Central Committee): AKAGAWA Ryojo
MIZUMORI Kamenosuke
NAGANO Akira

Soon after registration TSUKUI Tatsuo, KUCHIDA Yasunobu and AYAGAWA Takeji left the party; thenceforth the society was controlled entirely by the so-called UESUGI group led by AMANO Tatsuo and NAKATANI Takeyo.

In 1932 the AIKOKU KINRO TO formed a subsidiary study group called the KOKUMIN SHISO KENKYU JO (National Thought Research Institute) and in 1933 a subsidiary agricultural union called the KOKOKU NOMIN DOMEI (Imperial Farmers' League). And in 1933 AMANO and a number of his party followers staged the SHIMPEITAI JIKEN (God's Troops Incident), were tried and were absolved of guilt in March, 1934.

Although the AIKOKU KINRO TO never ran a candidate for election and was in fact politically inactive save for its direct attempt at revolution in 1933, it was important as a far-right grouping of such men as AMANO Tatsuo, NAKATANI Takeyo and KANOKOGI Kazunobu, who became its representative in the latter years. The party lasted as an inactive non-political clique into the war years.

AIKOKU RODO NOMIN DOSHI KAI
(Patriotic Labor Farmer Comrades Society)
December, 1933 - June, 1940

Nationalist

The AIKOKU RODO NOMIN DOSHI KAI (Patriotic Labor Farmer Comrades Society) was established in December, 1933, by KOBAYASHI Junichiro, retired colonel, as a small local party in Kawaguchi, Saitama Ken, with only about two hundred members. It remained a local affair until the 2.26 Incident of 1936 urged it to expand its activities throughout the nation. Upon its expansion MATSUMOTO Yuhei, a retired major general, and a director of KOBAYASHI's SANROKU KURABU (3-6 Club) became chairman, but KOBAYASHI continued as actual director of policies. At this time the officers of the group were:

KUICHO (Chairman):	MATSUMOTO Yuhei	
KOMON (Advisors):	HIYASHI Gyo	TATEKAWA Yoshitsugu
	KIKUCHI Takeo	TODOROKI Morizo
	KOBAYASHI Junichiro	UEMITSU Remma
SODAN Y.KU (Consultants):	MAKINO Naozo	
	MATSUMOTO Tokumei (Noriaki)	
	OISHI Hiroshi	
SOMU IIN (Directorates):	ABE Kiyozo	
	IMAMURA Hitoshi	
	KONDO Eizo	
	NAKAZAWA Benjiro	

Principles as of 1933 were announced as:

- "1. The white collar workers, manual laborers and farmers shall be included in our organization.
- "2. On the assumption that our ideals, our activities, our diligence or our negligence will determine the rise or fall of our nation, we take great and grave responsibility therefor.
- "3. The Imperial State, incomparable to any other in the world expresses the true family spirit of one Emperor with all the people of his nation as his children. In accordance with this spirit, we shall reject all materialistic struggle within the country and effect the true realization of Imperial Japan.
- "4. With the patriotism of Imperial Japan as our basis, we shall worship the gods, love our fellow men, emphasize truthfulness and propriety, and bring about a reformed socialized state never before realized. We firmly believe that if we can make the rest of the world understand these principles there will be no world strife.
- "5. We will promote patriotism, strengthen Japan, and make our country the nucleus of this glorious socialistic state.
- "6. We shall abide by our national constitution and suppress any other governmental theory such as Marxism.
- "7. We shall be the nucleus of the renovation of New Japan."

In 1936, after the expansion, the principles were:

- "1. We must realize the importance of our movement, our attitude and our thoughts, which are an essential element of our national development.
- "2. Our empire, unchallenged in the world, is ruled by a divine sovereign. We must show our realization of this fact by unswerving loyalty to the Emperor.

- "3. We must abide by the great principles of our country, reverence for the gods, love for the people, and respect for duty, in order to build a happy and prosperous society.
- "4. We swear to serve our country, and to strengthen the national defence through self-sacrifice.
- "5. We swear to combat the communist movement as totally incompatible with the national constitution.
- "6. We must unite to reform the nation and lead it to success."

The group also made the following declaration:

"When we study ancient history we must realize that the civilization of the East surpasses that of the West. The natural resources of the world are predominantly in the Orient, but the major share thereof has fallen under the control of the European races, leaving our great empire hard put to resist occidental aggression. In an effort to further their aggression the white races are trying to thwart us in our effort to solve eastern problems which should be determined by the Asiatic peoples without outside interference. If our empire yields to the invading powers, the Asiatic races will face destruction. We must realize that the whole of Asia depends entirely on the future development of Japan. An eastern savior will be the savior of the Orient. The upright policy of the nation will not fail to contribute to the happiness of the world. Let us never forget the holy mission of our country. Let us always remain loyal to our emperor, for every drop of our blood derives from the patriotic blood of our ancestors. Let us not be ashamed of our lack of education but let us be proud of our patriotic hearts full of precious virtues. Let us flock to them under the banner of Patriotism. Let us realize the importance of solving all problems in the spirit of our holy empire."

KOBAYASHI began his expansionist activities by negotiating with the KOKOKU NOMIN DOMEI (Imperial Farmers' League) of the Kansai area to join his labor-farmer group and form a united agrarian front. However, the Kansai faction soon promised to usurp the leadership of the movement; so KOBAYASHI withdrew his original following and concentrated upon winning the favor of agrarian organizations in the Kanto area instead. In July, 1936, his group successively absorbed such societies as KARASAWA Toshiaki's KOKOKU NOMIN REMMEI (Imperial Farmers' League) in Niigata Prefecture, MATSUMOTO Sasayoshi's TOHOKU KOKOKU NOMIN REMMEI (Tohoku Imperial Farmers' League) in Yamagata Prefecture, and IWAUCHI Ryuhei's AICHI KOKOKU RODO NOMIN KUMIAI DOMEI (Aichi Prefecture League of Labor-Farmer Unions). KOBAYASHI also strengthened his group by gaining as a member KONDO Eizo, an important member of the NIHON RODO DOMEI (Japan Labor League).

The AIKOKU RODO NOMIN DOSHI KAI was one of the first societies to rally to the JIKYOKU KYOGIKAI (Current Affairs Council) in the formation of a united nationalist front, and became a major subsidiary of the Council. It took the initiative in opposing the inclusion of UGAKI in the HAYASHI Cabinet in 1937, and remained critical of the Cabinet until its resignation in May, 1937. Soon after the formation of the KONOYE Cabinet, KOBAYASHI arranged an amalgamation of his group with the NIHON SANGYO GUN (Japan Production Corps.)

In 1938 the group proposed to the KOKUMIN SEISHIN SODOIN (National Spirit Mobilization Movement) that the two societies combine their respective annual festivals, the Patriotic Labor-Farmer Festival and the National Foundation Festival. Friction arose within the ranks of the group, and its President, MATSUMOTO Yuhei turned his efforts toward the SANGYO HOKOKU REMMEI (Production Serve-the-Country League),

which supported a movement toward government control of electric power. As IMAMURA Hitoshi, one of the group's leaders, continued to involve the group's headquarters more and more deeply in politics, the more socially-minded factions within the group became disturbed. As MATSUMOTO continued to devote his energies to the growing industrial patriotic movement of 1939, the IMAMURA group became dissatisfied with MATSUMOTO's political conservatism, and withdrew to form the AIKOKU SEIJI DOSHI KAI (Patriotic Political Comrades Society) and invited the retired Lt. Col. MITSUI Sakichi, of 2-26 Incident fame, to be managing director of the new society.

Finally, in June, 1940, the AIKOKU RODO NOMIN DOSHI KAI dissolved, urging its members to join either the SANGYO HOKOKU KAI (Serve-the-Country Production Association), or the DAI NIHON NODO KYOKAI (Great Japan Agricultural Way Association).

AIKOKU SEIJI DOMEI

(Patriotic Political League)
February, 1934 - November, 1936

National-Socialist

On 24 February 1934 the NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI TO (Japan National Socialist Party) of KOIKE Shiro changed its name to AIKOKU SEIJI DOMEI (Patriotic Political League) because the party had discarded all interest in pure socialism. Officials were:

SOMU IIN CHO (Directorate Chairman):	KOIKE Shiro	
SOMU IIN (Directorates):	FUJIOKA Bunroku	MATSUSHITA Hikoichi
	HAGIWARA Katsujiro	MORI Naoji
	IMAMURA Hitoshi	OTSUKI Masaaki
	ISHIBASHI Tsutomu	YAMAMOTO Kamejiro

The party published a paper called the ISHIN NIHON (Reformation Japan). As a nucleus for the new league the ISHIN SEINEN TAI (Reformation Youth Corps) was organized on 15 April 1934 at a meeting attended by ninety-three young men in uniform.

The party pledge, composed by the committee, was so extreme that the police forbade its use. Members of the party continued to defy the authorities by organizing an attack on a department store and by agitating on behalf of Lieutenant Colonel AIZAWA Saburo who was being tried for his murder of Lieutenant General NAGATA Tetsuzan in 1935. One member, KIMIJIMA Shigeru, wrote a threatening letter to War Minister TERAUCHI in which he declared, "Lieutenant Colonel AIZAWA must not be executed, for execution will lead to civil war and attacks upon the Emperor." KOIKE Shiro ran for the Diet in 1936 but was defeated. Finally SUYAMA Tokutaro, one of the mainstays of the party, thrust it aside and joined the DAI NIHON SEINEN TO (Great Japan Youth Party).

As a result of this gradual weakening of the party, the AIKOKU SEIJI DOMEI was dissolved on 30 November 1936.

DAI NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI TO
(Great Japan National Socialist Party)
March, 1934 -

National-Socialist

In October, 1933, the NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI SHUGI ZENKOKU HYOGI KAI (Japan National Socialist All-Japan Council) was organized as an amalgamation of ISHIKAWA Junjuro's NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI SHUGI G.KU-MEI (Japan National Socialism Students' League) and KONDO Eizo's NIHON RODO DOMEI (Japan Labor League), preparatory to the formation of a national socialist political party. Early in 1934 the group was joined by MATSUTANI Yojiro of the KOKUMIN DOMEI (People's League), who recommended himself to be president. The council was renamed NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI TO JUMBI KAI (Japan National Socialist Party Preparatory Association) in February, 1934. Quarrels immediately broke out between various groups led by ISHIKAWA Junjuro and KONDO Eizo. As a result of these quarrels ISHIKAWA's group withdrew and formed the DAI NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI TO (Great Japan National Socialist Party) on 10 March 1934 after dissolving the NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI SHUGI G.KUMEI.

The declared principles of the new party were:

1. Support of imperialism.
2. Reform of the capitalistic system of the nation's economy.
3. Centralization of economic control.
4. Equal distribution of land and natural resources.
5. Emancipation of the colored races.

Officials elected were:

SORI (President):	ISHIKAWA Junjuro	
TOMU IIN (Party Affairs Committee):	BEPPU Shinsuke	OHSHI Harufusa
	KATSUYA Tametomo	SAGARA Masayuki
	MIYAGAWA Sennosuke	SAITO Naomiki
	MIZUHARA Tomojiro	WASHINO Hayataro
KOMON (Adviser):	KANEKO Chukichi	

The party never attained importance because ISHIKAWA was an ideologist and not a practical man and because the group had no proletarian support. It ran no candidate but supported TESHIMA Goki of the SHIN NIHON KOKUMIN DOMEI (New Japan People's League) in the general election of 1936, after which the organization petered out and was heard of no more.

DAI NIHON SEINEN TO
(Great Japan Youth Party)
October, 1936 - November, 1940

Nationalist

When Colonel HASHIMOTO Kingoro, who had long been an active nationalist in the army and extremist circles, was placed in the army reserve in August, 1936, he made his bow to civilian nationalism in a public announcement which he entitled, "The National Organization of a Progressive Japan," in which he made it clear that he would continue his activity in nationalist movements despite his retirement. On 17 October 1936 he proceeded to found the DAI NIHON SEINEN TO (Great Japan Youth Party) at a simple inaugural ceremony, dignified by a party flag* and party uniform* which suggested pointedly that he

* The uniforms were black. The flag was a white circle on a red background.

was taking German nazism as his model. In the beginning he is reported to have had only seven followers, IMAMAKI Yoshio, who was arrested in 1932 for planning to murder Premier SAITO Makoto, KIZAKI Katsu, NISHIMOTO Takashi, MATSUNOBU Shigeji who had been associated with OKAWA Shumei in the GYOCHI SHA, the YUZON SHA and the JIMMU KAI, OKAWA Kenichi, SUYAMA Tokutarō and YABUMOTO Masayoshi, but it was expected that other nationalists would unite under HASHIMOTO's leadership. With this in view a well-known group of men were elected to lead the party:

TORYO (President):	HASHIMOTO Kingoro
KOLON (Advisor):	TATEKAWA Yoshitsugu
RIJI (Directors):	
AMATANI Kikuo	KURONUMA Toshiharu
HASHIMOTO Otoyuki	KURUMA Kyo (Yasushi)
IKEDA Sosen	MATSUNOBU Shigeji
IMAMAKI Yoshio	OKAWA Kenichi
ITO Nagamitsu	SUYAMA Tokutarō
KIZAKI Katsu	YAMASHINA Bin
	YOSHIMOTO Masayoshi

This party was politically an offspring of the AIKOKU SEIJI DOMEI (Patriotic Political League) in that SUYAMA Tokutarō, OKAWA Kenichi and YABUMOTO Masayoshi, headliners of the League, joined up.

In its initial stages the society was very inactive. In November, 1936, it inaugurated its publication, the TAIYO DAI NIHON (The Sun of Japan), and in April, 1937, SUYAMA Tokutarō ran unsuccessfully for the Diet under the aegis of the Party. Then when HASHIMOTO was recalled to active service in August, 1937, TATEKAWA Yoshitsugu took his place at the helm. At this time a subsidiary, the DAI NIHON SANGYO RODO D.N (Great Japan Production Labor Group) was formed.

On 3 November 1937 the DAI NIHON SEINEN TO held its first general meeting, at which it was announced:

"The world is deadlocked by materialistic liberalism and sorely needs a historic revolution. It is time for our nation to carry out its great mission, to lead all other nations to better circumstances through the divinity of our Emperor."

The meeting set up the following principles:

- "1. The spiritual program of our national constitution cannot fail to bring about a natural unity of all nations under the sun.
- "2. Our economic program can be achieved by utilization of mechanical power and by striving for maximum efficiency in labor.
- "3. Improvement in foreign relations can be attained by encouraging the characteristics and elevating the standards of the various races.
- "4. Reinforcement of Japan's armament is absolutely essential for her protection from the powers which oppose her. The greatest effort must be concentrated upon perfection of air power. Our confidence in aircraft should be like our faith in our Japanese swords.
- "5. Political unity must be achieved in order that we may attain success in our mission of conveying our imperial righteousness to all nations."

In the spring of 1938 IKEDA Sosen and ITO Nagamitsu wrote a pamphlet, "SEINEN TO SHIDO GENRI ZU" (Chart of the Fundamental Theory of the Youth Party), which caused them to be expelled from the party. In due course MATSUNOBU Shigeji, who was responsible for their expulsion, was likewise ousted. As a result, the DAI NIHON SEINEN TO lapsed into inactivity, contenting itself with a florid public announcement delivered at a general meeting in October in support of the China war:

"The continental policy of our empire is the natural result of the Sino-Japanese War, the Russo-Japanese War and the increase in the Yamato race. It must not be likened to the aggressive policies of other nations. We regret that our relations with China have been disrupted by the white races. We regard the China conflict as our profound mission for the establishment of order in Asia and the promulgation of an Asiatic civilization. We demand the perfection of our national defense as the only possible solution of our present difficulties."

In 1939 further trouble was caused when OKAWA Kenichi was accused of appropriating funds donated for support of the family of Lieutenant Colonel MITSUI Sakichi, who had been imprisoned for his part in the 2.26 affair. A number of officials of the society protested by sending in their resignations to TATEKAWA. Contrary to expectations, TATEKAWA approved their retirement and was promptly accused of ousting them to further his own selfish plans.

On 15 April 1939 HASHIMOTO Kingoro was again retired from the army and returned just in time to save the situation. He called AMAT-NI Kikuo, IMAMAKI Yoshio, KIKUCHI Takeo, KURONUMA Toshiharu, KURUMA Kyo and SHIMONAKA Yasaburo into consultation and invited IDA Iwakusu, ETO Genkuro and MATSUI Iwane to join up in the hope that these prominent names might bolster the party's prestige.

The set of officers appointed after this reorganization was:

TORYO (President):	HASHIMOTO Kingoro	
KOMON (Adviser):	TATEKAWA Yoshitsugu	
RIJI (Directors):	AMAT-NI Kikuo	HAMA Yuji
		MASUDA Ken
HYOGIIN (Consultants):		
	HARUNO Bin	KURONUMA Toshiharu
	IMADA Ken	KURUMA Kyo
	IMAMAKI Yoshio	NAKATANI Takeyo
	INOUE Haruyoshi	OGAWA Kiichi
	ITOKAWA Kinya	SHIMONAKA Yasaburo
	UTSUNOMIYA Yoshihisa	

The DAI NIHON SEINEN TO seemed well on its way toward renewed activity when an unimportant society called the KOU DOSHI KAI (Rise Asia Comrades Society) distributed posters bearing the words, "Destroy all socialist parties disguised as patriotic organizations," pointing up the DAI NIHON SEINEN TO among other societies as an example of such pseudo-patriotic groups.

In September, 1939, a general meeting promulgated the following platform:

1. Annihilate Great Britain.
2. Solve the China conflict and encourage a united national policy to convey freedom to all Asiatic races.
3. Adjust relations with Russia to further the campaign against Great Britain.

In support of these policies, the DAI NIHON SEINEN TO made blatant protest over the British inspection of the ASAMA MARU on the high seas, and even went so far as to plan the conscription of an army division on the continent to aid in the China war. When the police disapproved of this activity, the organization compromised by sponsoring the TAIRIKU KOKA SEINEN DAN (Continental Imperialization Youth Group) in Nanking and Shanghai.

In 1940 the DAI NIHON SEINEN TO wholeheartedly supported the organization of the TAISEI YOKUSAN KAI (Imperial Rule Assistance Association). HASHIMOTO Kingoro became a JONIN SOMU (Standing Director) of the new society. In October, 1940, the DAI NIHON SEINEN TO disbanded to form the "non-political" DAI NIHON SEKISEI KAI (Great Japan Sincerity Society).

DAI NIHON SEISAN TO
(Great Japan Production Party)
June, 1931 - January, 1946

Nationalist

The DAI NIHON SEISAN TO (Great Japan Production Party), the most important of the nationalist political parties because of its long life, was founded on 28 June 1931 in Osaka by UCHIDA Ryohei and other members of the KOKURYU KAI (Amur River Society) with the slogan: "Government of the nation in accordance with the principles of Great Japanism."

Officers of the party at inception were:

TORYO (President): UCHIDA Ryohei	
CHUO SHIKKO IIN (Central Executive Committee):	
HAYASHI Itsuro	OKUDO Taric
IJICHI Tatsuo	SHIOYA Keiichiro
IKEDA Koji	SUZUKI Zenichi
KATSUO Shukichi	T.KUNO Dempu
KOBATA Torataro	TSUKUI Tatsuo
OGATA Eizo	YAWATA Hakudo

It divided its platform into two parts, political and economic:

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 (Political parties), as parasites of plutocracy.
4. Opposition to leftist elements in the country.
5. Encouragement of political activities which will lead the people to prosperity.
6. Maintenance of a positive foreign policy in accordance with DAI NIHON SHUGI (Great Japan Theory).
7. Encouragement of Manchurian and Mongolian independence.
8. Aid in developing China.
9. Expulsion of the aggressive white powers from the Far East.
10. Reinforcement of national defence.

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 laboring classes' living conditions.
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.

After a few months of existence a mass meeting was held in Tokyo, at which eighteen Kanto district organizations joined the group to form a strong rightist association and as a result of which the headquarters of the party was moved to the capital. Branches were formed all over the country and soon achieved wide notoriety for their anti-liberal activities. As early as November, 1931, a clash occurred between the Tochigi Prefecture branch and the ZENKOKU HONO TAISHU TO (All-Japan Labor-Farmer Masses Party), the former demanding that the latter withdraw from its platform the "Opposition to Imperialistic War" clause. This clash between rightists and leftists 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 Manchuria-Mongolia question by sending TSUKUI Tatsuo and DOMAE Magosaburo to Manchuria to "console" the occupation troops. When ISHIBASHI Chokichiro, Osaka Mainichi reporter, was appointed to cover that year's military maneuvers, the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO accused him of communism, charged the Mainichi 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 open recognition of the growing power of the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO.

In June, 1932, the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO 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 KOKUNAN DAIKAI RENGO KYOGI KAI (Associated Council for the Solution of the National Crisis). This council demanded immediate recognition of Manchukuo, along with improvement of living conditions of the masses and reform of the Cabinet. In July this same new Council held a joint meeting with the KOKURYU KAI (Amur River Society) to demand recognition of Manchurian independence. In August, the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO publicly protested the appointment of Vice Admiral NOMURA Kichisaburo as special envoy to the United States, on the grounds that the appointment under existing conditions belittled Japanese national dignity.

The DAI NIHON SEISAN TO was further embroiled, in that summer of 1932, when SUZUKI Kitero, a captain of the Tokyo Bay Steamship Company and the Chairman of the Tokyo Bay Seamen's Association, was discharged by the steamship company. He at once formed the Tokyo Seamen's Union, under the aegis of the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO. The company forthwith fired twenty-five more employees, all members of the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO, thereby provoking a general strike. Again the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO's power was publicly acknowledged, with the steamship company being forced to capitulate.

