

Article

State Socialist Movement in Japan during the Early 1930s: Focusing on the Nazi Party and the “Fascism” Debates

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ABSTRACT: This examination considered how the state socialist affected the social movement of the same period and the reorganization of proletarian parties, and how aimed at the expansion of their social movement, through they discussed Nazi party and “fascism”. This examination offers new perspectives for the previous research of the corresponding field, and there are three arguments presented in this article. First, state socialist who sympathized with Nazi party’s way of thinking and willingly introduced literature on Nazi party to Japan ahead of the times, intended to criticize blindly-motivated patriotism by pointing out that Nazi regarded the nation only as a measure for the prosperity of the ethnic groups. Secondly, it should be noted that state socialist movement not only criticized communist’s “fascism” theory but also tried to affect the social movement of the same period through their own “fascism” theory. Lastly, the state socialist movement did not tolerate the Italian fascism and Nazism. State socialist criticized both of them for being “national capitalism”. He looked out for the extension of the “regulatory control” function of the “state” not only in the economic, but also in the social arena. He worried that this would bring the substantial expansion and reinforcement of “state” power: political power.

KEYWORDS: State Socialist Movement, Fascism, Nazism, Nationalism, Patriotism

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Introduction

In March 1919, Motoyuki Takabatake and others who had left the socialist movement established the new National Socialist Movement.¹ They worked on the first publication of the journal *Kokka-Shakaishugi* (*National Socialism*) and held lectures, but the movement was sluggish, and when Takabatake later devoted himself to the translation of “Das Capital,” it became even more stagnant.

When Takabatake died in December 1928, the movement was taken over by his disciples Tatsuo Tsukui, Junjūrō Ishikawa, Shunsuke Beppu, and others. They attempted to take steps to reestablish the lost movement while launching the magazines *Kyūshin* (*Radical*) (June 1929) and *Nihon-Shakaishugi* (*Japanese Socialism*) (October 1931).²

This paper discusses their influences on the socialist movement and the restructuring of proletarian parties in the early 1930s, and how they tried to expand their power while the State Socialist Movement generated debates over the Nazi Party³ and “fascism”⁴ after the death of Takabatake.

Around this time, Japan was known for the Showa Depression, the Manchurian

¹ The National Socialism of Takabatake criticized the “state = exploitation and oppression institution” concept in Marxism and the “withering away of the state” concept of the abolition phase resulting from it. At the same time, he found that the essence of the state is not “exploitation” but “control” and “regulation,” and advocated for regulating and operating a highly developed and centralized capitalist production by using the state power as a pure “controlling body.” In the quotes of this paper, the ruby characters of the original text have been omitted, and explanatory notes, omissions, and line breaks have been written with [], “...,” and “/” respectively.

² Hiroshi Hanzawa, “Right-wing activists: Tatsuo Tsukui, Goichi Hozumi and Junjūrō Ishikawa” (*Joint Research, Tenkō*, April 1962, Heibonsha); Masato Tanaka, *Motoyuki Takabatake, National Socialism in Japan* (November 1978, Gendai-Hyōronsha); Masato Tanaka, “‘The Manchurian Incident’ and State Socialism” (Tōru Watanabe and Masamichi Asukai, ed., *History of the Socialist Movement in Japan*, August 1973, San-ichi-Shobō), etc. tried to explain the movement from the perspective of the historical context of thought, but all references to the Nazi Party view of the State Socialist Movement remain fragmented.

³ Nazi (plural: Nazis) was a derogatory term for the “Nationalsozialist” at the time, and today it should be written in quotation marks, but in this paper, in consideration of the surrounding complexity, I wrote it as it was. The National Socialist German Workers’ Party (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei) is referred to as the Nazi Party.

⁴ In this paper, “fascism” is used as a historical term in all instances. For information on today’s concept of fascism as an analytical term and its polysemy, refer to Yasushi Yamaguchi, *Fascism: Issues and points in the history of Japan* (March 2006, Iwanami-Shoten). See also Yoko Kato, “Japanese history” (*Fascism: Issues and points in the history of Japan* September 1, 2006, Yoshikawa-Kōbunkan), a collection of fascism debates of recent years.

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Incident, the death of the party cabinet and the establishment of the “kyokoku-itchi (national unity)” government, the rise of the state-controlled economy concept, the “tenkō (conversion),” and incidents related to the theory of the Emperor as an organ of government. However, the early 1930s was when the State Socialist Movement gained power of an unprecedented level due to the division of proletarian parties, and 1920 to 1945 was the time when journalism regarding the “fascism” debate flourished.⁵

Behind this “fascism” resurgence there was not only the political and social situation of Japan but also the influence of the Comintern-Fascism debate and the rise of the Nazi party in the German general election (September 1930). There have been several studies focusing on Italian fascism and fascist views from the 1920s to the 1930s;⁶ however, there are no studies focused on the relationship between the State Socialist Movement and the Nazi Party in the 1930s, nor on the fascism debates of this movement.

In recent years, following the progress of research on the total war system, Japan in the 1930s has come to be considered as an era of “system society” and “wartime transformation.”⁷ However, these studies have mainly been focused on the late 1930s, and there is no discussion on what kind of thought and movements were instigated by the State Socialist Movement in the early 1930s on the eve of the total war system.

⁵ In the January issue of *Salaryman* was “Japanese Fascism,” a feature including papers from leaders of the State Socialist Movement, such as “How does State Socialism Differ from Social Democracy” by Junjūrō Ishikawa, “Who Wins the Last” by Tatsuo Tsukui, “Why International Communists are not Relevant” by Katsumaro Akamatsu, and “Criticism of the Liberation Front and Advocacy for Establishing A New Party” by Eizō Kondo, and is not related to the popularity of “fascism” or the State Socialist Movement at that time. In particular, the paper by Eizō Kondo has “Making a fresh start of proletarian parties” in the table of contents, which is a summary of the book of the same name (December 1931, Keizai-Mondai-Kenkyūkai (Economic Problems Study Group) published just before this. As described later, the book is a leading initiative for the establishment of a new party centered on Yasaburō Shimonaka, and it had considerable influence on the restructuring of proletarian parties in the 1930s.

⁶ Please refer to Yukio Itō, “Italy = Fascism views in Japan and Sennosuke Yokota” (Yukio Itō, “Taishō Democracy and Political Party Politics,” November 1987, Yamakawa-Shuppansha), Mitsuhiko Yamazaki, “Italian Fascism, and its Acceptance and Representation in Japan—Formation of Mussolini Image as a Hero” *IL FASCISMO nel Giappone* (Edited by Shizuo Seki, *Taishō Reconsideration: The Era of Hope and Anxiety*, February 2007, Mineruva-Shobō), and the manuscript “A Study of the Italian Fascist Views of Japan in the Early 1920s” (*Bunmei-Kōzōron (Civilization Structure)* No. 3, September 5, 2007, field of Civilization Structure, Contemporary Civilization course, Graduate School of Human and Environmental Studies, Kyoto University.)

⁷ Yasushi Yamanouchi, *Contemporary Phases of System Society* (June 1996, Iwanami-Shoten), Masashi Yonetani, “Social Thought in Wartime Japan: Modernization and Wartime Transformation” (*Shisō (Thought)*, issue 882, December 5, 1997, Iwanami-Shoten).

This paper focuses on the State Socialist Movement in the early 1930s partly because its proponents were dedicated to the introduction of the Nazi Party. They not only tried to restructure social movements and proletarian parties of that time in the discussion of the Nazi Party and fascism but also tried to build a critical view of the total war system and “blind statist” as they are seen today. I discuss these issues in more detail below.

Furthermore, this article is an English translation and a modified version of “1930-nendai shoki Nihon ni okeru kokka shakai shugi undō: Sono nachitō-ron to ‘fashizumu’-ron ni shōten o atete” (National Socialist Movement in the Early 1930s: Focusing on Nazi Theory and Fascism), which was published in *Shigaku zasshi (Journal of History)*,⁸ and was later revised and included in *Senkanki Nihon no shakai shisō: “Chōkokka” e no furontia (Social Thought in Interwar Japan: A Frontier to the “Ultra-national”)*, with the title “‘Genjitsuteki kakumei shugi’ e no michi: ‘Fashizumu’ to Nihon shugi no hazama de” (The Road to “Real Revolutionism”: Between “Fascism” and Japanism).⁹ Moreover, to expand on the article’s theme of “how Japanese thinkers received Italian fascism and Nazism and sought to define it within Japanese thought,” I published *Nihon fashizumu ronsō: Taisen zenya no shisōka tachi (The Japanese Fascism Dispute: Thinkers on the Eve of World War)*, which discussed the influence that the “Mussolini boom” in 1920s Japan and the debates on fascism and totalitarianism in the 1930s and beyond had on the Japanese intellectual world.¹⁰

Subsequently, several studies on the reception of fascism and Nazism in Japan have been published outside Japan. Three representative examples are Germaine A. Hoston, “Marxism and National Socialism in Taishō Japan: The Thought of Takabatake Motoyuki” (1984)¹¹, and Reto Hofmann, “The Fascist Effect: Japan and Italy, 1915–1952” (2015), and Ricky Law, “Transnational Nazism: Ideology and Culture in German-Japanese Relations, 1919–1936” (2019). Hoston’s paper is a mainly discusses Motoyuki Takabatake and his kokka-shakaishugi (national socialism), while my paper focuses on the development of the national socialist movement after the death of Takabatake. Hofmann’s book, which

⁸ Takahiro Fuke, “1930-nendai shoki Nihon ni okeru kokka shakai shugi undō: Sono nachitō-ron to ‘fashizumu’-ron ni shōten o atete” (National Socialist Movement in the Early 1930s: Focusing on Nazi Theory and Fascism), *Shigaku zasshi (Journal of History)*, volume 118, number 8, 2009.

⁹ Takahiro Fuke, “‘Genjitsuteki kakumei shugi’ e no michi: ‘Fashizumu’ to Nihon shugi no hazama de” (The Road to “Real Revolutionism”: Between “Fascism” and Japanism) (in *Jimbun Shoin, Sensōki Nihon no shakai shisō: “Chōkokka” e no furontia (Social Thought in Interwar Japan: A Frontier to the “Ultra-national”)*) 2010.

¹⁰ Fuke, *Nihon fashizumu ronsō: Taisen zen’ya no shisōka tachi (The Japanese Fascism Dispute: Thinkers on the Eve of World War) Kawade Shobō Shinsha*, 2012.

¹¹ Germaine A. Hoston, “Marxism and National Socialism in Taishō Japan: The Thought of Takabatake Motoyuki”, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, volume 44, number 1, 1984.

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is mainly concerned with the reception of Italian fascism, refers to my two books, saying that “The Japanese debates on Italian Fascism have received scant attention, both in Japanese- and English-language scholarship. One exception is Fuke Takahiro, who has treated the subject in depth, showing how Fascism and Nazism stimulated a wide debate among Japanese right-wing ideologues and movement.”¹² In contrast to Hoffman, focusing on the introduction of Italian fascism by Harukichi Simoi and others I would like to put the focus on the *kokka-shakaishugi* (state socialism) movement and the introduction of Nazism. The discussion in Law’s book focuses on “transnational Nazism” in both Japanese and German media, and hence does not pay sufficient attention to the relationship between Japanese political and social movements and the reception of Nazism. As such, I believed it meaningful to translate my article from *Shigaku zasshi*, where I discussed this theme, and make it more accessible to readers in the English-speaking world.

My reasons for choosing this article for translation into English are that 1) it is not well-known that it was the State Socialist Movement that debated Nazism and the Nazi Party most thoroughly and most technically in Japan; 2) this movement’s magazines such as *Kyūshin (Radical)* and *Kokka-Shakaishugi (State Socialism)* are underused in English-language research for that reason; and 3) making use of them will clarify how Japanese thinkers and social movement ideologues strategically tried to engage with Nazism.

