New Religions and Politics in Post-war Japan

Tsuyoshi Nakano

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1. Introduction

My topic here is an introduction of some characteristics of new religions in Post-war Japan. As people may know, numerous new religions or new religious movements appeared and grew rapidly after the end of last war. Some of them have developed into large scale religious organizations such as Sōka Gakkai and Risshō Kōseikai. Among many fea-

1) This paper was originally prepared to read in Dr. Bryan Wilson's seminar at All Souls College, on 9th May, 1989, while I had been a Visiting Fellow of the College. In this sense, this was a fruit of the Visiting Fellowship of All Souls. I should like to express my deep gratitude to the Warden and Fellows of the College for having offered me such a valuable opportunity to pursue my work in Oxford. I have a special debt to Dr. Wilson who have read the whole of my paper and corrected my English, and who very much assisted my own thinking by drawing to my attention inconsistencies and obscurities in my text; for any which remain, I am of course solely responsible. In addition, without his wonderful support and thoughtful understanding, I and my family could not have completed the work and life in Oxford. For all these kindness, I should like to thank Dr. Wilson, again.

2) However, most of these newly evolved movements are not "new religions" in the strict sense of the term. For example, Sōka Gakkai and Risshō Kōseikai were in fact founded in the prewar period, but could not flourish then because of government restrictions on religious freedom and the vicissitudes of State Shintō. Apart from the question of date of their origin, there is
tures of these new movements, the remarkable ones are, first, that from a relatively early stage after the war they have had a strong concern with politics, and they have acquired and exercised a significant influence on the political scene. Secondly, the direction in which they have exerted that influence has been in what might be called metapolitical issues which have transnational significance. The typical example of this is the so-called Peace Movements sponsored respectively by Sōka Gakkai and Risshō Kōseikai. Therefore it is said that “the new movements in Japan have become very much aware of the dangers of modern political policies, and make peace and pollution central issues of public and political morality” (Wilson, 1982: 145).

In the West, in contrast, “the new religions have generally remained unconcerned with the wider society, seeking neither to influence its moral standards nor interfering in public policies.” (ibid.: 144). Thus, it is often said in general that new religious movements have emerged as marginal movements among socially deprived people resulting from the modernization and industrialization of society and in the process of secularization. The fundamental form of these movements is said to reflect the fact that belonging to them is very much a matter of individual personal choice (that is to say relatively few adherents “inherit” their religion from parents or are constrained to belong through family connections). The orientation of these movements in the west tends to satisfy personal needs not to address public issues, and many of them are inclined to withdraw from the public sphere. But when we consider the Japanese case, we may find types of new movements which differ from those in the West. This different stance of new religions may arise from particular cultural and structural characteristics of Japanese society, and from particular historical experiences which they confronted before and during the last war.

Let me now attempt to outline the development of these movements also the question of whether they are really new in terms of their doctrines and practices. They are rather a type of revitalization movement which have been promoted by lay believers within, or in association with older religious bodies or traditions. Therefore it might be better to call them New Religious Movements.
and their relations to the state and politics, and to inquire into the basis of their political-social concerns by analyzing their historical and social background and their belief systems.

To understand these aspects of the new religious movements in Japan, we must begin by examining the relations of religion and the state, and the religious-political situation in prewar Japan. We must then consider the effects of the Occupation Reform instituted by the Allied Powers after the war. The experience of persecution before and during the war was one of the important factors that has caused them to become concerned with politics since the war. This concern, however, has been facilitated by the separation of religion and the state, and by the guarantee of religious freedom, both of which were instituted in the reform of the law respecting religions introduced by the Allied Powers after the war. These conditions alone have provided ample scope for new religions to engage freely in political activities.

2. A glance at the relations of Religion and State before and during the last war

The Imperial state system of prewar Japan was a kind of quasipatriarchal absolutism based on the absolute divinity of the Emperor from whom all legitimate authority emanated. Even under the Meiji Constitution, promulgated on February 11, 1889, the state in theory exercised its functions through the Imperial Diet which exercised legislative power, the Court of Law which maintained judicial power, and the Cabinet of Minister of State in which was invested executive power. The rights and duties of the citizens were determined and protected by law. Since “the Emperor is the head of the Empire, combining in Himself the rights of sovereignty, and exercises them according to the provisions of the present Constitution” (Chap. 1, Art. 4), the form of government was that of a constitutional monarchy with the Emperor as head of state.

However, the qualifications of the Emperor as head of state and his rights of sovereignty did not have their source in the Constitution. The Imperial Rescript on the Promulgation of the Constitution declared: “The rights of sovereignty of the State, We have inherited from Our Ances-
tors”. Thus, these rights derived neither from the people nor from the Constitution, but from an institutional charisma of a “lineal succession unbroken for ages eternal.” Moreover, the stipulation in Article 3 that “the Emperor is sacred and inviolable” granted the Emperor a sacred, transcendental character. The entity through which the Emperor embodied his inherited religious charisma was nothing other than the Kokutai which meant literally the “body of state”, or “national polity”. Therefore a “national polity” of such a nature and an Emperor who was its personification were naturally sources of law which transcended the Diet, and the sources of all authority whether legislative or executive.

Thus the Emperor possessed a mystical authority as a kind of divine king, or as the highest priest of the state, as well as possessing secular powers as sovereign of the state and as Supreme commander of the military forces. This politico-religious ideology was derived from an extreme interpretation of Shintō mythology according to which the Emperor was regarded to be descended from the supreme ancestral deity, the Sun Goddess Amaterasu, and was regarded as its manifest deity (Akitsukami). On this idea was based, first, the assertion that the Emperor, the land, and the people of Japan constituted one sacred invisible entity and second, a system of related teachings, Shintō institutions, practices and rites known as State Shintō or National Shintō as it was called by the Allied Powers or, as designated by W.P. Woodard, National Cult (Bunce, 1948, Woodard, 1972).

Shintō (which literally means the way of the gods) is itself originally the cluster of the beliefs and customs of the Japanese people centering on the kami, a term which designates spiritual entities, forces or qualities that are believed to exist everywhere, in man and in nature. And Shrine Shintō (Jinja Shintō) is a form of the Shintō faith in which shrine worship is central, a shrine being a symbolic kami-dwelling called Jinja in Japanese (Woodard: 10). But State Shintō was in a sense different from these forms of original Shintō. Although it included elements of Shintō mythology and ideology and although it utilized Shintō institutions and practices, it was created by the government and nationalistic Shintō theologians after the Meiji Restoration in order to utilize this ideology as a source by which to legitimize the newly built
government and to unite the people under its authority. The government established all Shintoist rituals and observances as the official cult of the state and ordered all citizens to observe them, thus utilizing the Shintoist ceremonial events to enhance nationalism. State Shinto was a sort of new national religion introduced by the government after the Meiji period, but the government itself regarded it not as religion but as the Japanese national ideology which dominated other general religions. Thus, the structure of the Japanese state as a whole was signified mystically or religiously by the ideology of the Emperor system, and the government sought unification of the people in the nation and sought to control even their everyday religious life by utilizing this mystical ideology and State Shintoism.