In 1933, the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO encountered internal difficulties. First, a difference of opinion between the KOKURYU KAI (Amur River Society) faction and a group representing the NIHON KOKUMIN TO (Japan People's Party). The DAI NIHON SEISEN DOMEI (Great Japan Youth League) and the KYUSHIN JIKOKU TO (Radical Patriotic Party), led to the resignation of TSUKUI Tatsuo and DOMAE Magosaburo. Next, the involvement of SUZUKI Zenichi, head of the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO's Youth Corps, and other party members in the SHIMPEITAI Incident caused the temporary disbandment of the Youth Corps. Until the release of the SHIMPEITAI culprits in 1935, the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO led a comparatively quiet existence.

In 1936, the roster of DAI NIHON SEISAN TO officers was as follows:

SOSAI (President): UCHIDA Ryohei
 KOMON (Advisors): KUZUU Yoshihisa
 TOYAMA Mitsuru
 SOMU IIN CHO (Managing Director): YOSHIDA Masuzo
 SOMU (Directors): INOUE Shiro
 KATAOKA Shun
 SAIGO Takahide
 SHIBAYAMA Mitsuru
 SUZUKI Zenichi
 TOKUDA Seichiro
 YAMAMOTO Senichi
 YAWATA Hakudo
 SHOKI KYOKU SHUNIN (Chief Secretary): SUZUKI Zenichi
 SHOKI (Secretaries): KAGEYAMA Masaharu
 KUNO Kazuo
 OBE Hideo

YOSHIDA Masuzo, the Managing Director, brought the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO's activities to a boil again in 1936, by offering to cooperate closely with the conspirators of the 2-26 Incident, his aim being to reinforce the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO's relationship with the AIKOKU RODO NOMIN DOSHI KAI (Patriotic Labor-Farmer Comrades Society). At this point KOBAYASHI Junichiro was invited to become an advisor of the party, and UCHIDA Ryohei was offered in return as an advisor of the AIKOKU RODO NOMIN DOSHI KAI. KAGEYAMA Masaharu and other younger members of the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO were particularly aggressive in connection with the 2-26 Incident. In relatively short order, friction developed between YOSHIDA Masuzo and the younger group, some of whom (KATAOKA Shun, OKUDO Tarimo, NAKAMURA Takeshi, MICHIDA Senzo, TSUBAKI Yoshio, UMEYAMA Mitsuo and MORO Kiyoteru) withdrew from the party. The death of UCHIDA Ryohei and YOSHIDA's succession to the presidency of the party in July, 1936, increased the friction.

On 27 February 1937, OZAKI Yukio made his famous speech in the Diet on the militaristic policy of the Japanese government. The DAI NIHON SEISAN TO declared that this speech branded Japan as an aggressor, and demanded OZAKI's immediate resignation. Upon the publication of OZAKI's article "Politicians and Assassins" in the magazine YUBEN, the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO again demanded his head. The party officers at this time included:

SOSAI DAIKO & SOMU IIN CHO (Acting President and Managing Director): YOSHIDA Masuzo
 KOMON (Advisors): KOBAYASHI Junichiro
 KUZUU Yoshihisa
 SOMU (Directors): KUNO Kazuo
 SUGIYAMA Naomasa
 SUZUKI Zenichi
 TOKUDA Seichiro
 YAWATA Hakudo

At its general meeting in March 1938, the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO adopted the following slogans:

1. Annihilation of CHUNG Kai-shek's government.
2. Occupation of Canton and Hangchow.
3. Establishment of an Imperial Commonwealth throughout greater Asia.
4. Immediate dissolution of the SEIYUKAI, MINSEITO and SHAKAI TAIJISHU TO (Social Masses Party) political parties.

5. Active support of the National Mobilization Act.
6. Fundamental solution of the agrarian problem.
7. Aid to agrarians to perfect national defense.
8. Agrarian support of the SHOWA Restoration Movement.

The meeting also 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 adherents of the 'Organic Theory of the Emperor'.
- "2. The MINSEITO, SEIYUKAI and SHAKAI T. ISHU TO must be dissolved immediately. The baneful influence of the MINSEITO and SEIYUKAI should no longer be tolerated, since their leaders are obviously believers in the 'Organic Theory'. Leaders of the SHAKAI T. ISHU TO should be similarly punished.
- "3. We demand educational reform. Farmers' children have flocked to the universities, and as a result are being perverted by city-educated people who are mainly adherents of the 'Organic Theory'. We therefore demand dismissal of liberal professors from the universities and a return to the true principles of the national constitution.
- "4. We demand reform of government 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 national finances by means of a moratorium or other necessary 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 resigned as Japanese Premier, CHIBA Tomojiro and two other members of the DAI NIHON SEISEN TO 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 war in Europe in September, 1939, the DAI NIHON SEISEN TO demanded by petition that the government remain aloof from the conflict, and that it solve the China Incident by ignoring the existence of the CHIANG government. In October, 1939, DAI NIHON SEISEN TO leaders called a meeting to rebuke a "pro-Russian tendency" among certain party members. The anti-foreign stand of the DAI NIHON SEISEN TO was also illustrated by the action in October, 1939, of some of its members in breaking 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.

On 5 July 1940, Chief Secretary KAGEYAMA Masaharu and several other DAI NIHON SEISEN TO members were involved in the 7-5 plot to assassinate Premier YONAI Mitsumasa and former Imperial Household Minister YUASA Kurahei. President YOSHIDA immediately called a

party 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 on the part of the youth of the nation, he demanded political, economic and educational reforms and a purge of political parties. Further, as a DAI NIHON SEISAN TO measure directed toward the youth of the country, the party's Youth Corps was reconstituted in December, 1940, under KAWAKAMI Toshiharu. The Corps farmed out its own members for training to such nationalistic organizations as KAGEYAMA Masaharu's DAITO JUKU (Great East Academy) in Tokyo, TOKUDA Seichiro's SENSHIN JUKU (Heart Purification Academy) in Osaka, SAHASHI Naomasa's SEISEI JUKU (Life Academy) in Saitama Prefecture and KAWAKAMI Toshiharu's own DAIIDO JUKU (Great Way Academy) in Kyoto. All of these schools were sponsored by the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO.

1941 was a vocal year for the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO. In January, it voiced its objections to the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, on the grounds that ARIMA Yoriyasu, Managing Director of I.R.A.A., was following a weak policy disrespectful to the constitution and tainted by communism. In March the party cried out again for political and financial reforms. In a diatribe against capitalists, liberals and communists, it demanded the punishment of such people, so that Japan might carry out her holy mission in Asia. On 28 June, the Youth Corps issued the following announcement:

"In accordance with our long expectation Germany has declared war against Russia. The fundamental principle of the Axis campaign is to combat communism as a menace to the world. To our great regret, Foreign Minister MATSUOKA concluded a neutrality pact with Russia. This was not only a transgression of the national constitution, but also an irreverence to the Emperor. In doing this MATSUOKA was disloyal to his country.

"We need argue no further for the punishment of the Anglo-Saxon peoples, but we wish to stress here and now that any nation which hinders the holy mission of our divine land must at all costs be castigated. If the pro-British and leftist persons in our midst are allowed to carry on, the consequent peril to our constitution will be fatal to the national existence.

"Therefore the KONOYE Cabinet should immediately arrest all leftists in Manchuria and Korea as well as in the homeland. We must never forget the precious blood which tints the steppes of Nomonhan. We appeal to national patriotism to prevent the communists from carrying out their heinous plans."

On 15 June 1942, President YOSHIDA of the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO called together a Far Eastern Nations Meeting attended by Chandra BOSE of India and delegates from Manchukuo, China, Mongolia, Siam and Annam, at which he urged united action in the conflict with Britain and America. This meeting was the swan song of the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO. On 28 June 1942, the party decided to disband and to establish a new organization, the DAI NIHON ISSHIN KAI (Great Japan Renovation Society). In ringing down the curtain, the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO uttered the following dramatic speech:

"It is not without mixed feelings that we look back upon the twelve long years of our party's history, for we are now compelled to reorganize. The doctrines of our founder UCHIDA were informal and their essence should be passed from soul to soul. He ordered us to carry out our mission by deed as well

as in name. He expressed his patriotism in poetry: 'For fifty years I have wandered in the wilderness and have wept and wept for the future of the land.' It is for us to choose TAKAYAMA Hikokuro, not II Kamon no Kami, SAIGO Takamori, not OKUBO Toshimichi; for our heroes.*

"Look at the attitude of the DAI NIHON SEKISEI KAI (Great Japan Sincerity Society), the KENKOKU KAI (National Construction Society), the KOKUSUI TAISHU TO (National Essence Masses Party), the DAI NIHON TO (Great Japan Party), and the TOHO KAI (Eastern Society), which have chosen the easy road and have allowed themselves to be absorbed by the Imperial Rule Assistance Association. We will not consent to absorption of our party by the Imperial Rule Assistance Association but will stand alone and individually in carrying out our mission."

That the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO did not pass out of existence entirely, but was merely reactivated under a new name, is attested by the roster of the new society's officers:

SOSAI (President): YOSHIDA Masuzo
 KOMON (Advisors): KOBAYASHI Junichiro
 TOYAMA Mitsuru
 SOMU IIN CHO (Managing Director): KAGEYAMA Masaharu
 SOMU (Directors): CHIBA Tomojiro KONO Iwao
 FUNAJI Toshishige ONOBE Hideo
 HOSHII Shincho (Masumi) OTA Iwao
 KAWAKAMI Toshiharu SHIBAYAMA Mitsuru
 KOIKE Ginjiro SHIRAI Tameo
 ZENKOKU SEINEN TAI CHO (All-Japan Youth Corps Leader):
 KAWAKAMI Toshiharu

The DAI NIHON SEISAN TO was one of the worst of the Japanese ultra-nationalist organizations. In the eleven years of its existence it stood squarely behind every ultra-nationalist political movement, however petty. Among its officers and members were numbered many of the most unscrupulous ultra-nationalists in the land; among them were several who were involved more than once in the murder incidents which characterized the nineteen-thirties.

DAI NIHON SEKISEI KAI
 (Great Japan Sincerity Society)
 November, 1940 -

Nationalist

On 20 October 1940 the DAI NIHON SEINEN TO (Great Japan Youth Party) of HASHIMOTO Kingoro decided to disband in order to avoid political interference with the TAISEI YOKUSAN KAI (Imperial Rule Assistance Association) which had just been formed primarily to replace the political parties. In its stead it was decided to organize the DAI NIHON SEKISEI KAI (Great Japan Sincerity Society) as a "theoretical, non-political, cultural body." At the inaugural meeting of the new organization, held before the Meiji Shrine on

* TAKAYAMA and SAIGO disapproved the opening of Japan at the time of the Meiji Restoration whereas II and OKUBO stood out against the importation of occidental ideas.

3 November and attended by fifty members, the party declared, "The present situation of the Empire inspires us to rise. We hereby pledge that by establishing the DAI NIHON SEKISEI KAI we devote ourselves to the performance of the wills of the gods. Gods help us," and set up the following redundant principles:

- "1. We shall train our will, our devotion and our sincerity to the accomplishment of the Imperial Restoration.
- "2. We shall strengthen the vitality of the Japanese race in a positive way.
- "3. We shall endeavor to expand our racial culture.
- "4. We shall devote ourselves to the establishment of national defense organizations in our respective professional fields.
- "5. We shall devote ourselves to the preparation of national defense."

It is reported that this group was one of those which brought pressure on Prince KONOYE, during the last weeks of his premiership, to declare war against the United States, because nothing was to be gained from "hostile Americans." When TOJO succeeded KONOYE the DAI NIHON SEKISEI KAI joined a group of societies to petition him for war.

The old DAI NIHON SEINEN TO crowd filled the official positions, and there was little change during the following years:

Officers in 1940:

KAICHO (President): HASHIMOTO Kingoro
 SHINGI IINKAI GICHO (Chief Councillor): OGAWA Kiichi
 KUNREN KYOKU CHO (Training Bureau Chief): KURONUMA Toshiharu
 SHOMU KYOKU CHO (Administration Bureau Chief): MASUDA Ken
 SHUPPAN KYOKU CHO (Publication Bureau Chief): KURUMA Kyo
 KUNREN BUCHO (Training Section Chief): HAMA Yuji
 SOSHIKI BUCHO (Organization Section Chief): TAKATSUGI Noboru
 G.KUSEIDAN BUCHO (Student Group Section Chief): AMEMIYA Kikuo

Officers in 1941:

KAICHO (President): HASHIMOTO Kingoro
 SHINGI IINKAI GICHO (Chief Councillor): OGAWA Kiichi
 JIMU SOCHO (Secretary): ADACHI Juroku
 KUNREN KYOKU CHO (Training Bureau Chief): KURONUMA Toshiharu
 KUNREN BUCHO (Training Section Chief): HAMA Yuji
 SOSHIKI BUCHO (Organization Section Chief): TAKATSUGI Noboru
 SHOMU KYOKU CHO (Administration Bureau Chief): MASUDA Ken
 SHUPPAN KYOKU CHO (Publication Bureau Chief): KURUMA Kyo
 KOEN BUCHO (Lecture Section Chief): KONDO Yoshiharu

Officers in 1942:

KAICHO (President): HASHIMOTO Kingoro
 KUNREN BUCHO (Training Section Chief): AMEMIYA Kikuo
 SHOMU BUCHO (Administration Section Chief): HASHIMOTO Otoyuki
 SHINGI IN (Councillors):
 ADACHI Juroku
 HAMA Yuji
 KIDO Kohei
 KONDO Yoshiharu
 KURONUMA Toshiharu
 KURUMA Kyo
 OGAWA Kiichi
 TAKATSUGI Noboru
 HASHIMOTO KENKYU JO IN (HASHIMOTO Research Institute Staff):
 HOSHINO Noboru

HOMBU KANJI (Headquarters Secretaries):
 MAOKA Masuyoshi
 NARUKI Fumiyo
 OHASHI Saburo
 SEKIYA Koji
 YOSHIZAWA Gen

Although the DAI NIHON SEKISEI KAI was supposed to be non-political, police records list the society as one of the groups which strove to assume leadership of the Imperial Rule Assistance Movement. They succeeded badly in their aspirations to paint a political picture because HASHIMOTO and his followers became a dissenting element in the TAISEI YOKUSAN KAI (Imperial Rule Assistance Association) by early 1941. However, they were happier in their effort to infiltrate the DAI NIHON YOKUSAN SONEN DAN (Great Japan Assistance Manhood Group) because as soon as February, 1942, the Ishikawa Ken branch of the Manhood Group reported that it had admitted a large number of members of the DAI NIHON SEKISEI KAI, whom it considered "eminently suitable" for membership. In August, 1944, a reorganization of the Manhood Group placed HASHIMOTO Kingoro as Headquarters Chief and a preponderance of DAI NIHON SEKISEI KAI men as officers.

It would appear that HASHIMOTO and his group devoted themselves more and more to their outside political interests and let the DAI NIHON SEKISEI KAI gradually weaken and die.

DAI NIHON TO
 (Great Japan Party)
 July, 1940 - May, 1942

Nationalist

In July, 1940, the NIHON KAKUSHIN TO (Japan Reform Party) dissolved in order that some of its leaders under AKAMATSU Katsumaro might join KONOYE's new party, while others led by S.S.I Itcho organized the DAI NIHON TO (Great Japan Party). Principles developed by the party in 1941 were:

1. Strengthen the Axis relationship of Japan, Germany and Italy.
2. Promote an understanding with Russia as to future international policy.
3. Acquire a strong sphere of influence in the Dutch East Indies.
4. Establish a mighty national defense.
5. Amalgamate all KOKI (Rise Asia) bodies.
6. Establish the Great East Asia Coprosperity Sphere.
7. Defeat by force all besieging powers of the ABCD line.
8. Prohibit any cooperation with the CHUNG government of China.
9. Turn over Hong Kong, Amoy and other foreign settlements in China to the Nanking government.
10. Render the Dutch East Indies independent.
11. Obtain acknowledgment of Japan's world leadership.
12. Disarm the British and American forces in the Far East.

Officials in 1940 were:

SOSAI (President): S.S.I Itcho

SOMU (Directors): HANGAI Tamazo
 ISHIWATA Santatsu
 KANDA Masahiko
 KOGA Takeshi
 MORI Eiichi
 SUGITA Shogo

CHUO KANJI (Central Secretaries):
 ARAI Yoshitaro
 ATOBE Akira
 HARAYAMA Haruyuki
 HASHIMOTO Torataro
 IDO Kiichi
 ISHII Mitsunaga
 ISO Suketomo

CHUO IIN (Central Committee):

KOBAYASHI Furutoshi
 MATSUMURO Takanori
 MIYAGAKI Kiichiro
 NAKAHAMA Hironobu
 NAKAJIMA Seiichi
 UNAMI Tasaburo
 WATANABE Kiichi

YOSHIKAWA Bumpei
 AKIYAMA Kotaro
 OKAMURA Kurejiro
 OKUDA Zenichi
 NEMOTO Kusakichi
 TAKAHASHI Seiji

This was one of the societies which in the autumn of 1941 petitioned the new Premier TOJO to declare war on the United States and Great Britain.

It is reported that the party supported ten candidates not recommended by the government in the 1942 Diet election and that four of these candidates were elected. It is intimated that although S.S.I and his group opposed the policies of the YOKUSAN SEIJI KAI (Imperial Rule Assistance Political Society) they found it necessary to conform after the election and hence dissolved the DAI NIHON TO to form the non-political YAMATO MUSUBI (Yamato Knot).

KINRO NIHON TO
 (Labor Japan Party)
 April, 1934 -

National-Socialist

The KINRO NIHON TO (Labor Japan Party) was established on 29 April 1934 by amalgamation of the SHIN NIHON KENSETSU DOMEI (New Japan Construction League) with the NIHON RODO DOMEI (Japan Labor League) group which seceded from the NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI TO JUMBI KAI (Japan National Socialist Party Preparatory Association). Officials of the party were:

SORI (President): MATSUTANI Yojiro
 TOMU CHO (Party Affairs Chief): KONDO Eizo
 CHUO JONIN SHIKKO IIN (Central Standing Executive Committee):
 FUKUDA Ginjiro
 IGARASHI Takashi
 KAWAIDE Yujiro
 KUMAMOTO Yoichi
 SAITO Takeya
 USAMI Katsuji

KOMON (Advisors): FURUNO Shuzo
 KAGAWA Toyohiko
 MAJIMA Ken

OYA Shozo
 SHIMANUKA Yuzo
 YAMAZAKI Kesaya

The NIHON RODO DOIMEI (Japan Labor League) joined the NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor) in November, 1934. In March, 1934, KONDO Eizo's group seceded. MATSUTANI Yojiro ran unsuccessfully in the general election of 1936 and died in February, 1937. In the Diet election of 1937 FUKADA Ginjiro ran from MATSUTANI's former constituency but likewise failed to be elected. Hence, the party lost all influence and died a natural death.

KODO KAI
(Imperial Way Society)
April, 1933-April, 1942

National-Socialist

The KODO KAI (Imperial Way Society) was established on 5 April 1933 by a group of army reservists in Tokyo in cooperation with the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (Japan Farmers' Union) of HIRANO Rikizo. It advocated the overthrow of the old political parties, the reorganization of the capitalist system, and the establishment of a state-controlled economy. When first organized, the society was controlled largely by ex-military personnel who held the important offices at headquarters and whose influence was apparent in the association's activity on behalf of the nationalists in the KOKUTAI MEICHO UNDO (National Constitution Clarification Movement) in 1935. Officials in this early period were old reservist officers such as TODOROKI Morizo, TAKADA Toyoki, KUROSAWA Shinichiro, and TOMIYA Masaichi.

Later the reservists began to lose interest, and the control of the party shifted to the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI group led by HIRANO Rikizo. In 1936 the bankruptcy of HIRANO's brother Masukichi, a director of the Hishu Lumber Co. Ltd. who had provided a large share of the finance, threw the organization into financial difficulties. The reservist group paid little heed to this predicament and indeed opposed the activities of HIRANO and his farmers in soliciting funds to save the party. The breach between the two groups, reservist and agrarian, gradually widened until financial straits practically put the party out of business in July, 1936. As a result of disputes within the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI many branches were dissolved.

In 1937, HIRANO Rikizo and INATOMI Ayato ran for the lower house of the Diet on a KODO KAI ticket supported by NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI; HIRANO was elected. Officials of the KODO KAI were:

KAICHO (President):	KUROSAWA Shinichiro
KANJI CHO (Chief Director):	YAMASHITA Kihachiro
JONIN KANJI (Standing Directors):	
HIRANO Rikizo	OKUNO Kotaro
ICHIKAWA Setsutaro	SHIMOTO Teizo
KAWATA Hiroshi	SHIMAZAKI Yuzo
KITAYAMA Ishizo	SODA Shinkichi
NABEKURA Hajime	SUDO Junji
NAKAMURA Nakao	TAKAHASHI Tokokichi
OBATA Kinichiro	TSUKAKOSHI Sho
	TSUNETSUGU Toyoo

After the KODO KAI was taken over by the former group, its influence was strongest in HIRANO's home prefecture, Yamanashi Ken. This influence declined greatly due to such incidents as police opposition to attempts to distribute leaflets criticizing forced sale of rice to the government. The society remained active in a small

way in support of tenancy, fertilizer-distribution and other reforms. In 1939 HIRANO threw the weight of the party behind the NOCHI SEIDO KAIKAKU DOMEI (Agricultural Land System Reform League) with such well-known socialists as SUGIYAMA Motojiro, MIYAKE Shoichi, SUZUKI Bunji and KATAYAMA Tetsu, and such seceders from the TOHO KAI (Eastern Society) as YOSHITANI Yoshiji, MATSUURA Kanco and OISHI Hiroshi.

At the 76th session of the Diet in February, 1941, HIRANO presented the National Administration of Agricultural Lands Bill, with the objective of nationalizing lands not cultivated by their owners. The bill was held over for the next session "because of its importance."