Thus, this article makes three points. Firstly, it reexamines the assumption that simply equates the right-wing social movement with “fascism” in the study of post-war Japanese intellectual history. The State Socialist Movement, discussed in this paper, has been considered “fascist” because its name resembles that of Nazism. It is true that state socialists took a keen interest in Italian fascism and Nazism in the 1920s and beyond, and that they published a wealth of editorials on the subject, but they were later the first to realize that state socialism differed from Italian fascism and Nazism, and that Nazism was “state capitalism,” and instead turned to criticizing the same. This has been overlooked in the study of the history of Japanese social movements and the study of Japanese fascism. Second, while past research on the Japanese Communist Party and the proletarian parties has made almost no mention of the influence of state nationalism, which was considered “fascism,” I clarify that the State Socialist Movement played a key role in the divisions and merging of proletarian parties. In this article, I discuss this theme as closely to the sources as I can. Furthermore, basing myself on the state socialist claim that the state is a “controlling body” (see note 1 for more details), I translate Japanese *kokka-shakaishugi* in 1930s as “state socialism” and German *kokumin-shakaishugi* as “national socialism.” To make things clearer, I write both the Japanese transliteration and English

¹² Reto Hofmann, “The Fascist Effect: Japan and Italy, 1915–1952,” 144, 2015, Cornell University Press.

translation of “kokka-shakaishugi (state socialism)” and “kokumin-shakaishugi (national socialism)” throughout the text.

The translated contents are the same as in the Japanese article, but I have added an explanation of the social situation in 1930s Japan for the sake of readers of the English article, as well as summaries at the beginning and end of each section.

1. Rise of the Nazi Party and the State Socialist Movement

Section 1 clarifies how the Japanese State Socialist Movement reacted to the rise of the Nazi Party in Germany by looking at their magazine *Kyūshin (Radical)*.

In Germany, at the end of March 1930, the Brüning Cabinet took office, and a deflation policy by austerity and tax increases was pushed to improve fiscal health. However, the government was managed in a way that ignored the Parliament by excessively issuing presidential emergency ordinances because the German Social Democratic Party, initially the largest party in the Reichstag, lost seats and Brüning’s cabinet was a minority cabinet. For this reason, Brüning faced parliamentary resistance, and he dissolved Parliament in September of the same year. Contrary to his speculation, the result of the general election was that the German Communist Party gradually increased its seats while the power of centrist parties declined, and the Nazi Party expanded its seats dramatically, becoming the second largest party.

These changes in the political situation in Germany were also transmitted to Japan. The anonymous article “Activities of Kokusui-Shakaitō (the National Socialist Party)” and “Inside and Outside Review, Development of Doitsu Kokusui-Shakaitō (the German National Socialist Party)” by Sumio Oku (pen name of Tatsuo Tsukui) in the October issue of the magazine *Kyūshin (Radical)* were both published by the State Socialist Movement. These articles were the earliest ones the State Socialist Movement published on the Nazi Party. In the former article, it was stated that “the arguments of Kokusui-Shakaitō (the National Socialist Party) are clearly Kokka-Shakaishugi (state socialism), and these are approximately the same views we hold.”¹³ In the latter paper, Tsukui considered “the great development of Kokusui-Shakaitō (the National Socialist Party)” as “something astonishing,” while examining the state socialism of “middle class and proletarian class

¹³ “Activities of the National Socialist Party,” page 42, *Kyūshin (Radical)* October 1, 1930, Taishūsha. The article “Seiyō Kibun—Mussolini and Adolf Hitler of Germany” had already been published in the April 1923 issue of *Mita Review*, and the State Socialist Movement’s attention toward Hitler was not necessarily early.

¹⁴ Sumio Oku, “Inside and Outside Review, Development of German National Socialism,” pages 40 and 41, *Kyūshin (Radical)* October 1, 1930. Regarding Oku being the pen name of Tatsuo Tsukui, please refer to page 87 of *Tsukui Tatsuo’s talk: shorthand record* (November 1974,

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of each country” in the era of “capitalism’s deadlock,”¹⁴ and this factor raised distrust in parliamentary politics in Germany and the demand for the establishment of “political fascism.”

With this opportunity, a full-fledged special feature of the Nazi Party began in *Kyūshin (Radical)* the following month. The cover of *Kyūshin (Radical)* in November 1930 was decorated with photos of “the German National Socialist Party March,” Published in the same issue were Junjūrō Ishikawa’s¹⁵ article “On the Kokumin-Shakaishugi (National Socialist) Movement in Germany—Looking to the National Socialist German Workers’ Party for the Parliamentary Elections” and Junichi Takayama’s (whose real name was Kazuo Yamanouchi but used the pen name Shunsuke Beppu, which will be explained

Japanese Modern Historical Publications.)

¹⁵ Junjūrō Ishikawa was born in Aburamachi, Morioka City, Iwate Prefecture, on June 1, 1899. After graduating from Morioka Junior High School in 1918, he entered the Department of Politics at Waseda University, studying under Sentarō Kemuyama; their friendship deepened after he graduated. He also studied under Motoyuki Takabatake from the time of entering Waseda University, was involved in writing for *Kyūshin (Radical)*, editing for *Susume (Progress)*, “Naigai-Shakaimondai-Chōsa-Siryō (research materials on internal and external social issues),” and stood out in the state socialist debate. Later, he helped the State Socialist Movement, mainly from a theoretical viewpoint, after the death of Takabatake, such as being involved in Nihon-Shakaishugi-Kenkyūjyo (the Japan Institute of Socialism) established in September 1931, Nihon-Kokka-Shakaishugi-Gakumei (the Japan State Socialist Council) established in April 1932, Dainihon-Kokka-Shakaitō (the Association of the State Socialist Party of Japan) in 1934, and Nihon-Keirin-Gakumei (The League of State Construction) formed in 1937. After the dissolution of the movement in 1942, he became an adviser for *Manshu-nippo (the Manchurian Daily)*, temporary employee of Kyōwakai (the Kyowa Association), and lecturer at Kenkoku University. Because of the invasion of the Soviet Armed Forces in 1945, he went to “Shinkyō,” passing through Hoten, and was in Chongju City in North Korea by the end of the war. After landing in Japan (Kyushu), he was expelled from public office, and then became a professor at Waseda University in 1949. He retired from teaching in 1962 because of his illness, to concentrate on his writing career. He died on February 22, 1980. The preceding information is from an interview with Aiko Kamura and Hiroto kamura, *Gendai-Keizaigaku-Geppo (Monthly Report of Contemporary Economics)* (August 15, 1928, Nippon-Hyōron-Sha).

¹⁶ With respect to the fact that Junichi Takayama was the same person as Shunsuke Beppu, refer to Junjūrō Ishikawa, “Introduction to the German National Socialist Movement (1): For reference to the Japanese State Socialist Movement” (*Kokka-Shakashugi (State Socialism)*, December 5, 1932, Japan Institute of Socialism). Shunsuke Beppu and Junichi Takayama were the pen names of Kazuo Yamanouchi. Yamanouchi was born in Hiroshima Prefecture on December 14, 1903, graduated from Fukuoka High School in 1926, and graduated from the Faculty of Law and Literature at Kyushu Imperial University in March 1929. He became an assistant at this university in April of the same year, and then lecturer at Kyushu Law School in June 1936. In March 1939, he became an assistant professor at Kenkoku University of Manchuria, and in

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later)¹⁶ “The Rapid Headway of The NSDAP—what it will teach us?”—this paper was a follow-up to the January issue of the same year.

Of the issues related to the State Socialist Movement, Ishikawa was particularly interested in the Nazi Party and published an extensive work called “Research on Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*” (Hitorā-Main-Kanpu-Kenkyu, 1941–1942, Kokusai-nihon-kyōkai (International Japan Association)), a compilation of studies on Nazism. In this paper, Ishikawa said “in Japan, we kokka-shakaishugisha (state socialists) have many points to learn from the Nazi Party” regardless of whether or not they agreed with the views of the Nazi Party as “we have also paid special attention since the end of last year—in relation to the things that we have in common.”¹⁷

In the paper, Ishikawa defined state socialism in order to make a sharp distinction between himself and the Nazi Party. According to him, the thought of the Nazi Party was “Nationalsozialismus,” but state socialism was both “Nationalsozialismus” and “Staatssozialismus.” The Nazi Party had the fundamental perception that the abolition of class discrimination does not lead to the abolition of national discrimination and that “international socialist solutions are parallel to the elimination of domestic class discrimination, and depending on the circumstances, are dependent on military force.” In contrast, state socialism held that the essence of the state lies in “control and regulation (tōsei-shihai),” that the state does not become useless after classes are eliminated, and that there is no centrally planned economy without the state, emphasizing the aspect of “Staatssozialismus.”¹⁸

However, Ishikawa did not go deep into this discussion, probably because the Nazi Party’s acceptance in Japan had just begun, and he limited himself to overviewing and explaining the position of the Nazi Party in the German political situation, the form of the movement, and the figure of Hitler. After this, Ishikawa turned his attention to “the complete global victory of kokka-shakaishugi (state socialism) over hi-kokka-shakaishugi

May 1942 he was promoted to professor at this university. He was called for a temporary post in May 1945, was taken in by the Soviet army in August of the same year, and then returned to Japan in August 1948 and was reinstated. He became a professor at the Faculty of Law and Literature of Kumamoto University in December 1949, was transferred to the Faculty of Liberal Arts at this university in 1967, and retired in March 1965. He was a professor at Kumamoto University of Commerce from April to March 1973, and a visiting professor at this university until March 1975. He died on March 9, 1986. This information is according to an interview with Noriko Yamanouchi.

¹⁷ Junjūrō Ishikawa, “On the National Socialist Movement in Germany: National Socialist German Workers Party wanting to win the parliamentary elections” pages 2 and 3, *Kyūshin (Radical)* November 1, 1930.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, page 3.

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(non-state socialism)” in “the emergence of the Kokumin-Shakaishugi (National Socialist) Movement in today’s Germany—one Kokka-Shakaishugi (State Socialist) Movement,” and finally, he concluded the paper by pointing out that “when looking far away and daring to forgive a word, you want to say, ‘Hitler, step on your left foot a little more!’”¹⁹

On the other hand, in Junichi Takayama’s paper, a perspective of diverting the rise of the Nazi Party into the transformation of Japan can be seen. What draws attention to this paper is that Takayama pointed out the following issues, which are not found in Ishikawa’s paper. “In the central bulletin *Die Rote Fahne* and others such as *Communism International*, the Communist Party said that the NS (National-Socialist German Workers Party) was ‘national fascism,’ in contrast to the ‘social fascism’ of the Social Democrats, and it is hardly necessary to say that the Communist Party calls it reactionist and a betrayal.”²⁰

In the follow-up to this article (*Kyūshin (Radical)*, December 1930), Takayama focused on this “kokumin-fashizumu (national fascism)” while covering the criticism of the Nazi party from the German Communist Party (KPD) and the German Social Democratic Party (SPD). In addition, he mentioned the fallacy of the Anti-Nazi Party strategy in the Comintern and the KPD leadership. In other words, because they thought that “German fascism clearly grows naturally from inside of Shakai-Minshūtō (the Social Democratic Party),” they said, “in Germany, the form of fascism is social fascism itself.” However, the rise of the Nazi Party had led to the formation of two types of fascism, according to the Communist Party.²¹

These “two types of fascism” referred to the “social fascism” and “kokumin-fashizumu (national fascism)” mentioned earlier. Regarding the strategic mistake of the KPD and Comintern, and the rise of the Nazi Party, Takayama said that we must learn “the wisdom of the leaders of the National Socialist Party who cleverly explored the tactical flaw of the Communist Party, and rushed into it bringing the masses.”²²

After this, Takayama pointed out the following important issues while discussing the “fretfulness” emerging from the tone of the KPD.

The German Communist Party started writing about items that were not raised in its traditional slogan from the time before the general elections were held, getting closely tied to items of the traditional “Social Liberation” and clearly writing “National Liberation” in black

¹⁹ *ibid.*, page 12.

²⁰ Junichi Takayama, “The Rapid Headway of the NSDAP—what it will teach us?” page 16, *Kyūshin (Radical)* November 1, 1930.

²¹ Junichi Takayama, “The Rapid Headway of the NSDAP—what it will teach us? (2)” page 46, *Kyūshin (Radical)* December 1, 1930.

