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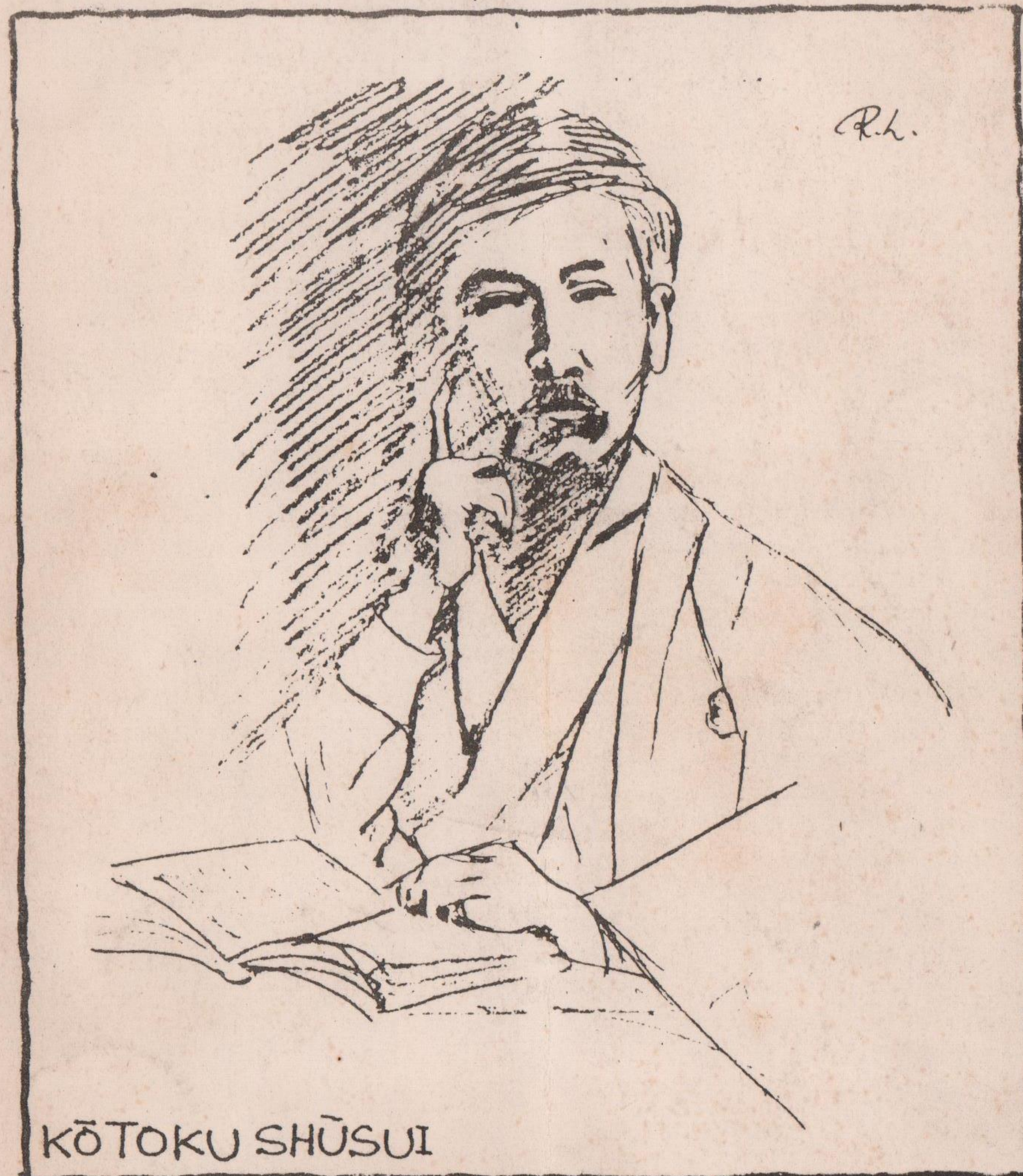
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libero^{int'l} is a libertarian bi-monthly published by the Section for International Correspondence of CIRA-Nippon. Sole editorial responsibility for content is that of the Libero International Editorial Collective. Please address all correspondence, business or editorial, to: Libero Int'l, C.P.O. Box 1065, Kobe, Japan 650-91.

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1975 — **libero**^{int'l} **1** no. 1 — Jan.



KŌTOKU SHŪSUI

A NOTE ON LIBERO INTERNATIONAL

If the activities of anarchists in the west have been overshadowed and overwhelmed by those of opportunistic politicians and premature revolutionaries, those of their Asian comrades have been almost obliterated. The experience of Asia in the first half of the 20th century, where the predominant trend was the nationalist struggle against foreign control, demanded that revolutionaries of all creeds pool their resources in the fight against imperialist domination. This has made it difficult to assess the range of political activity which took place in each individual country. In China the movement was upstaged by the communist party, following the success of the revolution in Russia; in Japan the assumption of the trappings of a bourgeois state after 1868 created social-democratic trends in the labour movement very early on; in Korea, efficient control by the Japanese occupation authorities after the 1910 annexation drove most political activists out of the country to Japan and China, where their energy, particularly that of the anarchists, often merged with that of the local movement.

Nevertheless, taking each country individually, there was much more variety of political belief than is immediately visible. Anarchism was an important element in all three countries. Many of the Chinese intellectuals who later founded the Chinese Communist Party had originally been anarchists, and the labour unions organised by Mao Tse-tung in his native province in the 1920s were in fact built on existing anarchist ones. The first intellectual to declare himself independent of the pacifist and Christian tendencies in Japan was the anarchist Kōtoku Shūsui, while the Oriental Socialist Party (founded in 1881), Japan's first socialist organisation, was comprised largely of anarchists and was heavily influenced by the Russian Narodniks. Koreans exiled

in Japan formed many anarchist and anarcho-communist groups among students and workers, many of the latter tending towards syndicalism, although the tenacious nationalist fostered by forty years of rule by Japan persuaded many anarchist groups to attempt to work within the political structure.

Part of the reason for launching *Libero International* has been the belief that the facts about the energetic libertarian history of Asia should be marshalled and made available for Western as well as Asian comrades. Much of the historical material will be based on translations of existing materials in Chinese, Japanese and Korean. At the same time, we will try to bring together the general threads of the Asian situation by producing chronologies, summaries, book reviews, biographies, and so on.

Libero International will not be entirely given over to historical material, however. As a general rule, we will try to divide historical and current material on a fifty-fifty basis, on the principle that although the struggle for human dignity now being waged throughout Asia is of crucial importance to a world free of political, racial, economic and psychological oppression, it is equally essential for libertarians to become acquainted with the history of that struggle. Much of the current material will come from Japan, where this magazine is being produced, and where most of our contacts are. For information from other parts of Asia we rely upon comrades to write to us and tell us of conditions where they are active.

By confining the above notes on Asia to the three countries of China, Korea and Japan, we don't mean to invite any assumptions, but simply to express the limits of our knowledge and experience. Once again, we look forward to hearing from comrades with knowledge or experience of historical or current struggles in other parts of Asia. The primary focus of *Libero International* will be on libertarian movements, broadly defined, both historical and current.

Other things which *Libero International* hopes to achieve are, first, an annotated list of the few available English-language writings on Asian libertarian movements; second, to keep abreast of publications in Asian languages and, by summarizing or reviewing them, make their contents more internationally available; and third, to introduce the activities and viewpoints of local libertarian groups to non-

Asian readers. Yet again, we rely on the cooperation of comrades to let us know about English-language materials and to send us information about local activities in Asia.

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CIRA-Nippon is a federation of autonomous libertarian groups, one of them being the Section for International Correspondence (SfIC), which is a small group of comrades living in the Osaka-Kobe area. As the name suggests, the SfIC works as the communication link between domestic anarchist groups associated with CIRA-Nippon, and various groups outside Japan. To achieve its aims of enhanced international communication, understanding and, hence, solidarity, the SfIC has three main functions:

- to deal with the day-to-day correspondence between groups outside Japan and CIRA-Nippon;
- to publish news and materials concerning the anarchist movement in Japan and East Asia; and
- to translate or summarize published materials received from outside Japan so that they may be made more readily available to our comrades in the movement here.

Publication of *Libero International* is meant to achieve the second aim. We are hoping that libertarian publications outside Japan will agree to an exchange of literature, to help us in achieving the third. Materials which are new or largely unknown in Japan will be summarized, translated, etc., by SfIC, after which they will be sent to Fujinomiya to become part of the CIRA-Nippon collection (see introduction to CIRA-Nippon in this issue). We hope that our friends overseas will be interested in not only receiving *Libero International* and what other pamphlets and materials as we may produce, but will also help us in making information relating to their theory, practice and experience as widely available in Japan as possible.

Our present plan is to publish bi-monthly. Future issues will probably be about the size and format of this one. Sole editorial responsibility for the contents lies with the Editorial Collective of the SfIC, the publisher. Correspondence relating to the contents, requests for further information, subscription inquiries, or letters dealing with other matters relating to the anarchist movement in Japan and Asia, should be addressed to the SfIC, whose address appears on the back cover.

Nohara Shiro

Anarchism

and the

May 4th Movement

On May 4 1919 some 3000 Peking students demonstrated in protest against the Chinese government's acquiescent attitude towards Japanese expansionist pressure. This incident was not the beginning of the May 4 Movement, but the key which unlocked the door to a succession of strikes and boycotts, social turmoil, and an intellectual revolution which eventually changed the face of modern China.

Fierce nationalism, inspired by opposition to the 200-year rule of the Manchu Ch'ing dynasty, won a transparent victory in the revolution of 1911 which overthrew the alien rulers and established the Republic of China. The events which followed, however, including two imperial restoration attempts within six years, the control over party politics assumed by a succession of military warlords, and the abject failure of attempts to rally opinion for a Second Revolution, showed all too plainly that nationalism was not the cure-all which many intellectuals had thought it to be.

Events outside China provided a violent contrast with her own situation. On the one hand, Western democracy was discredited in the eyes of many intellectuals by the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, at which, despite Woodrow Wilson's political idealism, the Great Powers firmly reasserted their pre-war colonial policies. On the other hand, the success of the October Revolution in Russia, followed by the ill-fated but still meaningful revolts in Hungary, Finland, Germany, Austria, Bavaria and elsewhere, showed the potential

of popular uprisings. At the same time, August 1918 saw the violent 'Rice Riots' in Japan, while Korea experienced the 'March 1st Incident', a popular nationalist uprising against Japanese rule, in 1919. In March 1919, again, the Third Communist International was organised and its first World Congress held in Moscow. These events did not go unnoticed in China.