Although HIRANO was reelected to the Diet in 1942 as a KODO KAI candidate without IR.PS recommendation, the interests of the KODO KAI and the NOCHI SEIDO KAIKAKU DOMEI were causing trouble. The NOCHI SEIDO KAIKAKU DOMEI was disbanded in March, 1942, by order of the police, for participating in class struggle in time of war. The strong measures taken by the government were approved, especially by the land owners, who considered that "the league, by uniting tenant farmers and ignoring the right of private ownership, had attempted to cause confusion in the agrarian population" and that "such class struggles colored by democratic thought should not be allowed in time of war." HIRANO's KODO KAI branches in Yamanashi Ken, Fukuoka Ken and Osaka Fu were ordered closed on 2 April 1942. Other branches, which had taken no part in the political agitation, were allowed to continue, but they too petered out in due course.

KOKUMIN KYOKAI
(People's Association)
July, 1933-July, 1937

National-Socialist

After his secession from the NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI TO (Japan National Socialist Party) in May, 1933, AKAMATSU Katsumaro joined forces with TSUKUI Tatsuo, who had been expelled from the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO (Great Japan Production Party). Together they organized the KOKUMIN KYOKAI (People's Association) on 22 July 1933, stating in their prospectus that the organization was neither political nor cultural but a national cultural movement. Officials of the group were:

<u>1933:</u>	<u>1936</u>
KAICHO (President): AKAMATSU Katsumaro	AKAMATSU Katsumaro
SOMU CHO (General Manager): TSUKUI Tatsuo	TSUKUI Tatsuo
JOMU RIJI (Standing Director): KURATA Momozo	KURATA Momozo
KANJI (Directors): MORI Kiyooto (Seion) OKI Yuzo	ISHIZUKA Kojiro MORIMOTO Ko TSURUSHIMA Saburo

In September, 1933, the KOKUMIN KYOKAI and the DAI NIHON SEINEN DOMEI, former youth corps of the DAI NIHON SEISAN TO which had seceded with TSUKUI, joined functionally to form the SEINEN NIHON DOMEI (Youth of Japan League) but organizationally retained their separate identities.

In 1936 the KOKUMIN KYOKAI was registered as a political party in order that AKAMATSU and TSUKUI might run for the Diet in February

of that year. Since both failed to be elected, the party was dissolved in November, 1936, to prepare for amalgamation with other groups into the NIHON KAKUSHIN TO (Japan Reform Party) in July, 1937.

MEIRIN KAI
(Enlightened Way Society)
May, 1933-1943

Nationalist

The MEIRIN KAI was formed on 16 May 1933 after ISHIHARA Ko-ichiro withdrew his financial support from the JIMMU KAI and broke away from OKAWA Shumci's group. TANAKA Kunishige, the president, made the following announcement at the opening meeting:

"As a result of the acknowledgement of Manchurian independence our nation has been compelled to withdraw from the League of Nations. The only way in which we may meet this critical situation is to unite behind a powerful government. Corruption in the present political parties is leading the country to destruction. Hence the sacrifice of the precious blood of our heroes in Manchuria and Mongolia may be in vain. We regard it as our profound duty to rise at this time and appeal to the patriotism of the people for support."

At the same time, the principles of the society were announced as follows:

1. Loyalty to the sovereign, reverence toward the eternal national constitution, and promulgation of patriotic ideas based on the oracles of Emperor JIMMU.
2. Abolishment of existing political parties and formation of a single nationalistic party.
3. Realization of the Greater East Asia theory, enhancement of national prestige and reform of the foreign policies of the government.
4. Equality of armament with other nations, for national defense and for support of the Imperial authority.
5. Reform of economic and industrial policies, readjustment of taxation, encouragement of foreign trade.

Officers were:

SOSAI (President):	TANAKA Kunishige	
RIJI (Directors):	IKI Susumu	NAKAYAMA Ken
	ASHIZAWA Keisuke	NAKAZU Shinzaemon
	FUTAGOISHI Kantaro	NINOMIYA Kenichi
	FUTAMI Jinkyō	OKUDAIRA Shunzo
	HASHIMOTO Saisuke	OYAMA Unojirō
	IMAI Nobuo	SAITO Kiyoshi (Ryu)
	INOUE Katsuyoshi	SHIMANOUCHI Kunihiko
	ISHIHARA Koichiro	SOSA Tanetsugu
	KATO Sejiro	TAKADA Toyoki
	KUDO Gokichi	TODA Tadayasu
	MASUDA Otsusaburo	WATANABE Ryoze
	MATSUO Chujiro	YAMADA Guntaro
	NAKAGAWA Kinzo	YAMADA Hidco
	NAKAMURA Shiota	YASUI Yoshinosuko
SODAN YAKU (Consultants):	HORIGUCHI Kumaichi	
	ISHIMITSU Masaomi	
	TAKAYAMA Hironichi	
	TOGO Kichitaro	
	TOKUGAWA Yoshichika	

INOUE Seijun, KATO Masatake and SUGIYAMA Shigemaru joined the consultants in 1935.

TANAKA opposed involving the society in politics. ISHIHARA favored cooperation with other societies such as the KODO KAI (Imperial Way Society) and the SHIN NIHON KOKUMIN DOMEI (New Japan People's League) on political issues. In February, 1935, TANAKA called a special meeting at which he announced that thenceforth the MEIRIN KAI would avoid politics. That TANAKA was powerless to steer the association clear of the problems of the day, however, is shown by the records of the second general meeting on 21 April 1935, which concerned itself primarily with the questions of clarification of the national constitution and the prefectural government elections and which declared:

"Negotiations for the transfer of the North China Railway have been completed. Sino-Japanese relations have been neutralized. The South Sea Mandate question has subsided. As a result there is a tendency to consider all national problems solved. The actual situation, however, is not improved.

"Many problems remain current. China has not yet recognized our sincerity, while America, Britain and Russia are as interested as ever in fulfilling their ambitions in China. The unfair armament ratio forced upon us at the Disarmament Conference and the unlawful boycotting of our merchandise, coupled with such internal problems as corruption in the political parties, incompetent government policy, agrarian difficulties and the heretical 'Organic Theory of the Emperor,' place the nation in such a precarious state that we must not only maintain but expand the present national power."

This year 1935 proved a very active one for the society in that it proceeded to address a number of petitions to the Prime Minister, The War Minister and the Navy Minister urging prompt action regarding the 'Organic Theory'.

On 21 April 1935, a Youth Department was established within the society, with the following officers:

BU CHO (Department Chief):	KATO Sojiro	MORITA Jiro
SODAN YAKU (Consultants):	MIYANO Ryuji	NAKAGAWA Yasusaku
	GOTO Arihiro	TORIYAMA Yoshitako
	MATSUMOTO Tomitaro	UEKI Kansho
KANJI (Directors):	ENOMOTO Hisaichi	ISHIZUKA Masanari
	ESHIMA Hiroshi	KIJIMA Koyo
	HASEGAWA Yoshio	TAKENAMI Masayoshi
	TOKORO Takuo	
HYOGIIN (Councillors):	HASHINO Ryuji	NIJIMA Shigeichi
	HOJO Motoo	ONO Teruyuki
	KUBODERA Seiji	TAI Hiroshi
	KUGIMIYA Sugao	TAKAO Shinichiro
	MIZUTANI Kiyoto	TERAMOTO Masao
	NAGASATO Kunio	YAMAMOTO Shinzo
	NAKANO Yorimitsu	YOSHINO Meijigoro

Its platform was:

1. Promotion of the National Spirit and the destruction of heresies concerning the national constitution.
2. Formation of a more powerful government.

3. Encouragement of foreign trade.
4. Establishment of a strong foundation in the Orient by a positive foreign policy.
5. Fulfillment of Japan's original aims at the Disarmament Conference and preparedness for the future in case of failure.

The Youth Department announced:

"This Youth Department has been established in accordance with the divine oracle of Emperor JIMMU in order that we may best serve our country and be loyal to our Sovereign. It is our great duty to combat heretical doctrines which confuse our nation's constitution."

In 1936 S. ITO Kiyoshi and ISHIIHARA Koichiro were arrested for their implication in the 2-26 Incident. As a result ISHIIHARA, financier of the MEIRIN KAI, decided to withdraw from all rightist activities. His resignation from the society was followed by withdrawals on the part of INOUE Katsuyoshi and TOKUGAWA Yoshichika. President TANAKA, in consultation with Lieutenant General WATANABE Ryozo and other directors, determined to hush up the affair for the sake of the association's prestige. On 13 December, however, the OSAKA MAINICHI headlined a report, "Disturbance in the MEIRIN KAI caused by ISHIIHARA's resignation," which was all but fatal despite the society's protest that the report was a libelous lie. As a result of the 2-26 affair the MEIRIN KAI lay low and all but died on the vine. During 1936 it raised its voice only once to demand a firm stand toward China in connection with the SEITO JIKEN (Chongtu Incident), the murder of Japanese residents at Chongtu.

In 1937 the appointment of the HAYASHI Cabinet to succeed the HIROTA government prompted the society to reenter the political scene to the extent of supporting its members IMAI Shinzo and H. SHIMOTO Saisuke for election to the lower house of the Diet. IMAI was successful.

In 1938, as the conflict in China intensified, the MEIRIN KAI called for a diligent military campaign in order that the China problem might be settled quickly and lest Japan's national resources be dissipated. It urged that Japan ignore the protests of Britain and France in the occupation of Hainan Island.

In 1939 ISHIIHARA Koichiro's return to leadership in the group recovered some of its lost influence even though the man was at that period more active in the TOA KENSETSU KOKUMIN DOMEI (East Asia Establishment People's League). At the general meeting of 30 March 1939 the society declared that the New Order in Greater East Asia would fail unless the CHUNG government be destroyed, unless Japan ally herself immediately with the Axis powers and unless she alter her compromising attitude toward third-power support of CHUNG. This resolution was sent to the Premier and to the Japanese ambassadors in Berlin and Rome. On 4 July the MEIRIN KAI's Yokohama branch manager SONODA Shizuo called on the British Embassy in Tokyo to deliver a sharp rebuke concerning the British Concession in Tientsin.

In January, 1940, the society admonished the government for its attitude toward Great Britain with regard to the search of the ASAMA MARU on the high seas and urged military occupation of the Dutch East Indies, French Indo-China, Hong Kong and Singapore, interference in the European war and (again) the signing of an alliance with Germany and Italy.

After President TANAKA's demise on 19 February 1941, opinion in the MEIRIN KAI was divided on the question of continuing the society.

One group under the leadership of WATANABE Ryozo advocated dissolution, while a second party favored continuance under a new chief, for which post ISHIIHARA was considered most suitable. After careful consideration it was decided to dissolve the association and establish a new society, the MEIRIN RENGO KAI (Enlightened Way Alliance), which in November, 1942, resolved to establish a medical school in Java.

The MEIRIN KAI published the magazine MEIRIN (Enlightened Way) and the newspaper MEIRIN SHIMPO (Enlightened Way News). Its membership, largely concentrated in Tokyo, rose from 16,147 in 1933 to more than 50,000 in 1939, according to police records.

This society was important as a medium for the political machinations of the wealthy ISHIIHARA Koichiro, whose supposed financial support of the 2-26 insurrection brought him to trial and whose investments in the South Seas and elsewhere gave him a more than casual interest in foreign affairs.

NIHON KAKUSHIN TO
(Japan Reform Party)
July, 1937-July, 1940

Nationalist

In February, 1937, just before the general election, AKAMATSU Katsumaro, ETO Genkuro and SASAI Itcho organized a joint effort on the part of various candidates and their supporting right-wing groups as a united front in the election campaign. The resultant organization known as the SEIJI KAKUSHIN KYOGI KAI (Political Reform Council) ran twelve candidates:

AKAMATSU Katsumaro
ETO Genkuro
IMAMURA Hitoshi
KOIKE Shiro
MIYASHITA Manabu
NAKAHARA Kinji

SUGIYAMA Okijiro
SUYAMA Tokutaro
TOKI Takeshi
TSUKUI Tatsuo
TSUNODA Tamotsu
YAMAZAKI Tsunekichi

of whom five were elected:

AKAMATSU Katsumaro
ETO Genkuro
KOIKE Shiro
NAKAHARA Kinji
YAMAZAKI Tsunekichi

After the election in July, 1937, the NIHON KAKUSHIN TO (Japan Reform Party) was organized by amalgamation of groups from the SHIN NIHON KOKUMIN DOMEI (New Japan People's League) of SASAI Itcho, the KOKUMIN KYOKAI (People's Association) of AKAMATSU Katsumaro, the AIKOKU SEIJI DOMEI (Patriotic Political League) of KOIKE Shiro and the AIKOKU KAKUSHIN RENMEI (Patriotic Reform League) of ITO Shinji. Principles of the party were:

1. Rejection of all political forms of government based on individualism and socialism, and establishment of a constitutional government peculiarly Japanese.
2. Reform of the capitalistic economic structure and establishment of a nationally planned economy with the national interest and the livelihood of the people as its objectives.

3. Creation of a peaceful new world order based on the principles of racial concord and equal distribution of resources.
4. Increase of armaments sufficient to maintain the national safety and to carry out the national policies.
5. Exaltation of the Japanese spirit and promotion of a vigorous national culture.

Officers of the society were:

SOMU IINCHO (Chairman of the Directorate): ETO Genkuro
 TOMU CHO (Party Affairs Chief): AKAMATSU Katsumaro
 TOMU IIN (Party Affairs Committee):

AIDA Jinsaku	KURU Kozo
AKAZAKI Torazo	MATSUSHITA Hikoichi
HAGIWARA Katsujiro	MIKI Suketaka
HANGAI Tamazo	MORIMOTO Ko
ISHIBASHI Tsutomu	NAKAJIMA Arajiro
ISHIZUKA Kojiro	NISHIMOTO Takashi
ITO Shinji	OTSUKI Masaaki
KANDA Hyozo	SASAI Itcho
KOIKE Shiro	TAKAYAMA Kyuzo
KURATA Momozo	TSUKUI Tatsuo

YAMAZAKI Tsunekichi

In 1939, when the possibility of a new political party under the leadership of Prince KONOYE Fumimaro began to be discussed, AKAMATSU Katsumaro became interested in the new movement. This interest resulted in his estrangement from ETO Genkuro. In December, 1939, ETO withdrew from the NIHON KAKUSHIN TO to join the DAI NIHON SEINEN TO (Great Japan Youth Party), taking with him the party youth corps, the NIHON KAKUSHIN SEINEN TAI (Japan Reform Youth Corps).

In July, 1940, the NIHON KAKUSHIN TO was dissolved in order that AKAMATSU might join KONOYE's new party and in order that SASAI Itcho might organize the DAI NIHON TO (Great Japan Party).

NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI TO National-Socialist
 (Japan National Socialist Party)
 May, 1932-February, 1934

The NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI TO (Japan National Socialist Party) was established on 29 May 1932, under the leadership of AKAMATSU Katsumaro who had been endeavoring to change the SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party) into a national socialist party. AKAMATSU took with him into the nationalist camp his TEIYU DOSHI KAI (Communications Workers' Comrades Society), and attracted to his banner other right-wing elements of the SHAKAI MINSHU TO such as HIRANO Rikizo and his NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (Japan Farmers' Union), and IIMURA Hitoshi and his NIHON RODO DOMEI (Japan Labor League). Officials elected were:

TOMU CHO (Party Affairs Chairman): AKAMATSU Katsumaro
 JONIN CHUO SHIKKO IIN (Standing
 Central Executive Committee):

AKI Sei	MOCHIZUKI Genji
HIRANO Rikizo	NOGUCHI Ei-ji
IIMURA Hitoshi	SUYAMA Tokutaro
KOIKE Shiro	YAMAMOTO Kamejir
MAJIMA Kan	YAMANA Yoshitsuu

CHUO SHIKKO IIN (Central
Executive Committee):

ASA Konosuke	MIZUHARA Tomojiro
ASAI Keigo	MIZUTANI Kakichi
FUJIOKA Bunroku	MORI Takamori
HIRAI Yoshito	NISHI Kenichiro
HONGO Otsuchi	SHIRATORI Hirochika
INTOMI Ayato	TAKETSUGI Noboru
IRIMAJIRI Yoshiyasu	TAKIGAWA Sueichi
IWAMOTO Kenichi	TAMURA Hidekichi
KAMIKAWANA Takeo	TANAKA Masanori
KAN Shunei	TO Kiyoshi
KITAYAMA Iyozo	UDANO Kisaburo
KUBOTA Kunimatsu	UMESU Jisaku
MITSUYOSHI Etsushin	YAMAMOTO Ryusuke
MIURA Toranosuke	YONEMURA Chotaro

As its general policy the party announced, "The party pledges itself to establish a new Japan in which there will be no exploitation of the people and which will be based on the national spirit of one sovereign over all."

Declared objectives were:

- "1. The party pledges itself to abolish capitalistic government and to establish government by the Emperor, through popular movements.
- "2. The party pledges itself to abolish the capitalistic system by lawful means and to safeguard the livelihood of the people by means of a controlled economy.
- "3. The party pledges itself to emancipate the Asiatic peoples on the basis of racial equality and an equal sharing of resources."

The new party had hardly been formed before disputes divided its ranks. First, AKAMATSU's own TEIYU DOSHI KAI accused him of forgetting his socialist principles in advising the union to abandon class struggle and to adopt a nationalistic platform; the union's Central Committee excommunicated him on 30 May 1933. Next, HIRANO Rikizo's NIHON NOMIN KUMI-KAI, which had pledged equal support to the NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI TO and to the KODO KAI (Imperial Way Society), objected to the former party's increasing nationalism and passed a unanimous resolution on 24 June 1933 to withdraw its support. On 22 July 1933, the day before a Central Committee Meeting, AKAMATSU and eleven of his colleagues* sent in their resignations.

At the Central Committee meeting of 23 July 1933, SHIRATORI Hirochika moved that the interpretation of the guiding principles of the party be fully discussed because "while it was understood at inauguration that our party was to be a national-socialist one, within one year it has fostered a group which forgets socialism and advocates nationalism only." After heated debate the party split

* AKAMATSU's group of seceders included:

AKAMATSU Iwomaro	KOCHI Tomoyoshi
AKAMATSU Katsumaro	KOIKE Kunitaro
KAMIKAWANA Takeo	MORIMOTO Ko
KAN Shunei	SATO Moriyoshi

TOYAMA Masaichi

asunder into two groups, one of national-socialists and one of pure socialists. When a ballot was taken, the national-socialists won by a vote of 19 to 13. The pure socialists withdrew, leaving only the KOIKE Shiro clique to support what was thenceforth a nationalist party.

After the July, 1933, internal combustion officials of the party were:

TOMU CHO (Party Affairs Chairman): SUYAMA Tokutaro
 SOSHIKI BU CHO (Organization Section Chief): OTSUKI Masaaki
 ZAIMU BU CHO (Finance Section Chief): KOIKE Shiro
 SEIMU BU CHO (Political Section Chief): KOIKE Shiro
 SANGYO BU CHO (Production Section Chief): IMAMURA Hitoshi

At a general meeting on 24 February 1934 the party changed its name to AIKOKU SEIJI DOMEI (Patriotic Political League) and adopted slogans which clearly signified its nationalistic character:

Smash party politics and the capitalistic cliques.
 Carry out Imperial Reforms

SANROKU KURABU

Nationalist

(3 - 6 Club)

November, 1933-January, 1938

MIZUHO KURABU

(Fresh Rice Plant Club)

January, 1938--

The SANROKU KURABU (3-6 Club), established on 18 November 1933, was not overtly political, but was important in political circles because of the influence of its leading members such as KOBAYASHI Junichiro and because a number of its lesser members were seceders from the AIKOKU SEIJI DOMEI in 1936. Its platform was social as well as political:

1. Purification of the political world through promotion of the Imperial Way.
2. Advancement of the national interests through union of the populace and the military.
3. Promotion of village communities under ideal local conditions.

The resolutions published at inauguration were grandiosely ideological:

- "1. The SANROKU KURABU shall be the nucleus of various parties to be formed throughout the country.
- "2. The present situation is deemed conducive to the formation of a powerful organization.
- "3. People will be called upon to form branches throughout the country.
- "4. Subsidiary organizations shall abide by the same principles as the parent body and shall be appropriately named after completion of the SANROKU KURABU's organization.
- "5. For the time being activity shall be limited to discussion of national problems from the spiritual point of view."

Officials of the new society were:

JONIN RIJI (Standing Directors):

IDA Iwakusu
KOBAYASHI Junichiro
MATSUE Toyoki
SAEKI Shotai

RIJI (Directors):

ANDO Ryoetsu
ARIMA Shigesuke
ASADA Ryoitsu
FUTAGOISHI Kantaro
HORIGUCHI Kumaichi
INOUE Seijun
KAGAWA Sakurao
KIKUCHI Takeo
MURANO Tatsuyoshi
MATSUMOTO Yuhei

MITSUOKA Yosuke
MIYASHITA Zenkichi
NANGO Jiro
OHARA Masatada
OI Narimoto
ROKKAKU Saburo
SHIGA Naokata
SHIODEN Nobutaka
TODOROKI Morizo
WATANABE Tei

YOSHIMI Ruyji

The society published a magazine, the "1936", each month, and a paper called the "SANROKU JOHO" (3-6 News) every ten days.

In 1935, when clarification of the national constitution became a favorite plank in the nationalist platform, the SANROKU KURABU participated vigorously in the campaign against Professor MINOBE Tatsukichi, the exponent of the "Organic Theory of the Emperor", among other things financing the activities of the TEIKOKU ZAIGO GUNJIN KAI (Imperial Military Reservists' Association) in its campaign against the MINOBE Theory.