²² *ibid.*, page 47.

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and white, and the German Communist Party has been willing to call on the masses that the German military avant-garde of “Social and National Liberation” cannot be the only one except the Communist Party.²³

The “slogan” noted by Takayama refers to the “Proclamation principles for the National and Social Liberation of the German People” published by the KPD on August 24, 1930 (Programm der KPD zur nationalen und sozialen Befreiung des deutschen Volkes, Die Rote Fahne, 24 August 1930). These principles set forth a policy change in which the KPD denied the line of emphasis on an individual armed struggle against the Nazi Party and adopted an organized mass struggle. Additionally, “it included the prospects for the so-called anti-fascist and democratic change that was developed by the KPD and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED).”²⁴

However, at this time, Takayama saw these principles as proof that KPD approached the ideology of the Nazi Party (State Socialist Movement from the view of Takayama) instead of “anti-fascism.” Therefore, Takayama, who continued to speak further, turned the argument from the SPD, which had required no attention, to “Kokumin-Shakaitō (the German National Socialist Party)” and the KPD. The reason for this was that “Shakai-Minshūtō (the Social Democratic Party) took a serious perspective on the interesting relationship between Kokumin-Shakaitō (the National Socialist Party) and the Communist Party.” This “serious perspective” raised by Takayama was an approach between the “kakumeiteki-kokumin-shakaishugisha (revolutionary national socialist)” O. Strasser and Werner Hirsch, the lead author of the KPD bulletin *Die Rote Fahne*, published in the SPD bulletin *Vorwärts*.²⁵

Then, Takayama, who continued to ask “why not insist on the fact that something serious lies behind it?”, quoted an article in *Vorwärts* that revealed the relationship between the KPD and the Nazi Party, as well as a speech by Kurt Alfred Sindermann,²⁶ one of the

²³ *ibid.*, page 49. Verification of the impact of these principles on the Left Social Movement will be a challenge for a later date, but it is unlikely that it had a significant impact on *Rōnō (Labor and Farmer)* or *Puroretaria-Kagaku (Proletarian Science)*.

²⁴ Yukio Tominaga, ed., *Fascism and Comintern*, page 191, June 1978, the University of Tokyo Press. Regarding these principles, also refer to Haruhiko Hoshino, *The History of ‘Resistance’ on the Eve of the Nazi* (March 2007, Minerva-Shobō), pages 31, 82, and 97.

²⁵ “The Rapid Headway of the NSDAP—what it will teach us? (2)” page 50, *Kyūsin (Radical)* November 1, 1930. Regarding the Strasser brothers, see Chapter 3, Section 1 of *Thought and Movement of the Nazi Party* by Mikio Nakamura (February 1990, Nagoya University Press). The identification of sources of these German political situations and social movements by Junichi Takayama (Shunsuke Beppu) will be a future research topic.

²⁶ According to the teachings of Mr. Hiroshi Ikeda. Hermann Weber/Anreas Herbst, *Deutsche Kommunisten Biographisches Handbuch 1918 bis 1945* (Berlin, 2004), pages 740–741.

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KPD leaders, starting with “indeed, we may partner with kokumin-shakaishugisha (the national socialists).” At the same time, regarding this “something serious,” he changed the phrasing, saying “this problem, which social democracy attacked badly, is something that makes us feel that something is pressing the heart of our state socialists (kokka-shakaishugisha), together with the inspiration from the past that has come and joy for the glorious decisive victory in the future.”²⁷

In the end, Takayama did not explain in his own words the reason why the State Socialist Movement would reach a “decisive victory.” However, in the article from *Vorwärts* quoted by Takayama at the end of the text it is written, “even now after the election, the communists can see the danger of being repurposed by the Nazis to lead them to the victory of fascism,”²⁸ implying the reason. While the meaning of this quote was supposed to be in the final section of “Criticism of Ourselves,” at the end of the article it was written that the section was moved to the next issue of *Kyūshin (Radical)*. The next issue was never released, however, leaving the meaning unknown.

Section 1 has clarified how the state socialists were the first in Japan to take interest in the rise of the Nazi Party in Germany. However, they quickly realized the difference between state socialism and Nazism, which was that they emphasize socialism more than Nazism did. Additionally, the state socialists paid attention to the proclamation by the German Communist Party, which they would later praise for its “anti-fascism” potential.

2. Japanese Translation of “Mein Kampf” and the Reason for “National Socialism”

In this section, I analyze the role played by state socialists in the first translation of Hitler’s *Mein Kampf* by analyzing material from *Kōmin-Shimbun*. This magazine also included debates about the Nazi Party by state socialists. An examination of these editorials shows that state socialists clearly asserted their difference from Nazism.

The introductions to the Nazi Party in “*Kyūshin (Radical)*” were the above two, but at this time their Nazi Party debate was also published in the bulletin of Zennihon-Aikokusha-

²⁷ “The Rapid Headway of the NSDAP—what it will teach us? (2)” pages 52, 53.

²⁸ *ibid.*, page 54.

²⁹ Zennihon-Aikokusha-Kyōdō-Tōsō-Kyōgikai (the All-Japan Patriot’s Joint Struggle Council) (Japanese abbreviation: Nikkyo) was formed in March 1931. On March 9 of the same year, Tatsuo Tsukui, Bin Akao, and Bin Kanō, who were the representatives of Shūmei Okawa, held a meeting at the Tiger Cafeteria on the basement floor of the Shinjuku Hotel. On the 20th of the same month, Bōkoku-Gikai-Hinin-Zenminsyū-Taikai (the All-People’s Convention for the Disapproval of the Ruined Nation’s Parliament) was held, and this is said to be the actual birth of the Nikkyo. It is well known that the “March Incident,” which ended in March 1931, was related to the background of the birth of Nikko, but the right-wing social movement and *coup*

Kyōdō-Tōsō-Kyōgikai (the All-Japan Patriot's Joint Struggle Council)²⁹ *Kōmin-Shimbun*, which was also closely related to the State Socialist Movement. This magazine published not only the thesis of the State Socialist activists in relation to Tatsuo Tsukui, but the Japanese translation of Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (Japanese title *Waga-Tōsō, My Struggle*)³⁰ was also published in serial form.

Yo-No-Tōsō (My Struggle), translated by Ryūji Sakai (February 1932, Naigaisha), was the first translated book in Japan.³¹ It is noteworthy that an advertisement for this book was published in the 13th and 14th issues of *Kōmin-Shimbun*. The reason for this was that *Yo-No-Tōsō* consisted of a serial publication on Hitler titled "My Personal History, from his book *My Struggle*" in *Kōmin-Shimbun*. In addition, the State Socialist Movement was involved in the publication of *Yo-No-Tōsō*, making it possible that G. Fader's "Interpretation of the Principals of the German National Socialist Party" in *Yo-No-Tōsō* records the first appearance of "The Principals of the German National Socialist Party and its Fundamental Thought" (*Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism)* December issue of 1931).

"My Personal History," from the third issue (May 1930) to the sixth issue (August 1930) of *Kōmin-Shimbun*, was an interpretation of Chapter 1, "The Birthplace," of the first volume of *Waga-Tōsō*. However, the end of the sixth issue reads "in the next issue, Hitler embarks on the socialist movement and moves on to the depiction of a struggle full of disturbances, please read"³² and the Vienna, Munich, and World War I periods of Hitler's life are omitted, moving to the interpretation of *Waga-Tōsō* Volume 2, "Kokumin-

d'état plans at the time, including the Nikko, will be covered in a separate paper. This was possible to confirm in the third issue to fourteenth, which was the final issue, of *Kōmin-Shimbun*. The first and second issues are unknown, however; since the editorial published in *Kōmin-Shimbun* treats the third issue as the first one, it is considered that there was no actual first issue. For this bulletin, Tatsuo Tsukui was the "person in charge of editing and printing" from the third (May 1, 1931) to the ninth issue (November 1, 1931), and Zenichi Suzuki from the tenth (December 5, 1931) to the fourteenth issue (April 1, 1932). The publisher was Zennihon-Aikokusha-Kyōdō-Tōsō-Kyōgikai (the All-Japan Patriot's Joint Struggle Council) from the third to the seventh issue (September 1, 1931), and the Kōmin-Shimbun Corporation from the eighth (October 1, 1931) to the fourteenth issue. Since then, it was gradually transformed into the Jimmukai bulletin *Gekkan-Nihon (Monthly Japan)*.

³⁰ The first volume of Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf* was published in 1925, and the second volume in 1927. In this paper, *Waga-Tōsō* (My Struggle) translated by Ichiro Hirano and Shigeru Shōjaku (Kadokawa-Shoten, the first is the revised ninth edition of September 2005, the second is the eighth edition of September 2006) was used as reference, but the title of the second volume was "National Socialist Movement."

³¹ Masashi Iwamura, *The Consciousness of the Japanese Before the War*, pages 144 to 146, March 2005, Keio University Press.

³² Adolf Hitler "My Personal History (4)" page 2, *Kōmin-Shimbun*, August 1, 1931.

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Shakaishugi (National Socialist) Movement” from the eighth issue (January 1931). By the end of the 14th and final issue (April 1932), the book was interpreted until the middle of Chapter 2, “State,” of the second volume. Hitler’s view of the State developed in this chapter would later influence the State Socialist Movement.

In addition, *Kōmin-Shimbun* published several debates involving the Nazi Party. One of them was “Criticism of the German National Socialist Party” by Junichi Takayama (*Kōmin-Shimbun* May 1931). In the text of this article, it is written “however, ‘Criticism of Ourselves’ has rejected these criticisms of the common people”³³ and it is highly possible that the final section, “Criticism of Ourselves,” of Takayama’s paper published in *Kyūshin (Radical)* (“The Rapid Headway of NSDAP”) was reprinted here.

In this article, Takayama criticized the “criticism of the common people” directed towards the Nazi Party in Japan. He complained that Nazi Party criticism should be “criticism for popular practice” because of the need for “thorough self-criticism based on clear analysis” in light of the rapid progress of the Nazi Party and the KPD.³⁴ Takayama, who once again referred to “national liberation,” said “just before the general elections, the Communist Party stole a new sign with ‘national liberation’ written in bold strokes from that of Kokumin-Shakaitō (the National Socialist Party), besides their traditionally unique liberation principle of ‘social liberation,’ and indeed, only because of this, the Communist Party defended itself, rather than being invaded by Kokumin-Shakaitō (the National Socialist Party).”³⁵ Previously, this principle was grasped by the KPD as an approach to the Nazi Party, but this time, the perspective and tone changed, and the KPD was able to defend itself from the invasion of the Nazi Party.

In addition to this, “Doitsu-Kokumin-Shakaitō (The German National Socialist Party) and Us” (anonymous) was published in serial form in the June and July issues of *Kōmin-Shimbun* in 1931. The “1st part,” which reveals its relationship with “German National Socialism (Hitlerism),”³⁶ is the earliest in Japan to focus on the “Doitsu-no-Kokumin-Shakaishugi-Undō (German National Socialist Movement),” the introduction beginning with a statement of pride in being themselves. Therefore, the authors “felt compassion” for and “sympathized” with “the Hitler movement,” but on the other hand, they did not want to “imitate” or “follow” them.³⁷ The previous manuscript instead emphasized the empathy of the State Socialist Movement towards the Nazi Party, but with the emphasis is on discussing the difference in the latter.

³³ Junichi Takayama “Criticism of the German National Socialist Party” page 3, *Kōmin-Shimbun*, May 1, 1931.

³⁴ *ibid.*, page 3.

³⁵ *ibid.*, page 3.

³⁶ “German National Socialist Party and Us (1st part)” page 2, *Kōmin-Shimbun*, June 1, 1931.

³⁷ *ibid.*, page 2.

For this reason, the author first cited that “Hitler’s Nashonaru-Sōsharizumu-Undō (National Socialist Movement) began in 1920, but our State Socialist Movement was started 7, 8 years before that by one of our pioneers, Mr. Motoyuki Takabatake, although it was poor in content.”³⁸ It can be seen that the article was written by a person close to the State Socialist Movement of Takabatake and others. However, the author’s arguments differ from the facts, given that the movement was founded around March 1919, Hitler’s entry to the German Workers Party was in the same year, and the next year this party was renamed as the National Socialist German Workers’ Party.