Under such circumstances, any social or political appeal based on religious doctrines or ideas was investigated minutely with regard to its conformity with the ideology of the Emperor system. In consequence, there was no room for such an appeal to be reasonably treated with respect to its intrinsic merits. This was particularly true for the new religions because they had not been regarded as religion in the pure sense but as pagan or heretical movements which in respect of the religious ideology of the state should never be admitted to exist. Conflict with the state was implicit in the very nature of the political and social appeal of such movements.

We can distinguish, in this situation, three types of response to the state by new religions. The first criticism by new religion of the state and of the established National Shintoism which was linked closely to the state was made from an ultra-nationalistic point of view. This response regarded the authentic and original spirit of Shintoism to having been lost. A typical example of this case was Ōmotokyō. Ōmotokyō was founded as an independent religious organization in 1899 by Mrs. Nao Deguchi (1836–1918) and Mr. Kisaburō Ueda (1871–1947) (he later became her son in law and took the name Onisaburō Deguchi in 1900). This religion started originally as a sectarian movement derived from a representative new popular religion of those days, Konkōkyō, which was based on folk Shintoism. But Ōmotokyō maintained its own
religious teachings which were spoken and written by Nao when she was possessed by a god. The fundamental idea of the teaching was the reconstruction of the whole society through the worship of the god which periodically possessed Nao. This god was later recognized by them as a god enshrined in the Grand Shrine of Izumo, which some believed to be a more authentic center of traditional Shintō beliefs than the Grand Shrine of Ise which has been the official central shrine of the imperial family.

This movement developed into a large and active religious organization under the strong leadership of Onisaburō Deguchi in 1910s and 1920s, and on September, 1934, Ōmotokyo organized a political association as a branch organization called Shōwa Shinseikai, which literally meant the "Society for the Restoration of the Sacred Mission of Shintō in the Era of Shōwa". The president of the society was Onisaburō himself, and a well known leader of the right wing movement, Ryōhei Uchida became the vicepresident. The major purposes of the society were declared to be, 1. to establish the authentic unity of Shintō and the government which was based on the fundamental idea of the Imperial Way, 2. to achieve the great mission of the Holy imperial Japanese nation which was originally entrusted by the supreme ancestral Goddess of the Emperor, 3. to declare explicitly and to let the world know the unique and peerless characteristic of the Japanese national polity. In the next year, 1935, the society started the movement to overthrow the cabinet of the time which was lead by Prime Minister Okada. It is an indisputable fact that this society was an ultra-nationalistic political organization.

However, even though Ōmotokyo was based on Shintōism, because of the official view that this was a deviant and heretical interpretation of Shintō tradition; and because of the remarks critical of the government made by its laeders, and because Onisaburō gradually formed a belief that he himself must take over the leadership of Japan, Onisaburō was imprisoned on the charge of lèse-majesté first in 1921 and again in 1935, and most of the Ōmoto buildings were destroyed by national police. On the second occasion the organization was dissolved. But it is well known that many new religious movements have been profoundly influenced by
this sect, and that it became a source body from which several new movements such as *Seichō-no-Ie* (1930), *Sekai-Kyūseikyō*, and others emerged.

The second type of response to the state and its ideology by new religions was compromise with and adoption of the ideology of the Emperor system and the national polity. Religions of this group, willingly or unwillingly, accorded cooperation and approval to all government policies. Although the majority of Japanese religions, especially traditional Buddhism and even Christianity, belonged to this group, new religions of this type were *Tenrikyō*, *Seichō-no-Ie*, and *Reiyūkai*. *Tenrikyō* traces its origin to a charismatic woman, Miki Nakayama (1798–1887), particularly to the year 1838 when she reportedly had a revelatory experience and began to communicate it to others. Although Miki herself had never allowed any compromise with the Emperor system, the group which she formed was granted government recognition in 1908 after her death. However, this grant was a product of an exchange of their spiritual independence in return for their cooperation with government policies. During the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, *Tenrikyō* contributed large amounts of money to the government to build a new warship, and often held rituals to pray for the victory of war.

The third type of response was essential denial of the ideology of Emperor system, and resistance to national polity. As the result, all religions of this group were regarded as heresy, and oppressed by government. We could see two examples of new religion in this group. *Honmichikyō*, and *Sōka Kyoiku Gakkai* (Value-Creating Educational Society) which was the forerunner of today’s *Sōka Gakkai* (Value Creating Society).

*Honmichikyō* grew out of *Tenrikyō* and, like its forebear, honored Miki Nakayama as its founder. It claimed, however, that the period of revelatory leadership for which she was responsible came to an end in 1913, and that from this date the mantle passed to a new charismatic leader, Aijirō Ōnishi (1881–1958). Ōnishi, who was a dedicated *Tenrikyō* believer, had an experience in the summer of 1913 in which he
felt he had been possessed by a kami (a god). On the basis of this experience, he announced that, the second dispensation having begun, he was now the mediator of divine revelation. In 1924, he was stripped of his status as a Tenrikyo clergyman and expelled. The following year he organized a group which was then called the Tenri Kenkyukai (Association for the Study of Heavenly Truth), and began to attract more followers, especially among younger military officers.

In 1926, he issued a pamphlet entitled Kenkyu Shiryo (Research Materials), in which he not only denied the Emperor's divinity but also asserted that the idea that Japan had been ruled by the gods prior to Emperor Jinmu, Japan's legendary first emperor, was an empty tale and that the present Emperor, claiming legitimacy on this basis, had no right to govern the nation. This widely circulated pamphlet soon led to his and his followers' arrest, trial and imprisonment on the charge of lèse-majesté, and in 1936 this sect was finally ordered to disband on the charge of having violated the Peace Preservation Law (chian iji hô Law No. 46 of 1925).

Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai was one of a few Buddhist groups that were suppressed during and before the war. This society began as a movement in 1930 when Tsunesaburō Makiguchi, the first president of the society, retired from his career as a teacher and school master, and began publishing his magnum opus, Sōka Kyōikugaku Taikei (A System Theory of Value-Creating Pedagogy). At the beginning, this society's doctrines were based on Makiguchi's philosophy of values, or value-creation, which he regarded as the most important element of human life. Although western philosophers such as Imanuel Kant maintained that the ultimate values of life should be truth, good, and beauty, Makiguchi challenged this view. As a scholar who had studied the social scientific perspectives of Positivism as advanced by Durkheim and John Stuart Mill, he contended that truth was not a value but rather a cognitive concept, and that gain should be substituted for truth. Man achieved happiness through a search for beauty, gain, and good. The purpose of Makiguchi's ideas was to teach the individual and society how to acquire competence as creators of value and thus find happi-
Makiguchi and Jōsei Toda, his trusted lieutenant, were converted to Nichiren Shōshū in 1928. As you may know, Nichiren was a distinguished Buddhist monk of Kamakura period in twelfth and thirteenth century Japan, who came later to be called one of the founders of "New Kamakura Buddhism of Japan". Nichiren Shōshū was founded by one of Nichiren's six high-priest disciples in 1289. Makiguchi and Toda began to develop more interest in their faith by the late 1930s. Makiguchi came to conclude that only the Buddhism of Nichiren as taught by Nichiren Shōshū could bring true happiness to the individual and peace to society, and that it saved the individual by giving him maximum benefit and saved the society by establishing the highest good. According to Makiguchi, Nichiren taught man the true way to salvation, and no other religion could possibly lead one to salvation.

Based on these convictions, Makiguchi and the Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai opposed the measures incorporated in the Religious Organizations Law (shūkyō dantai hō, Law No. 77) of 1939 which sought to impose religious control by forcing the amalgamation of denominations. That law was enacted for the purpose of strengthening the government establishment in preparation for entering the Pacific War. Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai also adamantly refused to worship and enshrine replicas of the sacred tablets of Ise Grand Shrine which was the head shrine of the Emperor family, saying that this was contrary to its religious teachings. As a result, Makiguchi and other major staff members were thrown into prison. Makiguchi died while still in prison.

3. The Significance and Effects of the Occupation Reform

On August 15, 1945, the Japanese government accepted the Potsdam Declaration of the Allied Powers and unconditionally surrendered. From that time on until the recovery of independence with coming into effect of the San Francisco Peace Treaty on April 28, 1952, Japan was under the administration of the Allied Powers. Religious policy was one of the most important policies in the Allied Occupation administration of Japan, and it is no exaggeration to say that the religious system of postwar Japan was defined by its implementation. Based upon basic and
important directives such as the Potsdam Declaration, SCAP (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers) issued several new directives one after the other. The first one relating to the religious system was the so-called Civil Liberties Directive of October 4, 1945. In order to realize the freedom of ideas, religion, assembly, and speech, and respect for fundamental human rights, the Memorandum required the abrogation and immediate suspension of the operation of all provisions of all laws establishing or maintaining restrictions on those rights. However, even though at this stage in the various directives related to religion explicit references were made to the realization of religious freedom and the abolition of all restrictions on that freedom, no mention at all was yet made of the question that was at the core of postwar reforms, namely the "abolition of State Shinto" and the "complete separation of religion and state." The document that, in an extremely clear and, in a sense, shocking way, did so was the so-called Shintō Directive of December 15, 1945.

3) Basic and important directives with regard to religion and faith, which were issued by the Allied Powers, and which are not directly mentioned in this article, are as follows.

(1) The Potsdam Declaration (July 26, 1945).

(Para. 10) The Japanese Government shall remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for fundamental human rights shall be established.

(2) United States Initial Post Surrender Policy for Japan (Aug. 29, 1945).

Freedom of religious worship shall be proclaimed promptly on occupation. At the same time it should be made plain to the Japanese that ultranationalistic and militaristic organizations and movements will not be permitted to hide behind the cloak of religion.

(3) Basic Directives for Post Surrender Military Government in Japan Proper (Nov. 3, 1945). (Part I, 9. Political Activity) (a) The dissemination of Japanese militaristic and ultra-nationalistic ideology and propaganda in any form will be prohibited and completely suppressed. You (the Supreme Commander) will require the Japanese Government to cease financial and other support of National Shintō establishments. (b) Freedom of religious worship shall be proclaimed promptly by the Japanese Government.

See Government Section of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (ed.), 1970. Other directives quoted later and the English version of the Meiji Constitution, the new Constitution of Japan will be found there, too.

4) "Memorandum for the Removal of Restrictions on Political, Civil and Religious Liberties" (SCAPIN 93), October 4, 1945.
The purpose of this directive was clear, namely "to separate religion from the state, to prevent misuse of religion for political ends, and to put all religions, faith, and creeds upon exactly the same legal basis, entitled precisely to the same opportunities and protection." It forbade "affiliation with the government and the propagation and dissemination of militaristic and ultra-nationalistic ideology not only to Shinto but to followers of all religions, faiths, sects, creeds, or philosophies." (2. a.) It therefore forbade "the sponsorship, support, perpetuation, control and dissemination of Shinto" by the state, abolished the Shrine Board (jingi-in) of the Ministry of Home Affairs which was the representative agency of the State Shinto within the administrative structure of the government, and prohibited all Shinto education and rites in educational institutions supported wholly or in part by public funds, the attendance of public officials in Shrine worship or any other Shinto observances, and the use in official writings of terms with State Shinto, militaristic and ultra-nationalistic connotations. In short, this meant in a very direct way the abolition of State Shinto and the disestablishment of state religion.

As described above, the policy of the Occupation authorities with regard to Japanese religion was based on the three general principles of "freedom of religion," "strict separation of religion and state," and "extirpation of militaristic and ultra-nationalistic ideas." According to the policy, the Peace Preservation Law, in accordance with which many leaders of new religions had been thrown into prison during the war, was abrogated. The Religious Organizations Law, which had been another instrument designed to restrict religious freedom, was replaced by the Religious Juridical Persons Ordinance (shukyo hōjin rei, Imperial Ordinance No. 719) promulgated on December 28, 1945. This Ordinance set out working rules for the establishment of religious corporations. A religious corporation could be instituted by providing certain specified regulations and by having the corporation registered. Incorporation was effected by mere registration at the proper government office and there were few other administrative rules. The laws obstructing the religious

5) "Memorandum for the Abolition of Governmental Sponsorship, Support, Perpetuation, Control and Dissemination of State Shinto (Kokka Shinto, Jinja Shinto)" (AG 000.3 CIE, SCAPIN 448), December 15, 1945.
freedom of religious groups were abolished, and by the amendments of this Ordinance on February 2, 1946, even Shrine Shintō, now separated from the state and liberated from its control, was given the opportunity of continuing its existence as an ordinary religious corporation. Thus "equality of all religions before the law", which was one of the objectives of the Shintō Directive, became a reality. Finally, on November 3, 1946, the new Constitution of Japan was promulgated, coming into effect on May 3 of the following year. It codified "freedom of religion" and "separation of religion and state" in Article 20 and 89.