In 1936 when the 2-26 affair took place, KOBAYASHI Junichiro was traveling in Manchuria, but other leaders such as ITO Kanji, MATSUMOTO Yuhei, NODA Yutaka and SHIODEN Nobutaka were said to have represented the society in sympathizing with the rebels and keeping them posted as to the trend of events. Realizing the seriousness of the situation KOBAYASHI rushed back from abroad and called a meeting at Kawasaki at which he praised the spirit of the recalcitrant troops before a group of thirty-three society members assembled from all parts of Japan. As a result KOBAYASHI, SHIODEN, MATSUMOTO, NODA, ITO, and YOSHIMI Ruyji were all thoroughly investigated by the police. YOSHIMI was charged with violation of the military penal code and the press law. The SANROKU KURABU was ordered dissolved by the police and the TEIKOKU ZAIGO GUNJIN KAI publicly renounced all connection with the association. KOBAYASHI barely saved the day by denying that the club had any political intentions, and by persuading the reservists to withdraw their declaration of independence.

In January, 1938, the SANROKU KURABU changed its name to MIZUHO KURABU (Fresh Rice Plant Club), a poetical name for Japan. The publication department altered its title from SANROKU SHI (3-6 Society) to JIEI SHI (Self-Defense Society).

At a general meeting in December, 1939, KOBAYASHI emphasized the danger latent in the relationship between America and Japan, after which the society petered out.

Although the SANROKU KURABU and the MIZUHO KURABU were never large, with a membership of about three hundred in 1933 and about two hundred in 1942, they were influential in their heyday because

of the widely deployed activities of KOBAYASHI and his like and because of the group's interest in such important questions as the MINOBE affair and the 2-26 Incident.

SHIN NIHON KENSETSU DOMEI
(New Japan Construction League)
August, 1932-April, 1934

National-Socialist

When MATSUTANI Yojiro returned from an inspection tour of Manchuria and China in November, 1931, he declared that the measures taken by the Japanese army to protect Japanese interests had been necessary and that the dispatch of troops had been unavoidable. In due course MATSUTANI withdrew from the ZENKOKU RONO TAISHU TO (All-Japan Labor-Farmer Masses Party) group when it amalgamated with the SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party) in July, 1932, to form the SHAKAI TAISHU TO (Social Masses Party). In August, 1932, MATSUTANI organized the SHIN NIHON KENSETSU DOMEI (New Japan Construction League).

The general policy of the party, establishment of a Japan in which there would be no capitalist exploitation of labor, showed its nationalistic color in the declared principles:

1. Establishment of a state-controlled economic structure.
2. Fundamental reform of parliamentary politics.
3. Establishment of an economic bloc to include Japan, China, and Manchuria.
4. Foundation of an oriental nation governed by a single sovereign.
5. Establishment of labor-farmer unions based on nationalism.

Officials of the party were:

KAICHO (Chairman): MATSUTANI Yojiro
KAIKEI (Treasurer): EBINE Hitoshi
RIJI (Directors): FUKUDA Iseshiro
 INOUE Toshimaru
 KOMATSUBARA Mitsutaro
 TAWARA Tsugio
 TSURUOKI Sadayuki

The League organized a youth corps called the SHIN NIHON KENSETSU KODO TAI (New Japan Construction Action Corps) whose rules read:

- "1. We men of one mind pledge ourselves to stand in the front line of a popular movement based on socialism and devoted to the construction of a New Japan.
- "2. We pledge ourselves to a program which will abolish all things which exist without reason and to build a society in which there will be no exploitation of labor.
- "3. We pledge ourselves to take part in practical action as ordered by our commandant.
- "4. The basis of our comradeship is blood brotherhood."

The original version of the third clause of the rules contained the phrase "in defiance of death," which was ordered erased by the police.

In December, 1932, the party became closely affiliated with the KOKUMIN DOMEI (People's League) of ADACHI Kenzo. Eventually in April, 1934, the SHIN NIHON KENSETSU DOMEI amalgamated with a group of seceders from the KOKUMIN DOMEI to form the KINRON NIHON TO (Labor Japan Party).

SHIN NIHON KOKUMIN DOMEI
(New Japan People's League)
May, 1932-July, 1937

National-Socialist

The SHIN NIHON KOKUMIN DOMEI (New Japan People's League) was organized in May, 1932 by SHIMONAKA Yasaburo, president of the publishing company, HEIBON SHA, who dreamed of a great political party uniting all national socialists. SHIMONAKA's first move was to organize an economic research society, the KEIZAI MONDAI KENKYU KAI (Economic Problems Research Society), in November, 1931, with the cooperation of SASAI Itcho, SUGITA Shogo and TAKESHISHI Chusaku. On 17 December 1931 he organized a meeting to which he invited AKAMITSU Katsumaro, leader of the national-socialist group of the SHUKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party), SHIMONAKA Yuzo and YAMAMOTO Kamejiro, who had seceded from the ZENKOKU RONO TAISHU TO (All Japan Labor Farmer Masses Party), SAKIMOTO Kozaburo, KONDO Eizo, TAKAYAMA Kyuzo and MORI Eiichi, representatives of the AIKOKU KINRO TO (Patriotic Labor Party), AMANO Tatsuo, KAMINAGA Bunzo and NAKATANI Takeyo, representatives of the NIHON SHUKAI SHUGI KENKYU JO (Japan Socialism Research Institute), ISHIKAWA Junjuro and MATSU-NOBU Shigeji. On 17 January 1932 the NIHON KOKUMIN SHUKAI TO JUMBI KAI (Japan People's Socialist Party Preparatory Association) was formed. However, the NIHON KOKUMIN SHUKAI TO (Japan People's Socialist Party) as envisioned was not realized because AKAMITSU Katsumaro withdrew to form his own party in opposition to which SHIMONAKA Yasaburo and his group organized the SHIN NIHON KOKUMIN DOMEI (New Japan People's League).

SHIMONAKA's party was formed on 29 May 1932 with the following officials:

CHUO IIN CHO (Central Committee Chairman): SHIMONAKA Yasaburo
SHOKI CHO (Chief Secretary): SASAI Itcho
CHUO JONIN IIN (Central Standing Committee):
AMANO Tatsuo
HAMADA Tojiro
KAMINAGA Bunzo
KANDA Hyozo
KONDO Eizo
MITSUKAWA Kametaro
MORI Eiichi
NAKATANI Takeo
SAKIMOTO Kozaburo
SANO Yoshio
TAKAYAMA Kyuzo
KOMON (Advisers): GONDO Seikyo
KANOKOGI Kazunobu
KISHI Yojiro
ONO Takeo
SHIMONAKA Yuzo

The oath of the party was "We shall build a new Japan in accordance with the principles of the foundation of the country, in which there will be no exploitation of labor." Principles of the party were declared as:

1. Realization by lawful means of complete control of the

YUZEI BUCHO (Canvassing Section Chief): TANAKA Yotatsu
 YUZEI FUKU BUCHO (Canvassing Section Vice-Chief): MITAMURA Takeo
 JOHO BUCHO (Information Section Chief): SUGIURA Takeo
 JOHO FUKU BUCHO (Information Section Vice-Chief): SATSUMA Yuji
 KAIKEI BUCHO (Accounting Section Chief): SUGIURA Takeo
 SOSHIKI BUCHO (Organization Section Chief): WATANABE Yasukuni
 GAIKO BUCHO (Foreign Policy Section Chief): NAKANO Seigo
 ZAISEI BUCHO (Finance Section Chief): WATANABE Yasukuni
 ZAISEI FUKU BUCHO (Finance Section Vice-Chief): OISHI Toshinori
 KEIZAI BUCHO (Economics Section Chief): ONO Kenichi
 KEIZAI FUKU BUCHO (Economics Section Vice-Chief):
 WATANABE Kishimatsu
 SHOKO BUCHO (Commerce and Industry Section Chief):
 BABA Motoharu
 SHOKO FUKU BUCHO (Commerce and Industry Section Vice-Chief):
 WATANABE Tadao
 KOKUBO BUCHO (National Defense Section Chief): SAITO Dokan
 KOKUBO FUKU BUCHO (National Defense Section Vice-Chief):
 WADA Bentaro
 NOSEI BUCHO (Agricultural Policy Section Chief): KIMURA Takeo
 NOSEI FUKU BUCHO (Agricultural Policy Section Vice-Chief):
 NIINA Shinzo

NAKANO Seigo assumed the chairmanship of the TOHO KAI upon his re-
 turn from a good will trip to Germany and Italy in 1937-1938.
 Officers in 1939 were:

KAICHO (Chairman): NAKANO Seigo
 KANJI (Secretary): SHINDO Kazuma
 ZENRUI KAIGI CHO (General Meeting Chairman): OISHI Hiroshi
 NOSON BUCHO (Agricultural Village Section Chief): OSHIMA Eiji
 TOSHI BUCHO (Urban Section Chief): AOKI Sakuo
 SEIMU CHOS. BUCHO (Political Affairs Investigation Section Chief):
 MITAMURA Takeo
 SOSHIKI SENDEN BUCHO (Organization and Propaganda Section Chief):
 KIMURA Takeo
 SEINEN BUCHO (Youth Section Chief): HONRYO Shinjiro
 KOMON (Advisers): HONDA Kumataro
 MIYAKE Yujiro
 NAKAMURA Ryozo
 TOKUPOMI Iichiro
 TOYAMA Mitsuru
 HYOGIEN (Consultants):
 KATO Mineo
 KOJIMA Seiichi
 KURATA Momozo
 MIYAZAKI Ryusuke
 MORI Mineichi
 NAKAYAMA Yu
 ONO Kenichi
 SAITO Dokan
 SATSUMA Yuji
 SEKINE Gumppei
 SHIMANAKA Yuzo
 SHIMIZU Yoshitaro
 SUGIURA Takeo
 TANAKA Yotatsu
 TODA Yoshimi
 WATANABE Yasukuni
 YOSHITANI Yoshiji

On 25 May 1938 the TOHO KAI held a meeting at which it was de-
 cided to back the NIHON NOMIN RENMEI (Japan Farmers' League), then
 in process of formation. MITAMURA Takeo attended the first meeting
 of the new league on 28 August 1938 and as the TOHO KAI representa-
 tive called attention to the necessity of uniting the people on
 totalitarian principles. In 1938 the society organized its youth
 corps.

In 1939 the TOHO KAI made an abortive attempt to cajole the SHAKAI TAISHU TO (Social Masses Party) and other proletarian political parties to support its Diet members. When NAKANO went with INAMURA Ryuichi on a good will trip to China, his absence from the Diet gave rise to intramural disputes in the party which almost caused its dissolution. The party outlived its difficulties, however, to become one of the leading political groups in the anti-British movement which arose over the Tientsin foreign concessions dispute.

In 1940 the TOHO KAI stood squarely behind the single political party movement of Prince KONOYE Fumimaro. In August, NAKANO announced the foundation of the SHINTO JUKU (Shake the East Academy) for the mental and physical training of students according to TOHO KAI principles. There was no voice of criticism with regard to NAKANO's prohibition of any opposition to KONOYE's new political party, but when he offered his personal support to the TOA REMMEI KYOKAI (East Asia League) of ISHIHARA Kanji and the TOA GAKUSEI REMMEI (East Asia Students League), his action was pronounced contrary to TOHO KAI principles. Hence he announced the dissolution of the TOHO KAI and the formation of the SHINTO SHI (Shake the East Society) as a cultural organization "free of all political color."

Early in 1941 NAKANO renamed the organization TOHO KAI, reiterating that it was non-political and purely cultural in order to avoid any suspicion that he and his cohorts were carrying on political activity outside the TAISEI YOKUSAN KAI (Imperial Rule Assistance Association). He contradicted himself in short order, however, when he re-registered the TOHO KAI as a political party and resigned his post as a SOMU (Director) of the IRAA, with the announcement:

"War has spread throughout the world. Our country has undergone five long years of fighting in China. It is our holy mission to promulgate a new order in Asia and to expel other powers from the Orient. It is the duty of the TOHO KAI to deliver the world from injustice and to light the way of civilization in the Far East."

About the same time MITAMURA Takeo, chief of the society's propaganda department, was arrested and held for several days by the police because of his announcement that Japan must abandon her dependence upon the United States for the solution of the China conflict since such dependence was contrary to the principles of the Japan-Germany-Italy Axis. It was apparent to those in the know that the TOHO KAI strongly opposed KONOYE's efforts to ensure peace.

Later, in May, 1941, NAKANO held a meeting with ADACHI Kenzo, AMINO Tatsuo, HASHIMOTO Kingoro, HAYASHI Senjuro, KOMAI Tokuzo, NAKAMURA Ryozo and SUETSUGU Nobumasa. He invited also TOKUTOMI Iichiro and TOYAMA Mitsuru, but they could not attend. In its discussion the group decided that Japan must concentrate her efforts on a penetration to the south. On 28 May the group sent a resolution to this effect to Prince KONOYE. Later in the summer, when it was rumored that KONOYE was negotiating with the United States, the TOHO KAI endeavored to have the resolution made public. On 13 September NAKANO attacked the government's "weak-kneed foreign policy" in a speech entitled "A Report to the People in Answer to Roosevelt and Churchill."

When the TOJO Cabinet was formed in October, 1941, the TOHO KAI backed it publicly in the expectation that a move would immediately

be made to the south. In November, 1941, however, the society sponsored the formation of the NANKO KAI (Southern Phoenix Society) as a campaign move against the IRAA. On 2 December NAKANO urged publicly that Japan abandon negotiations with America and launch an attack against her southern enemies. He announced the slogan, "We shall rise to the occasion if the TOJO Cabinet will not."

In 1942 the TOHO KAI supported forty-seven candidates in the government-engineered Diet election, but only six were successful because the government-supported men carried the day.* Although NAKANO had stubbornly opposed the formation of the YOKUSAN SEIJI KAI (Imperial Rule Assistance Political Society) he capitulated to join in May. Thereupon the TOHO KAI theoretically renounced all political connections with the following naive announcement:

- "1. In order to fulfil the mission of the present war it is necessary to avoid all domestic friction. Hence we must not criticize national policy lest such criticism lead to disorganization.
- "2. As a theoretical organization the TOHO KAI will avoid all political activity, especially with respect to the IRAA."

On 19 June 1942 the TOHO KAI was renamed the TOHO DOSHI KAI (Eastern Comrades Society).

Despite NAKANO's apparent burying of the hatchet, he continued a rebellious attitude toward governmental policy despite frequent warnings from the police concerning his speeches against Finance Minister KAWA Okinori and other members of the Cabinet. He had

* Candidates were:

ABE Mantaro
AOKI Sakuo
AOYAMA Masahiko
FUCHI Michiyoshi
FURUKAWA Tsukan
FURUZAWA Aya
H.YASHI Shusei
HONRYO Shinjiro
IIJIMA Kichinosuke
INAMURA Ryuichi
INATANI Ayato
ISODA Masanori
KUNAI Yoshiji
KATSUDA Hosaku
KEIDA Shigeru
KITAMURA Keitaro

KONO Kinsho
KUSANO Ichirobei
MATSUMAE Akiyoshi
MITAMURA Takeo
MIYAZAKI Ryusuke
MURAMATSU Michiji
NAGAI Kenzo
NAGAO Yu
NAKAMURA Matashichiro
NAKANO Seigo
OISHI Hiroshi
OKA Masami
OKANO Ryuichi
ONO Kenichi
SAITO Hideo
SAITO Matazo

SATO Yoshikuma
SEKIYAMA Shigotaro
SUGIURA Takeo
TANABE Osamu
TANAKA Yoshio
TANAKA Yotatsu
TOGANU Takeshi
UJIWARA Ichiro
USUKI Hoju
WAKUGAMI Rojin
WATANABE Kishinatsu
WATANABE Shusaku
WATANABE Tadao
YAMAZUMI Shinichi
YUKI Genichi

Successful candidates were:

HONRYO Shinjiro
MITAMURA Takeo
NAKAMURA Matashichiro

NAKANO Seigo
OISHI Hiroshi
WAKUGAMI Rojin

WAKUGAMI was forbidden to sit in the Diet because of campaign bribery. SUZUKI Shogo was adopted by the TOHO KAI after election.

seemingly made up his mind as early as February, 1942, that the TOJO Cabinet must be overthrown. After the 1942 election the TOHO KAI continued to hold political meetings in the Hibiya Public Hall, the Asakusa Assembly Hall and other prominent places of public assembly. When TOJO introduced emergency regulations further prohibiting freedom of press, speech, assembly and association, NAKANO strengthened his opposition. The police reports of 1942 declared, "Since TOHO KAI speeches are generally opposed to governmental policy and are apt to undermine the people's trust in the government, we have decided to take strict measure with regard to TOHO KAI-sponsored meetings."

On 21 January 1943 the group held a meeting at the SHINTO JUKU at which MITA-MURA Takeo declared the TOHO DOSHI KAI policy as follows:

"Under present conditions it is hopeless to expect victory. The atmosphere of the Diet substantiates my prediction. The governmental deadlock does not necessarily mean that Japan as a whole is corrupt but a political revival is urgently needed."

At the same time the society made the following specific accusations:

"The government has suspended several of our publications, such as an article in the 1 January ASHI by president NAKANO entitled, 'SENJI S. ISHO RON' (The Question of a Wartime Premier) and an article in the January issue of HIGASHI TAIRIKU (Eastern Continent) by president NAKANO entitled, 'One in a Thousand Can Save the Nation'. This attitude on the part of the government is not only unreasonable but it threatens our freedom of speech." NAKANO himself elaborated on the issue, "If our speeches encouraging the people to pursue the war be suppressed, we must fight for freedom of utterance. We must sacrifice our lives for the country's good. Just as precious incense is valued for its fragrance, so all men are esteemed for their courage and the honor expressed in the praise of their fellow men."

NAKANO concluded his speech by quoting Hitler, "Strife is the law of our being. Those who deny us the right to fight in this world of eternal struggle do not deserve to live."

From the spring of 1943 a number of organizations including the TOHO DOSHI KAI joined together to plot the downfall of the TOJO Cabinet because they said the war situation was going from bad to worse and that signs of defeat could be seen everywhere. They declared that the TOJO Cabinet must resign if the country were to be saved. Some of their spokesmen went even so far as to advocate direct action in the pattern of the abortive coup d'etat of the 30's. When the Metropolitan Police became aware of the intrigue they made sweeping mass arrests. On 30 September 1943, 53 members of the KODO YOKUSAN SEINEN REMMEI were apprehended. On 21 October, 39 exponents of the KINNO MAKOTO MUSUBI KAI (Work for the Emperor Sincerity Knot Society) and 25 members of the DAI NIHON KINNO DOSHI KAI (Great Japan Work for the Emperor Comrades Society) were arrested throughout the country from Iwate Ken and Yamagata Ken to Kagoshima Ken. The arrestees included NAKANO Seigo of the TOHO KAI, AMANO Tatsuo of the KINNO MAKOTO MUSUBI KAI as well as KATAOKA Shun, NAKA-MURA Takeshi, AKUTAGAWA Jiro, KUROE Naomitsu and others who had taken part in the SHIMPEITAI Incident. The arrests were in part motivated by the fact that on 15 October NAKANO had testified for six hours in defense of NISHIYAMA Naoshi who was on trial for his attempt to assassinate the Minister of Home Affairs HIRANUMA Kiichiro on 15 August 1941; in his testimony NAKANO had declared that HIRANUMA was the

central figure of pro-British and pro-American influence in Japan. On 18 October SHIRATORI Toshio had been called to the stand and on 22 October AMANO Tatsuo was scheduled to testify.

On 27 October NAKANO committed suicide while on temporary parole to attend the Diet session.

NAKANO's death put an end to the political clique which the TOHO KAI group primarily sponsored in the Diet, the YOKA KAI (Eighth Day Club), a grouping of some eighty members of the lower house constituting almost a complete roster of men who had been elected in 1942 without government support. Although the TOHO DOSHI KAI lingered on it had lost its political importance with its leader.

YAMATO MUSUBI
(Yamato Knot)
(May, 1942-January, 1946)

Nationalist

The YAMATO Musubi (Yamato Knot) was a theoretical society organized on 16 May 1942 to replace the DAI NIPPON TO (Great Japan Party) after SASAI Itcho and his group found it expedient to join the YOKU-SAN SEIJI KAI (Imperial Rule Assistance Political Society) subsequent to the 1942 Diet election. Principles of the movement were all-out general mobilization of the country, immediate establishment of a war-time constitution in preparation for a long war and promulgation of the ideals of a Greater East Asia. Officials of the society were:

SOMU IIN CHO (Managing Director): SASAI Itcho
SOMU (Directors): HANGAI Tamazo
 ISHIWATA Santatsu
 KANDA Hyozo
 MORI Eiichi

Although the society lasted nominally throughout the war, it lay dormant after the first flush of enthusiasm.

APPENDIX III

IMPORTANT LABOR UNIONS

AIKOKU RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU KONWA KAI (Patriotic Labor Unions All-
Japan Discussion Society)
NIHON RODO DOMEI (Japan Labor League)
NIHON RODO KUMIAI HYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions Conference)
NIHON RODO KUMIAI KAIGI (Japan Labor Unions Council)
NIHON RODO KUMIAI SOHYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions General Conference)
NIHON RODO KUMIAI SORENGO (Japan Labor Unions General League)
NIHON RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU HYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions National
Conference)
NIHON RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU KYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions National
Congress)
NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor)
NIHON SANGYO RODO KURABU (Japan Production Labor Club)
SANGYO HOKOKU KURABU (Production Serve-the-Country Club)
SANGYO HOKOKU REMMEI (Production Serve-the-Country League)
ZENKOKU RODO KUMIAI DOMEI (All-Japan Labor Unions League)
ZENRO TOITSU ZENKOKU KAIGI (All-Labor Unification National Council)

AIKOKU RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU KONWA KAI Nationalist
 (Patriotic Labor Unions All-Japan Discussion Society)
 April, 1936 - August, 1940

The AIKOKU RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU KONWA KAI (Patriotic Labor Unions All-Japan Discussion Society) was promoted in April, 1936, with a membership of above 48,000 by twelve labor unions, of which the most important were the NIHON SANGYO RODO KURABU (Japan Production Labor Club) and the NIHON RODO KUMIAI SORENGO (Japan Labor Unions General Association). Since the NIHON SANGYO RODO KURABU refused to participate in politics, the latter union ran the show. Hence the AIKOKU RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU KONWA KAI may be called a forerunner of the DAI NIHON SANGYO HOKOKU KAI (Great Japan Production Serve-the-Country Association). It dissolved in August, 1940, in deference to the foundation of the SANGYO HOKOKU RENMEI (Production Serve-the-Country League).