Perhaps the author’s intention was to make an impression about the difference between the State Socialist Movement and the Nazi Party. In particular, the author emphasizes a discriminative translation between “kokka-shakaishugi (state socialism)” and “kokumin-shakaishugi (national socialism).” The author, who translated Nazism as “kokumin-shakaishugi (national socialism)” pointed out that “at that time, Mr. Takabatake used the term nashonaru-sōsharizumu (national socialism) when he expressed his socialism in a foreign language (he does not address the problem of why he did use the term sutēto-sōsharizumu (state socialism) at that time),” so “nashonaru-sōsharizumu (national socialism)” originally referred to Takabatake’s “kokka-shakaishugi (state socialism).”³⁹

Certainly, under the “kokka-shakaishugi (state socialism)” entry in the “Dictionary of Social Problems” written by Motoyuki Takabatake (June 1925), “sutēto-sōsharizumu (state socialism)” was linked to Bismarck and distinguished from Takabatake’s “nashonaru-sōsharizumu (national socialism).”⁴⁰ Since this becomes “Nationalsozialismus” when translated into German, it was necessary to translate this term as “kokumin-shakaishugi (national socialism)” instead of as “kokka-shakaishugi (state socialism),” and it is depicted as follows in “German National Socialist Party and Us (1st part).”

The word “nashonaru-sōsharizumu (national socialism)” is originally a word that should be translated into Japanese as *kokka-shakaishugi* (state socialism). And, according to the term used by our predecessors, in this case it must naturally be translated as “Kokka-shakaishugi (state socialism).” In fact, our kokka-shakaishugi (state socialism) is “kokka-shakaishugi (state socialism)” and “nashonaru-sōsharizumu (national socialism)” at the same time. Nevertheless, today the “nashonaru-sōsharizumu (national socialism)” of Germany is translated as “kokumin-shakaishugi (national socialism)” instead of “kokka-shakaishugi (state socialism).” That is because we can distinguish it from our state socialism (kokka-

³⁸ *ibid.*, page 2.

³⁹ *ibid.*, page 2.

⁴⁰ Motoyuki Takabatake, ed., *Dictionary of Social Problems*, page 392, June 1925, Shinchōsha Publishing.

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shakaishugi). In doing so, we considered carefully. Our intention is very significant for us. If we were a mere imitation of German kokumin-shakaishugi (national socialism), why should we take the trouble to distinguish ourselves from it?⁴¹

Despite being the most “serious” consideration, a definitive reason for translating the concept as “kokumin-shakaishugi (national socialism)” is not indicated. Judging from the previous tone of Junjūrō Ishikawa, it seems that it was for clarifying that the State Socialist Movement placed more emphasis on the fundamental perception in “sutēto-sōsharizumu (state socialism)” (that the essence of the state lies in “control and regulation,” that the state does not become useless after classes are eliminated, and that there is no centrally planned economy without the state), but no further mention was made in this or in other articles.

In addition, at the beginning of the “2nd part,” the difference between “kokka-shakaishugi (state socialism)” and “kokumin-shakaishugi (national socialism)” was attributed to domestic circumstances by invoking the difference between the “directions” of Japan and Germany. The author also said, “after the war, the socialism of the world, in the end, follows the path of our kokka-shakaishugi (state socialism)”; he changed the subject to “Our” rise, and did not address the ideological difference between “kokka-shakaishugi (state socialism)” and “kokumin-shakaishugi (national socialism)” itself.⁴²

After this, the author proceeds to criticize “national communism” parties and the “mysterious existence of blurred attitude” in entities such as the KPD, saying that they must “be driven into a thorough hi-kokka-shakaishugi (non-state socialist) party or hi-kokumin-shakaishugi (non-national socialist) party.”⁴³ This was because, “the sustained existence of the International Union Communist Party is necessary for us.”⁴⁴ As with the last quote of Junichi Takayama’s paper (“The Rapid Headway of NSDAP” (2)), the State Socialist Movement took the stand of trying to “take advantage of” the Communist Party and achieve a rapid expansion of power.

Lastly, the author said that researching the Nazi Party “is the only way for more deeply reflecting on and knowing the path we should take,” and he showed again “a great deal of compassion and sympathy” for the “Hitler movement,” which “appeared to have the form and nature closest to us in the world,” to conclude the paper.⁴⁵

In Section 2, I examined how state socialists started to articulate their differences from the Nazi Party. They once again referred to proclamations by the German

⁴¹ “German National Socialist Party and Us (1st part),” page 2, *Kōmin-Shimbun*, June 1, 1931.

⁴² “German National Socialist Party and Us (2nd part),” page 2, *Kōmin-Shimbun*, July 1, 1931.

⁴³ *ibid.*, page 2.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, page 2.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, page 2.

Communist Party and came to consider that mission statement as significant in warding off intrusions by the Nazi Party. They emphasized the ideological differences between their state socialism and Germany's national socialism (Nazism). Motoyuki Takabatake, who introduced state socialism in 1919, had translated the Japanese word as "national socialism" in English. This was revised by state socialists in the 1930s. They called their ideology "state socialism," while referring to Nazism as "national socialism," thereby clarifying the ideological differences. The reason for this was their emphasis on the path to socialism by considering the essence of the state as "control and regulation."

3. Why Did State Socialists Sympathize with the Nazi Party?

Sections 1 and 2 focused on the relationship between state socialists and Nazism, but Section 3 will be an examination of why Japanese state socialists sympathized with the Nazi Party in the first place, taking into consideration the historical context and situation of the social movements at the time. In particular, I pay attention to the relationship between state socialists and Japanists.

The Manchurian Incident in September 1931 had a significant impact on the proletarian parties. They were not only forced to oppose the war or defend Japanese rights, but they also became busy taking action to respond to the state socialist groups that began to rise within the parties.

On this occasion, Junjūrō Ishikawa, Tatsuo Tsukui, Katsumaro Akamatsu, Shūmei Okawa, and Shunsuke Beppu established Nihon-Shakaishugi-Kenkyūjyo (the Japan Institute of Socialism), and in October 1931 published the bulletin *Japanese Socialism* (*Nihon-Shakaishugi*) (the preceding bulletin was *Kokka-Shakaishugi* (*State Socialism*)).⁴⁶ This bulletin played an important role in theoretically supporting the rise of State Socialism within proletarian parties,⁴⁷ as several leaders of Shakai-Minshūtō (the Social Democratic Party) participated in the publication commemoration held on October 26 of

⁴⁶ Tsukui Tatsuo reflected on the unfamiliar name "Japanese Socialism," saying that "Katsumaro Akamatsu says that 'Japanism' is good, Junjūrō Ishikawa sticks to 'State Socialism,' and I take the middle and agree to 'Japanese Socialism'" ("The Age of the Rōsōkai and State Socialism" page 10, *Aikoku-Sensen* (*The Patriotic Front*), August 20, 1979, Aikoku-Sensensha (Patriotic Front Inc.)).

⁴⁷ "Meeting the elite of both sides, 'Japanese Socialism' publication commemoration meeting at Hibiya Shisei Kaikan building," front page of *Kōmin-Shimbun*, November 1, 1931.

⁴⁸ "'The Manchurian Incident' and State Socialism," page 344 (Toru Watanabe and Masamichi Asukai, ed., *History of the Socialist Movement in Japan*, August 1973, San-ichi-Shobo). When examining this magazine only in relation to the State Socialist Movement, it is not possible to explain why Shūmei Okawa and Shigetō Matsunobu participated in Nihon-Shakaishugi-Kenkyūjyo (the Japan Institute of Socialism). Matsunobu was the person who asked Okawa to

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the same year.⁴⁸

On the other hand, *Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism)* published many Japanese translations of Nazi Party debates and related materials compared to the previous bul-

work for the proletarian parties during the “March Incident” (“Shinichi Nakajima Interview Records (2nd),” page 10, *Documents of Tsunenori Kiuchi*, Collection of Constitutional Materials Office of the Diet Library). In addition, Akamatsu and Hisashi Asō of Zenkoku-Rōnō-Taishūtō (National Labor-Farmer Masses Party) had a close relationship with each other (Jōtarō Kawakami, ed., “Life of Hisashi Asō,” page 75, August 1958, Life of Hisashi Asō publication society), and the following article describes Matsunobu as follows. “He is a Gyōchisha (national remodeling group) member of Okawa lineage and is said to be the *Shisō-gakari* (person in charge of issues related to thought) of Gyōchisha. He is Chief of Zenkoku-Tetsudō-Jyūgyōin-Kumiai (the Union of Japan Railway Employees), which is related to the Socialist Party. This union should match its majestic name, but it has no substance, and in connection to this, he is a member of Shakai-Minshūtō (the Social Democratic Party) and is a subordinate of Katsumaro Akamatsu. He is also the person pulling the strings behind the scenes connecting Okawa and Akamatsu, and in the Akamatsu Nationalist proposal of November last year, Okawa and Akamatsu were used to plan the nationalist turn of Shakai-Minshūtō (the Social Democratic Party). He did a considerable amount of work, such as standing between the young military officers of the patriotic faction, including Lieutenant General Yoshitsugu Tatekawa and Akamatsu’s friendship, and promoting the Nationalization of Shakai-Minshūtō (the Social Democratic Party). At present, as a member of Nihon-Shakaishugi-Kenkyūjyo (the Japan Institute of Socialism), he participates on behalf of Gyōchisha, and has become the *Shisō-gakari* of Gyōchisha (“Japanism Groups and People in the Camps, Various Systems and Entities of the Statism Movement,” page 12, *Kaibō-Jidai (Dissection Era)*, May 1, 1932, Jyunsei-Jyanarisuto-Domei-Kaibo-Jidaisha (Genuine Journalists Alliance Dissection Era Company)). Given that not only Matsunobu but also Akamatsu and Tsukui were involved in the March Incident, “Nihon-Shakashugi (Japan Socialism)” brings to mind its relationship with the “October Incident,” however, because of the number of pages, I would like to examine it separately.

⁴⁹ According to the Japanese translation, “The principles of the National Socialist Party of Germany and its Fundamental Thought” by Gottfried Feder (“*Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism)*,” December 1, 1931, Japan Institute of Socialism), and Adolph Hitler “Retrospection at the time of the establishment of the National Socialist Party of Germany—Appendix, German National Socialist Movement Research Reference” (*Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism)*, May 5, 1932) were published (author names are as written on the original bulletin). The former was “a translation of a brochure in which the party leader Gottfried Feder explained extremely plainly the principles of the National Socialist German Workers’ Party, namely the Hitler Party or the National Socialist Party” (page 75), and although there are many aspects of the content that should be criticized, it was added that it was read as material to understand “why this party was able to gain huge popularity in Germany” (Page 75). The latter, on the other hand, is an interpretation from the first volume of *Waga-Tōsō (My Struggle)*. Ishikawa, who was in charge, said in the preface that, although there were differences in principle with the Nazi Party, they had more points to be learned about the movement method than the Communist Party of Germany. In the latter, the Nazi party bulletin, the writings of the party officials, and

letin of the State Socialist Movement.⁴⁹ As we have seen, the State Socialist Movement sympathized with the circumstances and rise of the Nazi Party, and while it criticized the Communist Movement in Japan from this sympathetic perspective, it was still not able to close the distance, including controlling the fact that the Nazi Party was equated with State Socialism. The question is in what aspects did the State Socialist Movement agree with the Nazi Party.

One part of this answer was “Review: the Hitler Movement and Vulgar Japanism” by Heinosuke Kitakami⁵⁰ (*Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism)*, January 1932). This article criticized the Nazi Party debate of Takeyo Nakatani (a known Japanist and Asianist)⁵¹ published in the *Nihon-Shimbun* newspaper. The problem between them was how to translate the first section of the Nazi Party Principles, which were influenced by the restructuring of the social movement at that time.

the bulletin of the Communist Party of Germany and Shakai-Minshūtō (the Social Democratic Party), the literature on Nazi Party criticism, etc. were listed.