It is important not to exaggerate the numbers of Chinese materially affected by or even aware of these international developments. In order to understand the social environment in which the May 4 Movement took place, a brief note is necessary. In the first place, some 80% of the Chinese people were illiterate, the vast majority of these being peasants. Rural China changed little as a result of the 1911 revolution. For 2000 years rural society had rested on a foundation of political and economic control by landlord-officials over a subservient peasantry in various stages of economic distress. The rise of the military, however, and the regular civil wars which subsequently raged back and forth over the Chinese countryside, caused the deaths of millions of people. As the rural economy sank into a process of rapid decline, landless peasants were forced to join warlord armies or bandit gangs, or in many cases to flock to cities like Shanghai and Peking to provide cheap factory labour. The last, although numbering only a million or so in 1918, played a major role in the strikes which succeeded the May 4 Incident.

China's predominantly agrarian economy had begun to change during the late 19th century as a reaction to imperialist pressure. Yet native industry had little chance to expand because foreign-manufactured goods of lower price and superior quality were constantly being dumped on the market through the many one-sided agreements forced upon the weak Chinese government. With World War I, however, and the preoccupation of the West with military production, China obtained a breathing space. Native production, especially in light industry, grew rapidly from 1914 to 1920. Investment moved from the countryside to the cities; joint-stock corporations and modern banks began to appear, while capital concentration and the growth of an urban economy quickened. Merchants, always a despised group in Chinese society because of their non-productive character, transferred their operations from the hinterland to the cities with the encouragement of the new Chambers of Commerce. Their new in-

terest in national rather than local markets made them a significant political element, and many came to support the aims of the May 4 Movement. In particular, the increased influence of Japan and the return of the other imperialist powers after the war made the merchants and industrialists anxious about the future.

The intellectual revolution which provided the initial impetus for the May 4 Movement also grew out of this process of change. The principal reason for China's ability to maintain her social and political system virtually unchanged for two millennia was the fact that her intellectual premises were never seriously challenged. After the Opium War with Britain in 1840-42 had demonstrated the irresistible physical power of the West, a movement grew up around the principle that while China's traditional learning and institutions were superior to those of the West, in order to protect them China needed to learn Western scientific methods and technology. Military defeat by Japan in 1894-95, however, followed by the lessons of the post-1911 restoration attempts and Japan's gradually increasing encroachment (it should be remembered that Japan herself, in 1868, had, in the name of the 'Meiji Restoration', completely remodelled her society along Western lines, an example which Chinese intellectuals found difficult to ignore), convinced those who were aware of this process that mere transplantation of laws and political institutions was not enough. The 'new' intellectuals now claimed that not only should Western methods and ideals be fully introduced, but also that China's traditional philosophy, ethics, social theories and so on should be subjected to a total reexamination and remodelling. In other words, what they were seeking was an entirely new culture for China. Although they numbered only some ten million in 1919, these intellectuals' contacts with modern Western civilization had increasingly alienated them from traditional Chinese orthodoxy. Given the current state of affairs in China, it was inevitable that they would come to represent other casualties of social change in a kind of 'crusade' to save China.

The feelings which eventually gave rise to the 'May 4 Movement' were first ignited in 1915, when Japan forced upon China her '21 Demands'¹ for political, economic and military concessions. The day of the signing of the agreement, May 7, was thereafter designated as 'National Humiliation Day'. However, the most appropriate definition of the pe-

riod covered by the movement is probably 1917-21. Midway through the period came the May 4 Movement itself; before this date certain 'new' intellectuals had concentrated on putting their ideas over to the youth and students of China; in the second phase the success of their efforts was shown by the launching of an all-out attack on tradition and conservatism, and the broadening of the movement from students and intellectuals to the merchants and industrial workers. The movement has thus been classified variously as patriotic, cultural, literary and political. In fact, it was all of these in one.

The effects and achievements of the May 4 Movement were far-reaching. In the short term the movement secured the dismissal on June 10 of the three officials responsible for the pro-Japan policy, while later the Chinese delegation to the Paris talks refused to sign the peace treaty which gave Japan control over part of the Chinese province of Shantung. Long-term results were even more significant. The first was the total discrediting of the old traditions and ethics, their prestige never to be completely restored. Worship of the old became (sometimes over-credulous) enthusiasm for the new. This process was aided by the second result: the adoption of the vernacular language as the medium of written communication, in place of the traditional convoluted style, meaningless to the uninitiated, which had kept China's millions in their place for 2000 years. Subsequently, the creation of a new literature based on humanitarianism, romanticism, realism and so on, the rapid development of the press and public opinion (in the cities, at any rate,) and the growth of popular education including industrial training, all served to transform the intellectual atmosphere of China.

In social terms, also, great changes took place, such as the decline of the traditional family system and the slow spread of marriage based on free choice (as opposed to that pre-arranged by the families); the assertion of young peoples' rights, traditionally denied in China; and the establishment of coeducation and the consequent rise in the status of women.

Economically, the May 4 Movement both grew out of and contributed to the process of agricultural decline and urban expansion in modern China. The rise of absentee landlords, peasant unrest, increased political activities among urban

dwellers, and gradual strengthening and politicisation of the labour movement all reflected the chain of events of which the Movement formed a part.

Finally, the political effect of the May 4 Movement was to bring home to political leaders the potential of the common people, especially the young intellectuals (in the broadest sense.) The degree to which this lesson was learned is well demonstrated even today in the persistence of 'two Chinas', one of which has been able to relate successfully to the common people. Both the establishment of the Chinese Communist Party and the reorganization of the Kuomintang (the Nationalist Party) as a broad-based party followed within



five years of the Incident. Political awareness was sharpened, so that warlordism, imperialism and colonialism, especially that of Japan, became the simultaneous targets of successive strikes, boycotts and demonstrations. Consciousness of China as a nation-state was also strengthened through confrontation with foreign aggression.

On the other hand, it must be stressed that the immediate gains of the movement were nil as far as the great mass of the people, the peasants, were concerned. In the long term, the May 4 Movement gave rise to the forces which were eventually to fight bitterly for control over the peasants' destiny. In the meantime, however, the peasants' suffering simply grew more intense as a result of these political struggles, until resistance to the Japanese invasion of 1937, resistance which was itself largely due to the pressures generated by May 4, brought them into the political picture by force of circumstance.

The following piece is the first instalment of our translation of the 1960 essay by the Japanese historian Nohara Shirō. While Nohara is not an anarchist himself, his studies on the anarchists of China are sympathetic and valuable. He throws light on many problems which have stumped Western attempts to understand the confusing history of Chinese anarchism. He also redirects attention away from purely intellectual activities, an important step since many of the intellectual espousers of anarchism in early 20th century China soon drifted away into obscurity, joined the bandwagon of the fast-growing nationalist movement, or were converted to Marxism. Hence Nohara provides rare information on the various attempts to organise industrial workers, both in Shanghai and in the interior. It is for this effort that his work is most valuable, although the influence of anarchism as one of the principal intellectual stimuli is also sharply revealed. The essay originally appeared in the collection *Asia: History and Ideas* (Ajia no Rekishi to Shisō). We begin our serialization with chapter one, "An Anarchist Genealogy".

Anyone wanting more detailed information on the May 4 Movement than we have given in this introduction should read *The May Fourth Movement* by Chow Tse-tsung (Stanford University, 1960, paperback). We have added some notes on pages 16-18 to explain unfamiliar points and to briefly introduce any characters mentioned.

In 1919 in China, the experience of the nationwide patriotic movement known as 'May 4' had given birth to a great mixture of differing ideologies. The ensuing arguments between them shared one dominant concern: the means for the future reconstruction of China. Most significant among these arguments, just as elsewhere, was that between Anarchism and Bolshevism.

Before the establishment of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1921, 'socialism' in China had encompassed a range of creeds from anarchism, syndicalism, guild socialism and Bolshevism, to Tolstoyan humanism and even the ideas of the Japanese 'New Village Movement'.² Furthermore, the thinking of the earliest Chinese communists had been so deeply imbued with elements of other ideologies, in particular anarchism, that 'Bolshevism' at the time was considered merely an anarchist offshoot. Only after going through the ideological disputes mentioned above, it must be said here, did the Bolsheviks decide which way they wanted to go, and split off to take an independent line.

Anarchism, like other socialist tendencies, had been brought into China on the eve of the 1911 rising there by revolutionists who had previously fled to Japan and France to escape arrest. Among the numerous articles concerning socialism carried in the *Min Pao*, the organ of the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance (*T'ung-meng Hui*, formed in Tokyo in 1905), Bakunin, Kropotkin and other anarchists were the most frequently represented figures. At the same time, Chang Pinglin, Chang Chi,³ Liu Shih-fu⁴ and other Revolutionary Alliance members contacted Japanese anarchists, including Kōtoku Shūsui, Sakai Toshihiko and Ōsugi Sakae,⁵ with whose help they organised the Socialist Study School and, through such journals as the *T'ien I Pao* (*The Journal of Natural Justice*) and the *Heng Pao* (*Measurement*), eagerly began introducing the theories of Bakunin and Kropotkin.⁶

Kōtoku Shūsui, having returned from America in 1906, wrote: 'We will never, never achieve a real socialist revolution through universal suffrage and by promoting our policies in the Diet. In order to achieve the aims of socialism, there is no other course for us but to depend on the direct action of workers acting in unison.' Kōtoku's anarcho-syndicalism was further demonstrated in his insistence that the only road to revolution was through a general strike by a strong union of workers.

In China, however, things were different; the Ch'ing Dynasty,

following the Boxer Uprising of 1900,⁷ had been forced by internal and external circumstances to declare a constitutional monarchy based on a parliamentary system in an attempt to bolster its autocratic control. The working class was still fearfully weak, and an anti-government struggle through the medium of the general strike was utterly out of the question.