NIHON RODO DOMEI National-Socialist
 (Japan Labor League)
 May, 1932 - 1934

The NIHON RODO DOMEI (Japan Labor League) was organized in May, 1932, by groups from the ZENKOKU RODO KUMIAI DOMEI (All-Japan Labor Unions League) and the NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor Unions League) which had turned national-socialist. It supported the NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI TO (Japan National Socialist Party). Officers were:

KAICHO (Chairman): IMAMURA Hitoshi
 SHUJI (Manager): SHIRATORI Hirochika
 CHUO LIN (Central Committee):
 ANI Sei (Shigeru) NOGUCHI Otomatsu
 FUJIOKA Bunroku OYA Shozo
 KIUCHI Shigeji SEKINE Kishiro
 KUMAMOTO Yoichi SUYAMA Tokutaro
 MATSUO Kuniichi YAMASHITA Eiji
 MOCHIZUKI Genji YAMASHITA Ryusuke
 MORI Takamori YAO Kisaburo
 SODAN YAKU (Consultants):
 ISHIKAWA Jinshiro KOIKE Shiro
 YAMANA Yoshitsuru
 KOMON (Advisors):
 HAYASHI Kimio TATSUI Shiro
 HORITSU KOMON (Legal Advisors):
 IGARASHI Harutaka UTSUNOMIYA Yoshihisa

In August, 1933, the NIHON RODO DOMEI was divided over the question of support of the NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI TO because AKAMITSU Katsumaro, the chief exponent of the party, had gone all the way to nationalism and wished to change the party policy from national socialism to pure nationalism. At the central committee meeting of 3 August 1933 it was decided that those who had gone along with AKAMITSU's extremism should leave the NIHON RODO DOMEI and adhere to the NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI TO while those who still clung to national-socialist ideologies should remain in the NIHON RODO DOMEI but resign from the NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI TO. The first group consisted of:

FUJIOKA Bunroku MORI Takamori
 IMAMURA Hitoshi SUYAMA Tokutaro
 MITSUYOSHI Etsushin YAMAMOTO Ryusuke
 YAMAMOTO Tatsujiro

while the second faction was comprised of:

AKI Sei (Shigeru)
HONDA Shigeji
KUMAMOTO Yoichi
MITSUO Kuniichi
NOGUCHI Otomatsu

OYA Shozo
SEKINE Kishiro
SHIRATORI Hirochika
YAMAMOTO Tomoyoshi
YAO Kisaburo

The first group organized the NIHON SANGYO GUN (Japan Production Corps) which in 1937 amalgamated with the primarily agricultural AIKOKU RODO NOMIN DOSHI KAI (Patriotic Labor-Farmer Comrades Society). The remaining second group divided again in 1934 in order that some of its members might rejoin the NIHON RODO SODOMEI while others reentered the ZENKOKU RODO KUMLAI DOMEI.

NIHON RODO KUMLAI HYOGI KAI
(Japan Labor Unions Conference)
1925 - 1928

Left-wing

The NIHON RODO KUMLAI HYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions Conference) was organized in May, 1925, by left-wing RONDO KA (Labor-Farmer Group) leaders guided by ITO Tanetsu, SUGIYAMA Motojiro and NISHIMURA Saiki who seceded from the NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor). A meeting on 25 December 1925 was attended by about 2,500 members. That a Comintern-inspired group infiltrated from the REFUTO (Left) in short order, however, is shown by the roster of the Central Committee in early 1928:

CHUO IIN KAICHO (Central Committee Chairman): NODA Ritsuta

CHUO IIN (Central Committee):

AOGAKI Zenichiro
FUJINUMA Ryoichi
HIRAMORI Misao
KOKURYO Goichiro
MATSUBA Kiyotsugu
MITSUO Naoyoshi
MINAMI Kiichi
MOTOZAWA Kenji
NABEYAMA Sadachika
NAGAKIGE Tamonosuke

NAKAMURA Yoshiaki
NAKAO Katsuo
OKUDA Sotaro
OTA Hiroshi
OZEMI Hisamatsu
SUZUKI Genju (Motoshige)
TAKEDA Yukimatsu
TAKAMURA Koichi
TOKUDA Eiji
YORITA Haruo

In March, 1928, KOKURYO Goichiro and NABEYAMA Sadachika attended the Fourth World Congress of the Profintern and were elected to the Profintern Central Committee. No less an authority than KOKURYO himself declared that the NIHON RODO KUMLAI HYOGI KAI was accepted as a branch of the Profintern by the Congress.

While the Congress was in session in Moscow, the 15 March 1928 arrests of Communist leaders, including many exponents of the labor organization, took place. The NIHON RODO KUMLAI HYOGI KAI, with an estimated membership of 21,000, was ordered by the police to disband.

KOKURYO returned to Japan in June, 1928, with orders to reorganize the NIHON RODO KUMLAI HYOGI KAI. He found new leaders in KAWASAKI TATEO, SATO Hideichi and ZENNOO Zenshiro, and set about the formation of the secret NIHON RODO KUMLAI ZENKOKU HYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions National Congress).

NIHON RODO KUMIAI KAIGI
(Japan Labor Unions Council)
September, 1932 - 1940

Democratic

In September, 1932, labor unions belonging to the democratic group, which based their activity on sound "trade unionism" and aimed at general improvement of proletarian interest in general and labor conditions in particular, cooperated to form the NIHON RODO KUMIAI KAIGI (Japan Labor Unions Council) with the motto "sound trade unionism." This labor congress began its life with more than 220,000 members belonging to most of the important unions such as:

KAIIN KYOKAI (Seamen's Association)
KANGYO RODO SODOMEI (Federation of Government Workers)
NIHON KAIIN KUMIAI (Japan Seamen's Union)
NIHON KOWAN JUGYOIN KUMIAI REMMEI (Japan Harbor Workers' Unions League)
NIHON RODO KUMIAI SORENGO (Japan Labor Unions General Association)
NIHON RODO SOREIMEI (Japan Labor General League)
NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor)
ZENKOKU RODO KUMIAI DOMEI (All-Japan Labor Unions League)

Chief features of the NIHON RODO KUMIAI KAIGI were anti-communism and support of the International Labor Conference at Geneva. Officers were:

KIICHO (Chairman):	SUZUKI Bunji
GICHO (Speaker):	MATSUOKA Komakichi
FUKU GICHO (Vice-Speaker):	YONEKUBO Michisuke
SIKICHO (Chief Secretary):	KAMIJO Aiichi

Gradually some of the affiliate unions like the NIHON RODO KUMIAI SORENGO withdrew their support because they became more nationalistic in ideology than the league would permit. Others were forced to retire because in 1936 the Army forbade its workers to join unions. By 1939 there were only 45,480 members and only four organizations remained in the league:

NIHON KOWAN JUGYOIN KUMIAI (Japan Harbor Workers' Union)
NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Labor General League)
NIHON SEITO RODO KUMIAI DOMEI (Japan Ceramic Workers' Union League)
TOKYO GASUKO KUMIAI (Tokyo Gas Workers' Union)

Although the NIHON RODO KUMIAI KAIGI was not opposed to the popular SANGYO HOKOKU UNDO (Production Serve-the-Country Movement), it maintained that there was still a necessity for unions because the spirit of the movement did not sufficiently represent the interests of the proletariat.

When the SHAKAI TAISHU TO (Social Masses Party) expelled its members who supported SAITO Takao's anti-army speech in the 1940 Diet, the unions belonging to the NIHON RODO KUMIAI KAIGI sided with the absentees and were ready to support the new political party which they proposed to form. When the party was forbidden by the authorities the labor organizations were forced to disband, thus bringing to an end the KAIGI.

NIHON RODO KUMIAI SOHYOGI KAI
(Japan Labor Unions General Conference)
April, 1931 - November, 1934

Left-wing

The NIHON RODO KUMIAI SOHYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions General Conference) was the legitimate child of the NIHON RODO KUMIAI HYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions Conference) in that it was organized in April, 1931, by the left-wing socialist clique which had founded and controlled the parent organization prior to the infiltration of the communists. Its ideology was that of the RONNO HA (Labor-Farmer Group), as expressed at the inaugural meeting of 18 April 1931:

- "1. The NIHON RODO KUMIAI SOHYOGI KAI fights for the maintenance of proper living conditions for all workers.
- "2. The NIHON RODO KUMIAI SOHYOGI KAI fights for the emancipation of the working man and for the establishment of a society in which there shall be no exploitation of labor.
- "3. The NIHON RODO KUMIAI SOHYOGI KAI supports the movement for improved agrarian conditions, the movement for racial emancipation and similar platforms. It pledges itself to the realization of an international union of proletariats.
- "4. The NIHON RODO KUMIAI SOHYOGI KAI rejects social-democratic leadership and declares that it will fight to the last for proletarian principles."

Officials of the organization were:

SHIKKO IIN CHO (Executive Committee Chairman):	KIMURA Jokichi
SHOKI CHO (Chief Secretary):	TABEI Kenji
CHUO SHIKKO IIN (Central Executive Committee):	
KAMITSU Isamu	MIKI Kazuo
KANEJIMA Eiki	YAMABANA Hideo
KONDO Sainichi	YAMAZAKI Tsunekichi
YASUJIMA Takayuki	

In July, 1931, when the RONNO TO joined the ZENKOKU RONNO TAISHU TO (All-Japan Labor-Farmer Masses Party), the NIHON RODO KUMIAI SOHYOGI KAI was divided as to whether or not it should support the new party. At a general meeting in July, 1932, it decided to withdraw from politics because it would not go along with the ZENKOKU RONNO TAISHU TO in its proposal to unite with the SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party) in one big socialist party, the SHAKAI TAISHU TO (Social Masses Party). The NIHON RODO KUMIAI SOHYOGI KAI, never strong, became the NIHON RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU HYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions National Conference) in November, 1934, by amalgamation with several other left-wing labor groups.

NIHON RODO KUMIAI SORENGO
(Japan Labor Unions General League)
1926 - 1940

National-Socialist

When the NIHON RODO KUMIAI SORENGO (Japan Labor Unions General League) was first organized in 1926, it was composed of a center group on the proletarian front, as shown by its officers:

KIICHO (Chairman): FUSE Tatsuji
SHUJI (Manager): SAKAMOTO Kozaburo

CHUO IIN (Central Committee):

SANO Yoshio

SUENAKA Kanzaburo

TSUBOI Senjiro

TAKAYAMA Kyuzo

TANAKA Teikichi

In its early days, however, it gradually leaned toward the left. When the ZENKOKU RONO TAISHU TO (All-Japan Labor-Farmer Masses Party) came into being in 1931, the association gave the new party its support.

After the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident, leaders of the NIHON RODO KUMIAI SORENGO joined SHIMONAKA Yasaburo's SHIN NIHON KOKUMIN DOMEI (New Japan People's League) and withdrew the association's support from the ZENKOKU RONO TAISHU TO. At this period top officials of the association were:

SHIKKO IINCHO (Executive Committee Chairman): SAKAMOTO Kozaburo

SHIKKO IIN (Executive Committee):

HASHIMOTO Sadakichi

MORI Eiichi

MINAGAWA Rikichi

SANO Yoshio

TAKAYAMA Kyuzo

In April, 1936, when the AIKOKU RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU KONWA KAI (Patriotic Labor Unions All-Japan Discussion Society) was organized by twelve unions of nationalistic complexion, the NIHON RODO KUMIAI SORENGO was among the number, supporting the discussion society's advocacy of a union of capital and labor and of service to the country by production. In 1937, dissatisfied with the comparatively mild policies of the SHIN NIHON KOKUMIN DOMEI it shifted its allegiance to the NIHON KAKUSHIN TO (Japan Reform Party), and in November, 1938, the NIHON RODO KUMIAI SORENGO changed its name to NIHON KINRO HOKO REMMEI (Japan Labor Service League), of which the officers were:

KAICHO (Chairman):

TAKAYAMA Kyuzo

FUKU KAICHO (Vice-Chairman):

IMAI Bukichi

SHUJI (Manager):

MORI Eiichi

KAIKEI (Treasurer):

MINAGAWA Rikichi

Meanwhile, when the SANGYO HOKOKU REMMEI (Production Serve-the-Country League), a predecessor of the DAI NIHON SANGYO HOKOKU KAI (Great Japan Production Serve-the-Country Association) was organized in July, 1938, Chairman TAKAYAMA was on its preparatory committee. The NIHON KINRO HOKO REMMEI was one of the chief early supporters of the SANGYO HOKOKU UNDO (Production Serve-the-Country Movement).

The NIHON KINRO HOKO REMMEI was dissolved in 1940 in preparation for the DAI NIHON SANGYO HOKOKU KAI.

NIHON RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU HYOGI KAI
(Japan Labor Unions National Conference)
November, 1934 - December, 1937

Left-wing

When the ZENKOKU RONO TAISHU TO (All-Japan Labor-Farmer Masses Party) joined the SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party) to form the SHAKAI TAISHU TO (Social Masses Party) in July, 1932, KATO Kanju, TAKANO Minoru and YASUHIRA Shikaichi disapproved. Hence in March, 1933 they organized the ZENRO TOITSU ZENKOKU KAIGI (All-Labor Unification National Council) in opposition to another ephemeral body, the NIHON RODO KUMIAI KAIGI (Japan Labor Unions Council) composed of center

of-the-road conservative labor unions. In February, 1934, thirteen of the ZENRO TOITSU ZENKOKU KAIGI leaders were arrested under the Peace Preservation Law. Hence in November, 1934, its remaining exponents amalgamated the ZENRO TOITSU ZENKOKU KAIGI with the NIHON RODO KUMIAI SOHYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions General Conference) and several other left-wing bodies to form the NIHON RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU HYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions National Conference). Officials of the new league were:

CHUO SHIKKO IINCHO (Central Executive Committee Chairman):	
KATO Kanju	
SHOKICHO (Chief Secretary):	TABEI Kenji
SHIKKO IIN (Executive Committee):	
NAMBA Toraiichi	YAMABANA Hideo
TAKANO Minoru	YASUHIRA Shikaichi

Leaders of the NIHON RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU HYOGI KAI such as KATO Kanju and SUZUKI Masaburo organized the NIHON MUSAN TO (Japan Proletarian Party) in March, 1937. In December, 1937, when the new party was ordered disbanded and when many of its leaders were arrested, the NIHON RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU HYOGI KAI was likewise officially dispersed.

NIHON RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU KYOGI KAI
(Japan Labor Unions National Congress)
June, 1928 - December, 1946

Communist

After the general apprehension of communists in March, 1928, KOKU* RYO Goichiro, who had escaped apprehension because he was attending the Fourth World Congress of the Profintern in Moscow, returned to Japan with instructions to reorganize the disbanded NIHON RODO KUMIAI HYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions Conference) as a branch of the Profintern. He found new leaders in such men as ITO Tamotsu, MITAMURA Shiro, NISHIMURA Saiki and ZENNO Zenshiro. With these new leaders and such old colleagues as NABEYAMA Sadachika and WATANABE Masanosuke, he founded the secret NIHON RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU KYOGI KAI (Japan Labor Unions National Congress) in June, 1928.

In spite of official suppression the NIHON RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU KYOGI KAI succeeded in publishing a union organ called the RODO SHIMBUN (Labor News), in the setting up of branch and area congresses throughout the country, and through the establishment of "cells" in factories, in the establishment of affiliated unions by industries, the so-called SANGYO BETSU RODO KUMIAI (Labor Unions for Each Industry), which were to become the backbone of the far-left labor movement in post-war Japan. Police reports as of December, 1931, indicated that membership at that time was 19,452.

The program drawn up in April, 1932, clearly stated that the NIHON RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU KYOGI KAI was the Japan Branch of the Profintern and that one of its prime objectives was the abolition of the Tenno system of government. After a series of apprehensions in 1933 and 1934 the council all but expired. Attempts to reorganize were finally brought to an end by the arrest of more than six hundred communist and left-wing labor leaders on 5 December 1936, after which no further activity was reported by the police records.

NIHON RODO SODOMEI
(Japan Federation of Labor)
November, 1911 --

Democratic

In November, 1911, the right-wing socialists, who had remained very much in the background of political agitation formed the JINJI SODAN SHO (Personal Problems Consultation Office) under the auspices of the TOKYO UNITARIAN KYOKAI (Unitarian Church of Tokyo), of which ABE Isao 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. On 1 August 1912 ABE Isao and SUZUKI Bunji reorganized the JINJI SODAN SHO into the YUAI KAI (Friendly Society), an association of working men to promote the labor movement after the English model, "which", said SUZUKI, "according to my mind is the rational line of development for Japanese labor."

The society was comparatively inactive politically until it received an infusion of young blood in 1919 when ASO Hisashi, TANAHASHI Kotora and a number of youngsters interested in promoting labor forsook the SHINJIN KAI (New Man Society), a group of YOSHINO Sakuzo's Tokyo Imperial University students, to partake in the YUAI KAI's rejuvenation. As a result the society was renamed 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, and became the NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor) in 1923 when the "YUAI KAI" (Friendly Society) was eliminated and the association became a full-fledged power on the labor front.

Ideologically the Federation has been equally harassed by the extreme right and the extreme left, but has always stood its ground. Politically it has supported the SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party - 1926 - 1932) and the SHAKAI TAISHU TO (Social Masses Party - 1932 - 1940) through the years and in the post-surrender present pays allegiance to the right wing of the NIHON SHAKAI TO (Japan Socialist Party). However, the middle of the road has been beset with difficulties.

The first serious internal disturbance in the NIHON RODO SODOMEI took place over the question of political allegiance in 1925 when the left wing of the Federation seceded to form the NIHON RODO KUMIAI HYOGY KAI (Japan Labor Unions Conference) and to support the RODO NOMIN TO (Labor Farmer Party). The second split came in December, 1926, when the center group withdrew to organize the NIHON RODO KUMIAI DOMEI (Japan Labor Unions League) and to support the NIHON RONO TO (Japan Labor-Farmer Party). In September, 1929, there was yet another division when a group decamped to set up the short-lived RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU DOMEI (Labor Unions All-Japan League).

In June, 1930, the two groups which had formed the NIHON RODO KUMIAI DOMEI and the RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU DOMEI at the second and third splits of the Federation united to form the ZENKOKU RODO KUMIAI DOMEI (All-Japan Labor Unions League). In May, 1932, some of the NIHON RODO SODOMEI's affiliated unions such as AKAMATSU Katsumaro's TEIYU DOSHI KAI (Communications Workers' Comrades Society) withdrew to form the KOKKA SHAKAI TO, where upon the right wing group of the ZENKOKU RODO KUMIAI DOMEI including AKI Sei (Shigeru), FUJIOKA Bunroku, IMAMURA Hitoshi, MOCHIZUKI Genji, OYA Shozo and SHIRATORI Hirochika formed the NIHON RODO DOMEI (Japan Labor League) to support AKAMATSU. Those who remained in the ZENKOKU RODO KUMIAI DOMEI gradually became less extreme until in January, 1937, they amalgamated with the NIHON RODO SODOMEI to form the ZEN NIHON RODO SODOMEI (All Japan Federation of Labor).

This ZEN NIHON RODO SODOMEI was unable to fuse into a single-minded body, however, and the differences of the component groups were accentuated by the ideological trend of the country toward nationalism, particularly the so-called SANGYO HOKOKU UNDO (Serve-the-Country Production Movement) fostered by the war in China. The conservative NIHON RODO SODOMEI group, while not unwilling to cooperate with the government, demanded that labor unions be permitted to continue. The ZENKOKU RODO KUMIAI DOMEI group, on the other hand, maintained that since the SANGYO HOKOKU UNDO was a national policy, there was no room for labor unions in the national set-up and that the labor unions should therefore be dissolved in order that their members might support the new movement with undivided allegiance. The latter group, with some twenty-one thousand members, withdrew from the Federation in July, 1939, and on 3 November organized the SANGYO HOKOKU KURABU (Serve-the-Country Production Club)*. Those who remained in the ZEN NIHON RODO SODOMEI returned to the old name NIHON RODO SODOMEI, of which the officers were:

KAICHO (Chairman):	MATSUOKA Komakichi
FUKU KAICHO (Vice-Chairman):	NISHIO Suohiro
SO SHUJI (General Manager):	HARA Toraiichi
KAIKEI (Treasurer):	HATADA Asaji
CHUO IIN (Central Committee):	
DOI Naosaku	KIN Kohei
IKE Zenji	MIKI Jiro
IMAZU Kikumatsu	OYA Shoza
KANEMASA Yonekichi	TOKUNAGA Shoho
HORITSU BUCHO (Legal Section Chief):	KATAYAMA Tetsu
FUJIN BUCHO (Women's Section Chief):	AKAMATSU Tsuneko
KOMON (Advisors):	ABE Isao SUZUKI Bunji
	TAKANO Iwasaburo

The split in the ranks of the ZEN NIHON RODO SODOMEI naturally affected the SHAKAI TAISHU TO (Social Masses Party) which it supported politically. Since the seceders from the Federation represented a majority of the leaders of the political party, it was to be expected that the NIHON RODO SODOMEI might be forced to withdraw its support from the SHAKAI TAISHU TO. However, a compromise was reached which forestalled political division until the following year when the differences came to a head over the question of SAITO Takao's interpellation at the 68th session of the Diet.

On 2 February 1940 SAITO Takao, a Minseito member of the Diet, openly questioned the import and the extent of the management of the China Incident. The Diet proposed a resolution for SAITO's expulsion. This resolution was opposed by the NIHON RODO SODOMEI, ex-SHAKAI MINSHU TO faction of the party, which pointedly absented itself from the Diet on the day the resolution was passed. As a result the SHAKAI TAISHU TO held an emergency committee meeting at which the ten absentee Diet members were struck off the rolls.