The reform of the religious system by the Occupation administration which I have briefly described, effected great changes in Japanese society and religion. First of all, it brought about a change in the structures of the Japanese state and in its legitimate authority. The "national polity" which had been an authority transcending the Three Powers, as specified in the prewar Constitution which I referred earlier, and the Emperor system that embodied it, were eliminated from the state structure. The division of powers was fundamentally adopted and the new Constitution of Japan became the source of law and authority, so that Japan for the first time became a constitutional country in the genuine modern sense of the word. The religious or mystical character of the state was disposed of, and freedom of religion was established as a "basic human right" transcending the state. In this way, the Occupation reform dismantled the pseudo-patriarchal state system that was based upon Japan's previous unity of government and worship. Political authority ceased to be an agency representing the supernatural, and the legitimate authority of the state power came to be based upon law, namely, the Constitution, instead of depending on religious sanctions. Thus the State of Japan and its political system were secularized.

4. The large scale developments of New Religions and their active political movements

This reform also created in Japanese society an openness and free space for religion on a scale and of a nature unprecedented in its history. It set free the people's religious aspirations which, despite the socioeconomic modernization of Japan since the Meiji Restoration, had
been suppressed by the yoke of a premodern cultural setting. The proliferation of new religious movements in the immediate postwar years was the clearest manifestation of this.  

Some new religions began to take part in politics immediately after the end of war, almost as if they wanted to enjoy their freedom to the full. The first example was the case of Tenrikyō. At the first general election after the war for the House of Representatives (similar to the House of Common in U. K.) on April, 1946, two leading members of Tenrikyō stood as candidates for the House and won, together with other eight candidates from traditionally established Buddhist bodies. When the first election of the House of Councillors was held on April 20 of next year, Tenrikyō put up two candidates again and won the seats. In this first election of the House of Councillors, there were several other candidates from new religions. Among the list of those elected, were Tenkō Nishida who was the leader of Ittōen, one from Seicho-no-Ie, one from Risshō Kōseikai, as well as above mentioned two from Tenrikyō and another two who were traditional Buddhist priests. And among unsuccessful candidates, there were two candidates from other new religions, two Christians, and one Buddhist priest.  

Thus, Japanese new religions began to participate in politics soon after the war with no less enthusiasm than did traditional religions. Some distinctive features of their concern to be elected at this stage were that most of the candidates from religious bodies other than Tenrikyō were for the House of Councillors. They stood as candidates  

6) While those groups recognized under the previous Religious Organizations Law amounted to only thirteen Shinto sects, twenty-eight Buddhist denominations and two Christian groups, the promulgation of the new Ordinance led to a rapid proliferation of religious groups by the secession of splinter groups and the creation of new ones. At the end of 1949; the number of newly established groups was already 403, and that of groups which became independent through secession from the shrines, temples, or churches which they had previously belonged to reached 1546. The fact that among them some were able in later years to outmatch in size and influence the established religions clearly proves how great, indeed, was the liberated, free religious and cultural space (Nakano, 1987. McFarland, 1967).  

7) see Table (1), Appendix.  

8) As you may know, the national Diet of Japan adopted after the war the
as individuals, which meant that they did not belong to any political party. This reflected the fact that the grouping or establishment of political parties under the new democratic political system had not, at that time, proceeded very far, and that people believed in the significance of the new House of Councillors which was announced as the house of good common sense. It was said in general that the House would not represent the interests of political parties or economic groups, but rather those of the individual opinions of ordinary people.

However, in the current of enthusiasm for political participation among Japanese religions at the time, Konkōkyō alone expressed their determination in September 1949 that they would never take part in politics. Taking their essential purpose as the offer of equal salvation to everybody, even to those of quite different political persuasions, the office of Konkōkyō declared that not only would it be inappropriate for the officers or church-leaders of Konkōkyō to stand as election candidates, but it would also be wrong for the body to recommend candidates of a particular party or under the name of the religious body to engage in any movement to support such candidates. Further, the halls and the meeting places for the adherents, which were owned by the body, were not to be used for political lectures or meetings. Konkōkyō has continued to maintain this discipline until now.

After the conclusion of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951, which meant that the end of the Occupation was imminent, the world of Japanese religions proceeded to further development. Along with rapid growth of some new religions, grouping of new religions and different political concerns among them became gradually clear.

One of the noteworthy events then was the establishment of the Union of New Religious Organizations of Japan (UNROJ) in 1951. Before the war, various new religions that did not fit within the framework of Sectarian Shintōism, Established Buddhism, or Christianity were despised as false religions or heathen heresies. But after the war, these

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two-chamber system, which is analogous to the Senate and the House of Representatives in America. The House of Councillors is equivalent to the Senate.
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religions gained a position of legal equality with the older established religions. In this new situation, twenty-four new religious groups gathered together and organized the Union under the advice of Mr. Woodward who had been an officer of the Cultural Information Education Division of SCAP. Some of the major groups involved in this union in the beginning were Risshō Kōseikai, PL Kyōdan, Sekai Kyūseikyō, and Seichō-no-Ie (the latter two of which subsequently left the union).

The original aim of the formation of the union was to strengthen the political status of new religions in preparation for negotiations with the office of the religious affairs section of the Japanese Ministry of Education to obtain the status of religious juridical persons. As I have mentioned already, when the occupation authorities, issuing the Shintō Directive, nullified the Religious Organizations Law, the Religious Juridical Persons Ordinance was promulgated to fill a vacuum concerning the incorporation of religious bodies. This ordinance was to set aside in favor of the new Religious Juridical Persons Law on April, 1951. Although its fundamental aims were not different from those of the Ordinance, that is, to provide religious organizations with legal capacity, and to make it possible for them to become incorporated as juridical persons, three new requirements in the process of incorporation were introduced instead of mere registration: (1) government certification of information submitted by the applicant, (2) establishment in each corporation of a board of legally responsible officials, and (3) public announcement of proposed important changes. The implications of these requirement was to stop the abuse of applications from organizations that were often not necessarily religious bodies in the strict sense, and to avoid unnecessary secessions and schisms in denomination.