The Chinese anarchists' response to government power was thus limited to the method of assassination, and 'propaganda by deed' became their credo. The acts of such committed individual terrorists as Ch'iu Chin, a woman student just returned from Japan who planned in 1907 to kill all the high officials of Anhui Province, and of Wang Chao-ming [Wang Ching-wei]⁸ who attempted to kill the Imperial Regent in 1910, thus formed the backcloth to Chinese anarchist thinking of the time.

This trend became particularly influential with the return from Japan in 1906 of Liu Shih-fu, who took it upon himself to kill high local officials to support the Revolutionary Alliance's 1907 armed rising in Kwangtung, and who master-minded the assassination attempt upon the Imperial Regent on the eve of the 1911 Revolution. Liu's first efforts at propagating anarchist ideals were thus marked by undisguised terrorism. His subsequent activities, however, since they constitute the main current of the pre-May 4 anarchist movement, also require a brief explanation here.

Now, the anarchists Wu Chih-hui, Li Shih-tseng, Chang Ching-chiang⁹ and, following his expulsion from Japan, Chang Chi, had been publishing a weekly magazine, *New Century*, in Paris since 1907.¹⁰ Sales outlets had also been set up in France, America and Japan, and efforts were being made to spread anarchist propaganda via overseas Chinese residents and students.

Subsequently, Liu Shih-fu, soon after the 1911 uprising, contacted this Paris group and then set up his own propaganda organisation in Canton, calling it the 'Crowing in the Darkness Study Group' [*Hui-ming Hs'ueh-she*]; from 1912 the group began to publish its magazine, *Records of Crowing in the Darkness* [*Hui-ming Lu*] (later changed to *People's Voice* [*Min-sheng*]). At the same time, they began reproducing publications of the Paris New Century Press, introducing the ideas of Kropotkin and other anarchist theorists, and propagating Esperanto in a second publication known as *The Pure Speech of Anarchism*. Finally, Liu gathered other comrades

around him and with them founded the 'Heart Society' [*'Hsin-she'*], based on the following twelve injunctions: (1) do not eat meat; (2) do not take liquor; (3) do not smoke tobacco; (4) do not have servants; (5) do not use palanquins or rickshaws; (6) do not marry; (7) do not use family names; (8) do not become officials; (9) do not become MPs; (10) do not join any political party; (11) do not join the armed forces; (12) do not profess any religion.

As to China's susceptibility to the appeals of anarchism, one Chinese researcher has put forward a number of opinions. First, having suffered long under the despotic and corrupt rule of an autocratic monarchy, the Chinese people had come to regard governments, laws and all political activities with abhorrence. Secondly, because the petty bourgeois class was so large in China, and because people had become accustomed to backward and dispersed forms of economic organisation, they tended to distrust and resist attempts to set up a strong, centralised polity based on an advanced, mass-production economy. Thirdly, when confronted by social or political difficulties, the situation became one of every man for himself; when occasion demanded, some might dream of establishing an ideal society, but the idea of a fierce, protracted class struggle was repugnant to them. Finally, the traditionally nihilistic influence of the pre-Christian Taoist philosopher, Chuang Tzu, remained strong. The combination of these four factors is seen by the researcher as creating a hotbed for the spread of anarchist ideas in China.

The last point is borne out by such instances as the T'ien I Pao's posing of Lao Tzu as the father of Chinese anarchism, while the appeals of the anarchists to the petty bourgeois as demonstrated by Liu Shih-fu's union activities, described below, show the second point to be also applicable. Point number one, on the other hand, requires more adequate explanation, with reference to the period between the 1911 Revolution and the May 4 Movement of 1919. Only in this way can we come to understand the significance of anarchism's far-reaching influence during this period. Hopes that had been pinned on the outcome of the 1911 Revolution had been totally dashed by the subsequent assumption of power by Yuan Shih-k'ai, Tuan Ch'i-jui and the warlord governments which followed them. The anarchists' total rejection of parliamentary politics and, indeed, of all political activity, was thus borne out by actual conditions in China. Hence Liu Shih-fu's "Twelve Abstentions", especially numbers 8, 9, 10 and

11, with their air of political asceticism, struck a harmonious chord in the hearts of many Chinese of the time.

And speaking of Liu Shih-fu, where was he at this time? With the defeat in 1913 of the anti-Yüan Shih-k'ai 'Constitution Protection Movement' — Sun Yat-sen's so-called 'Second Revolution' — Yüan's presidential power finally spread south to Canton. The *People's Voice* was immediately proscribed, and the 'Crowing in the Darkness Study Group' closed down. Liu himself was forced to move, lock, stock and barrel, to Macao, where he managed to publish two more issues of *People's Voice* before the Portuguese authorities, at the insistence of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, also clamped down on him. He next found refuge in Shanghai,¹¹ from where in 1914 he began to put out *People's Voice* yet again; that July he assembled a group known as the 'Society of Anarcho-Communist Comrades [*Wu-cheng-fu Kung-ch'an chu-i T'ung-chih Hui*],¹² which in its manifesto, released soon afterwards, announced: 'What is anarcho-communism? It is the overthrow of the capitalist system, and its substitution by a communistic society in which both governments and rulers shall be superfluous. To put it plainly, it is a demand for absolute economic and political freedom.' The proposed construction [by the people] of a communist society which would eliminate the need for governments and rulers was intended to proclaim the group's opposition to the Bolsheviks' advocacy of a post-revolutionary 'proletarian dictatorship'. (Some say that the Chinese word for 'communism', '*kung-ch'an chu-i*', was in fact coined by Liu Shih-fu.) Although other possible explanations of Liu's statement have been offered, I will not pursue them here.

That August a strike broke out among varnish craftsmen in Shanghai and spread quickly despite a lack of organisation. Liu promptly ran up a pamphlet, advising them on how to conduct their campaign and urging them to organise and increase their awareness. The aims which Liu set out for this union were revolutionary syndicalist ones: all political objectives were totally repudiated. During that same August — whether before or after this episode is not clear — the Society of Anarcho-Communist Comrades affiliated itself with the Jura League (an international anarchist group based in Switzerland).¹³ By this time Liu had clearly abandoned his former individual anarchism for the anarcho-communism of Kropotkin. Appropriately, he threw himself into the thick of the labour movement, putting out a paper, the *Handbook*

for *Working Men*, aimed directly at the workers, which gave him the opportunity to begin syndicalist propaganda.

In Canton, meanwhile, inspired by his ideas, barber-shop workers (with funds of 100,000 yüan, it is said,) and tea-shop employees formed their own unions. Again, many young Kwangtungese, after studying under Liu, went out to such European colonies as Burma, Java and Singapore, where they either became teachers in the schools for overseas Chinese, or bustled about organising the print-shop workers, foreign clothing workers and hotel employees. Liu Shih-fu himself, however, on 27 March 1915, succumbed to tuberculosis in Shanghai.

Nevertheless, despite Liu's death, the subsequent development of the Chinese anarchist movement was much along the lines that he had advocated. On this point it is interesting to note that the syndicalism in vogue in the Taishō period in Japan (1911-25) had abandoned most of the basic tenets of unionism — only its rejection of political agitation and advocacy of direct action remained popular. Even direct action, however, showed markedly less appeal than it had previously enjoyed, while any tendency which appeared to condone the use of violence was vigorously opposed. It seems to me that the question of the subsequent contrasting developments in the two countries has its origins hidden somewhere within this situation, in the relationship between Anarchism and Bolshevism; perhaps in the labour movement, perhaps in the political movement — I must confess that I am not sure myself.

But to return to our subject... Chinese anarchism, after the 1911 Revolution and particularly after 1915, the year of Liu Shih-fu's death and of the beginnings of the May 4 New Culture Movement,¹⁴ was generally seen as having abandoned its individual terrorist associations for Kropotkin's 'Mutual Aid' theory. Consequently it came to be regarded as a systematic body of thought rejecting all non-scientific forms of authority, demanding absolute liberty, and advocating the construction of an ideal utopian society.

In 1913 Li Ta-chao¹⁵ had written his essay, 'Grief' [*Ta Ai P'ien*], in which he bitterly condemned the complete untrustworthiness of 'democracy' and 'political parties' under warlord control. However, with Japan's infliction of her '21 Demands' in 1915, the conclusion of the Nishihara Loans in 1917, and the signing of the Sino-Japanese Military Mu-

tual Assistance Conventions in 1918,¹⁶ Li's bitterness turned to rage as he came to feel more keenly the crisis facing the Chinese people. In order to overthrow warlord rule and establish the new society, it was necessary to go to the very roots of the problem, something which had not hitherto been done.

In 1916 Li thus stressed: "From now on the issue facing mankind and all nations is no longer simply a useless struggle for survival, but one of rebirth, rejuvenation and reconstruction... Young people must be aware, tear asunder the contradictions of history, smash the prisons of stereotyped thinking... free the youth of the present, destroy the youth of the past, and urge the youth of today to clear the way for the youth of tomorrow."

This theme of 'youth' persisted in Li's 1918 critique, 'Now' ['Jin'], while Yeh Shao-chun's contemporary novel, *Teacher Ni* [Ni Huan-chih],¹⁷ also framed the current demands of young people for a 'change of values' in the following words: 'The demand for the re-examination of all values has become a predominant one. Why have hitherto sacred concerns become of no import?... Doubts are bubbling over, wavering has increased; even at the risk of hair-splitting and pedantry, let's boldly pull down and rebuild the whole lot!' This passage perfectly expressed the May 4 New Culture Movement's attack on the old morality and ethics which sustained warlord rule, and its hopes for constructing a new national consciousness. To this end, the evolution theory and other modern Western ideologies, from the various branches of socialism to the ideas of Bergson, Dewey and Russell,¹⁸ all brought into China since the latter years of the Ch'ing era, were simultaneously taken up and used as weapons in the fight. Among the young students of that time, however, by far the most popular were T'an Ssu-t'ung's 'Philosophy of Benevolence', K'ang Yu-wei's¹⁹ 'One World', and, representing the West, the ideas of Kropotkin and Tolstoy. Even amidst all this, anarchism, beginning with the students, soon seized the emotions of many people. These people, starting from their fierce desire for a reorientation of values, ultimately moved toward the total rejection of traditional authority. And, from an initial suspicion and mistrust of 'politics', they came to dream of setting up an ideal society at one stroke. Accordingly, there was nowhere in north China that the lingering influence of Liu Shih-fu did not reach.