* Leaders of the SANGYO HOKOKU KURABU were:

CHINO Shinko	NAGAE Kazuo
INOUE Ryoji	OMORI Taneichi
KIKUGAWA Tadao	SHIRATORI Hirochika
KONO Mitsu	SUZUKI Etsujiro
MITANI Buntaro	TAKAHASHI Wataru
	YAMAGUCHI Tsunejiro

The NIHON RODO SODOMEI dissolved on 8 July 1940. Although it was publicly announced that the dissolution was voluntary, the police reports stated:

"MATSUOKA Komakichi, chairman of the NIHON RODO SODOMEI, has been striving in every way to continue the Federation. However, it is the policy of the Home Ministry and the Welfare Ministry to dissolve the Federation because its leaders are identical with the leaders of the SHINTO JUMBI KAI (New Party Preparatory Committee) formed by the seceders from the SHAKAI TAISHU TO and forbidden by the authorities. The Welfare Ministry considers the NIHON RODO SODOMEI incompatible with the Serve-the-Country Production Movement. Hence, in the interests of public peace the Federation cannot be allowed to continue. In consideration of the long history of the organization and of the effect which its dissolution may have upon the minds of the masses, the Home Ministry and the Welfare Ministry have advised the leaders to disband of their own free will. If this advice is unheeded the Home Ministry is prepared to take decisive action."

When this policy was made known to the NIHON RODO SODOMEI leaders they held an emergency meeting on 6 July 1940. The Federation dissolved two days later.

After the 1945 surrender the NIHON RODO SODOMEI was revived as the NIHON RODO KUMIAI SODOMEI (Japan Labor Unions Federation) on 1 August 1946. That the present-day Federation is a continuance of the activities of the pre-war group is attested by its roster of officers:

KAICHO (Chairman):	MATSUOKA Komakichi
FUKU KAICHO (Vice-Chairman):	ITO Ushiro
	KANEMASA Yonekichi
	SHIGEMORI Hisaji
KAIKEI (Treasurer):	MIKI Jiro
SO SHUJI (General Manager):	HARA Toraiichi
KAIKEI KANSA (Auditors):	KONO Heiji
	OYA Shozo
	SUZUKI Genju (Motoshige)
SOSHIKI BUCHO (Organization Section Chief):	WATANABE Toshinosuke
SEIJI BUCHO (Political Section Chief):	YAMABANA Hideo
CHOSA BUCHO (Investigation Section Chief):	TAKANO Minoru
SENDEN BUCHO (Propaganda Section Chief):	SHIMAGAMI Zengoro
SHUPPAN KIKANSHI BUCHO (Party Paper Publication Section Chief):	SAITO Isamu
SOGI BUCHO (Disputes Section Chief):	AKAMATSU Tsuneko
SEINEN BUCHO (Youth Section Chief):	DAIMON Yoshio
KOKUSAI BUCHO (International Section Chief):	MATSUOKA Komakichi
JIGYO BUCHO (Projects Section Chief):	HATADA Asaji
GIJUTSU BUCHO (Technical Section Chief):	WATANABE Toshinosuke
JIGYO FUKKO UNDO BUCHO (Projects Revival Movement Section Chief):	TAKANO Minoru
CHUO JONIN IIN (Standing Central Committee):	
DOI Naosaku	SHIMAGAMI Zengoro
HAYASHI Takichi	TAKANO Minoru
IBORI Shigeo	TANAKA Toshikatsu
KUMAMOTO Torazo	TERASHIMA Shinzo
NAGAE Kazuo	TOKUNAGA Shoho
NAGASE Shigotaro	TOMITA Keizo
NISHIO Suchiro	YAMABANA Hideo
YASUHIRA Shikaichi	

NIHON SANGYO RODO KURABU
(Japan Production Labor Club)
December, 1932 --

Nationalist

The NIHON SANGYO RODO KURABU (Japan Production Labor Club) was formed in December, 1932, by nationalistic labor unions to oppose the democratic NIHON RODO KUMIAI KAIGI (Japan Labor Unions Council) which had been organized three months before. The initial concrete aim of the club was to donate some airplanes to the Army and Navy. After this objective had been accomplished in May, 1933, the club continued but stated specifically that it would not engage in politics. It was one of the two important organizations which promoted the AIKOKU RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU KONWA KAI (Patriotic Labor Unions All-Japan Discussion Society) in 1936, but it never gained importance because it adhered to its decision to abstain from politics. It dissolved in August, 1940, upon establishment of the SANGYO HOKOKU RENMEI (Production Serve-the-Country League).

SANGYO HOKOKU KURABU
(Production Serve-the-Country Club)
1939 - 1940

National-Socialist

In 1939 a difference of opinion occurred in the ZEN NIHON RODO SODOMEI (All-Japan Federation of Labor). The group which had derived from the ZENKOKU RODO KUMIAI DOMEI (All-Japan Labor Unions League) began to organize regional SANGYO HOKOKU KAI (Production Serve-the-Country Societies) in support of the popular SANGYO HOKOKU UNDO (Production Serve-the-Country Movement) on the basis of labor unions which withdrew from the ZEN NIHON RODO SODOMEI and were dissolved. The group which had emanated from the NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor) objected on the grounds that the nationalist-minded SANGYO HOKOKU KAI were unable to give proper consideration to proletarian problems. The ZENKOKU RODO KUMIAI DOMEI faction was expelled from the ZEN NIHON RODO SODOMEI and formed the SANGYO HOKOKU KURABU (Production Serve-the-Country Club), of which the leaders were:

CHINO Naoyoshi	NAGAE Kazuo
INOUE Ryoji	OMORI Taneichi
KIKUKAWA Tadao	SHIRATORI Hirochika
KONO Mitsu	SUZUKI Etsujiro
MITANI Buntaro	TAKAHASHI Wataru
	YAMAGUCHI Tsunejiro

The club was disbanded in 1940 when the DAI NIHON SANGYO HOKOKU KAI (Great Japan Production Serve-the-Country Association) was formed.

SANGYO HOKOKU RENMEI
(Production Serve-the-Country League)
July, 1938 - November, 1940

Nationalist

After the China Incident of 1937, the nationalists in industrial as well as political circles set in motion a program to eliminate class struggles and to promote cooperation between capital and labor to increase production. In February, 1938, the KYOCHO KAI (Concilia-

tion Society)* formed a special committee composed of labor specialists, government officials and others with KAWARADA Kakichi as chairman, to which were invited:

MITSUOKA Komakichi, representative of the ZEN NIHON RODO SODOMEI (All-Japan Federation of Labor)
 MORITA Yoshio, representative of the ZENKOKU SANGYO DANPAI RENGO KAI (All-Japan Production Organizations League)
 NISHIYAMA Nisaburo, representative of the NIHON SANGYO RODO KURABU (Japan Production Labor Club)
 TAKAYAMA Kyuzo, representative of the NIHON KINRO HOKO REMMEI (Japan Labor Service League)

On 30 April 1938 this committee submitted its plans to the government, and on 30 July of the same year the plans were activated as the SANGYO HOKOKU REMMEI (Production Serve-the-Country League), a semi-governmental organization with the following officials:

RIJICHO (Chairman): KAWARADA Kakichi, Chairman of the KYOCHO KAI
 RIJI (Directors): MACHIDA Tatsujiro, a director of the KYOCHO KAI
 MATSUMOTO Yuhei, chairman of the AIKOKU RODO NOMIN DOSHI KAI (Patriotic Labor Farmer Comrades Society)
 MIWA Juso, chief of the Labor Unions Sections of the SHAKAI TAISHU TO (Social Masses Party)
 NAGAOKA Yasutaro, a director of the KYOCHO KAI
 NARITA Ichiro, chief of the Labor Bureau of the Welfare Ministry
 ZEN Keinosuke, a director of the ZENKOKU SANGYO DANPAI RENGO KAI (All-Japan Production Organizations League)

The ZEN NIHON RODO SODOMEI (All Japan Federation of Labor) which was represented by MITSUOKA Komakichi on the preparatory committee, refused to countenance the proposal that all labor unions be abolished. Hence MIWA Juso was appointed director in MITSUOKA's stead.

Most of the nationalist labor unions eagerly supported the new organization and its SANGYO HOKOKU UNDO (Production Serve-the-Country Movement). By the summer of 1940 most of these nationalist labor unions had voluntarily dissolved to make way for the DAI NIHON SANGYO HOKOKU KAI (Great Japan Serve-the-Country Association).

* The KYOCHO KAI (Conciliation Society) was an association formed in 1918 by Viscount SHIBUSAWA Eiichi for discussions between capital and labor. Morgan Young in his "Japan Under Taisho Tenno" says, "Generously capitalized it was totally uninteresting to labor. It might have made militant trade unionism both unnecessary and impossible; but it never even began to exploit its magnificent opportunities. It frittered away time and money on the publication of a magazine, which nobody read, and the collection of futile statistics."

ZENKOKU RODO KUMIAI DOMEI
(All-Japan Labor Unions League)
June 1930 - 1936

Center

In December, 1926, the center group of the NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor) withdrew to organize the NIHON RODO KUMIAI DOMEI (Japan Labor Unions League) and support the NIHON RONDO TO (Japan Labor-Farmer Party). In September, 1929, another group withdrew from the NIHON RODO SODOMEI to form the short-lived RODO ZENKOKU DOMEI (Labor Unions All-Japan League). In June, 1930, these two groups joined forces to form the ZENKOKU RODO KUMIAI DOMEI (All-Japan Labor Unions League) in support of the ZENKOKU RONDO TAISHU TO (All-Japan Labor-Farmer Masses Party), of which the officials were:

CHUO SHIKKO IINCHO (Central Executive Committee Chairman):
KONO Mitsu
SHUJI (Manager): KIKKAWA Tadao
JONIN SHOKI (Standing Secretary): UCHIDA Sakuro
TOSEI IIN (Control Committee):
ARAKAWA Jingo INOUE Ryoji
SHIBATA Torataro
KANSAI JIMUKYOKUCHO (Kansai Bureau Chief): SUZUKI Etsujiro
KOMON (Adviser): TANAHASHI Kotora

In 1932 there was a split when some of the union leaders such as AKI Sei (Shigeru), FUJIOKA Bunroku, IMAMURA Hitoshi, OYA Shozo and SHIRATORI Hirochika seceded to set up the NIHON RODO DOMEI in support of the newly established NIHON KOKKA SHAKAI TO (Japan National Socialist Party) of AKAMATSU Katsumaro. In March, 1933, the left wing led by KATO Kanju and TAKANO Minoru withdrew to organize the ZENRO TOITSU ZENKOKU KAIGI (All-Labor Unification National Council).

In 1936 the ZENKOKU RODO KUMIAI DOMEI amalgamated with the NIHON RODO SODOMEI to form the ZEN NIHON RODO SODOMEI (All-Japan Federation of Labor).

ZENRO TOITSU ZENKOKU KAIGI
(All-Labor Unification National Council)
March, 1933 - November, 1934

Left-wing

Dissatisfied with the amalgamation of the ZENKOKU RONDO TAISHU TO (All-Japan Labor-Farmer Masses Party) and the SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party) to form the SHAKAI TAISHU TO (Social Masses Party), KATO Kanju, TAKANO Minoru, YASUHIRA Shikaichi and other left-wing laborites formed the ZENRO TOITSU ZENKOKU KAIGI (All-Labor Unification National Council) in March, 1933, in opposition to the center-of-the-road NIHON RODO KUMIAI KAIGI (Japan Labor Unions Council). In February, 1934, thirteen leaders of the organization were arrested under the Peace Preservation Law. In November, 1934, the congress united with the NIHON RODO KUMIAI SOHYOGIKAI (Japan Labor Unions General Conference) to form the NIHON RODO KUMIAI ZENKOKU HYOGIKAI (Japan Labor Unions National Conference).

APPENDIX IV

IMPORTANT AGRARIAN UNIONS

DAI NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (Great Japan Farmers' Union)
KOKOKU NOMIN DOMEI (Imperial Farmers' League)
NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (Japan Farmers' Union) I
NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (Japan Farmers' Union) II
NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Farmers' Unions)
NIHON NOMIN REMMEI (Japan Farmers' League)
NOCHI SEIDO KAIKAKU DOMEI (Agricultural Land System Reform League)
NOSON KYODO TAI KENSETSU DOMEI (Agricultural Village Cooperative
Structure Construction League)
ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI (All-Japan Farmers' Union)
ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (All Japan Farmers' Union) I
ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (All Japan Farmers' Union) II
ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI DOMEI (All Japan Farmers Unions League)
ZENNO ZENKOKU KAIGI (All Farmers All-Japan Congress)

DAI NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI
(Great Japan Farmers' Union)
February, 1938 - August, 1940

Center

After the general apprehension of the RONNO HA (Labor-Farmer Group) leaders in 1937 and 1938 many of the more prominent in the ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI (All-Japan Farmers' Union) were involved. A committee meeting was held on 6 February 1938 at which EDA Saburo, INAMURA Ryuichi, ITABASHI Hideo, ITO Minoru, KIKUCHI Jusaku, KURODA Hisao, OKADA Soji, OMIYA Tomoji, ONISHI Tosuo and SASAKI Kozo were expelled because they had seceded from the SHAKAI TAISHU TO (Social Masses Party) to join the TOHO KAI (Eastern Society) of NAKANO Seigo. Hence, the ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI was dissolved and the remaining leaders, who were less extreme, formed the DAI NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI. Officials were:

KUMIAICHO (Union Chairman):
SHUJI (Manager):
KAIKEI (Accountant):
KOMON (Advisers):

SUGIYAMA Motojiro
MIYAKE Shoichi
HOSONO Michio
ABE Isao
ASO Hisashi
KAGAWA Toyohiko
MATSUMOTO Jiichiro

MEIYO RIJI (Honorary Directors):

ANDO Kunimatsu
ASANUMA Inejiro
HIRANO Manabu
ISHIDA Yuzen
KATO Ryozo
MATSUMOTO Sekizen

MIZUTANI Chozaburo
SATAKE Haruki
TANAHASHI Kotora
TOMIYOSHI Eiji
WATANABE Sen
YUKIMASA Chozo

RIJI (Directors):

HINO Yoshio
HOSODA Tsunakichi
IMAI Ichiro
KAKUTA Tozaburo
KAWAMATA Kiyoto (Seion)
MREGAWA Shoichi
MIYAMUKAI Kunihei

NAKAMURA Takaichi
NOMIZO Masaru
SUNAGA Ko
TAHARA Haruji
TANAKA Yoshio
YAMAZAKI Kenji
YAOITA Tadashi

The union was dissolved on 18 October 1940.

KOKOKU NOMIN DOMEI
(Imperial Farmers' League)
December, 1933 - January, 1941

National Socialist

The KOKOKU NOMIN DOMEI (Imperial Farmers' League) was established in December, 1933, at Osaka, by TERAJIMA Soichiro and YOSHIDA Kenichi who had withdrawn from the ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI (All-Japan Farmers' League) of SUGIYAMA Motojiro to organize a "cooperative farmers union based on Japanism" with the purpose of creating agricultural villages free of tenancy disputes and organizing an ideal Japan without exploitation of the proletariat. Officials of the league were:

RIJICHO (Chief Director):
RIJI (Directors):

YOSHIDA Kenichi
KIYOHARA Kazutaka*
MORIMOTO Kazuichi

* KIYOHARA Kazutaka was a SUIHEISHA man who was also known as SAIKO Mankichi.

RIJI (Directors):

NOGUCHI Ryuzo
YAMANAKA Takeo
YOSHIOKA Yasuichi

The league had no political connections and never became strong. It was dissolved in January, 1941.

NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI I
(Japan Farmers' Union)
April, 1922 - May, 1928

All inclusive

This NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (Japan Farmers' League)--not to be confused with the middle-of-the road organization of the same name established in 1931--was promoted in 1922 by SUGIYAMA Motojiro and KAGAWA Toyohiko. As it swung gradually to the left the conservative elements became dissatisfied. In April, 1926, the right wing withdrew to organize the ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI DOMEI (All Japan Farmers' League). In March, 1927, the center group seceded to form the ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (All Japan Farmers' Union) under the leadership of SUGIYAMA and KAGAWA. In May, 1928, the parent NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI amalgamated with the ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI to form the ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI (All-Japan Farmers' Union).

NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI II
(Japan Farmers' Union)
January, 1931 - 1941

Center-National Socialist

This NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (Japan Farmers' Union) must not be confused with the first NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI formed by SUGIYAMA Motojiro and KAGAWA Toyohiko. It was set up in January, 1931, as an amalgamation of a group from the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Farmers' Unions) and the ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (All Japan Farmers' Union). Original officials of the union were:

KAICHO (Chairman):	KATAYAMA Tetsu
SHUJI (Manager):	INATOMI Ayato
KOMON (Advisers):	ABE Isao
	KITAZAWA Shinjiro
	KAGAWA Toyohiko
	NAKAZAWA Benjiro
	SUZUKI Bunji

The two elements which formed the union separated in April, 1932, when the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI SODOMEI group withdrew to reorganize the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI SODOMEI. After the separation officials were:

SHUJI (Manager):	HIRANO Rikizo
CHUOJIN (Central Committee):	ABE Otokichi
	INATOMI Ayato
	KAMEDA Ichiro
	KAWADA Hiromu
	KIKUCHI Kazuo
	KITAYAMA Iyozo
	NISHI Kenichiro
	SATO Yoshikuma
	TANAKA Masanori

In 1933 HIRANO Rikizo decamped to join KODO KAI (Imperial Way Society) whose policies were pretty much the same as those of the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI, and the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI was dissolved in 1941.

NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI SODOMEI
(Japan Federation of Farmers' Unions)
March, 1927 - 1940

Democratic

The NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Farmers' Unions) was established in March, 1927, as an agricultural affiliate of the NIHON RODO SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Labor). Officials were:

KAICHO (Chairman):	SUZUKI Bunji
CHUO IINCHO (Central Committee Chairman):	KATAYAMA Tetsu
SHUJI (Manager):	MATSUNAGA Yoza
KOMON (Advisor):	ABE Isao

Politically it supported the SHAKAI MINSHU TO (Social Democratic Party). For a time between January, 1931, and April, 1932, it joined the ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (All Japan Farmers' Union) to form the second NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (Japan Farmers' Union) but withdrew when the Central Committee decided to adopt a national socialist policy. The NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI SODOMEI group retired declaring that they could not hold with Fascism and with Communism.

After the break officials were:

KAICHO (Chairman):	SUZUKI Bunji
FUKU KAICHO (Vice-Chairman):	KATAYAMA Tetsu
KOMON (Advisor):	ABE Isao
CHUO IIN (Central Committee):	
	ABE Onchi
	MAGOSHI Osuke
	ABE Senkichi
	SHODA Hideo
	FURUSAWA Aya
	YURA Taichiro

Politically the new party supported the SHAKAI TAISHU TO (Social Masses Party). However the organization never became strong. It was eventually dissolved in 1940.

NIHON NOMIN REMMEI
(Japan Farmers' League)
January, 1938 - October, 1940

National Socialist

The NIHON NOMIN REMMEI (Japan Farmers' League) was established in January, 1938, by TOYAMA Ryo and NAKAHARA Kenji who were joined in February by the right-wing elements of the disbanded ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI. Officials were:

JONIN IIN (Standing Committee):	HAMA Yuji
	IMAI Shinzo
	INAMURA Ryuichi
	IWATA Kiyoshi
	KIMURA Takeo
	KONOHARA Katsuo
	KOYAMA Ryo
	NAKAHARA Kenji
	SATO Yoshikuma

Politically the league supported the TOHO KAI (Eastern Society) of NAKANO Seigo.

The NIHON NOMIN REMMEI was dissolved in October, 1940.

NOCHI SEIDO KAIKAKU DOMEI
(Agricultural Land System Reform League)
November, 1939 - March, 1943

Center

The NOCHI SEIDO KAIKAKU DOMEI (Agricultural Land System Reform League) was organized in November, 1939, as a joint political effort on the part of:

<u>Union</u>	<u>Representative</u>
DAI NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (Great Japan Farmers' Union)	SUGIYAMA Motojiro
NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (Japan Farmers' Union)	HIRANO Rikizo
NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Farmers' Unions)	SUZUKI Bunji
NIHON NOMIN REMMEI (Japan Farmers' League)	YOSHITANI Yoshiji

However, the NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI SODOMEI and the NIHON NOMIN REMMEI soon withdrew. Leaders after the withdrawal were HIRANO Rikizo, KAWAMATA Kiyoto (Seion), KIKUCHI Yonosuke, NAKAMURA Takaichi, NOMIZO Masaru, SUNAGA Ko, and TAHARA Haruji.

The purpose of the league was a national reform of the agricultural land system. It advocated:

1. Nationalization of tenant lands.
2. National administration of agricultural lands.
3. Establishment of landed farmers.

With this in view the league drew up a bill for national administration of agricultural land which it endeavored to present at the 75th and 76th sessions of the Diet in 1940 and 1941 and eventually succeeded in placing before the House at the 77th session in 1942 with sixty-two sponsors. As a result the league was considered incompatible with national policy and dangerous to the wartime national mobilization. Hence it was ordered to disband by the police in March, 1942.