9) A religious group desiring religious juridical persons status came to have to submit to the competent governmental authority certain legally specified types of information such as purpose, name, main address, organizational offices and their terms, business enterprises, an inventory of property holdings, etc. On obtaining government certification of this information, the applicant might then formally register as a religious juridical person. Subsequent changes in the information submitted, including mergers or a decision to dissolve the corporation, had to also be reported to the competent government authority and authenticated by it. See Hori and others (eds.), 1972: 166-169.
The Union of New Religious Organizations of Japan came to be one of the major bodies promoting the participation of new religions in politics in 1960s and thereafter, but in the beginning of its establishment, the union did not engage in any particular political activities in all. However, among the affiliated organizations of the union, Seicho-no-Ie alone maintained a strong political orientation, and started a patriotic political movement at a relatively early stage after the war. In 1945, soon after the war, Seicho-no-Ie organized a political association to participate in elections, and then it established branch organizations; one in 1953 was to take further steps to meet the election campaign movements, and the other in 1958 was to study how to cope with the new situation after the San Francisco Peace Treaty and to take the necessary steps for the reconstruction of the state in accordance with the traditional ideas of the Japanese nation. During these periods, this body not only established its own organizations, but it also took an active part in nationalistic and patriotic movements promoted mainly by the right-wing politicians in the Liberal Democratic Party. A remarkable example of these activities occurred in 1958, when it joined as an active proponent in the creation of Jiei Kokumin Kaigi (The National Association for Self Defence). This association was renamed Nihon Kokumin Kaigi (The Association of the Japanese Nation) in the following year. The purposes of this association were; 1) to eradicate war, 2) to organize a nation-wide association for preventing communist revolution, 3) to establish, on the outbreak of emergency, a system of mobilization of the nation, 4) to overturn the existing educational system which was held by the association to be too radical a departure from Japan's earlier educational traditions. Among other new religions, Ōmotokyō and PL Kkyōdan also joined the association.

Because of the difference in political viewpoints as well as in religious ideas, Seicho-no-Ie finally left the UNROJ on June of 1957 to make clearer its right-wing political line. In 1964, Seicho-no-Ie again established a political organization named Seicho-no-Ie Seiji Rengō (Seicho-no-Ie Political Union) in order to start full scale political activities. Its main purposes as stated in the regulations for its establishment were as follows; (1) to purge corruption in the world of politics, (2) to establish
an autonomous constitution by the free will of the Japanese nation, which implied that in their judgment the Constitution of Japan promulgated in 1947 had been forcibly imposed by the Allied Nations, especially by the United States, (3) to normalize public education, which was regarded by them as being dominated by left-wing teachers, (4) to promote the hoisting of the national flag, (5) to conquer materialism, (6) to support the election campaign of the candidates whose political ideas were consistent with these goals.

On the 3rd of May in the same year, in 1964, Sōka Gakkai declared at its general conference that a political party which was based on its Buddhistic ideas was to be established and that the party would put up its election candidates not only for the House of Councillors but also for the House of Representatives which was the Lower House of the Diet, and that Sōka Gakkai itself would become a body supporting that party following the dissolution of the Politics Section of the Cultural Division in Sōka Gakkai which until then had promoted the political activities of the body. This statement produced great repercussions in the religious and political world in Japan. On November of the same year, the inaugural meeting of Kōmeitō (Clean Government Party) was held. This was to be the first political party based on religious ideology in the history of Japan.

The purposes of the party, as announced in the party program, were; (1) to build the road to World Peace on the basis of Globalism which maintained that all peoples in the world held equal dignity and were to accord equal respect for each other. (2) to realize "Humanistic Socialism" which was to seek a kind of egalitarianism based on humanism embodied in the Buddhist thought. This idea referred to an effort to transcend existing social systems, both the free enterprise capitalist system, and the system of materialistic socialism. The goal was to achieve a social system that took as its first consideration the equality and the welfare of the people in society. (3) Kōmeitō was to be a party by the people and for the people. Although Kōmeitō advocated a kind of humanism and aimed to be a middle-way political party which would be deeply rooted in the general population, the basis of its political ideas and policies were recognized as being derived from Nichiren's religious
conception of an ideal relationship of society, state and religion as expressed by the phrase “Ōbutsu Myōgō”\(^\text{10}\).

The Sōka Gakkai's actual involvement in electoral politics began in April 1955, when it ran 54 candidates in a series of local elections as independents and lost only one race. By this time, Sōka Gakkai, into which Jōsei Toda, the second president, had reorganized the former Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai under its new name in July 1945, soon after he was released from prison, had grown rapidly and the membership had reached nearly 160,000 households. At the first attempt to win seats in the House of Councillors in 1956, three of six candidates from Sōka Gakkai were elected, and in the elections of 1959 and 1962, Sōka Gakkai was successful in electing all of fifteen candidates. Encouraged by these successes, Sōka Gakkai formed a political organization known as the Kōmei Seiji Renmei (Clean Government League) in 1962, and transformed this loosely organized group into the Kōmeitō in 1964. Kōmeitō won twenty five seats at the first attempt in the general election for the House of Representatives in 1967, and forty seven in 1969. Although Sōka Gakkai announced in May of 1970 that it was for the future severing its official ties with Kōmeitō, it has maintained its role as a major supporting body for Kōmeitō and there has been a strong emotional attachment between the two organizations until now\(^\text{11}\).

In 1965, a year after Kōmeitō was organized, the Union of New Re-

\(^\text{10}\) This term was abbreviated from the writings of Nichiren and referred to a doctrine expounded by him regarding the ideal relationship between society and religion. If this term were to be translated literally, it means “the fusion of politics and religion”, but does not mean from its implication the imposition of a state religion. “O” is an abbreviation of “Ōhō”, which literally means secular law but Nichiren preferred to refer to society as a whole, including its political system and cultural aspects. “Butsu” is also an abbreviation of Buddhism or the Buddhist Law. The term “Myōgō” indicates a state in which two entities form a fundamental unity. According to this doctrine, the compassion and the profound and lasting concern for the dignity of life that are embodied in the Buddhist teachings of Nichiren provide the soil out of which political, economic, cultural and artistic pursuits that are truly humanistic in nature can develop and mature (Metraux, 1988: 181).