⁵⁰ The paper by Heinosuke Kitakami was also published in the journal *Rōdō-Keizai (Labor Economy)* of Shakai-Minshūtō (the Social Democratic Party) in October 1930. In this magazine, he also coupled his name with Junjūrō Ishikawa, who published under his real name. Given that the common member between *Rōdō-Keizai (Labor Economy)* and *Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism)* was Ishikawa, it is likely that Kitakami was a pen name of Ishikawa.

⁵¹ Takeyo Nakatani was born in Wakayama Prefecture on July 1, 1898. He studied at Dai-Hachi High School, and then graduated from the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Law, at the Tokyo Imperial University in March 1923. During his studies, he participated in the “Hi-no-Kai (right-wing student group).” After living a military life from 1923 to the following year, he went to graduate school (Kiheiji Onozuka Laboratory). He participated in Gyōchisha at this time, but later left the association because of its split, and formed the Zennihon-Kōkoku-Dōshikai (All-Japan Association of Comrades of the Imperial Land) in 1927, Aikoku-Kinrōtō (the Patriotic Labor Party) in 1930, Sinnihon-Kokumin-Dōmei (the New Japan National Alliance) in 1932, Kokumin-Shisō-Kenkyūjyo (the Institute of National Thought), etc., and was engaged in the movement while teaching at Hōsei University. He worked on the Pan-Asianism movement, including the establishment of Daijia-kyōkai (the Association of Greater Asia) in 1933, the formation of Tōa-kensetsu-Kokumin-Renmei (the National Federation of East Asia Construction) in 1940, part-time engagement with the Kōa-in, and establishment of Shanghai-Daijiaishugi-Kenkyūjyo (the Shanghai Institute for the Pan-Asianism movement). He was elected as a member of the House of Representatives in 1942. Additionally, he served as a board member of Yokusan-Seijikai (the Imperial Rule Assistance Political Association) and permanent director of Dainippon-Kōa-Dōmei (the Dai-Nippon Koa Alliance). After the war, he participated in Nihon-Kyōdōtō (the Japanese Cooperative Party), but was removed from public office. Later, he participated in the establishment of Nihon-Minshūtō (the Democratic Party of Japan). From 1952 to 1958, he was defeated in his candidacy for the House of Representatives election. In 1955, he formed Minzoku-to-Seijisha (the Ethnic and Political Group), and in September 1958 established Nihon-Arabu-Kyōkai (the Japan-Arab Association). He died on October 25, 1990.

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On January 17, 1932, the State Socialist Movement formed Nihon-Kokumin-Shakaitō-Jyunbikai (the Japan National Socialist Party Preparatory Group), centered on Yasaburō Shimonaka and Eizō Kondo.⁵² However, Aikoku-Kinrōtō (the Patriotic Labor Party)⁵³ led by Nakatani also participated in the group, which later caused a conflict between the State Socialist Movement and the Japanism Movement.⁵⁴

According to the criticism of Kitakami, “we seek to build a great German ethnic state based on the principle of nationalism (minzokushugi)” in the Japanese translation of Article 1 of the Nazi Party Principles by Nakatani is a mistranslation; it should be translated as “we seek to organize all Germans into one great German nation based on the right of self-determination (minzoku-jiketsu).”⁵⁵

⁵² The most detailed account of the negotiation process concerning the formation of this new party is “Diary Note” by Eizō Kondo (“Kondo Eizō Collection” owned by the Institute of Humanities and Sciences, Dōshisha University). *The Birth of Proletarian Parties* (December 1931, Economic Problem Study Group), written by Eizō Kondo of Nihon-Rōdō-Kumiai-Sōrengō (the Japan Labor Union Confederation), was the signal fire for the establishment of new parties. Since the relationship between the support group and Zenkoku-Rōnō-Taishūtō (National Labor-Farmer Masses Party) had worsened, the confederation was trying to establish a new party by putting Kondo in contact with Yasaburō Shimonaka. This booklet, depicting the idea of the upcoming new party, was directed not only to the existing state socialist forces but also to the state socialist forces within the proletarian parties, and because of this it had a considerable impact on the subsequent rebirth of proletarian parties.

⁵³ There is a recollection of the “formation of Aikoku-Kinrōtō (the Patriotic Labor Party)” in *Memoirs of the Showa Disturbance, the retrospective view of Takeyo Nakatani—the Origins of the Showa Restoration: Kita Ikki and Okawa Shūmei and their Comrades* by Takeyo Nakatani (March 1989, Tairyūsha). Aikoku-Kinrōtō (the Patriotic Labor Party) was originally called Aikoku-Taishūtō-Soshiki-Jyunbikai (the Patriotic Masses Party Organization and Preparatory Group). The Preparatory Group was formed by Tatsuo Tsukui, Keitaro Oguri, Bunzō Kaminaga, and others from the State Socialist Movement, together with Nakatani and Tatsuo Amano. However, in February 1930, when the Preparatory Group became a party, the name was changed to Aikoku-Kinrōtō (the Patriotic Labor Party) under the guidance of Kazunobu Kanokogi. Tsukui, who was obsessed with the name “Masses Party,” left the Preparatory Group (see the above-mentioned “shorthand records of talks with Tatsuo Tsukui” page 80). After that, Tsukui worked on the formation of Zennihon-Aikokusha-Kyōdō-Tōsō-Kyōgikai (the All-Japan Patriot’s Joint Struggle Council).

⁵⁴ The concept of Japanism is not defined as an analytical term even today, and when used in this article, it is used only as a historical term. Also, whether a person should be included in the Japanism Movement was determined merely by whether “Japanism” appeared in that person’s claims. When defining Japanism as an analytical term, it is necessary to consider Japanism from the Meiji era to the Showa era, and since this is beyond the scope of this paper, I would like to make it a future research topic.

⁵⁵ Heinosuke Kitakami, “Review, the Hitler Movement and the Vulgar Japanism” page 42, *Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism)*, January 1, 1932.

It is interesting that Kitakami's own thought emerged in his translation of the principles. Kitakami, by using the term "Vulgar Statism," criticized Nakatani's recognition of the Nazi Party as "a party that is 'nationalist (minzokushugi) from beginning to end'" and claimed that "we are the ones who study the Hitler movement in the most serious and deep manner in Japan."⁵⁶ Furthermore, according to Kitakami, "the Hitler Movement" is neither "a reaction such as the Moscow-style literary hackwork is standing out" nor "simply ultranationalistic (kokusuishugi-teki) and nationalistic (minzokushugi-teki), such as what Nakatani was thinking," but "as they say themselves, they stand on a combination of statism and socialism."⁵⁷

This statement by Kitakami is an interpretation of Nazism with the addition of his own state socialism. On the other hand, he did not break his critical attitude toward the Nazi Party, saying that "however, the socialism of this party is not enough as socialism (although they have appointed it themselves as 'authentic German socialism')," and as with Junjūrō Ishikawa, it was regarded as a problem that the "left foot" stepping in the Nazi Party was insufficient.⁵⁸

From the above, it can be seen that Kitakami considered the Nazi Party as a part of the State Socialist Movement, and that the attitude toward the state especially in the Nazi Party was a problem. In addition, he showed "how far away is Germany's Hitlerism (kokumin-shakaishugi (national socialism) from the belief of the vulgar statist and Japanists in Japan from Hitler's own view of state" as follows:⁵⁹

According to Hitler, "the state is not the purpose, but only a means. It is a prerequisite for the formation of a higher human culture, but it is not the cause." "The state is a means to a purpose. The purpose of the state is to maintain and promote physically and mentally the sharing of similar lives." "A state that does not serve this purpose is a fallacy and is indeed a failure." The state, according to Hitler, must be abolished without mercy. It is exactly the blind state

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, pages 42, 43.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, page 42.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, page 43.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, page 43.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, page 43. This section is in the second volume of *Waga-Tōsō*, cited earlier. In the present Japanese translation, "State is a means to a purpose. The purpose of the state is to physically and mentally maintain and support a community of homogeneous human beings. This maintenance in itself involves, first of all, racial survival, and thus allows the freedom to develop all the powers of this race. Some of these abilities are always useful, first of all, to maintain physical life, while others only help promote mental development. However, in fact, the former always makes an assumption of the latter. The states that do not serve this purpose are failures and are indeed malformed." (*Waga-Tōsō*, page 36). Comparing this to the quotes of Ishikawa, it is clear that Ishikawa omitted parts that mention race and quoted only parts related to the state.

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supremacists who hold Hitler or the Hitler Party extremely in contempt.⁶⁰

Hitler's text is quoted from *Waga-Tōsō*. It is necessary to consider whether the quotes of Kitakami really follow Hitler's arguments, and it can be interpreted that Kitakami not only focused on the "means" view of the state in Hitler's remarks but was also trying to bring out the criticism of "the vulgar statist and the vulgar Japanists."⁶¹

Starting from the Nazi Party debate of Kitakami, Nazi Party debates were published one after another in *Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism)* and *Kokka-Shakaishugi (State Socialism)*. Junjūrō Ishikawa had the role of promotion. While taking a bird's-eye view of the German domestic situation at the time, he pursued the situation of whether "the state within the state" is being formed correctly with uncontrolled power, and with good or bad national social reasons."⁶² This illustrates Ishikawa's view of the Nazi Party.

Nevertheless, still focusing on the introduction of the Nazi party, he mentioned the Party's rise in the German Parliamentary Forces; the Republican and Nazi Party political struggles after the July 31, 1932 election; Hitler's, Hindenburg's, Papen's and Schleicher's talks on August 12 of the same year; and that Hitler refused to accept the Weimar Constitution from the latter three, leading to the dissolution of the parliament.

The Nazi Party debate, which developed mainly in reviews, shifted to a systematic introduction with "Introduction to the German Kokumin-Shakaishugi (National Socialist) Movement (1): For reference to the Japanese Kokka-Shakaishugi (State Socialist) Movement" by Junjūrō Ishikawa (*Kokka-Shakaishugi (State Socialism)*, December 1932). In this paper, I would like to discuss for the first time the motivation for Ishikawa's research on the Nazi Party in relation to the papers on it.

⁶¹ There is a counterargument from Nakatani about this issue. Regarding the "Nationalism and Socialism Problem" (*Sokoku (The Motherland)*, February 1, 1932, Gakuensha), he asked what the claim of "the right of ethnic self-determination" was other than "the principle of nationalism." This was for forming an all-German country, that is, the entire German ethnic group into one great German country, but he put forward the counter-argument of what it was other than "the construction of a German great ethnic state" and at the same time, "it is too obvious that the German National Socialist Party denies classicism. In other words, to know that National, Socialism, and Hitlerism, which are the leadership principles of this party, are claims of Germanism from beginning to end." He concluded that "when seeking the reality of the movement that has existed about 10 years from the establishment of the Hitler's Party until today, this is very similar to the fervent National Movement, Patriotic Movement, and Great German Movement, and it is not something that should be understood with the idea of the Labor Movement and Socialist Movement in Japan that must be outside the name of Individualist Living Conditions Improvement Movement" (pages 37 and 38).

⁶² Junjūrō Ishikawa, "Jiron, Recent German and National Socialist Movement: German Army at the crossroads" page 46, *Kokka-Shakaishugi (State Socialism)*, October 1, 1932.

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From around 1929, Ishikawa learned about the existence and prosperity of the Nazi Party through German newspapers, and he “was paying attention with considerable interest and excitement—and thought there was something in Germany weirdly similar to us.”⁶³ Moreover, after a few years, Ishikawa, who “still had great interest and considerable sympathy—really close to the comrade mind,” said that the Nazi Party should be the model and “we must be like this.”⁶⁴ It is interesting that Ishikawa looked at the situation in which the Nazi Party was placed as follows.