NOSON KYODO TAI KENSETSU DOMEI
(Agricultural Village Cooperative Structure Construction League)
October, 1940 - March, 1942

Cooperatives

The NOSON KYODO TAI KENSETSU DOMEI (Agricultural Village Cooperative Structure Construction League) established in October, 1940, sprang from the SEINEN REMMEI (Youth League) of the NIHON SANGYO KUMIAI (Japan Production Cooperative Union) which was originally a government-sponsored movement but which was greatly influenced by the democratic idealism after the first World War. Many of the young intelligentsia from Tokyo and Kyoto Imperial University had found the SEINEN REMMEI fertile field for the promulgation of their social ideals. When ARIMA Yoriyasu who was president of the SANGYO KUMIAI was invited by Prince KONOYE Fumimaro to be one of the first leaders of his new TAISEI YOKUSUN KAI (Imperial Rule Assistance Association) in 1940, he saw the possibility of coordinating the SEINEN REMMEI of

his cooperative organization into the new movement. Hence, the NOSON KYODO TAI KENSETSU DOMEI was developed as a reorganization of the SEINEN RENMEI in October. The objectives of the NOSON KYODO TAI KENSETSU DOMEI were the democratization of the NIHON SANGYO KUMIAI and the promulgation of agrarian reforms by rational development of cooperative villages. Members of GOTO Ryunosuke's SHOWA KENKYU KAI (Showa Research Society) gave advice in the formation of policy.

Even after the original group of ARIMA Yoriyasu and GOTO Ryunosuke had been ousted from the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, the NOSON KYODO TAI KENSETSU DOMEI continued their activity. This activity was considered by the authorities "too liberal, too democratic, incompatible to the government and a danger to the national constitution." In December, 1941, leaders in Nagano and Miyagi Prefectures were arrested. In March, 1942, INABA Hidezo, KATSUMATA Seiichi and MATSUMOTO Masao of the Tokyo headquarters followed them to gaol, charged with membership in the SHIRAKAWA KAI (Shirakawa Society) of Kyoto Imperial University whose leaders were said to have been involved in left-wing activities at one time or another.

Despite difficulties with the police the NOSON KYODO TAI KENSETSU DOMEI had by the end of 1941 formed 1,377 branches in 36 prefectures with a membership of 37,555. The Home Ministry was about to prohibit its continuity when the league voluntarily dissolved in 1942.

Officers of the league were:

SOSAI (President):	ARIMA Yoriyasu	
RIJI CHO (Chairman of Directors):		YOKOO Saburo
RIJI (Directors):	AYUBA Saburo	KOIZUMI Taku
	CHIBA Yozan	MURATA Yoshiji
	EJIMA Hideo	SATO Tetsunosuke
	FUCHI Ko	SHIBATA Kazuo
		TAKAHASHI Hideo
KANJI (Secretaries):	KONO Michihiko	SUMIKAWA Hideo
	MURASE Masayoshi	SUMIYAMA Shiro
	OKADA Uhei	YAMADA Koji
		YOSHIDA Hideo

ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI
(All-Japan Farmers' Union)
May, 1928 - 1938

Center

ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMIAI (All-Japan Farmers' Union) was established in May, 1928, by the fusion of the first NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (Japan Farmers' Union) and the first ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMIAI (All Japan Farmers' Union). Officials were:

IINCHO (Committee Chairman):	SUGIYAMA Motojiro
CHUO IIN (Central Committee):	ASANUMA Inejiro
	KOIWA Kiyoshi
	KURODA Hisao
	MAEGAWA Shoichi
	YAMAGAMI Takeo
	YAMAZAKI Kenji

The union included the extreme left as well as supporters of the left-wing RONDO TO (Labor-Farmer Party) and the left-wing-center ZENKOKU RONDO TAISHU TO (All-Japan Labor-Farmer Masses Party) but the extreme leftist elements formed within the union the ZENNO ZENKOKU KAIGI (All-Farmers All-Japan Congress) which withdrew in August, 1931, to become a separate organization, the ZENNO ZENKOKU KAIGI.

The ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMILAI continued to be the strongest of the unions until 1937 when its RONDO HA (Labor-Farmer Group) leaders were arrested. In February, 1938, it was reorganized to become the DAI NIHON NOMIN KUMILAI (Great Japan Farmers' Union) when its national-socialist components joined the NIHON NOMIN RENMEI (Japan Farmers' League).

ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMILAI I Center
 (All Japan Farmers' Union)
 March, 1927 - May, 1928

This first ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMILAI (All Japan Farmers' Union) was a temporary organization promoted in March, 1927, by KAGAWA Toyohiko, MIYAKE Shoichi and SUGIYAMA Motojiro. Upon their secession from the first NIHON NOMIN KUMILAI (Japan Farmers' Union) it rejoined the parent organization NIHON NOMIN KUMILAI in May, 1928, to form the ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMILAI (All-Japan Farmers' Union).

ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMILAI II Center
 (All Japan Farmers' Union)
 July, 1928 - January, 1931

This second ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMILAI (All Japan Farmers' Union) was established in July, 1928, by amalgamation of the ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMILAI DOMEI (All Japan Farmers Unions League) with local unions in Kagawa and Niigata prefectures. Principle officials were:

IINCHO (Committee Chairman):	NIKAZAWA Benjiro
SHUJI (Manager):	HIRANO Rikizo

In January, 1931, it became the second NIHON NOMIN KUMILAI (Japan Farmers Union) with amalgamation with the NIHON NOMIN KUMILAI SODOMEI (Japan Federation of Farmers Unions).

ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMILAI DOMEI Center
 (All Japan Farmers Unions League)
 April, 1926 - July, 1928

ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMILAI DOMEI (All Japan Farmers Unions League) promoted in April, 1926, by HIRANO Rikizo was strong in HIRANO's home province, Yamanashi Ken and in Fukuoka Ken. In July, 1928, it amalgamated with local unions in Kagawa and Niigata prefectures to form the second ZEN NIHON NOMIN KUMILAI (All Japan Farmers' Union).

ZENNO ZENKOKU K.IGI
(All Farmers All-Japan Congress)
August, 1931 - August, 1936

Left Wing

The extreme left-wing element in the ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMI I (All-Japan Farmers' Union), which had formed the ZENNO ZENKOKU K.IGI (All Farmers All-Japan Congress) within the mother society, withdrew in August, 1931, and established itself as an independent organization of about 20,000 members. While there were factions within the congress which disapproved unlawful activity, the communist influence was strong. According to police reports the league as a whole was an external of the Japan Communist Party whose overall policy advocated confiscation of land without compensation, destruction of the Tenno System and establishment of a labor-farmer government. To escape police surveillance they resorted to a dual organization, one lawful under RONNO HA leadership, one unlawful in charge of the communist, OIZUMI Kenzo.

The legal headquarters came to an end in March, 1933, when the leaders were arrested and the subsidiary local unions rejoined, the ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMI I. Although illegal activities of some of the unapprehended leaders continued until about 1938, the ZENKOKU K.IGI, as a group, died when the last remaining unions in Fukuoka and Saga prefectures joined the ZENKOKU NOMIN KUMI I in August, 1936.

APPENDIX V

JAPAN COMMUNIST PARTY

1922 - 1937

Note: Since the Communist Party considered its organization to continue despite disruptions by arrests so long as any single member of its central committee remained at large, it is extremely difficult to give exact dates of office for the various men. Dates given are those shown by the SHAKAI UNDO NO JOKYO (Police Report of Social Movements).

FIRST COMMUNIST PARTY
July, 1922 - June, 1923

CHUO IIN (Central Committee): July, 1922 - June, 1923

Chairman: SAKAI Toshihiko
HASHIURA Tokio
ICHIKAWA Yoshio
INOMATA Tsunao
KOIWA Kiyoshi
WATANABE Masanosuke
NAKAZONE Genwa
SANO Manabu
TSUJII Taminosuke
URATA Takeo

COMMUNIST BUREAU
March, 1924 - Aug., 1925

BUREAU IIN (Bureau Members):

ARAHATA Katsuzo
NOZAKI Sanzo
SANO Manabu
TOKUDA Kyuichi

COMMUNIST GROUP
Aug., 1925 - Dec., 1926

CHUO IIN (Central Committee): Aug., 1925 - June, 1926

Chairman: TOKUDA Kyuichi
ARAHATA Katsuzo
FUKUMOTO Kazuo
WATANABE Masanosuke
KITAURA Sentaro
SANO Manabu

CHUO IIN (Central Committee): June, 1926

ICHIKAWA Shoichi
KAWADA Kenji
TOKUDA Kyuichi
NAKAO Katsuo
SANO Fumio

SECOND COMMUNIST PARTY
Dec., 1926 - April, 1929

CHUO IIN (Central Committee): Dec., 1926 - Dec., 1927

FUKUMOTO Kazuo
 ICHIKAWA Shoichi
 NABEYAMA Sadachika
 WATANABE Masanosuke

SANO Fumio
 SANO Manabu
 TOKUDA Kyuichi

Candidates:

KAWAI Etsuzo
 KOKURYO Goichiro
 SUGIURA Keiichi

MITAMURA Shiro
 NAKAO Katsuo

Chairman of Control Committee:

ARAHATA Katsuzo

CHUO IIN (Central Committee): Dec., 1927 - March, 1928

ARAHATA Katsuzo
 ICHIKAWA Shoichi
 KOKURYO Goichiro
 MATSUO Naoyoshi
 WATANABE Masanosuke

NABEYAMA Sadachika
 SANO Manabu
 NAKAO Katsuo
 SUGIURA Keiichi

Candidates:

KAWAI Etsuzo
 SOMA Ichiro

CHUO IIN (Central Committee): April - Dec., 1928

Chairman: WATANABE Masanosuke
 KAWAI Etsuzo
 KOKURYO Goichiro
 MITAMURA Shiro

NABEYAMA Sadachika
 NAKAE Jinsei
 SOMA Ichiro

CHUO IIN (Central Committee): Dec., 1928 - April, 1929

Chairman: ICHIKAWA Shoichi
 MANIWA Suekichi
 SUNAMA Ichiro

MITAMURA Shiro

RECONSTRUCTED COMMUNIST PARTY
 June, 1929 - July, 1930

CHUO BUREAU (Central Bureau): June, 1929 - July, 1930

Chairman: TANAKA Seigen
 SANO Hiroshi

ZENNO Zenshiro

Candidate: KONAKA Toranosuke

NEW-BORN COMMUNIST PARTY
Nov., 1930 - July, 1937

CHUO IIN (Central Committee):

Chairman: KAZAMA Jokichi (alias TOKUGAWA)
IWATA Yoshinichi (alias TOBA)
KONNO Yojiro (alias HAMADA)
MIYAGAWA Torao (alias MAKI)
TAI Tameshichi (alias SUGIYAMA)

RINJI CHUO IINKAI (Temporary Central Committee): Nov., 1932 - Dec., 1932

GENGOROMARU Yoshiharu (alias MIYATA)
KODAMA Shizuko (alias TSUKIKATA)
MATSUO Shigeji
MIYAGAWA Torao (alias MAKI)
MIZUNO Hideo
TAI Tameshichi (alias SUGIYAMA)
TAKEUCHI Bunji
YAMAGUCHI Shinji

Candidates for the Committee:

OIZUMI Kenzo (alias KATANO)
WATANABE Sosuke
YAMASHITA Heiji (alias WATANABE)

CHUO IIN (Central Committee): Jan. - April, 1933

Chairman: NORO Eitaro (alias OCHI)
OIZUMI Kenzo (alias KATANO)
SAHARA Yasuji (alias KAGAWA)
TANIGUCHI Naohi (alias NUMA)
YAMAMOTO Masayoshi (alias YOSHII)

Candidates for Chairmen of the Committee:

MIYAMOTO Kenji (alias MOTODA)
YAMASHITA Heiji (alias WATANABE)

CHUO IINKAI (Central Committee): May - Nov., 1933

HEMMI Shigeo (alias ISHIDA)
MIYAMOTO Kenji (alias MOTODA)
NORO Eitaro (alias OCHI)
OBATA Tatsuo (alias FURUKAWA)
OIZUMI Kenzo (alias KATANO)

CHUO IINKAI (Central Committee): Nov. - Dec., 1933

AKIZASA Masanosuke (alias HAYASHI)
HAKAMADA Satomi (alias MINE)
HEMMI Shigeo (alias ISHIDA)
MIYAMOTO Kenji (alias MOTODA)
OBATA Tatsuo (alias FURUKAWA)
OIZUMI Kenzo (alias KATANO)
YASUI Kiyotaka (alias MATSUDA)

CHUO IINKAI (Central Committee): Dec., 1933 - April, 1934

AKIZASA Masanosuke (alias HAYASHI)
 HAKAMADA Satomi (alias MINE)
 HEMMI Shigeo (alias ISHIDA)
 KIJIMA Takaaki (alias SAKUMI)
 MIYAMOTO Kenji (alias MOTODA)

CHUO BU (Central Section): Jan., - Dec., 1935

HAKAMADA Satomi	TAKAYA Kakuzo
KOBAYASHI Yasuhiko	TAKAYAMA Chieko
OZAWA Michi	TOYOHARA Uta
SHIMIZU Shoichi	TSUTSUMI Midori
SUGAHARA Katsumi	WAKAMATSU Rei

CHUO SAIKEN JUMBI IINKAI (Central Reconstruction Preparatory
 Committee): June, 1936

FUJII Hideo (alias MATSUMOTO)
 HASEGAWA Taminosuke
 IMIYA Masaichi
 OKUMURA Hidematsu
 WADA Yosaji (alias KINOSHITA)

CHUO SAIKEN IINKAI (Central Reconstruction Committee): July, 1937

Organizers: FUJII Hideo
 KUWAHARA Rokuro
 MIYAMOTO Kikuo
 OKUMURA Hidematsu
 WADA Yosaji

Leading Section:

MIYAMOTO Kikuo
 WADA Yosaji
 OKUMURA Hidematsu

APPENDIX VI
PROLETARIAN GAINS IN SUCCESSIVE
ELECTIONS

1928 - 1946

APPENDIX

PROLETARIAN GAINS IN SUCCESSIVE DISTRICT ELECTIONS (Seats)

	20 Feb 1928	20 Feb 1930	20 Feb 1932	20 Feb 1936	30 Apr 1937
SHAKAI MINSHU TO	4	2	3		
SHAKAI TAISHU TO				18	38
RODO NOMIN TO	2				
NIHON RONC TO					
KYUSHU MINREN TO					
ZENKOKU TAISHU TO		2	1		
RONO TO		1			
ZENKOKU RONO TAISHU TO			1		
NIHON SHAKAI TO					
NIHON KYOSAN TO					
Total Proletarian Candidates Elected	8	5	5	18	38
Total Proletarian Votes	476,000	504,343	287,865	518,867	953,960
Percentage of Proletarian Votes to Total Votes	4.8	4.9	2.0	4.7	10.8

oOo

*1 Two Proletarians were elected as independents without Imperial rule Assistance Political Society recommendation. A third, TAMEN Kiyomi, received Imperial rule Assistance Political Society recommendation. TO candidates for election, only three were elected.

A P P E N D I X

LIBERTARIAN GAINS IN SUCCESSIVE DISTRICT ELECTIONS (Seats)

Feb 1928	20 Feb 1930	20 Feb 1932	20 Feb 1936	30 Apr 1937	30 Apr 1942	10 Apr 1946
4	2	3				
2			18	38	(3)*1	
	2	1				
	1					
		1				
						96
						6
8	5	5	18	38	(3)	102
6,000	504,343	287,865	518,867	953,960	-	Socialist 9,858,408 Communist 2,135,757
4.8	4.9	2.0	4.7	10.8	-	Socialist 18. Communist 3.8

oOo

as independents without Imperial rule Assistance Political Society recommendation in 1942.
 ved Imperial rule Assistance Political Society recommendation. Of the 15 ex-SHAKAI TAISHU
 only three were elected.

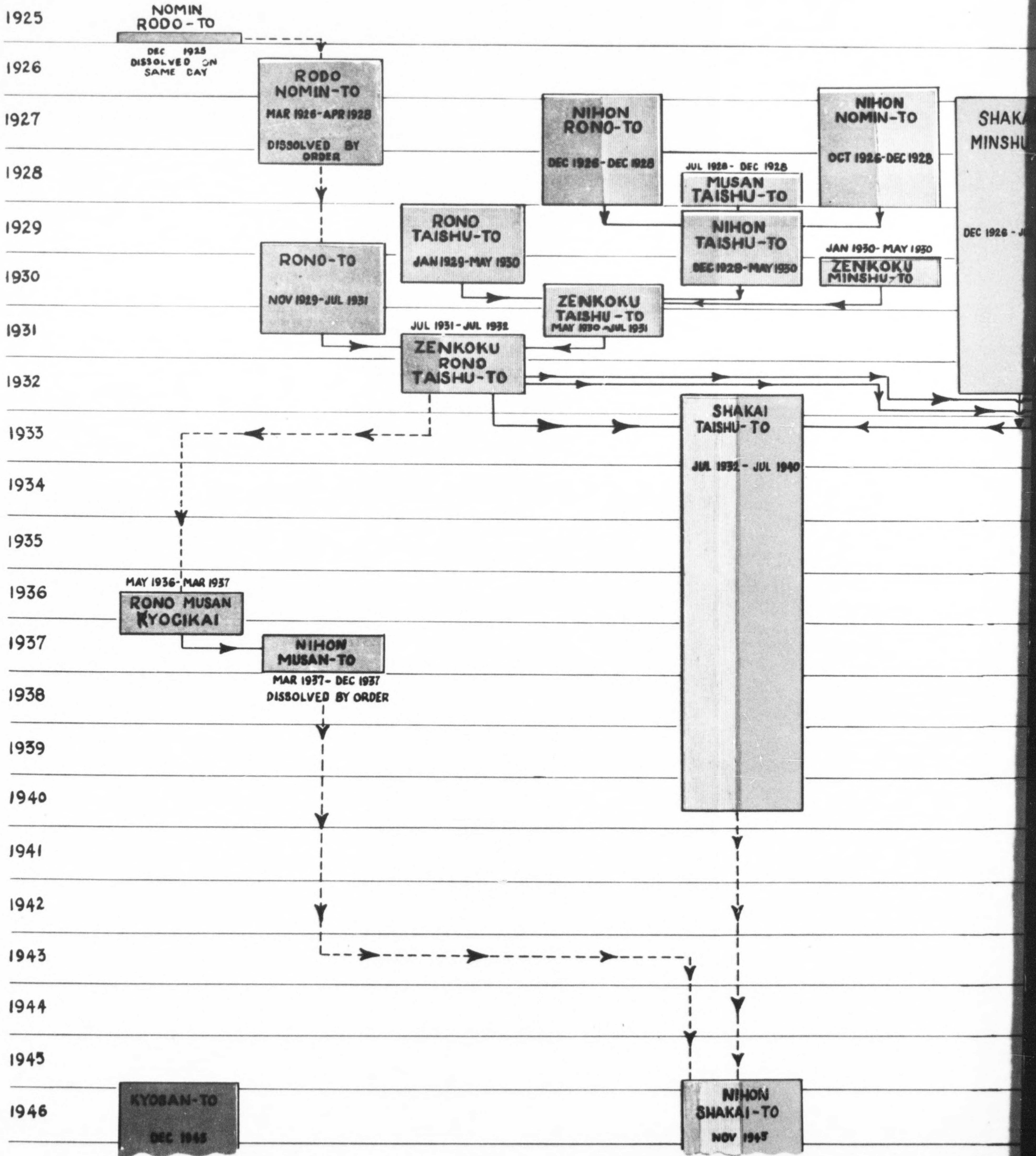
CHARTS

Ideological Political Parties
Japanese Labor Unions
Important Japanese Agrarian Unions

THIS CHART REPRESENTS
OPPOSITION PARTIES TO
MINSEITO, SEIYUKAI AND
I.R.A.A.