(to be continued)

1. '21 Demands': on January 18, 1915, the Japanese Minister to China personally presented President Yuan Shih-k'ai with some sheets of paper ominously watermarked with dreadnoughts and machine guns. These sheets contained the so-called '21 Demands', comprising Japanese control over the Yangtze Valley, Manchuria and other key areas, as well as the employment of Japanese advisors in political, financial, and military affairs; joint operation of the Chinese police forces in important places; the purchase from Japan of 50% or more of all war materials, and so on. Not surprisingly, the Chinese hedged. Finally, on May 7, the Japanese presented an ultimatum. On May 25, without the consent of Parliament, (in fact it had been dissolved anyway, in preparation for Yuan's attempt to make himself emperor), the President accepted all the terms.

2. The 'New Village' Movement: a Japanese utopian social movement based on mutual aid and humanitarianism and inspired by Kropotkin and Tolstoy. Members of the village gave up all private property, living a life of "from each according to his capacity; to each according to his needs".

3. Chang Ping-lin: A Chinese intellectual who progressed to anarchism through an interest in terrorism, but remained reactionary in his cultural views. Chang's group took over the editorship of *Min Pao* and the leadership of the Chinese student revolutionary movement in Japan in 1906. He was a close associate of Liu Shih-p'ei, and under their influence the Chinese revolutionary movement turned rapidly away from social democracy and towards anarchism.

Chang Chi: Also an intellectual from a gentry family, Chang was responsible for translating Malatesta's *Anarchia* and Roller's *The Social General Strike* into Chinese. He too came to anarchism via terrorism. Late in 1907, under pressure from the Japanese police, he left for Paris. After the 1911 Revolution he returned to China and became a leading member of the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party), much to the disgust of the anarchists. Soon after, nevertheless, he tried to acquire from the government a small island "as an experimental area for world anarchism". In 1913 he was appointed parliamentary president, amidst more anarchist criticism.

4. Liu Shih-fu...: the inclusion of Liu Shih-fu is a mistake which Nohara himself corrects elsewhere. By strange coincidence, two of the most prominent Chinese anarchists of this time had very similar names: Liu Shih-fu and Liu Shih-p'ei. Their careers also matched on several points: though there is no indication of any prior relationship between them, both became anarchists at approximately the same time and both spent a period in Japan. Here I will give some notes to clear up the confusion, which still persists in China today.

Liu Shih-fu went to Japan in 1904; in 1905 he was present at the founding of the Revolutionary Alliance in Tokyo, but there is no evidence of contact with any Japanese anarchists at this time. Kōtoku Shūsui spent much of 1905 in prison, and in November left for San Francisco. Liu returned to China in 1906, and only then did his anarchist activities begin. During an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate a local naval commander in 1907 Liu lost an arm and was arrested. Through the literature he read in prison he acquired his anarchist belief. After his release in 1909 he then formed an assassination group in Hong Kong. His subsequent activities are described in the text. Despite his early death, of tuberculosis, in March 1915, Liu remains the best-loved Chinese anarchist of all, and is usually referred to simply as Shih-fu.

Liu Shih-p'ei, an intellectual from an old scholarly family, went to Japan in 1907 and definitely made contact with Kōtoku and the other Japanese anarchists. After helping Chang Ping-lin with the *Min Pao* for about a year, Liu returned to Shanghai in October 1908. He had long been known for his violent views, and from 1908 he and his wife Ho Chen began spreading anarchist propaganda until arrested by the local viceroy in 1909. When his wife, who was known for her beauty, was threatened with torture, Liu renounced his anarchism, and some say he died later of a broken heart. True or not, in the meantime he gained a notorious reputation among left and liberal circles, sponsoring Yuan Shih-k'ai's imperial restoration attempt in 1915-16 and speaking out *against* the new literature and thought of the May 4 Movement. He was personally rebuked by Peking University students in 1919 and died soon after, at the early age of 36.

5. Kōtoku Shūsui: the first Japanese anarchist, his conversion came during a five-month prison spell in 1905 followed by six months in San Francisco where he was heavily influenced by the California anarchists. He later translated Malatesta's *Anarchia* into Japanese. In 1911 he was hung on a trumped-up charge of plotting to kill the Japanese Emperor (see also the biography of Kōtoku later in this issue).

Sakai Toshihiko: a pacifist and social democrat who, despite a long friendship with Kōtoku, only came around to his direct action position in 1907. He escaped execution in 1911 by being already imprisoned on another charge.

Ōsugi Sakae: an anarchist and militant who introduced French syndicalism to Japan. After Kōtoku's death he became the best-known anarcho-syndicalist in Japan, and launched a bitter attack on Lenin's government after 1920. He was murdered by the Japanese secret police in September 1923. We hope to include a biography of Ōsugi in a subsequent issue.

6. The school actually opened on August 30, 1907. In 1908 Liu Shih-p'ei split with Chang Ping-lin and in the same year the two journals were closed by the Japanese authorities.

7. It was not the Boxer Rebellion itself, an anti-government peasant uprising which the government managed to transform into an anti-foreign movement, but the subsequent brutal pillage of Peking and much of north China by the Allied "Relief" army, which convinced the Chinese ruling class that basic changes were necessary to preserve their control.

8. Ch'iu Chin: an early revolutionary intellectual who worked closely with the militant secret societies in China in an attempt to bring them into the revolutionary movement; she also tried to form a national women's army. Her assassination plot failed, and she was executed. Nohara mistakenly locates her activities in Anhui province, while she was in fact active further south in Chekiang province.

Wang Ching-wei: a well-known political figure who always contrived to be anti-mainstream. From terrorism he moved towards party politics after 1911, and finally became puppet premier under the Japanese occupation of China from 1940 to 1945. He was loosely connected with Shih-fu in 1912.

9. Wu Chih-hui: an intellectual anarchist who eventually joined the Kuomintang and came to support Chiang Kai-shek. He was closely connected with the 'Work-Study' schemes common after 1911, and in March 1918 helped found the magazine *Labour*, the first worker-oriented magazine in China. Wu also propagated atheism.

Li Shih-tseng: worked closely with Wu Chih-hui, helping him found the Society for the Promotion of Virtue (actually an anarchist club) in 1918. He was a strong advocate of "revolutionary assassination". Li translated Kropotkin's *Appeal to the Young*. He later joined the Kuomintang and supported Chiang Kai-shek, moving with him to Taiwan in 1949.

Chang Ching-chiang: the son of a wealthy businessman, was an intellectual who, during his stay in France became involved with the C.G.T., then a pure anarcho-syndicalist organization. His fortune allowed him to contribute considerable funds to the revolutionary cause and to establish a commercial firm in Paris as a front organization. His subsequent fate is unknown.

10. The magazine was suspended in the summer of 1910 and most of the activists returned to China after 1911.

11. ie., in the French concession of Shanghai, where the arm of the Chinese authorities could not reach. The "Concessions" were pieces of land ceded by China to various foreign powers during the 19th century and after where the laws of the respective power held sway.

12. This group is sometimes known as the Chinese Anarchist Party. After 1925 it was merged with the then revolutionary nationalist Kuomintang.

13. What in fact happened was that Shih-fu's group sent a report on the movement in China to the projected International Anarchist Congress scheduled for that August in Switzerland. The Congress never took place because of the outbreak of war.

14. The New Culture Movement is considered to have been the forerunner of the May 4 Movement. It began among students and teachers of Peking University.

15. Li Ta-chao: although generally said to have introduced Marxism and the news of the Russian Revolution to China, he always retained a strong populist belief. He was one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party and was prominent in the New Culture Movement. In 1927 he was executed (strangled) by agents of the Peking government.

16. The Nishihara Loans: forced upon the Chinese government by Japan, these amounted to some 145,000,000 yen, and bolstered the Japanese-supported warlord government.

The *Conventions*: these gave Japan the right to station troops in North Manchuria and Outer Mongolia (Chinese territory) on the pretext of preventing an invasion by Germany or the Soviet Union; the right to use Chinese military maps; and the right to provide Japanese officers to train the Chinese army etc.

17. This novel, possibly autobiographical, describes the experiences of a typical young Chinese intellectual of the May 4 era. Yeh was also a poet and educator who had a great influence on the anarchist writer Pa Chin.

18. Both Dewey and Russell visited China during this period. Bergson was also invited, but the plans fell through.

19. T'an Ssu-t'ung and K'ang Yu-wei: traditional Chinese intellectuals who came to advocate a constitutional monarchy, revolutionary enough in their time but soon left behind by the accelerating revolutionary movement. Nevertheless, the two works mentioned showed some strains of anarchism and utopian socialism.

Toilers' Tales

Nissan Motors: New Developments

The cruel victimization of workers at factories of the Nissan Motor Corporation all over Japan, and the collusion of union leadership and company management in this system, have been painfully described by Matsuo Kei in the Solidarity Pamphlet: *DATSUN MOTOR: HELL'S BATTLEFIELD* (reprinted from *AMPO* No. 20, pp 35-47). The facts revealed in this report are an unequivocal condemnation of the Japanese system of 'goyō kumiai' or company-patronized unions.

The latest event in the process of the Nissan company union's assimilation to the state machinery came in a statement of November 1974 by the union leadership announcing that it had decided, "on behalf of the membership", to forego this winter's regular bonus payment. The twice-yearly bonus system here amounts to sheer blackmail, and is one of the excuses traditionally offered by Japanese bosses to rationalise the usually miserable wages paid by Japanese firms to their employees. The statement came amid a chorus of whimpering by the major firms that they could not afford to pay bonuses to their workers this year on account of the increasing business slump in Japan. The union leadership is thus clearly acting as the mouthpiece of the management on the issue, seeking to avoid a confrontation like those which have already achieved major gains for workers in other sectors.

The specific line taken by the union statement in renouncing the New Year bonus was that the long-term future of Japan's economy had to be taken into account; in the interests of the nation, therefore, the workers of Nissan Motor had decided to tighten their belts as an example to those of other firms.

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Local Struggles

Review

The people-eating, pollution-shitting conglomerate which is industrialized Japan today reminds you of a great bloated hippo straddling the country and crushing the people. The fore legs of this colossus are represented by the government, the hind legs by big business. When people here struggle against the danger and destruction caused by rampant economic expansion, therefore, they are taking on the full might of the political status quo in this country.