They (the German National Socialist Movement) were also rejected by all Marxists, all democrats, and almost by all journalists as “fascism,” and we were also rejected by them as such. They were also rejected by all of the statists and the bourgeoisies as the “Tobiiro Communist Party,” and we have also been rejected by all of them. They were born with enemies on both sides and have two leading competitors on both sides until the end. There were both Marxist communism and mere statism (nationalism) [explanatory notes]. Whether the difference is large or small, in this respect, we and they are in the same circumstances.⁶⁵

In other words, Ishikawa empathized with the Nazi Party because, like the State Socialist Movement, the Nazi Party was rejected as “fascist” in Germany. Moreover, it is worth noting the “explanatory notes” part. In this explanatory note, Ishikawa said “in the end, a mere nationalist and a kokumin-shakaishugisha (national socialist), and a mere stat-ist and a kokka-shakaishugisha (state socialist) cannot agree at all,”⁶⁶ while mentioning the dismantling of the Harzburg Front. Ishikawa, who had said “Hitler, step a little more on your left foot (socialism),” interpreted the Harzburg Front dismantling as stepping with the Nazi “left foot,” and expressed a feeling of unity with them here. However, the strength of this “left foot” later increased the distance between the two.

If we consider the state socialists’ interest in the Nazi Party within the historical context of that time, we discover a dimension not seen in Sections 1 and 2. It is the antagonism between state socialists and Japanists. The state socialists did not take an interest in the Nazi Party simply because they resembled each other. As exemplified by their use of Hitler’s words to criticize the Japanists, we can see that they focused on Nazism as a way to criticize the Japanists as they were gradually growing in influence.

⁶³ Junjūrō Ishikawa, “Introduction to the German National Socialist Movement (1): For reference to the State Socialist Movement of Japan,” page 50, *Kokka-Shakaishugi (State Socialism)*, December 5, 1932.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, page 51.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, page 51.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, page 51.

4. Criticism of “Anti-Fascism” Under the Reorganization of Proletarian Parties

Building on Section 3, Section 4 will examine trends in state socialism within the historical context. This time, I will examine how the left-wing social movement understood state socialism. It is well-known that the Japanese Communist Party adopted the so-called “1932 Thesis” under Comintern influence. Around this time, left-wing social movement magazines started debating “social fascism” and fascism in general, and their first target of criticism was the State Socialist Movement. On the other hand, this is also the period when the proletarian parties entered the stage of Japanese politics. The proletarian parties were born in the middle of the 1920s Japan and had been repeatedly broken up, but they entered a major reorganization period in the early 1930s. This reorganization was closely connected to how the proletarian party responded to the Manchurian Incident in 1931, while the center of debate were now national socialism and fascism. I will clarify how the state socialists reacted to this criticism from the left-wing social movement, to the reorganization of the proletarian parties.

In response to the rise of the State Socialist Movement in Japan in the early 1930s, many articles criticizing the State Socialist Movement as “fascism”⁶⁷ were published in the magazines *Rōnō (Labor and Farmer)* and *Puroretaria-Kagaku (Proletarian Science)*.

To give an example here, in one passage of “What Is The True Identity of Kokka-Shakaishugisha (State Socialists)?: Demonstrating the Rumor of ‘Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism)’” by Heiji Isomura (*Puroretaria-Kagaku (Proletarian Science)* January Issue, 1932), the true identity of state socialists was portrayed as follows: “after the downfall and unrest of the petite bourgeoisies, the actions against the monopoly capital were put under the leadership of Fassho (Fascism), and there were attacks against Comintern and attempts to eradicate XXXXX (omitted part) in the name of ‘state’ and

⁶⁷ As a “fascism” concept of the left-wing social movement during this period, we could mention Shōichi Okada (Hirokatsu Ogura), “What is Fascism? (Lecture)” (*Puroretaria-Kagaku (Proletarian Science)*, October 5, 1931, *Puroretaria-Kagaku-Kenkyūjyo* (Institute of Proletarian Science)). Okada listed the characteristics of “fascism” as follows. “1. Fascism occurred when the post-war class struggle became sharpened and civil unrest arose, and the existence of the capitalist system was threatened. /2. It happened after the failure of the Proletariat to gain power. The betrayal of the social democratic leaders served as great assistance directly and indirectly to its establishment. /3. Fascism denies the parliamentary system by denying the significance of bourgeoisie democracy. It is the self-proclaimed enemy of capitalism. It insists on exclusionary ultranationalism. /4. The eradication of the communist organizations and the annihilation of the revolutionary avant-garde is the first mission. /5. It is one of the masses’ organizations. Under monopolistic capitalism, farmers and Petite bourgeoisies of small towns are trying to grasp the labor force that is behind them, which is a major component” (page 32). Here, Okada emphasized the relationship with the social democracy of “2.”

‘nation’ by the minion of the financial bourgeoisies.” Their theory was criticized as being “rice porridge (*zōsui*).”⁶⁸

The urgent challenge that the State Socialist Movement was to address at this time was the objection to those who threw themselves under the label of “Fassho (Fascism).” As we have already seen, the Nazi Party debate of the State Socialist Movement was intended to criticize the Communist Movement, but this was also the case when discussing “fascism.” For example, consider the summarized counterarguments described in “Bourgeoisie Fascism, Kokumin-fashizumu (National Fascism) and Social Fascism” by “S. B.” (considered to be Shunsuke Beppu) (*Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism)* November 1931) below.

Traditionally, “fascism” refers to “the principle of guiding the behavior of the Mussolini School,” but recently it has been granted another meaning: “an ideology that acts as an agent of financial capital.” Therefore, “fascism” penetrates the public consciousness as “a single ‘disgusting, detestable’ subject,” and “for the self-proclaimed revolutionaries—particularly obvious in the self-proclaimed communist camp!—it is the most suitable weapon to fly as a hoax filled with evil, ridicule and insult to throw at others.” However, “calling ‘fascism’” also recently “lost its effect as a hoax to pour into the public because of the vagueness of the content that the name indicates,” and “a foreign product called ‘social fascism’ has been imported in a hurry.” Moreover, in Germany, the terms “kokumin-fashizumu (national fascism)” and “social fascism” have been used for three or four years, and since last year “bourgeois fascism” has also been used.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Heiji Isomura, “What is the True Identity of State Socialists? Demonstrating the Rumor of ‘Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism),’” page 102, *Puroretaria-Kagaku (Proletarian Science)*, January 1, 1932. In addition, we can mention Iwao Yahagi “the absurd view of Katsumaro Akamatsu’s Fascio!!” (*Rōnō (Labor and Farmer)*, December 1, 1931, *Rōnōsha (Labor and Farmer Company)*); Akira Yamada, “What do state socialists bring to workers?” (“Review” Page, *Puroretaria-Kagaku (Proletarian Science)*, December 5, 1931); Akira Yamada, “On Kokka-Shakaishugi (State Socialism) Again” (“Review” Page, *Puroretaria-Kagaku (Proletarian Science)*, January 1, 1932); Ichiro Nakata, “Criticism of ‘Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism)’ (1): Balancing the ‘Theory of Resource Inequality of Each Country’” (*Rōnō (Labor and Farmer)*, February 1, 1932); Ichiro Nakata, “Criticizing ‘Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism)’ (2): The Imagination of Realistic Internationalism” (*Rōnō (Labor and Farmer)*, March 1, 1932); and Ichiro Nakata, “Criticizing ‘Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism)’: Bourgeoisie State Theory of Junjūrō Ishikawa (1st part)” (*Rōnō (Labor and Farmer)*, April 10, 1932). *Puroretaria-Kagaku (Proletarian Science)* and *Rōnō (Labor and Farmer)* were reprinted by Hosei University Press. In addition to this, there were also arguments criticizing state socialism as “socialism,” such as “The Danger of State Socialism” by Arata Ninagawa (*Nihon-Shinron (Japan New Debate)*, June 1, 1932, *Nihon-Shinron-Kyōkai (Japan New Debate Association)*).

⁶⁹ S. B. “Bourgeoisie Fascism, National Fascism, Social Fascism,” page 38, *Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism)*, November 1, 1931.

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While using German concepts to reverse the fascism debate of “People’s Communism” in Japan, in “*Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism)*” around 1932, the debate of “fascism” began to appear in conjunction with practical movements that were not just criticism of the Communist movement.

During this period, new developments started to emerge in the State Socialist Movement. As mentioned above, on January 17, 1932, Nihon-Kokumin-Shakaitō-Jyunbikai (the Japan National Socialist Party Preparatory Group) was established, centered on Yasaburō Shimonaka.⁷⁰ Shimonaka said that it was important that the new party was “a national party, an anti-capitalist party, a party that is not just an election party.” In particular, his emphasis was on the first “National Party,” and as components of the party, “1. right-wing groups that believe in labor groups as the center, in addition to proletarian parties. / 2. Thinkers, professors, officials, technologists, office workers, doctors, lawyers, small merchants, and the general public. 3. Local small farmers and small and medium landowners,” etc. This included a wide range, not only workers but also the middle class and some “right wing groups.”⁷¹

In addition to several leaders of Shakai-Minshūtō (the Social Democratic Party),⁷² Shigeji Matsunobu from the Japan Institute of Socialism participated in the ceremony of the preparatory party. However, the names of Junjūrō Ishikawa and Tatsuo Tsukui are not visible here. Ishikawa did not participate because Takeyo Nakatani and others of Aikoku-Kinrōtō (the Patriotic Labor Party) were in the Preparatory Group and were in a subtle position to help from behind the scenes. Ishikawa was trying to establish a pure State

⁷⁰ For Nihon-Kokumin-Shakaitō-Jyunbikai (the Japan National Socialist Party Preparatory Group), refer to the January 28, 1932 issue (first issue) of Nihon-Kokumin-Shakaitō-Jyunbikai-Kaihō (*Report of the Japan National Socialist Party Preparatory Group*) (“Teisuke Shibuya library,” Collection of Fujimi City Library). The Hosei University Ohara Institute of Social Affairs has a brief record of what was discussed at the preparatory group (Sakai, “Status Report on Roundtable Discussion for Establishing a New Party by Mr. Yasaburō Shimonaka”). It seems that this was written by a coordination staff member who participated in the meeting on that day. The content is almost the same as the article from the “Nihon-kokumin-Shakaitō-Jyunbikai (Japan National Socialist Party Preparatory Group,” but there is a slight difference from the journal and the journal is more detailed, so this time I relied on the journal. It is noteworthy that, according to the minutes, Nakatani, Amano, and Matsunobu, who represented Aikoku-Kinrōtō (the Patriotic Labor Party), expressed that their own claims and their arguments did not always agree.

⁷¹ Yasaburō Shimonaka, “Greetings,” “Teisuke Shibuya Library” (Fujimi City Library Collection).

⁷² “The Names of the Attendees of the New Party Organization and Preparatory Group” front page, *Nihon-Kokumin-Shakaitō-Jyunbikai-Kaihō (Japan National Socialist Party Preparation Report)*, January 28, 1932, Nihon-Kokumin-Shakaitō-Jyunbikai (Japan National Socialist Party Preparatory Group).

Socialist Party.⁷³

In this way, the 6th Congress of Shakai-Minshūtō (the Social Democratic Party) was held on January 21, as a joint front of the State Socialist Forces was being sought by incorporating the state socialist groups within the proletarian parties. In this congress, a large controversy developed between the Akamatsu Katsumaro School that advocated state socialism (*kokka-shakaishugi*) and the Tetsu Katayama School that advocated social democracy, and Katayama and others set out the “Sanhan-Kōryō (Three Anti-isms program)” (anti-capitalism, anti-communism, and anti-fascism) in order to limit the state socialists.

Junjūrō Ishikawa discussed this issue in “Review: The Significance of the So-called Three Anti-isms (Sanhanshugi)” (*Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism)*, February 1932 issue). Ishikawa was aware of the movement for the elimination of the state socialist groups apparent in the “Sanhan-Kōryō (Three Anti-isms program)” presentation.⁷⁴ He therefore, considering the examination of the “Sanhan-Kōryō (Three Anti-isms program)” from the association with the practical movement, claimed “it consists of just three anti-isms, and no positive significance is shown,” among them, “anti-fascism” was considered a problem.⁷⁵

To summarize Ishikawa’s criticism, the “third inter-communist” stipulates that social democrats represent “social fascism,” but if they relied on this, “the motto of ‘anti-fascism’ will deny social democrats themselves,” and “the German-European Social Democrat” would regard Hitler’s “*kokumin-shakaishugi* (national socialism)” as the only “German fascism.” If so, how would Shakai-Minshūtō (the Social Democratic Party) define “our

⁷³ Junjūrō Ishikawa, “Regarding Our Immediate Tasks and Organization: The State Socialist Party Formation Problem—Proposition,” page 3, *Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism)* January 1, 1932. Junjūrō Ishikawa, “Jiron, The New Party Organizational Problem of Mr. Shimonaka and others” page 55, *Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism)*, February 1, 1932.