P O I

PROLETARIAN PARTIES

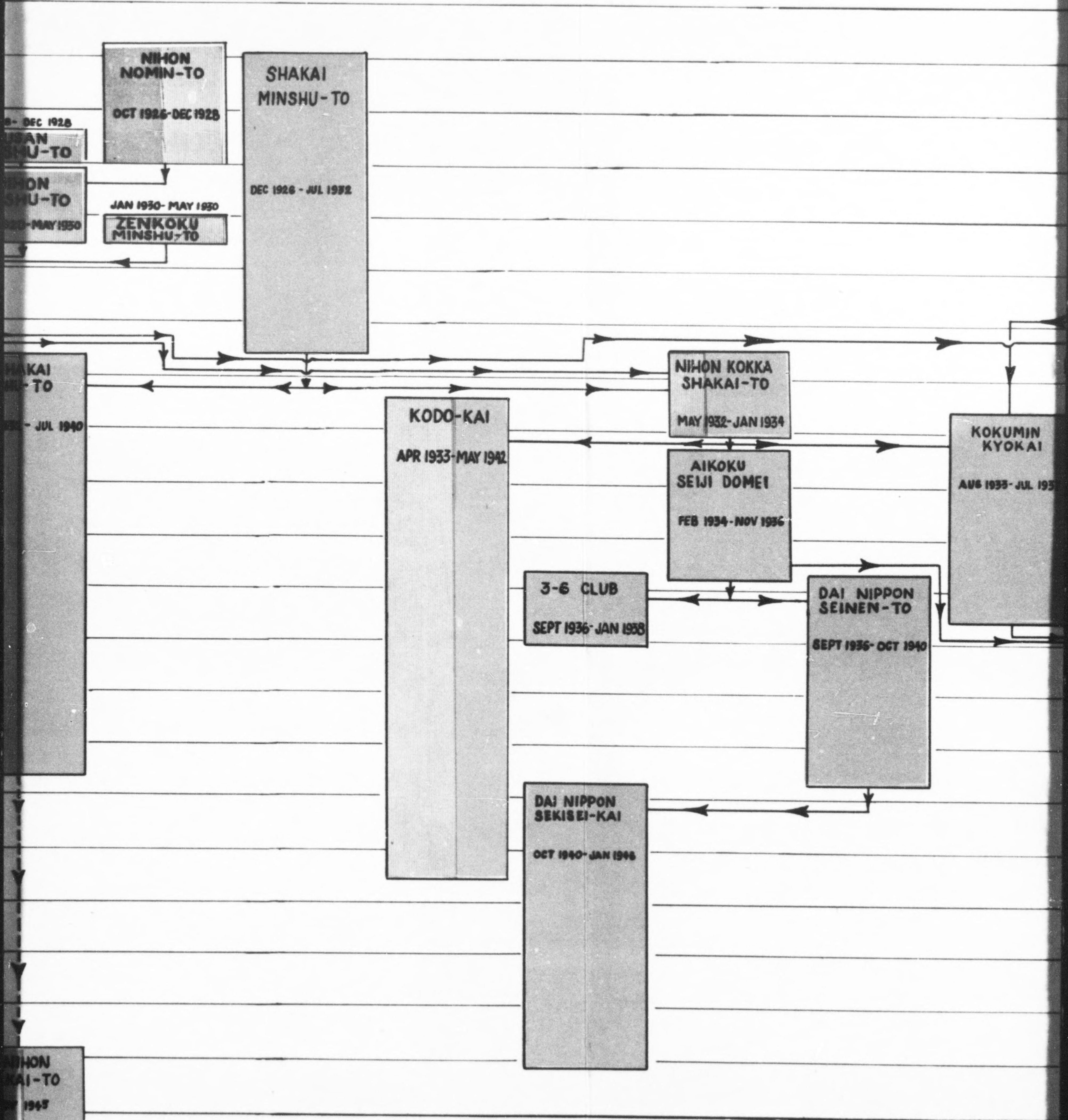


IDEOLOGICAL POLITICAL PARTIES

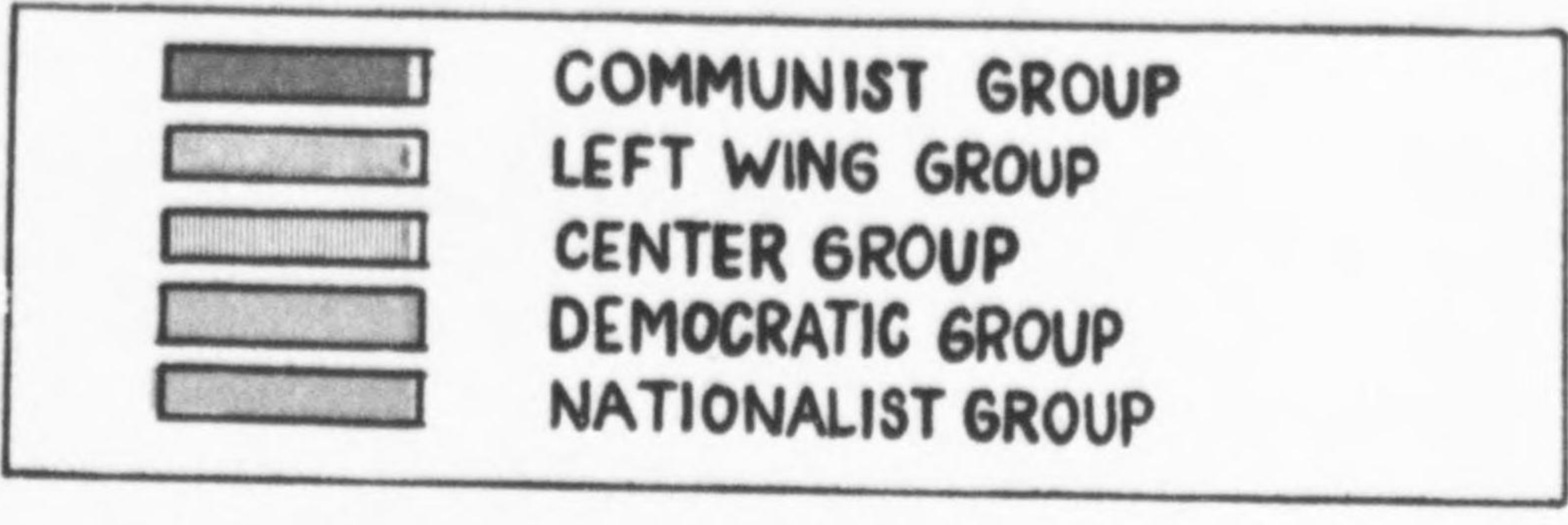
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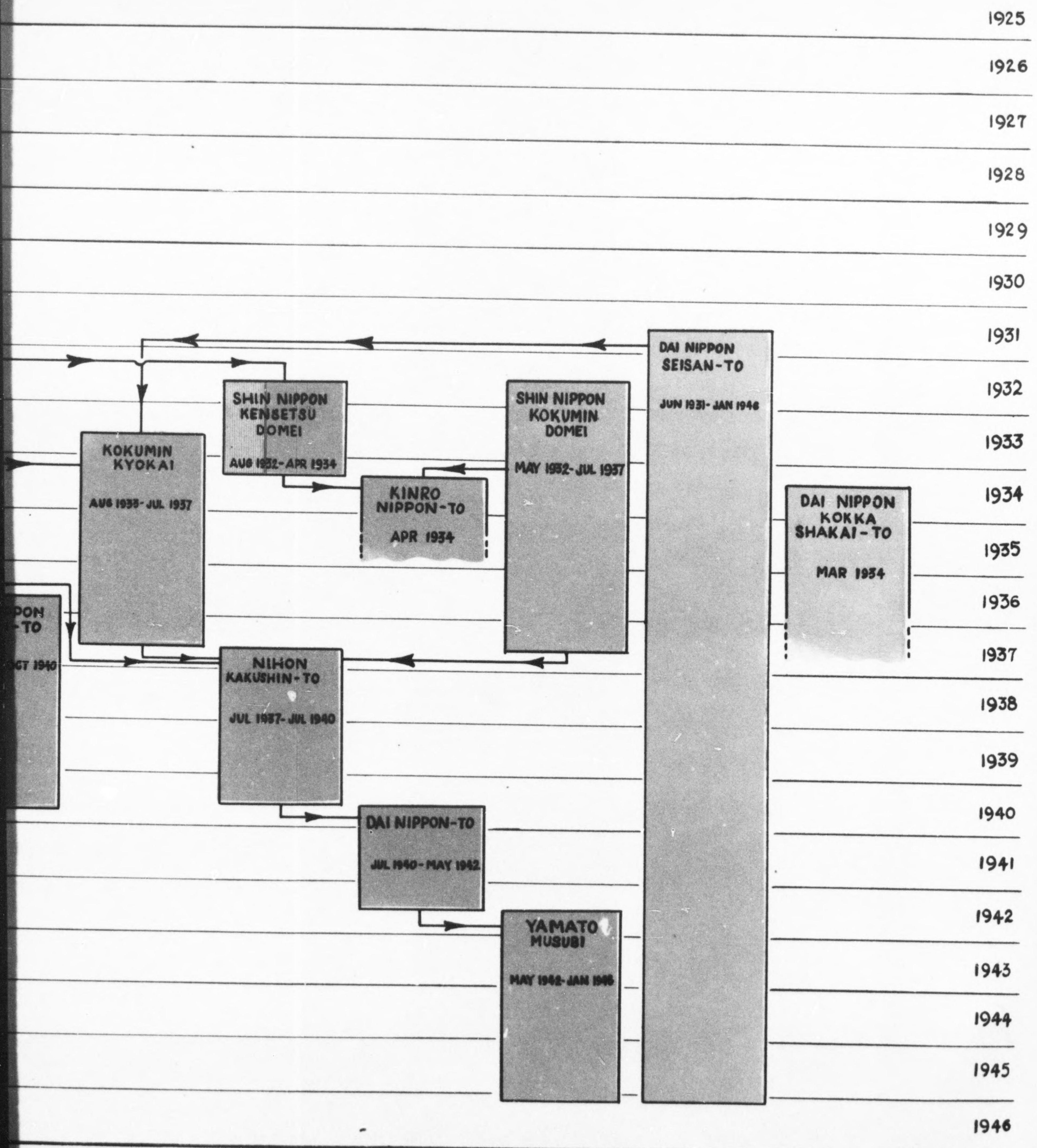
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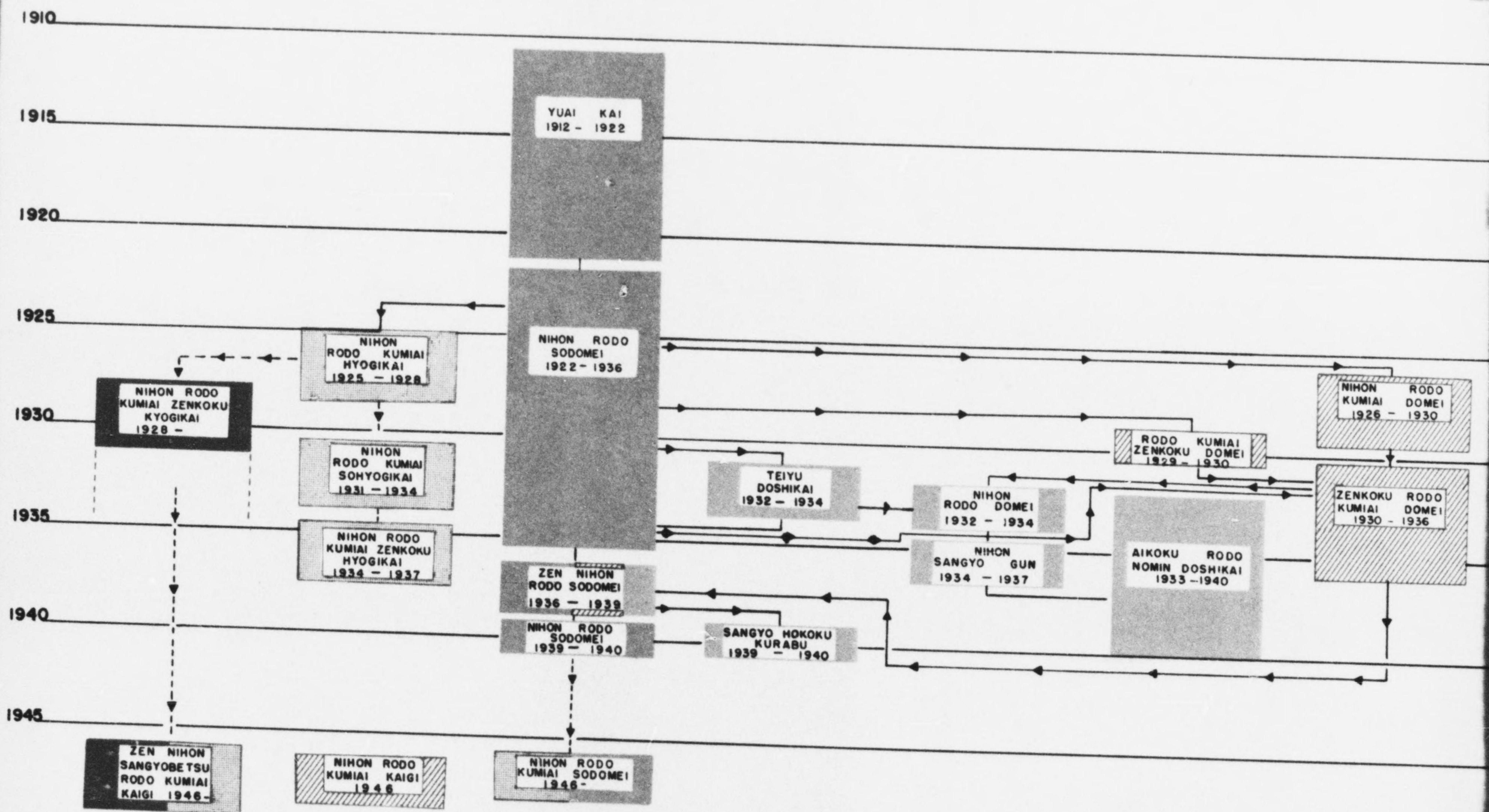
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NATIONALIST PARTIES

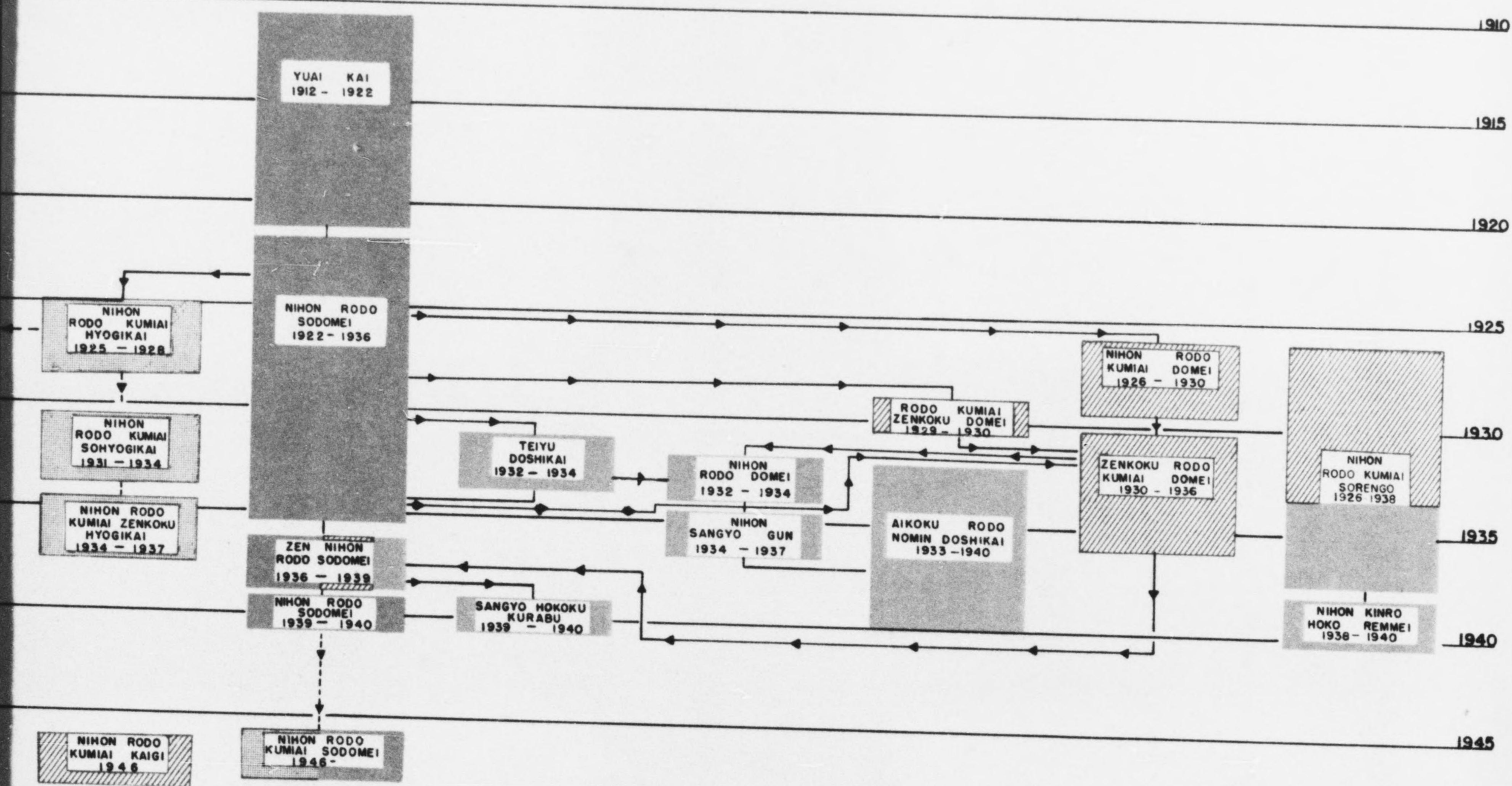


JAPANESE LABOR UNIONS 1912 - 1946

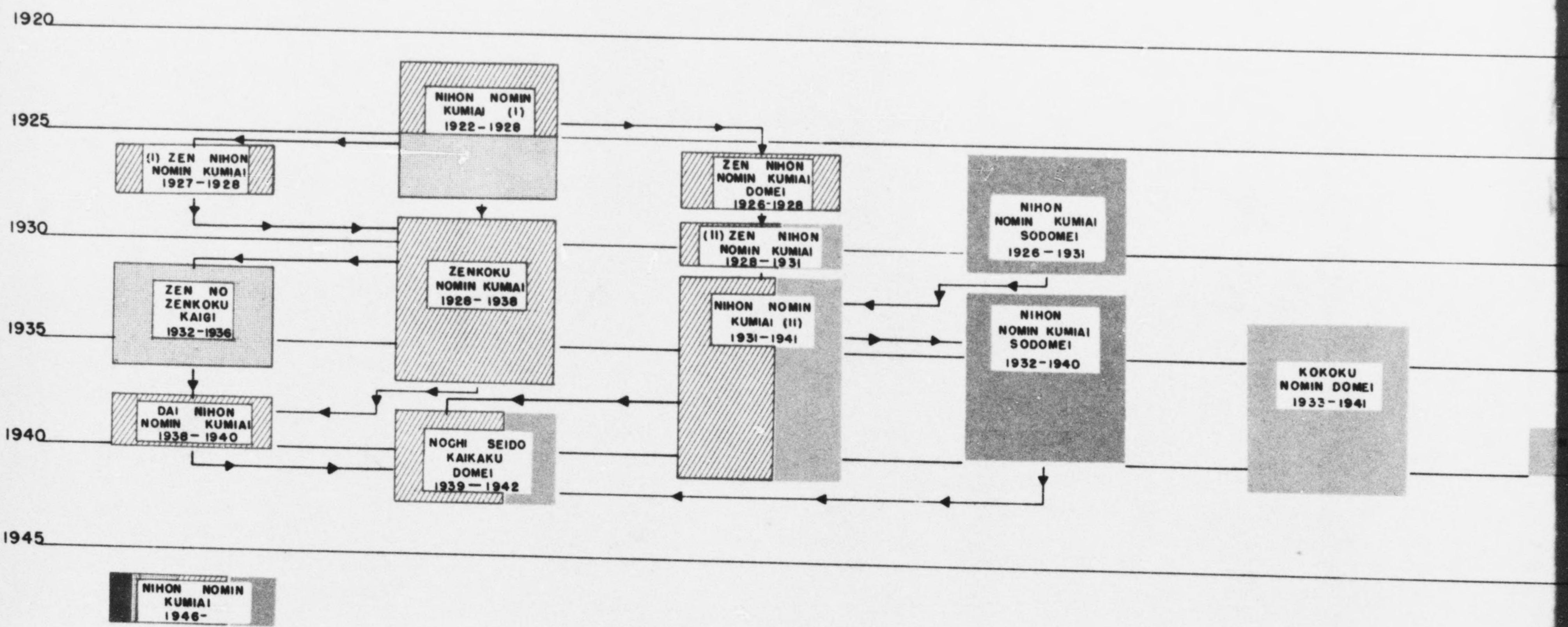


JAPANESE LABOR UNIONS 1912 - 1946

- COMMUNIST
- LEFT WING
- CENTER
- DEMOCRATIC
- NATIONALIST

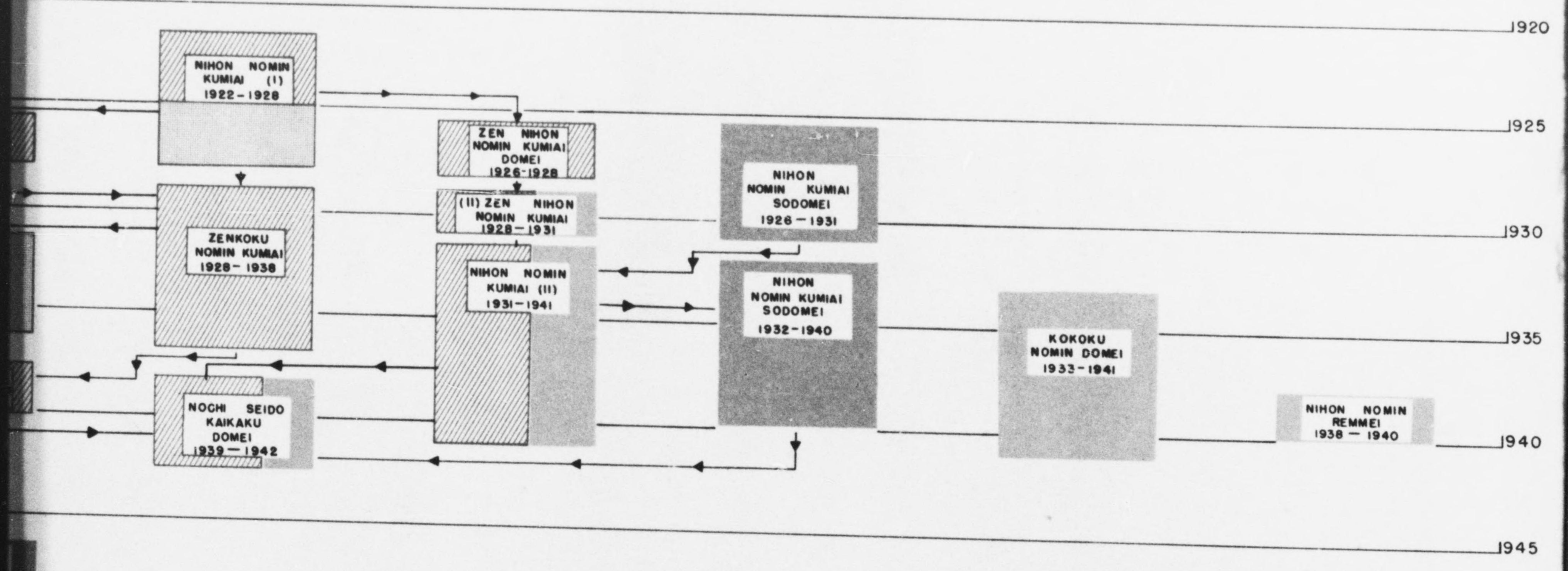


IMPORTANT JAPANESE AGRARIAN UNIONS 1922 - 1946



IMPORTANT JAPANESE AGRARIAN UNIONS 1922 - 1946

- COMMUNIST
- ▨ LEFT WING
- ▧ CENTER
- ▩ DEMOCRATIC
- NATIONALIST



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