The variety of resistance movements which have nevertheless sprung up all over Japan to fight for basic human survival is only comparable to the variety of murderous excrescences inflicted upon the Japanese people by industrial plants which operate with the open or concealed approval of the government. The degree to which the Japanese people have realised the need to take the future into their own hands before it is too late (for some it is already too late: the 100th pollution death since 1970 in Amagasaki, near Osaka, occurred in November) has to some extent become known outside Japan through the struggles against the New Tokyo International Airport at Narita, and the fight to squeeze compensation for the victims of Minamata Disease out of the smelting company responsible.

A prominent role in publicizing these local struggles and in providing a link between different struggle groups is played by the monthly magazine *LOCAL STRUGGLES* (*CHI-IKI TOSŌ*). This magazine, put out by a local group which names itself after Don Quixote's horse Rossinanti, has been published without interruption since October 1970. An average issue contains about 15 pages dealing with a problem selected for consideration that month, such as the anti-pollution struggle in one particular area or the education of

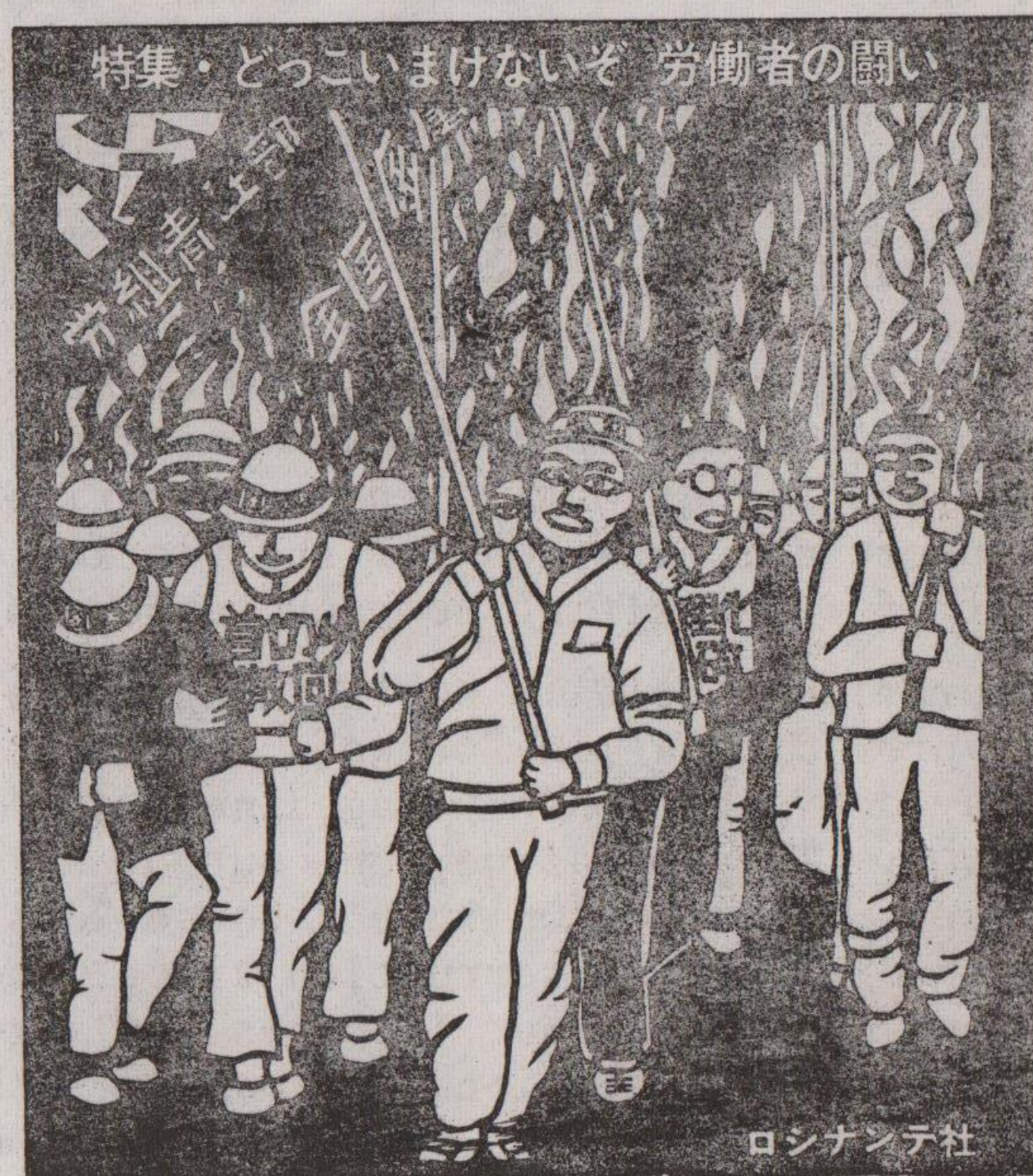
children to understand the reasons for pollution; a 'notice board' section giving details of meetings, victories, new struggles and so on; on-the-spot reports from struggle areas such as Narita; reports from local groups; discussions of new publications; readers' letters etc.

The editorial statement reads: "All manuscripts should be from people actually involved in struggle; 'reportage', critiques, and scholarly studies are not welcome. The independence of each struggle group, and the right to open criticism within this magazine are guaranteed. We have absolutely no links with any one political party or faction. The funds to produce this magazine are provided by the capital invested in Rossinanti Press on an individual basis at 5000 yen per share. Anyone is able to buy such shares..."

The drawback to *Local Struggles* as a liaison medium is that being monthly, and with the added problem of distribution outlets, much of the information concerning forthcoming meetings and so on is out of date before it reaches the readers. A move towards fortnightly and eventually weekly publication is essential for this part of its role to be fully exploited.

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JULY '74 COVER



"Lives of the Asian Anarchists" — 1

Kōtoku Shūsui

FOUNDER OF MODERN
ANARCHISM IN JAPAN

Kōtoku Shūsui, whose name has become a kind of legend since the war (although in the country town where he was born, people still look embarrassed if you mention his name), was Japan's first real anarchist and the Japanese movement's first revolutionary martyr. At the time when Japan was launching its imperialistic programme, Kōtoku opposed nationalism and militarism despite the popular fervour aroused by the war against Russia in 1904. In 1906 he predicted an eventual war with the US.

He was born in a small country town in southern Japan, one with strong traditionalistic tendencies, in 1871. At the age of ten (!) he began publishing his first political newspaper; at 15 he ran away to Tokyo, but was soon expelled under the new Peace Preservation Law. From the beginning, Kōtoku was a warrior in the samurai tradition. Thus he opposed Christianity at a time when the dominant trend in the Japanese movement was Christian Socialism (his last work was titled 'Rubbing Out Christ'), and never really trusted parliamentary socialism.

In 1893 he got a job translating cables from Europe, so he became familiar with developments overseas. Soon after, his family provided him with a submissive Japanese wife from his home district. Within two months he sent her back and divorced her, saying that she did not match his ideal of a wife.

By 1897 Kōtoku had announced his intention to "investigate socialism". Since he had previously placed responsibility for checking Japan's 'moral decline' in the hands of a few upright individuals, it was a big step to take. In 1898 he began working for a radical scandal-sheet named *Yorozu Chōhō*; as a result of his editorials it became the most popular paper in Japan. At the same time, following the railway workers' strike in 1897, modern Japan's first big labour dispute, Kōtoku saw for the first time the need for union organization and helped form the *Rōdō Kumiai Kiseikai* (Association of Labour Unions), Japan's first body aimed at promoting unionism. Shortly after this, he became a member of the Society for the Study of Socialism along with many future socialist leaders. It was a kind of Fabian Society. Meanwhile, Kōtoku had got married again, this time to an intellectual; it was another disaster.

As a member of the Society Kōtoku grew closer to socialism, though he as yet placed little importance upon the labour movement. Finally, in April 1901 he wrote a famous article under the heading "I am a Socialist and a Member of the Socialist Party". Although there was no such party at the time, a Social-Democratic Party was formed just one month later, only to be banned within hours. Many large newspapers had already printed the party's manifesto however, which, based upon that of the German SDP, had called for Socialism, Pacifism and Democracy, to be achieved within the limits of the law. Pacifism was the offending element: Japan had just defeated China and was preparing a war with Russia. The Social-Democratic Party was the only one to oppose these trends, and was thus regarded as unpatriotic.

Kōtoku's writings of this time included 'Imperialism: The Spectre of the 20th Century', in which he accused the Japanese government of shifting the people's attention from their economic problems onto foreign adventures. Shortly after, he published 'The Quintessence of Socialism', the leading Japanese treatise on socialism before World War I. However, he had not yet read Marx, and retained a naive loyalist belief that socialism could be established under the benevolent gaze of the Emperor.

In February 1904 the Japanese Navy launched a surprise attack on Russia. Up to this time, the '*Yorozu Chōhō*' had given Kōtoku and its other socialist writers a

mouthpiece for their pacifist views. When circulation began to drop, however, the paper changed its line to one of support for Japanese policy. Kōtoku and the others immediately resigned. The result was the '*Heimin Shimbun*' (Common People's Paper), which soon became the leading radical paper in Tokyo, until its anti-war position persuaded the government to crack down on the news stands which sold it. In summer 1904, it carried a "letter to Russian Socialists" calling for international socialists to fight a united struggle against militarism and patriotism; '*Iskra*' responded with a similar article. Subsequent issues printed articles calling on teachers to strike and denouncing religion. Although the line was predominantly parliamentary and direct action was rejected, the government grew more and more concerned. Finally, when the paper announced that its anniversary issue would carry a translation of the 'Communist Manifesto', the government acted. The issue was banned, the Society for the Study of Socialism closed, and Kōtoku and the others arrested. The last issue of '*Heimin Shimbun*' appeared in January 1905, and soon after Kōtoku began a five-month prison spell.

In prison he translated works by Engels, and then came across Kropotkin's '*Fields, Factories and Workshops*', his first encounter with anarchism. Under this influence he began to criticise the Emperor for the first time. When he left prison, he decided to travel to America to improve his failing health. In San Francisco he was welcomed by the local branch of the '*Heiminsha*', the group which had put out '*Heimin Shimbun*', and made contacts with many local anarchists, many of whom were emigre Russian revolutionaries. Later he became a member of the American Socialist Party, and addressed meetings of the IWW. This was his first introduction to the theory of direct action.