\(^\text{11}\) In the 1986 national elections, Kōmeitō retained its roughly ten percent share of the vote and seats in the Diet at a time when other opposition parties lost many votes to the victorious Liberal Democratic Party (LDP).
religious Organizations of Japan formed their own political organization called New Political League of Japan \((Shin Nihon Seiji Rengo)\) in order to take an active part in electoral politics. This league put up its chief secretary as a joint candidate in the seventh election of the House of Councillor which was held in the same year, and won the seat. In this election of 1965, not only was Risshō Kōseikai successful in winning another seat of its own, but Seichō-no-Ie and Reiyūkai also won their own seats. Sōka Gakkai succeeded in having all of nine candidates elected\(^{12}\).

Since this first attempt to elect this union’s own candidate, Risshō Kōseikai became the leading religious body to promote active election campaigns among the member organizations of the Union\(^{13}\), and other members such as PL Kyōdan and Busho Gonenkai also began full-scale movements to support the candidate of the union at each election since then. One of the important factors which stimulated the political fervour among new religions was the establishment of Kōmeitō by Sōka Gakkai and its success in setting members elected to the House of Representatives. It was said in general that the union sent their representative to the House of Councillors to keep watch on the Kōmeitō movement. In addition, it should be noted that apart from Kōmeitō all the candidates sponsored by the new religions stood as candidates of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) which was a conservative party and formed the government. This fact implied that many new religions, which once had been persecuted by the state, now wanted to be at least partially protected under the umbrella of the governing power, and it also indicated that the LDP itself desired to stabilize its conservative government by having its support strengthened by the huge membership organizations of the new religions. A kind of new unity between new religions and the conservative political party was thus realized.

\(^{12}\) see Table (2), Appendix.
\(^{13}\) In 1938, Myōkō Naganuma (1889–1957) and Nikkyō Niwano (1906–), both of whom were former members of Reiyūkai, established a group then known as the Dainihon Risshō Kōseikai. It was incorporated as a religious juridical person under the name Risshō Kōseikai on August 1948. This denomination succeeded in being regarded as a believers’ movement of Nichiren school, but its major doctrines are a syncretism of Nichiren’s teaching and ancestor worship.
Although this unity has continued until today, the political positions of the new religions have been divided since the late 1960s with respect to the movement to restore government support for the *Yasukuni Shrine* in Tokyo where the war dead were venerated as hero-gods. This shrine was considered by the Allied Powers as an extreme example of national shrine for ultra-nationalistic and militaristic hero worship and for whipping up the people's war spirit. By the directives of SCAP, the Yasukuni Shrine was stripped off all its ties with government, and finally became a religious organization on a legal basis similar to that of other religions. However, from the very moment that Japan regained its independence, movements arose requesting government support for the shrine, mainly promoted by the Bereaved Families Association. In 1969, the Liberal Democratic Party and the government, on the request of the party members of the Association, introduced a *Yasukuni Shrine Law Proposal* into the Diet.

The majority of Japanese religions, including the new religions strongly opposed these movements, and UNROJ itself began the campaign against it on February 1968. But opposing this campaign by the union, some members such as Sekai Kyūseikyō and Busho Gonenkai, which had stressed their support for the nationalization of Yasukuni Shrine from a patriotic standpoint, finally seceded from the union, the former in 1969 and the latter in 1972. These two came to form a right-wing religious group together with Seichō-no-Ie, which had already left the union in 1957.

Thus, throughout the 1960s, the world of new religions in Japan came to form four groups in terms of their commitments to politics. The first was the case of Sōka Gakkai and Kōmeitō, which established its own political party and took part in politics without being allied to any other religions. The second was the case of the Union of New Religious Organizations of Japan, which approved the constitutional and political reform by the Occupation and which tried to support the relatively liberal democratic group of the conservative party. The leading religious body of this group was Risshō Kōseikai. The third was the right wing new religions, which regarded the reforms of the occupation years as political and cultural invasion by western countries, and there-
fore insisted on restoring the traditional national polity of Japan. They supported rather-right wing, nationalistic politicians within the governing party in each election. The leading religious body in this group was Seichō-no-Ie. Finally the fourth position was that of Konkōkyō and Tenrikyō, which denied political commitments as being against their religious ideas. Although Tenrikyō itself was the first new religion that participated in electoral politics after the war, in 1956 the body announced that as a religious organization it no longer took part in politics, and that if any leader or officer of the body desired to stand as a candidate of a election he or she should resign from office.

5. Conclusion

My topic has been to inquire into the causes of the keen political-social interests of Japanese new religions, and I will conclude by summarizing some fundamental social and religious factors that stimulated and promoted the concern of new religions with politics.

The first of the historical and social conditions which made their political commitment possible was the reform of the Japanese political and social system by the Occupation Powers. Without this reform, new religions could never have taken part in politics. In this sense, the secularization of Japanese social system promoted the engagement of the new religions as social movements, the ideals of which were relevant to politics and for which they variously became involved in political action.

Second, the particular social conditions in Japanese modern society are said in general to have been an important social factor which promoted and sustained the political function of the new religions. That was the lack of proper mediating structures, as Bryan Wilson indicated (Wilson, 1982: 145-147). He states, "since there might be few other large voluntary bodies with an independent voice, it might fall to new religious movements to fill this vacuum." "These large new agencies have assumed the role of what might be called 'mediating structures' in Japanese society, operating for large constituencies in the social space that exists between isolated individuals and the ultimate authority of the state. In the rapid process of urbanization, industrialization, and technologization, individuals lost the security of the extended family group
and of the local community to a very considerable extent.” If such intermediate agencies were to operate, they had to be not only religious, but also to be much concerned with moral, civic and social matters. “For them, economic welfare and politico-moral concerns might become by-products, albeit by-products of considerable importance among the latent social functions of the new religions in Japan. As agencies with extensive concern for the wider humanitarian issues, these new movements moved into a social vacuum in a rapidly developing society in which old form of association have been outmoded or rendered defunct.”

If we might regard these historical and social conditions as outer factors, without which any political commitment of new religions in Japan would never have been made possible, then we should go further to inquire into some inner motivations within new religions in order to understand their political-social interests from the view point of cultural particularity of Japaoese society. Two factors are worth singling out in considering this development of political involvement by the new religions. The first is the effect of prewar persecution. The second, which I will exemplify by two cases—Ōmotokyo and Sōka Gakkai—is the significance of the early life experiences of deprivation and social concern.