⁷⁴ Junjūrō Ishikawa “Review, The Significance of the So-Called Sanhanshugi (Three Anti-isms)” page 55, *Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism)* February 1, 1932. Ishikawa describes the trend in this paper as follows. “On the other hand, there was a large union of established proletarian camps centering on Zenkoku-Rōnō-Taishūtō (National Labor-Farmer Masses Party) and Shakai-Minshūtō (the Social Democratic Party) among some of the labor union leaders under the ‘Sanhanshugi (Three Anti-isms),’ and in the process of this union, it is said that plans are being made to exclude ‘Kokka-Shakaishugisha (State Socialist)’ and ‘Kokumin-Shakaishugisha (National Socialist).’ We have heard rumors of this plan for quite some time, but recently there is a fact that a certain labor union leader consulted with some of our comrades without knowing they were our comrades. Therefore, it seems that this plan is no longer just a rumor” (page 55). This movement of the “Great Union” led to the formation of Shakai-Taishūtō (the Social Masses Party) in July 1932.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, page 56.

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kokka-shakaishugi (state socialism),” called “fascism” or “Japan fascism” from both sides.⁷⁶

Although this was not stated, it was covering fire for the state socialist group in Shakai-Minshūtō (the Social Democratic Party). Moreover, the State Socialist Movement of Ishikawa and others were taking a fresh approach on this occasion. It was a reorganization of the “Sanhan-Kōryō (Three Anti-isms program).” For the State Socialist Movement, “anti-capitalism” and “anti-communism” could be convincing among the “Sanhan-Kōryō (Three Anti-isms program),” but if they swallowed “anti-fascism,” they would eliminate themselves. Therefore, the State Socialist Movement claimed that there was something “anti-capitalist” even in the “fascism” defined by Shakai-Minshūtō (the Social Democratic Party) and tried to raise a question as to the reorganization of the proletarian parties.

This is the preface of the April 1932 issue of *Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism)*, “About the So-called ‘Fassho (Fascism).’” The author stipulated that in “what is called ‘Fassho’ today, there are positive and negative capitalists; the former is “‘Fassho’ other than us,” the latter is “our ‘Fassho.’”⁷⁷ In other words, the writer, who was trying to reconceptualize “Fassho” in their attitude towards capitalism, was able to develop these opposing axes by changing the names of “burujyōa-fassho (bourgeoisie fascism)” and “kokumin-fassho (national fascism),” or “state Capitalism” and “kokka-shakaishugi (state socialism).” The author appealed to the “Great Arrangement” of the “fassho” world, including the former “burujyōa-fassho (bourgeoisie fascism) (national capitalism),” which is “our most serious and most dangerous enemy.”⁷⁸

The proposal of such reorganization positions itself as a lineage of “anti-capitalism” while also leading to criticism of “communism and social democracy.” In the prefatory note of “The Whereabouts of the ‘Han-fassho (Anti-Fascist)’ Party” (*Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism)*, May 5 1932), since the system of communism and social democracy was already broken, the author pointed out that “now they are secretly trying to reinvent their broken system by relying on the thread of kokka-shakaishugi (state socialism).”⁷⁹ Therefore, the author criticized the “proletarian deaths” that did not reflect on this situation, claiming “kokka-shakaishugi (state socialism) is the consequent of modern socialism” and “righteousness of the Japanese national cooperative classical spirit (nihon-

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, page 57.

⁷⁷ “On the So-called ‘Fassho (Fascism),’” page 1, *Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism)*, April 1, 1932.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, page 1.

⁷⁹ “The Whereabouts of the ‘Anti-Fassho (Fascism)’ Party,” page 1, *Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism)*, May 5, 1932.

minzoku-kyōdō-koten-seishin-no-seityaku)” in the following way.⁸⁰

Now our Kokka-Shakaishugi (State Socialist) Movement is going to develop into one party. At this time, in order to counter this kokka-shakaishugi (state socialism), in fact, under the flag of “anti-fascism,” the pseudo-communists (Zenkoku-Rōnō-Taishūtō (National Labor-Farmer Masses Party)) and the social liberals (Shakai-Minshūtō (Social Democratic Party)) are trying to form one “anti-Fassho (Fascism)” party in a joint effort. If we add social liberalism to pseudo-communism, it becomes only “social democracy.” The whereabouts of the “Anti-Fascist Party,” which strikes the torn drum of “Social Democracy,” is the perfect picture of this century.⁸¹

Here, the author presents the flow of global socialism as he interprets it, as well as the communist and social democratic movements in Japan that were not yet “state and national” as compared to “pseudo” or “social liberalism” while claiming the legitimacy of the State Socialist Movement. Further, in considering that both parties would become “Social Democracy,” the logic is developed that these were heading to the “social fascism” criticized by the Comintern communists.

This claim was issued as the State Socialist Movement sought to hold an initiative under State Socialism, not Social Democracy, during the reorganization of proletarian parties. However, immediately after this, not only did the formation of the State Socialist Unified Party end in failure, but Shakai-Taishūtō (the Social Masses Party) was also formed at the exclusion of the state socialist group, and the attempts by Ishikawa and others resulted in failure.

This section addresses the fascism debates, which were reaching their peak in the early 1930s. This was because the left-wing social movement (especially the communists) criticized the state socialists as “fascists” and the social democrats as “social fascists.” Amid such developments, the state socialists used the criticism from the left against them by launching a new fascism debate. They did so by criticizing the label fascism and emphasizing that there were also “anti-capitalists” among the state socialists called “fascists.” At the same time, they tried to make the reorganization of proletarian parties more “anti-capitalist,” but their theories failed to influence the general intellectual trend.

5. Criticism of “Fascism” and the Concern Regarding “Forced” State Power

Sections 1 and 2 discussed how Japanese state socialists received Nazism and how

⁸⁰ *ibid.*, page 1.

⁸¹ *ibid.*, page 1.

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they differentiated it from themselves, while Sections 3 and 4 discussed how they used the Nazi Party and fascism debates to criticize the Japanists and the leftist movement as well as establish their own ideology and promote “anti-capitalism.” Section 5 examines essays where the state socialists fully debated Italian fascism and Nazism and sought to confront them ideologically.

As seen in the previous section, “Fascism and Kokka-Shakaishugi (State Socialism)” by Shunsuke Beppu was announced during the reorganization of proletarian parties, which was the union of State Socialism and Social Democracy. This article in *Kokka-Shakaishugi (State Socialism)* was published serially four times in June, August, September, and December 1932. Among the “fascism” debates of the State Socialist Movement published in *Nihon-Shakaishugi (Japanese Socialism)* and *Kokka-Shakaishugi (State Socialism)*, it is the most complete, and the one that set forth their claims.

This series examined Italian fascism and Nazism, and there was no reference to the proletarian parties and social movements in Japan at that time. However, during this period, the State Socialist Movement was in a momentous phase. On May 29, 1932, Nihon-Kokumin-Shakaitō-Jyunbikai (the Japan National Socialist Party Preparatory Group), as well as Katsumaro Akamatsu and the state socialist groups in proletarian parties, were planning to form a unified party, but their attempt failed because of a conflict related to the directors. Immediately after this, the former formed Shin-Nihon-Kokumin-Dōmei (the New Japan National Alliance) and the latter formed Nihon-Kokka-Shakaitō (the National Socialist Party of Japan). In addition, after the withdrawal of the State Socialist group, Shakai-Minshūtō (the Social Democratic Party) and Zenkoku-Rōnō-Taishūtō (National Labor-Farmer Masses Party) jointly formed Shakai-Taishūtō (the Social Mass Party) in July of the same year.

On the other hand, forces from the inside the State Socialist Movement to the Japanist Movement emerged early. In June of 1932, Nihon-Kokka-Shakaitō (the Japan State Socialist Party), together with Dainihon-Seisantō (the Dai-Nihon Production Party, right-wing organization) and the Jinmukai (right-wing organization), formed Kokunan-Dakai-Rengō-Kyogikai (the joint organization “Council for Breaking through the National Disaster”). Aikoku-Kinrōtō (The Patriotic Labor Party), which belonged to Shin-Nihon-Kokumin-Dōmei (the New Japan National Alliance), also announced their withdrawal in November of the same year.⁸²

⁸² Naobi-no-Musubi (right-wing organization), “How should the Kōkoku-Ishin-Undō (Imperial Restoration Movement) be Developed: A statement on clearing the relationship with the New Japan National Alliance,” *Kokumin-Shisō (National Thought)*, November 1, 1932, Kokumin-Shisō-Kenkyūjyo (Institute of National Thought). Nakatani had already left Shin-Nihon-Kokumin-Dōmei (the New Japan National Alliance) as an individual.

In other words, the State Socialist Movement of Ishikawa and others again criticized the other movements during the sense of crisis arising from the frustration of the State Socialist Unified Party as well as the attack from the Japanism Movement and Shakai-Taishūtō (the Social Masses Party). As a result, they had to consolidate the political claims and supportive forces of State Socialism.

“Fascism and Kokka-Shakaishugi (State Socialism)” by Shunsuke Beppu was published in serial form in the bulletin. Beppu began the first series based on the problem “What is Fascism?”:⁸³ “Fascism—this is now used as a synonym for kokka-shakaishugi (state socialism), and kokka-shakaishugi (state socialism) is about to be cleaned up as a part of the reaction at the present stage.” The first thing he cited was the “fascism” debate of “our pioneering comrade Mr. T.”⁸⁴ “Mr. T,” that is, Motoyuki Takabatake, did not take “fascism” as “principle” and a “theoretical system,” but Beppu agreed to this, while adding the following sentence that was not said by Takabatake: “here there is thorough opportunism in a bad sense.”⁸⁵

It is to be noted that Beppu considered that “Mussolini’s Fascism has fallen into extreme opportunism in practice and had to rush to change its policy principles.” Like Takabatake, he found a lack of consistency in the principle of “fascism” and “reconstruction of ‘modified capitalism’ which should be called state capitalism,” and distanced himself from it.⁸⁶

After this, Beppu defined “fascism” as follows, focusing on the “practical significance of Fascism and its social role.”⁸⁷ “(1) Fascism is a product of the high capitalist stage. / (2) It should be a reflection of the ideology of the middle class. / (3) The socialist mass movement failed to gain popularity due to its strategic and tactical errors. / (4) The goal of Fascism is to build an organized capitalism (national capitalism). / (5) It plays the role of the eve of socialist transformation.”⁸⁸ Beppu’s series was developed in line with the definition of these five articles. The first series is (1), the second is (2), the third is (3), and the fourth is (4), and (5). Of these, I would like to examine the second and fourth series, which are particularly important.

The second time (published in *Kokka-Shakaishugi (State Socialism)* August issue, 1932) focuses on the relationship between “the masses” and “fascism.” First of all, Beppu emphasized that the claim of “fascism” was not the “liberation of the middle class”

⁸³ Shunsuke Beppu, “Fascism and State Socialism (1)” pages 40 and 41, *Kokka-Shakaishugi (State Socialism)*, June 1, 1932.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, page 41.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, page 42.

⁸⁶ *ibid.*, page 46.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, page 46.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, pages 46 and 47.

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by capitalist transformation and socialist construction, but only the “defense of the middle class” by capitalist revision.⁸⁹ One more thing that Beppu emphasizes is that “the Hitler Party (there was no change in the Italian Fascism) shows a great leap forward towards gaining the middle class, but in contrast, it shows a failure towards the working class. What is wrong?”⁹⁰ Beppu, who advised “we must not forget the serious criticism here,”⁹¹ continued with the following.