His experiences in California convinced Kōtoku that the new trend of world revolution was anarchism; he thus began to advocate direct action and the General Strike. The primitive socialism which briefly followed the great earthquake of April 1906 strengthened his belief; reaction against the radicalism of the Wobblies persuaded him that "there is no country...that pretends to be as liberal, but is in fact as illiberal, as America".

That summer Japanese socialists asked Kōtoku to return



Kōtoku and Kanno Sugako in 1910

to help form a new party, the Japan Socialist Party. Before he left he organized the Japanese radicals of California into the Social Revolutionary Party of Oakland in June. When he got back he announced that his ideas had changed; in the future parliamentary politics were irrelevant to the social revolution--only strikes, leading up to the General Strike would have the necessary effect. Despite the immediate split which this caused in the Japan Socialist Party, in January 1907 the new (daily) 'Heimin Shimbun' began to appear. At the party convention in February, the two sides fought it out; while not strong enough to carry the whole party, Kōtoku's influence was sufficient to prevent inclusion of the phrase "within the limits of the law" in the party platform. A few days later the party was banned, and the 'Heimin Shimbun' voluntarily dissolved in April. Kōtoku left for the country to translate Arnold Roller's 'The Social General Strike', and Kropotkin's 'The Conquest of Bread'.

In November 1907, on the Emperor's birthday, an 'Open Letter to the Emperor of Japan from Anarchist Terrorists' appeared on the door of the Japanese Consulate in San Francisco. The result was the chain of events which led to Kōtoku's execution three years later. While Kōtoku denied responsibility, he was probably influential at the very least. From this point on, the Japanese government decided to have his head. He was placed under constant surveillance and his family was harassed by the police.

In the 'Red Flag Incident' of June 1908 and the repression which followed, almost all the known socialist leaders were arrested. Kōtoku, who had been living in the south for his health, was almost alone and seems to have begun talking about bombs and things. While there is no evidence of a plan on his part, the people he talked to took him seriously and began gathering materials and testing explosives in the mountains in preparation for an attack on the Emperor's life. Two things suggest that Kōtoku was actively involved: one, he was suffering from advanced TB and had only a few years to live anyway; two, the continuing police repression made it impossible to organize constructive revolutionary activities. He seems to have approved the plan, even if he took no active part in the preparations.

The planning continued through 1909 and the date was set for August 1910. In May 1910, in a routine investigation, the police discovered explosive chemicals at the home of one of the conspirators. Within a few days all were arrested, Kōtoku himself being the last, although the evidence suggests that he was more interested in publishing at that stage. The trial, which began in December, was a mystery. It was held in camera and the records have never been made public. Some compared it to the Chicago Anarchists' trial in 1886. Despite the seriousness and complexity of the case, the trial lasted less than three weeks. When Kōtoku arrived at the courtroom, in a dramatic scene, the socialists in the room for the trial judgment unfurled the red flags for him to see.

On January 18, 1911, Kōtoku and 23 others were found guilty of all the charges against them, most of which were "crimes against the throne", and sentenced to death. Before the court was cleared by guards, it rang with shouts of "Long Live Anarchists!" and "Long Live Anarchy!" While twelve of the convicted later had their charges commuted to life imprisonment, those for Kōtoku and the others stuck, and he was hung in the morning of January 24, 1911 after smoking a final cigarette.

Notehelper's 'Kōtoku Shusui' is a detailed, academic study which, in its attempts to be objective, succeeds in totally destroying the atmosphere which surrounded the early 20th century Japanese radical movement. Since it is the only full-length study of a Japanese anarchist in English, it is a very important source. Yet comrades reading it will come away with the feeling that they have learned a lot about Kōtoku's personal hang-ups but very little about the movement itself. Partly this is because most of Kōtoku's activities predated the radical phase of the movement. Much of the book is thus spent trying to relate him to other Meiji intellectuals rather than to other trends in the revolutionary movement. Hence developments in his radicalisation process are dotted here and there amongst a stream of socio-psychological theorising and long quotations. It would be nice if someone from the movement could start from the other end and write a history of the movement which puts Kōtoku in his proper place. At the moment, however, we have to rely on the offerings of academics.

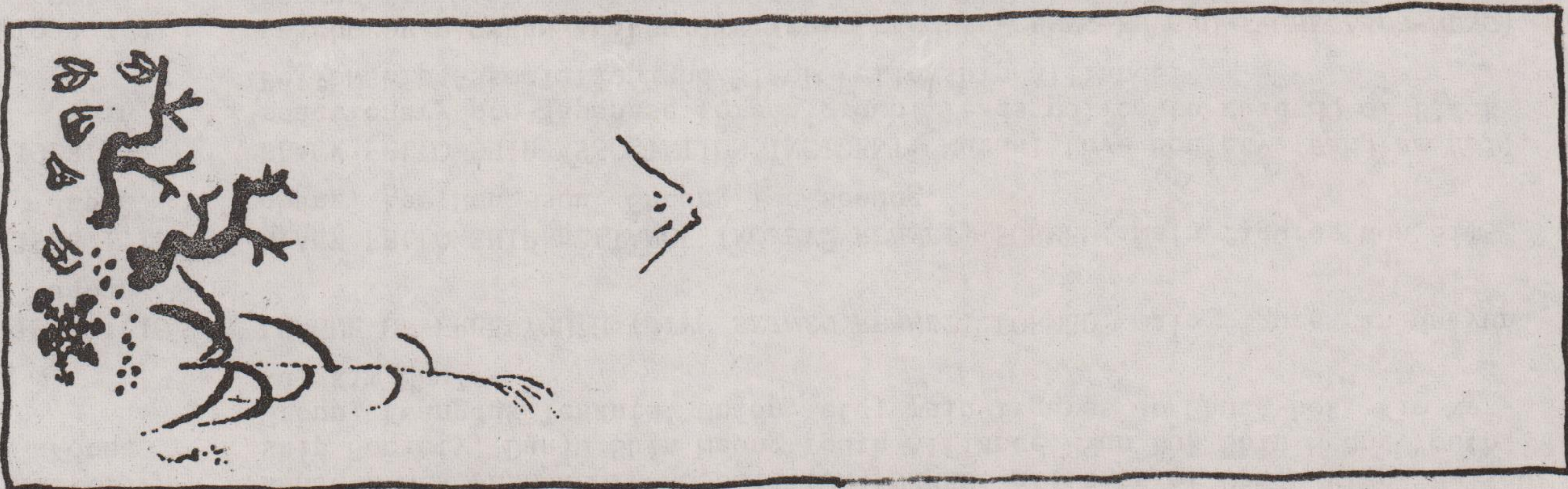
Chronology: *The Pre-War Korean Anarchist Movement*

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|----------------------------|--|
| 1919.2.8
Japan | DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATED: Tokyo Conference of Assoc. of Korean Students in Japan declares Korean independence in name of 'Young Koreans' Independence League'. |
| 1919.3.1
Korea | DITTO: at Kyong Sung Dae Wha Park, Seoul, the Declaration is read out; further reading at meeting of students and others at Tab Dong Kong Park marks start of Manse (Long Life) movement. |
| 1919.4.17
China | PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED: Provisional Government of Republic of Korea established in Shanghai; President Syngman Rhee. |
| 1919.11
Manchuria | 'BAND OF HEROES' (EIJULDAN) FORMED: at Hu-lin Men-wai, Kirin Province, new group formed to fight for national liberation; members mostly anarchists and nationalists. |
| 1920.6
Korea | FIRST 'BAND OF HEROES' INCIDENT: Pyungnam local government office; Shin Eiju station; Pusan and Milyang police stations; Korean Governor-General's office; Chongro police station; Dongchuk and Kyum I iron works: all simultaneously exploded or bombed by members of the 'Band of Heroes'. |
| 1920.10.19-22
Manchuria | BATTLE OF CH'ING-SHAN-LI: Korean Independence Army under anarchist general Kim Joa-jin wipes out entire division of Japanese Imperial Army. |
| 1921.11.29
Japan | BLACK CURRENT SOCIETY (KOKUTOKAI) FORMED: Socialists among Koreans in Japan form this new anarchist group in Tokyo; main figure Park Yul. |
| 1922.9.7
Japan | SHINANOGAWA MURDER CASE: Korean and Japanese activists organize joint conference to protest atrocities against Koreans in Japan. |

- 1923.2
Japan BLACK FELLOWSHIP ASSOCIATION (*KOKUYŪKAI*) FORMED: first all-anarchist body among Koreans in Japan; main figures Lee Si-woo, Chang Soung-chung, Kim Kun.
- 1923.5
Japan SOCIETY OF REBELS (*FUTEISHA*) FORMED: new anarchist group; main figures Park Yul, Ryuk Hong-kwun, Choi Kyu-chong.
- 1923.8
Japan BLACK LABOUR ASSOCIATION (*KOKURŌKAI*) FORMED: first anarchist labour union among Koreans in Japan; main figure Lee Kang-ri.
- 1923.9.10
Japan PARK YUL INCIDENT: massacre of Koreans following Great Kanto Earthquake; Park Yul and ten other Korean anarchists, with Kaneko Ayako and three other Japanese anarchists arrested on false charge of planning to kill Japanese Emperor; Park and Kaneko given death penalty.
- 1925.3.10
Manchuria 'NEW PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT' FORMED: Korean anarchists Kim Joa-jin, Choung Shin, others help organize commune among Korean refugees.
- 1925.4.17
Korea BLACK FLAG ALLIANCE (*HEUK KI YUN MAENG*) FORMED: first nationwide anarchist organization in Korea itself established in Seoul; main figures Seo O-sun, Seo Sang-kang, Lee Chang-shik.
- 1925.4.18
Korea TRUE FRIENDS' ALLIANCE (*JIN WU RYONG MONG*) FORMED: new, powerful anarchist group established in Taegu by Shin Jae-mo, Bang Han-sang, Choung Myong-kun, others.
- 1926.4
Korea TRUE FRIENDS' ALLIANCE INCIDENT: on charges of planning to assassinate Japanese citizens and blow up government offices Japanese authorities arrest entire Alliance membership including two Japanese, Kurihara & Ryakumoto.
- 1926.4.5
Japan BLACK MOVEMENT SOCIETY (*KOKUSHOKU UNDŌ SHA*) FORMED: plans to form blanket organization for all Korean anarchists in Japan launched by Won Sim-chang.
- 1926.9.10
Japan EASTERN WORKERS' ALLIANCE (*TŌKŌ RŌDŌ DŌMEI*) FORMED: in Tokyo Choi Nak-chong, Choi Hak-ju, Yang Il-dong and others form most powerful organiza-

tion of Korean workers in Japan at that time.