First, we can not ignore the experience of repression by the state or political power and its effect. Through these experiences, a majority of new religions tried to modify their religious ideas which had not fitted within the framework of the official national ideology, and tried to compromise with the ideology. But a few new religions were able to deepen their conviction that what was wrong or evil was certainly not their own perpective, but that of the state and its ideology. They took the suppression that they suffered as a plain evidence of the rightness of their ideas. In either case, these experiences urged them to be aware of the necessity of establishing a political power which would pay full respect to the freedom of religion, and which might thus protect them. We may recognize this motivation when Sōka Gakkai formed Kōmeitō, and also in the case of the unification of other new religions and the Union of New Religious Organizations of Japan with conservative party.

As second important factor, I should like to stress the strong critical
attitude toward the government policies and the state, and the desires for the reconstruction of this society, which were built into the teachings or basic doctrines of new religions. These attitude and desire were fundamentally based on strong aspirations for true happiness of human being. As we saw, it was Ōmotokyō that represented the new religion which committed itself with zeal to politics in prewar Japan, and which had great influence on the religious ideas and movements of other new religions such as Seichō-no-Ie. Although the political ideas of Ōmotokyō were nationalist, there were great dissatisfaction about very poor social condition and criticism of the policies of Meiji government which had been too much committed to the success of its policies of rapid industrialization and modernization of military power, ignoring the need to improve the general living condition of the people.

This sense of dissatisfaction of the foundress of Ōmotokyō, Nao, was derived from her personal experience. Born as the eldest sister of poor carpenter in a town near Kyōto city on December 1836, Nao had a series of harsh experiences from her childhood: grinding poverty, raising eleven children, loss of her three children and later her husband, other children becoming mentally ill, and so on. After these experiences of severe poverty and unhappiness, she began to have numerous experiences of divine revelation and her dissatisfaction came to be expressed as the words of god that possessed her.

The writings through which she communicated her revelatory experiences urged the reconstruction of this society and the creation of an ideal world. Nao called this ideal world as the "Miroku-no-Yo" which meant the world governed by divine Maitreya. She also criticized the current of the times as being polluted by evil worship of money, and regarded this world as being controlled by egoistic, self-centered wealthy people. This criticism reflected the fact that the influence of rapid industrialization began to invade even into small villages in the rural areas of Japan, and many of population in these areas had been absorbed into the newly built capitalistic industries, in which people had to work as labor in bad conditions. This rapid modernization and industrialization of Japanese society after the Meiji Restoration gave rise to many social problems, rapid changes of life style of people, and poverty
among them. These situations, thus, produced a social background from
which strong aspirations among the people for the reconstruction of this
society sprang, and for the restoration of old village life.

Thus it could be said that Nao's aspiration for the creation of new
world was based on the Utopian idea of premodern agricultural society,
and also based on the idea of the anti-modern, anti-civilization, and that
this tendency to revert to the older and more traditional age came to be ex-
pressed more theoretically and in a nationalistic way by Onisaburō Deguchi
as the true Restoration of the Sacred Sovereignty by the divine Emperor.

We can recognize similar dissatisfactions and criticism in the life and
teachings of Tsunesaburō Makiguchi, the founder of Sōka Gakkai, which
is the main religious body taking active part in electoral politics in post-
war Japan. He was born in a small fishing village in Niigata Prefecture
in 1871, spent his childhood and youth in Hokkaidō which was the nor-
thern island of Japan, where he had to work while studying at school.
After he became a school teacher, and then school master, he continued
the study of Geography. His first book, Jinsei Chirigaku (The Geography
of Human Life), published after he moved to Tokyo, considered the
relationship between the individual, society and natural environment,
and the need to teach the individual how to manipulate his natural and
social environment in a manner appropriate to bettering his standard of
life. Later he also published his magnum opus Sōka Kyōikugaku Taikei
(A System Theory of Value-Creating Pedagogy), in which he tried to
show how one could acquire competence as a creator of values and thus
find happiness as an individual. His basic philosophy was a humanistic
individualism, which was against the official educational theory of the
time which was based on a holistic and nationalistic philosophy. His
books were a systematic expression of his dissatisfaction toward nation-
nal policy on education and social welfare in the two decades of the
Shōwa era.

His criticism of national policy and the ideology of the Emperor sys-
tem was strengthened through the encounter with Nichiren Buddhism.
Although Nichiren's Buddhist thoughts, especially his political ideas
were once regarded as rather generally nationalistic, in fact this was
no more so than was the case with the doctrines of other Japanese
Buddhist denominations (Bocking, 1981: 45-47). One of fundamental ideals in Nichiren's teachings was the construction of Buddhaland in this present-day world, especially in the three east Asian countries such as China, Korea and Japan. His geographical interest was not confined to Japan, but was rather international. Based on this knowledge, he sometimes described the emperors of Japan as nothing but the heads of small islands located in the marginal area of eastern countries. In addition, he went further in laying stress on the superiority of religious authority over the secular authority of the state including the emperor system. Thus we find in Nichiren's Buddhist ideas a strong orientation toward the relativization of the whole structure of the present world-order, and toward its reconstruction. It could be said that these ideas of Nichiren were activated particularly in Makiguchi's ideals of education and in his sense of religious activities as the medium for social reconstruction, and through the experience of suppression he suffered during the war.

Finally, I should like to end my conclusion by pointing out the basic cultural structure of their religious ideas that is different from western one. In their world view, religious expression, social dissatisfaction, and political criticism were closely connected and regarded as being related each other. As Robertson emphasized in his recent publication (Robertson, 1989), they did not have any idea that religion should be "private" and "nonpolitical", and that the state was "public" and "secular". In other words, there was no principle to demand the separation of religion and politics in their religious culture. It seems to me that these cultural characteristics was not specific to new religions, but has been prevailing widely over religious culture in Japan and the basic worldview of Japanese culture. The ideas concerning the distinctiveness or dichotomy of the secular and the sacred, politics and religion have not been so familiar in Japanese cultural tradition in general, and those critical political attitude among new religions in Japan has been closely related to these Japanese cultural feature in general.

14) In this sense, I agree with Robertson's opinion that the ideas of distinctiveness derive from the specific religious and cultural tradition in the west. see Robertson, 1989.
REFERENCES


ROBERTSON, Roland. 1989. “Globalization, politics, and religion”, in BECKFORD and LUCKMANN (eds.).