However, the most important point is that the Hitler Party is lacking a clear “socialist” ideology. A clear ideology has not been established for the socialist construction struggle, leading up to its full overthrow due to the attack to the root of the capitalist system.⁹²

In the past, Junjūrō Ishikawa was expecting the Nazi Party to step with the “left foot,” but here he commented on making a clean break. After this, Beppu pointed out that the “Hitler Party,” which was not yet aiming to release the middle class, was still the “Fascist Party” in order to “stop the inevitable social flow by amending capitalism.”⁹³ It should not be overlooked that, here, Beppu deliberately used the description of the “Hitler party” in order to differentiate it from the “Kakumeiteki-Kokumin-Syakaishugiha (Revolutionary National Socialism’ faction) of Otto Strasser, Mossakowsky and Buchrucker (Bruno Ernst Buchrucker), who tried to continue socialist consciousness in opposition to this capitalist trend.”⁹⁴

Beppu said that it was the state socialists who made it possible to penetrate the working class, while it is hopeless for the Hitler Party. He called for reliance on the “worker and farmer class” as “kokka-shakaishugi (state socialism), aiming to build a socialist state, is the ideology of the pressurized public liberation, mainly the worker and farmer class, and not the middle-class of petite bourgeoisies.”⁹⁵

The fourth of the series (*Kokka-Shakaishugi*, (*State Socialism*) December 1932) explained in detail the second form of fascism as amended capitalism and was the most important in the series. The beginning of the chapter as a comparison of “fascism” and state socialism. Beppu considered that state socialism aims to obtain a “‘non-class’ society,” while “fascism” aims for “the continuation of the society based on cooperation and

⁸⁹ Shunsuke Beppu, “Fascism and State Socialism (2),” page 83, *Kokka-Shakaishugi (State Socialism)* August 1, 1932.

⁹⁰ *ibid.*, page 93.

⁹¹ *ibid.*, page 93.

⁹² *ibid.*, page 93.

⁹³ *ibid.*, page 93.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, page 94.

⁹⁵ *ibid.*, page 94.

coordination,”⁹⁶ and made a distinction between the two according to capitalism and attitudes towards classes. After this, Beppu focused on the concept of “nation” as a concrete example of the “union state” raised by Italian fascism.

The concept of “national” is the highest position in the ideology that builds up this whole mechanism (Italian fascism). Under the “national” concept, all “classes,” “party factions,” and the “collective” are considered to have only subordinate positions. The superiority of “nation-state” is the fundamental principle of fascism, and “nation” is understood as an organized manifestation of the national life. It is believed that a state is a living organism that stores all individuals as a mere part of it.⁹⁷

In contrast, Beppu, whose ideas were strictly based on “class,” added the following criticism: “Fascism insists on the ‘cooperation’ of the masses in the name of ‘state’ and ‘nation,’ and tries to force it, but it is absolutely impossible to achieve true cooperation’ by that.” Also, this “is ‘state capitalism’ because it is an attempt to carry out forced class collaboration.”⁹⁸

After this, Beppu, who covered social democracy, interpreted “social democracy’s tendency toward fascism—the emergence of social fascism” as follows: “fascism is not the only to advocate for ‘a powerful state that transcends classes,’ ‘a solid unified nation,’ or ‘a mutual connection between workers and entrepreneurs,’” and criticized it as “constituting one part of the Capitalist Reconstruction Alliance Army.”⁹⁹ Beppu referred to

⁹⁶ Shunsuke Beppu “Fascism and State Socialism (4),” page 29, *Kokka-Shakaishugi (State Socialism)*, December 5, 1932.

⁹⁷ *ibid.*, page 31. Beppu mentions here the theory of the state organism in Italian fascism, but a similar debate also emerged in Japan. A short time prior to this, Takeyo Nakatani said “the relationship between the state and the individual is the relationship between an organic whole and its molecules, not the relationship between a mechanical whole and its parts, thus, the state as an organic whole must be not just a ‘state’ but an ‘ethnic state’” and also that “a state with a truly organic relationship between the whole and its constituent molecules is not a mere state as a power mechanism, but a state as an organism according to Rudolf Kjellén” (“Criticizing the State Socialist Theory of Dr. Kimio Hayashi,” page 113, *Kokumin-Shisō (National Thought)*, June 1, 1932). Nakatani also said “Emperor politics is a complete and selfless Japanese politics that overcomes everything in the name of democracy, including bourgeoisie dictatorships, dictatorships of communist proletarians and powerful fascist dictatorships.” (“Criticism of Fascism,” page 33, *Kokumin-Shisō (National Thought)*, July 1, 1932). He invoked “emperor politics” as a way to build relationships between the state and the individual beyond the theory of the state organism.

⁹⁸ “Fascism and State Socialism (4),” page 32, *Kokka-Shakaishugi (State Socialism)*, December 5, 1932.

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, page 43.

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Karl Renner¹⁰⁰ and others as representing this “movement of Fascism,” and here criticized “fascism” and social democracy for the role of the state that they assumed.

The intensifying class struggle in the country, the deepening of international confrontation that is increasingly sharpened, and spurred, and also the state cannot actively embark on the struggle for its “national unity” and “strengthening the state.” This is where a conscious plan to establish the “state capitalism” system is realized. The direct corporate activity of the state (of building railways, sea routes, mines, factories, banks, etc.) is constantly intensified, and an increase in the state’s “controlled regulatory” function in all spheres of economic life can be seen. This “controlling and regulative” function is actively expanded from the economic sphere to the social sphere. The expansion and strengthening of the active activities of state power (political power) is becoming apparent. The social legislation was promulgated, and the Conciliation Act over the traditional class struggle was “forced,” and the establishment of compulsory industrial peace penetrated rapidly. These are nothing but the establishment of the “State Capitalism” system.¹⁰¹

Here, the main point is that the state according to Motoyuki Takabatake is equal to the control theory, and at the same time, Beppu’s vigilance regarding the disappearance of “class struggle” and the arrival of “state capitalism” is expressed as the state’s “controlling and regulatory” function going beyond the “economic sphere” to the human “social sphere.”

How should Beppu deal with “Fascism” and social democracy as “state capitalism” and warn against the lack of “real collaboration” and the expansion of “national power”? In response to this question, he pushed “socialism” to the forefront more than ever in the last chapter. Beppu said that “socialism” is what strikes after “fascism,” which suffers from an increase in unemployed people, and that “nothing but socialism can win the leadership position of the mass after the collapse of fascism.”¹⁰² After this, he cited communism, and finished this series by claiming that there is nothing other than state socialism, which is “real revolutionism,”¹⁰³ that fights against “fascism.”

¹⁰⁰ Regarding Karl Renner, refer to Yoshiki Ōta, “Karl Renner’s Theory of Ethnic Autonomy: Focusing on the Right to Self-determination of Races,” (*Keizaigakusi-Gakkai-Nenpō (Annual Report of the Japanese Society for the History of Economic Thought)*, December 20, 2004, Keizai-Gakushi-Gakkai (The Japanese Society for the History of Economic Thought)), and Toshitaka Yada, “Karl Renner and Austrian Modern History: Focusing on 1945” (*Lessons of Austrian Modern History*, July 1995, Tosui-Shobō),

¹⁰¹ “Fascism and State Socialism (4),” pages 45 and 46, *Kokka-Shakaishugi (State Socialism)*, December 5, 1932.

¹⁰² *ibid.*, page 47.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, page 47.

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In this section, I have looked at how Shunsuke Beppu, a theorist of the State Socialist Movement, discussed Italian fascism and Nazism in a series of essays. We had already seen some fragmentary criticism of these ideologies, but this series was a full-scale criticism. The main points of his criticism were that not only Italian fascism and Nazism but also social democracy might have the potential of “state capitalism,” and that state control under state capitalism might expand from the economy to society. He declared that the State Socialist Movement, which criticized and was wary of this, should cooperate with not only the middle class but also the workers and farmers to go down the road of socialism.

Conclusion

In this paper, I discussed the State Socialist Movement of Japan in the early 1930s, which developed debates on the Nazi Party and “fascism” while trying to exert a certain influence on the reorganization of social movements and proletarian parties during the same period, and aimed to expand its power. Talking about the aftermath of the state nationalist movement, with the subsequent emergence of wartime society and the growing influence of the Japanists, their presence and influence waned until they were finally forgotten in history.

What has become clear after examining the Nazi Party and “fascism” debates of the State Socialist Movement is that at first, they had a comradely sentiment towards the Nazi Party, and from there they developed their criticism of the Communist Movement. Moreover, as they pioneered the introduction of Nazi Party literature, they tried to derive criticism of “blind state supremacy” from Hitler’s claims of the “means” view and “abolition” of the state. This indicates that the State Socialist Movement criticized the blind attitude towards the state and strengthened its intention by empathizing with the Nazi Party.

The “Declaration of the Principals for the National and Social Liberation of the German People” of the KPD was progressively grasped as the state-socialization of the communist movement, and not as “anti-fascism.” However, the empathy of the State Socialist Movement for the Nazi Party, initially having limited information, was based on an expectation that the Nazi Party would step with the “left foot,” and they approached and interpreted the Nazi Party in their own way. For this reason, in the claim that they identified themselves with the Nazi Party, the State Socialist Movement was still unable to measure its distance, such as translating the Nazi Party as “kokumin-shakaishugi (national socialism)” and separating it from themselves.

Also, another reason why the State Socialist Movement empathized with the Nazi Party was that they were both criticized as “fascism.” In response to the rise of the State

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Socialist Movement in the early 1930s, the movement was criticized as being a part of “fascism” by *Rōnō* (*Labor and Farmer*) and *Puroretaria-Kagaku* (*Proletarian Science*). For this reason, the State Socialist Movement took on a divergence between the communist concept of “fascism” and their own, and the Japanese Communists did not align to the concepts of “national fascism” and “bourgeoisie fascism” in Germany. At first, they responded in a demeaning manner.

On the other hand, the State Socialist Movement in the early 1930s began to develop the “fascism” debate in conjunction with the Practical Movement. Around this time, the concept of “fascism” also played an important role in the reorganization of proletarian parties. In the early 1930s, Nihon-Kokumin-Shakaitō-Jyunbikai (the Japan National Socialist Party Preparatory Group) was formed, and there were state socialist groups that acted in concert with this movement even among proletarian parties, but Shakai-Minshūtō (the Social Democratic Party) eliminated them by proposing “anti-fascism” under the “Sanhan-Kōryō (Three Anti-isms program),” and planning jointly with Zenkoku-Rōnō-Taishūtō (National Labor-Farmer Masses Party).

Meanwhile, the State Socialist Movement of Ishikawa and others argued that there was also something that evoked “anti-capitalism” in the “fascism” defined by Shakai-Minshūtō (the Social Democratic Party). Simultaneously, they questioned whether their position of anti-fascism would not result in self-denial, as they themselves had been criticized as “social fascists”. Rather they should more positively emphasize the notion of “anti-capitalism” in “fascism” as theoretical and practical initiatives for the reorganization of proletarian parties.

However, the subsequent State Socialist Movement was far from Ishikawa’s ideals. The aim of a unified party failed, and the proletarian parties that the state socialist groups dismissed converged together into Shakai-Taishūtō (the Social Masses Party). On the other hand, a force moving from the inside of the State Socialist Movement to the Japanism Movement began to emerge.

Under these circumstances, the “fascism” debate of Shunsuke Beppu was published in serial form in *Japanese Socialism* (*Nihon-Shakaishugi*). He clearly criticized Italian fascism and Nazism, which failed to gain workers, as “State Capitalism” and argued that the alternative was State Socialism. Furthermore, Beppu criticized the idea that “fascism” aims to cooperate with the masses by relying on the “nation” that organizes the “state,” and appealed to the realization of socialism by relying only on “class” (workers). Also, Beppu considered that both “fascism” and “social democracy” deny socialist construction, and also warned that the “controlling and regulatory” function of the state expanded from the economic domain to the social domain, leading to the disappearance of the “class struggle” and the arrival of “state capitalism.”

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