- 1926.9.10
Japan BLACK BATTLE-FRONT (*KOKUSHOKU SENSEN*) FORMED: Society of Rebels renames itself, begins to publish 'Black Friend' (*Kokuyū*) newspaper.
- 1927.2
China MEETING OF JOINT CONFERENCE OF OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE EAST: Korean delegates to this conference in Nanking are anarchists Yoo Ja-myong, others.
- 1927.2.22
Japan CASUAL WORKERS' UNION (*JIYŪ RŌDŌSHA KUMIAI*) FORMED: the first union among Korean casual labourers in Japan; organized by anarchists Mun Seong-hun, Lee Si-woo, O Seong-mun, others.
- 1927.2.22
Korea KWANG SOH BLACK FELLOWSHIP ASSOCIATION FORMED: a Pyongyang organization designed to unify separate groups like Hanju Casual Labourers' Union, Pyongyang General Workers' Union, Social Livelihood Study Society, Free Youth Association, Village Movement Society etc; main figures Lee Hong-kun, Choi Kap-ryong, Lee Ju-seong.



- 1927.5.7
Korea
DANJU BLACK FELLOWSHIP ASSOCIATION FORMED: alliance of Danju Black Fellowship Society, Danju Shin Heung Youth Alliance, Sun Duk Shin Heung Youth Group, Kwangduk Tenants' Union, etc; main figures Jo Chung-bok, Kim Nak-ku, Kim Chul.
- 1928.1.15
Japan
LEAGUE OF FREE YOUTH (JIYU SEINEN REMMEI) FORMED: main figure Han Ha-yun.
- 1928.1.15
Japan
BLACK FELLOWSHIP ALLIANCE (KOKUYU REMMEI) FORMED: main figures Won Sim-chang, Lee Dong-sun, Cheong Tae-seung.
- 1928.2
Japan
BLACK FELLOWSHIP ASSOCIATION INCIDENT: Mutual Love Society (Sang Ae Hoi), reactionary pro-Japanese Korean group, leads police to raid HQ of Black Fellowship Association and Black Fellowship Alliance.
- 1928.3.21
China
LEAGUE OF EASTERN ANARCHISTS (TUNG-FANG WU-CHENG-FU CHU-I-CHE LIEN-MENG) FORMED: Korean anarchists in China meet in Nanking to form this organization, the first of its kind; main participants Yoo Ja-myung, Lee Jung-kyu, Lee Eul-kyu, Baek Chung-kee, Shin Chae-ho, Chung Hwa-am.
- 1928.6.7
Japan
STUDENTS' CLUB (GAKUYUKAI) INCIDENT: Korean anarchists Won Sim-chang, Lee Si-woo, Han Ha-yun, Yang Sang-ki and others attack Gakuyukai, communist-sponsored organization of Korean students in Japan; fierce dispute follows between anarchism and bolshevism.
- 1929.4
Korea
ANJU BLACK FELLOWSHIP ASSOCIATION FORMED.
- 1929.7
Manchuria
GENERAL LEAGUE OF KOREANS (HANJOK CHONGRYONG HAPHOI) FORMED: all Korean anarchists in Manchuria, including Kim Joa-jin, Kim Wan-jin, Lee Hae-bung Lee Eul-kyu, meet at Nan-t'a-kuan-a-ch'eng to form a new commune-type organization.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

THE PRESENT KOREAN MOVEMENT UNDER MARTIAL LAW

INTRODUCTION

Power in south Korea has been seized by the fascist clique of Park Chung-hee, as cruel as, if not worse than that of Franco in Spain in the 1930s. Is there an anarchist movement in a country such as this?

Well, yes and no. You cannot understand without realizing that the anarchist movement among Koreans before the war was, by and large, a national independence movement, and that conditions within the movement after the war (here they call it "post-liberation") were terribly chaotic. To be more specific, on the one hand you have some anarchists who have become involved in political or popular movements — I think it would be difficult to refer to these as an anarchist movement as such. On the other hand, there is a more ideological anarchist movement which got under way a year or so ago but, apart from erecting a monument to Kaneko Ayako* at the birthplace of Park Yul, it does not seem to me to have achieved very much. This group is known as the Jajyuin Yuenmaeng (the "Korea Free Men's Federation" — FMF), and perhaps it is the only group which could truly be referred to as 'anarchist'.

When you say that anarchists are active in the political and popular movements, what exactly do you mean?

By 'political movement' I mean the Korean Democratic Unity Party (DUP) of Yang Il-dong, Chung Hwa-am, Ha Kee-rak and others. The 'popular movement' is the 'Autonomous Village Movement,' centered upon the National Cultural Research Institute, whose members include Lee Jung-kyu, Lee Mun-chang,

* KANEKO AYAKO: Park Yul's common-law wife; she was arrested with him in 1923 and died in prison. See 'Chronology' above.

Cho Han-ku and Park Seung-han. Strictly speaking, these two, plus the FMF, should be thought of as constituting the anarchist movement in Korea today. There are also efforts such as Lee Dong-sun's 'Commune Movement,' and Lee Hong-kun's activities, as well as Choi Hea-cheung's 'Educational Cultural Movement, but these have to be classified as individual endeavours. Of course, anarchist activity is always individualistic, but I have to confess that I don't know too much about them myself, so I would prefer to leave them out for the moment. Nevertheless, I want you to keep in mind these truly anarchistic and individualistic activities, even if they are scattered; I would like to tell you about them on another occasion.

ACTIVITIES OF THE FMF

First of all I'd like a few facts about the FMF. About when was it established, and what are its aims?

Here is a copy of the 'General Principles of the FMF' which comrades have sent to me. Let me explain to you the parts which can be admitted openly:

'THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF THE FMF'

1. Each of us is an individual, a free person with control over his or her own actions. We aim to build a free society where free people have come together of their own free will.
2. All individuals have equal sovereignty over their own actions. No one can violate this right. We reject all political concepts which divide the people into rulers and ruled.
3. We regard as criminal anyone who, by whatever means, seizes the fruits of the labour of others without contributing his or her own labour.
4. In this free society of free men and women, economic life should be organized along the lines of 'from each according to his or her ability, to each according to his or her need.'
5. In line with these basic principles, the free society of the future will allow the development of a variety of modes of life according to the special nature of each district and each occupation.
6. At the same time as transmitting the distinct cultural characteristics of each nation as they have been passed through the ages, we aim at the achievement of world peace through the harmonization of those many colorful cultures.

The remaining seven principles I would prefer not to mention here. The Federation is managed plurally by a four-man committee, one member of which is invested with responsibility. His term of office is one year. Because, with a few exceptions, almost all the pre-war anarchists seem to have joined the FMF, it has the look of a National Federation. Yet the

atmosphere is predominantly a salon-type one among the pre-war people — most of whom are over 50 — and few attempts have been made to get ideas across to younger people. They do publish anarchist literature and hold lecture meetings for young people, but these don't seem to me to have gone very well. Still, there is nothing else. They meet twice a week to talk at coffeeshops.

Even so, under the present conditions of martial law in south Korea, they have done well to sustain any activity at all.

This is the reason that the FMF has become a secret, illegal organization. All publications are produced in secret and passed around by hand. Repression under martial law also meant that the FMF could not be openly called an anarchist federation; this is why its general principles are so moderate as to astonish anyone familiar with the Korean anarchist movement in the past.

There is one peculiarly Korean point which must be kept in mind: this is that 'anti-communism' is a position on which both the anarchists and Park Chung-hee are in accord. It may well be that, because of the anarchists' services to the independence movement in the past, and also because he wants to instil anti-communism as deeply as possible into people's minds, that Park Chung-hee cannot crack down on the anarchists as ruthlessly as he would like. But more than this — more than anything — the saddest point of all is that the FMF has yet to cause even the slightest inconvenience to Park's regime. Even the members themselves admit, 'We are probably tolerated because we have caused the authorities not even so much as a fleabite.'

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND THE ANARCHIST POSITION

*Next I want to ask you about the DUP. Mr. Yang Il-dong is the man who met Mr. Kim Dae-jung just before he was kidnapped, isn't he?**

That's right.

* KIM DAE-JUNG: unsuccessful New Democratic Party presidential candidate in 1971; he was abducted from a Tokyo hotel in August 1973 by agents of the Korean CIA and taken back to South Korea to face charges of electoral law violations.

Is he an anarchist?

I would think so, yes. Although he is at present engaged in political activities, his spirit remains an anarchist one. His anarchist career is well-known. Before the war he went to study in Tokyo, where he helped organize Korean workers into the 'Eastern Labour Union,' co-edited the 'Black Newspaper,' the organ of Korean anarchists in Japan, and worked on *Jiyū Rengo* (Free Federation), the Japanese anarchists' newspaper. He was also held for a time in the I chigaya prison in Tokyo. His career as an anarchist really ought to be better known to the Korean people than it is.

Eh? I don't understand. Wouldn't it be damaging, under present political conditions, for people to discover that Yang Il-dong, leader of the DUP, has a history of anarchist activity and has even been imprisoned for it? Would it not simply give the government a means of attacking the opposition?

No, on the contrary! The point should be played up! You see, there is absolutely no one in the ruling party who has risked his life to fight Japanese imperialism. Even the New Democratic Party, which is little different from the ruling party, is a party of petty bourgeois national capitalists and completely lacks such staunch fighters in the independence movement as Yang Il-dong and Chung Hwa-am. This contrast is what makes the present DUP so distinctive, and in my opinion they should publicize it much more.

How do you explain the mere fact that anarchists are taking part in political party activities at all?