## Appendix

Table (1): Candidates from religious backgrounds in the first election for the House of Councillors on April 1947.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranking</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Umehara</td>
<td>Budd. Priest</td>
<td>non</td>
<td>355,234</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Horikoshi</td>
<td>Tenrikyō</td>
<td>non</td>
<td>301,958</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Kashiwagi</td>
<td>Tenrikyō</td>
<td>non</td>
<td>290,270</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Nishida</td>
<td>Ittōen</td>
<td>non</td>
<td>254,888</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Yano</td>
<td>Seichōnoie</td>
<td>non</td>
<td>96,929</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Ono</td>
<td>Risshō Kōseikai</td>
<td>LP</td>
<td>90,683</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Kuruma</td>
<td>Budd. Priest</td>
<td>non</td>
<td>79,282</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Abe</td>
<td>Chris. Minister</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>63,844</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>Ogasawara</td>
<td>Budd. Priest</td>
<td>non</td>
<td>61,065</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>Samejima</td>
<td>Chris. Minister</td>
<td>non</td>
<td>25,025</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>Kuwabara</td>
<td>Priest?</td>
<td>non</td>
<td>24,062</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>Takahashi</td>
<td>Fusōkyo</td>
<td>non</td>
<td>13,723</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LP: Liberal Party, SP: Socialist Party

Table (2): Successful Candidates from religious backgrounds in the 7th election for the House of Councillors on July 1965.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranking</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tamaoki</td>
<td>Seichōnoie</td>
<td>LDP</td>
<td>854,478</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Kusunoki</td>
<td>UNROJ</td>
<td>LDP</td>
<td>742,055</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Naïtō</td>
<td>Risshō Kōseikai</td>
<td>LDP</td>
<td>655,351</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Ōtani</td>
<td>Budd. Priest</td>
<td>LDP</td>
<td>489,152</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Yamamoto</td>
<td>Budd. Priest</td>
<td>LDP</td>
<td>486,884</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Kitabatake</td>
<td>Budd. Priest</td>
<td>LDP</td>
<td>476,041</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Uchida</td>
<td>Reiyūkai</td>
<td>LDP</td>
<td>457,749</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Kashiwabara</td>
<td>Sōkagakkai</td>
<td>Kōmeitō</td>
<td>704,722</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Tada</td>
<td>Sōkagakkai</td>
<td>Kōmeitō</td>
<td>636,131</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Yamada</td>
<td>Sōkagakkai</td>
<td>Kōmeitō</td>
<td>632,635</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Kodaira</td>
<td>Sōkagakkai</td>
<td>Kōmeitō</td>
<td>594,210</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Yaoi</td>
<td>Sōkagakkai</td>
<td>Kōmeitō</td>
<td>593,326</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Miyazaki</td>
<td>Sōkagakkai</td>
<td>Kōmeitō</td>
<td>499,665</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Harada</td>
<td>Sōkagakkai</td>
<td>Kōmeitō</td>
<td>490,127</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Kuroyanagi</td>
<td>Sōkagakkai</td>
<td>Kōmeitō</td>
<td>485,903</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Nakao</td>
<td>Sōkagakkai</td>
<td>Kōmeitō</td>
<td>460,912</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LDP: Liberal Democratic Party.
Table (3): Candidates from religious backgrounds in the 11th election for the House of Councillors on July 1977.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranging</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tamaoki</td>
<td>Seichōnoie+</td>
<td>LDP</td>
<td>1,119,598</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Naitō</td>
<td>Risshō Kōseikai+</td>
<td>LDP</td>
<td>1,071,893</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Kusunoki</td>
<td>UNROJ</td>
<td>LDP</td>
<td>1,042,848</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Machimura</td>
<td>Reiyukai+</td>
<td>LDP</td>
<td>1,028,981</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Nishimura</td>
<td>Nichirensō+ + SPL</td>
<td>LDP</td>
<td>942,689</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Takeuchi</td>
<td>Sekai Kyūseikyō</td>
<td>LDP</td>
<td>884,677</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Horige</td>
<td>SPL + Sekai Kyūsei</td>
<td>LDP</td>
<td>813,280</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Matsumae</td>
<td>CPL</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>804,969</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Katayama</td>
<td>Reiyūkai</td>
<td>LDP</td>
<td>798,037</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Ōgi</td>
<td>Reiyūkai+</td>
<td>LDP</td>
<td>790,022</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Anzai</td>
<td>Reiyūkai+</td>
<td>LDP</td>
<td>738,750</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Fujii</td>
<td>Bushogonin+</td>
<td>LDP</td>
<td>655,496</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kurozumi</td>
<td>Kurozumikyō+ + SPL</td>
<td>LDP</td>
<td>481,692</td>
<td>failed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mochizuki</td>
<td>Butusryūshū+</td>
<td>LDP</td>
<td>348,952</td>
<td>failed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kawakami</td>
<td>Reiyūkai+</td>
<td>non</td>
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<td>failed</td>
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<td>Fujishima</td>
<td>Bentenshū+</td>
<td>LDP</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Mutō</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Kashiwabara</td>
<td>Sōkagakkai</td>
<td>Kōmeitō</td>
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<td>Kōmeitō</td>
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<td>Nakao</td>
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<td>Kōmeitō</td>
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<td>Sōkagakkai</td>
<td>Kōmeitō</td>
<td>696,626</td>
<td>elected</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SPL: Shintō Political League, CPL: Christian Political League
Table (4): The geneology of new religions in modern Japan

[Shintoist]

Kurozumikyo (1814)
Munetada KUROZUMI (1780–1850)

Konkōkyō (1859) → Ōmotokyō (1892) → Seichō-no-Ie (1930)
Bunjirō KAWATE (1814–83) Nao DEGUCHI (1836–1918)
Masaharu TANIGUCHI (1893–1987)

Sekai Kyōseikyō (1928)
Mokichi OKADA (1882–1955)

Tenrikyō (1838) → Honmichikyō (1913)
Miki NAKAYAMA (1798–1887) Aijirō ŌNISHI (1881–1958)

Tokumitsukyō (1912) → Hitonomichikyōdan (1931) → PL (Perfect Liberty)
Tokumitsu KANEDA (1863–1924)

Kyōdan (1946)
Tokuchika MKI (1900–1983)

[Buddhist]

Nichiren (1222–1282)

Nichiren Shū → Reiyūkai (1930) → Risshō Kōseikai (1938)
Kakutarō KUBO (1892–1944) Nikkyō NIWANO (1906–)
Myōkō NAGANUMA (1889–1957)
Busshō Gonenkai (1950)
Kaichi SEKIGUCHI (1897–1961)

Nichiren Shōshū (1289) → Sōka (Kyōiku) Gakkai (1930)
NIKKŌ (1253–1314) Tsunesaburō MAKIGUCHI (1871–1944)

Associate Professor in
Sociology of Religion
Department of Sociology
Soka University