This, too, reflects the special conditions surrounding the Korean anarchist movement. As of way back, from the establishment of the Provisional Government in Shanghai following the March 1st Incident, to the formation of the Independent Workers' and Peasants' Party after Liberation, and right up to the creation of today's DUP, the Korean anarchist movement has adopted a political posture. The entire Korean people, for years under the rule of foreign invaders, have longed to be able to create their own nation and form their own government, even the anarchists. No one, not even anarchists, who disregarded this national longing, has ever been able to organize a mass movement in Korea. Even now this remains the case. One might say, too, that the movement to set up a viable nation and to fight for genuine independence still continues today. In this sense the Korean

anarchists who have joined the DUP probably still see themselves as they did in the pre-Liberation independence movement days, wouldn't you agree?

And another thing, also a reflection of Korean conditions: as you well know, with the current political repression in Korea, a straightforward anti-government movement is totally out of the question. The only way remaining to them in this situation is to build up a legal political party and to criticize the government from within it. Leaving aside the real nature of south Korea, the impression of outsiders is that it is a parliamentary democracy in which political parties compete for power. Hence the ruling group cannot ban the opposition parties and create a one-party dictatorship. So the anarchists concentrate their activity upon this last remaining gap in the edifice of power.

Then is the DUP an anarchist party?

No, not quite. To begin with, let's look at the way in which the party was founded. After the election of the President in 1971 the left wing of the New Democratic Party became dissatisfied with the way the party had moved towards the government, split away, and made a broad appeal to all democratic forces in south Korea. The new party which was formed as a result was the DUP. Mr. Yang Il-dong was one of those who left the New Democratic Party. One cannot help feeling that the DUP is the only bastion of the broad democratic united front in south Korea, especially in the light of its recent persecution by the government. However, the fact that Yang Il-dong is head of the party, that Chung Hwa-am is his top advisor, that Ha Kee-rak heads the Policy Advisory Committee, and that these three occupy places on the five-man central committee shows that, while the party itself is not an anarchist organization, it has most certainly come under the influence of anarchism.

Since the Kim Dae-jung Incident, the Park Chung-hee authorities have been increasingly strengthening their dictatorship through suppression of the student movement and of free speech. But how much practical influence does the DUP have amidst all this?

For the moment, at any rate, it has only two seats in parliament. Although the DUP put up candidates in almost all election districts in that preposterously rigged election of 1971, all but Mr. Yang Il-dong and Mr. Ha Kee-rak were defeated. Even they were only elected through an over-



sight on the part of the government. Therefore, while as a political party it has almost no activities or influence in the parliament, most of its energy is concentrated on the popular, non-parliamentary movement. Surely this kind of activity is interesting from an anarchist point of view? Again, the activities of the rather grandiose-sounding 'Party Committee on Women's Rights' were in fact much the same as those of the Women's Liberation Movement elsewhere: its chairwoman, in fact, was the daughter of an anarchist. All-in-all, I think that one useful barometer of the social influence of the DUP is the degree of repression inflicted upon it by the government. For various reasons, I cannot go into detail here, except to say that the pace of repression is accelerating. Mr. Yang Il-dong once described present-day conditions in south Korea to me as ones of 'see nothing, hear nothing, say nothing' — the truth about daily events in south Korea, even in Seoul, can only be had through reading the *Japanese* newspapers. In other words, our comrades are counting on us — on the things we know, the things we write, and on all our efforts. Please remember this, above all else. I too will do what I can from now on.

THE COMMUNE AND AUTONOMOUS VILLAGE MOVEMENTS

I see your point. Finally, what kind of people are the anarchists now active in the village movement, concretely speaking?

They are Kropotkinists, to put it briefly. Lee Eul-kyu, a well-known anarchist once called the 'Korean Kropotkin', is still living in south Korea today. His younger brother, Lee Jung-kyu, also well known as an anarchist, is a leading light in the movement. Since Liberation, Lee Jung-kyu has been president of the Confucianist Sung Kun Kwan ('Equality-Creating Hall') University. Hence, many people in the educational world who have come under the influence of his ideas have begun to gravitate towards the village movement.

Incidentally, most people are aware that it was the 'Student Revolution' of April 1960 that overthrew the South Korean 'Godfather' Syngman Rhee. However, that revolution's road to victory was not quite so straight as it has been portrayed in retrospect. Before the student-led riots of April 26-28, there had already occurred the confrontation which became known as 'Bloody Tuesday' on April 19th, followed by the celebrated 'Faculty Demo', on the 22nd. Accord-

ing to Lee Mun-chang, Lee Jung-kyu was one of the professors who participated in that second demonstration. Their appeal used the slogan: 'At a time when our own students are being beaten before our very eyes, what can we teach them in the classroom? Let us respond to the blood of our students!' The 'Faculty Demo' apparently consisted of the professors, lecturers, middle- and high-school teachers who responded to this appeal.

I've digressed a bit from my main point, but the thing I want you to remember is this: among the teachers and students who gathered at that time, there was a strong feeling that it was 'too late for returning to school! There is nothing to teach, nothing to learn. The time requires action!' It was when this feeling reached its peak, through 1960 and 1961, that the search for methods of action led them to the village movement. I think, however, that the decision to go back to the villages also stemmed largely from Lee Jung-kyu's Kropotkinism — his ideal of a federal society based on autonomous, self-defensible farming villages. When I heard of this movement, I immediately thought: 'The Narodniks of Korea!'

So it was not the same as the commune movement?

I don't know what you mean by 'commune movement', but at any rate it is different from the cooperative movements in Japan. According to the model in Kropotkin's 'Field, Factory and Workshop', the former students and teachers went to the villages — or rather, went back to their own native villages where they became primary-school teachers, farmers or local functionaries, and tried to build autonomous, self-defensible villages.

Is each individual working on his own?

No, not at all. They keep in touch with each other through an office established in Seoul. For some reason the signboard reads, 'National Culture Research Institute', although in fact this office is the headquarters of the 'National Conference of Village Activists'.

What exactly do they do?

I don't have too many details, since I lack materials and also because of the language problem, but one concrete example of their activities is their attempt to grow seed potatoes in one place and distribute them throughout south

Korea through the Conference. For another, they are trying to activate a relief movement for poor villages which cannot support themselves by agriculture alone, by establishing, wherever possible, light industry, handicrafts, or cloisonné-making as secondary pursuits

I still don't really understand.

I'm not too clear myself, since I haven't been to the villages and have to rely on other people's reports. However, when I explained the four struggle principles of our own cooperative movement in Shimane Prefecture, Japan — 1) turn the villages into communes, (2) set up our own distribution network, (3) supply organic food to local urban consumer organisations, and (4) establish commune schools and educational institutes — they were very pleased and said that it was much the same as their own movement. In fact, I heard them talk about the struggles against pollution, and against the capitalist system of distribution.

So does there exist anywhere in south Korea the kind of society that Kropotkin envisioned?

As I just said, I don't know for sure because I haven't looked into it as carefully as all that, but there do seem to be some interesting cases. However, this movement belongs to the future, too. At any rate, it has been going on for almost ten years, and so its real value will be appraised from now on. I feel sure that it has a great future, for I saw many young students and workers going in and out of the office from early morning till ten at night. Of all the places where I went to meet anarchists in Korea, only here did I see so many active young people. You came away with a very strong impression, though maybe I'm over-estimating...

You've told us that Mr. Lee Jung-kyu is an anarchist and that the movement inspired by him is a Narodnik-type one aiming at an anarchist society. So what are they like, the young people who have joined the movement?

I suppose that there are few whom we could really call anarchists. Most of these people, however, have probably come around to a de facto anarchist position without themselves realising it, through experience in the movement and through contact with Mr. Lee Jung-kyu. Hence the FMF is trying to create an anarchist awareness by holding lectures on anarchism and by organizing propaganda activities based on the question, 'What is anarchism?'

CIRA-NIPPON

CIRA-Nippon was established in 1970 and modelled upon CIRA in Lausanne (now moved to Geneva). The aims of CIRA-Nippon are to collect literature, documents, periodicals, bulletins and other materials on theoretical and practical aspects of anti-authoritarian, anti-state and all libertarian movements; to arrange them and classify them; and eventually to open them to the public.

CIRA-Nippon consists of members who agree to its purposes and activities and who each pay an annual membership fee.

Regular meetings are held to coordinate the activities of CIRA-Nippon.

These meetings are run according to the autonomous participation and responsibility of the members.

These meetings must report to members twice a year on the financial situation and the activities of CIRA-Nippon.

At the moment CIRA-Nippon has a thirty square-metre stackroom in Fujinomiya, halfway between Tokyo and Osaka, containing two thousand books as well as many periodicals, pamphlets, reviews and leaflets from Japan and all over the world. Last December we were given a house to use as workshop, reading room and living space. The materials are now being arranged, but unfortunately cannot yet be opened to the public.

CIRA-Nippon has two publications at present. 'Libero Monthly' (in Japanese) was originally published in 1973 as a CIRA-Nippon newssheet, but since issue number 14 has been published separately in Kyoto as an independent information bulletin. 24 issues have appeared to date. 'Anarchism' (also in Japanese) is a two-monthly review (originally titled 'Libero') of which four issues have so far appeared.

A SHORT INTRODUCTION

The regular meetings of CIRA-Nippon, held in December 1973 and January 1974, decided upon the following as the immediate tasks of CIRA-Nippon:

1. To arrange the materials already acquired;
2. To compile a catalogue of these;
3. To complete arrangements for opening CIRA-Nippon to the public;
4. To set up a section for international correspondence to:
(a) collect information about foreign anarchist and libertarian groups and their activities; (b) send appeals and correspondence; and (c) exchange materials.
5. To collect materials with a view to writing a history of the anarchist and labour movements in Japan.

CIRA-Nippon hopes to receive letters from foreign comrades. Please send us any materials you publish. They will be put to good use, will be opened to the public, and useful information will be translated or summarized and put in *Libero Monthly* or *Libero International*. Please send your letters, publications, etc., to the Section for International Correspondence, whose address is given on the back cover of this issue.

We will try to answer your questions and to fulfill any requests that you make. We are most proficient in English, French and German, while we also understand Spanish and Esperanto; but we are hoping to receive materials in all languages so as to make CIRA-Nippon a truly international library.

We sincerely hope that you are interested in CIRA-Nippon and will help us make it grow. Please tell us about yourselves — your aims, activities, publications and so on. Our aim is to create solidarity with our friends all over the world. CIRA-Nippon has been created to further this aim.