

Go'damned anarchist wreckers gettin uppity again. Now they've gone in-ternational with a publication in Eng-lish! Mistakes all over the place, tho, nothin' about his divine majesty, the emperor.... Call themselves a bi-monthly, but nothin's been heard from them since January. Can't seem to get their shit together. Maybe they've seen the light and joined the Party ----

Oh, oh, would that 't were! Ain't gonna be dat easy! No. 2 is out! An' wait'll ya see da **CONTENTS:** ② Where We're At ③ Federation Issue in Japan ④: Rot? Organization? ⑤ Toiler's Tales: Re- port from a Hospital Doctor in Japan ⑥ Nohara Shiro: Anarchists and the May 4th Movement ⑦ ⑧ Anarchist Press ⑨ Asian Anarchism in English ⑩: Japan ⑪ Group Profile: IOM ⑫ Chronology: The Prewar Korean Anarchist Movement ⑬ ⑭ Lives of the Asian Anarchists ⑮: Shin Chae-ho ⑯ Korean Anarchists under Martial Law ⑰: Publications ⑱ Oops....! ⑲ Anarch- dotes: Instant Anarchy!

- Watabout da System? Wadaya say, sounds like a job for the boys!

No sweat. We already got 'em on it. Burned down their commune a coupla months ago. Give 'em time, they 'll learn!

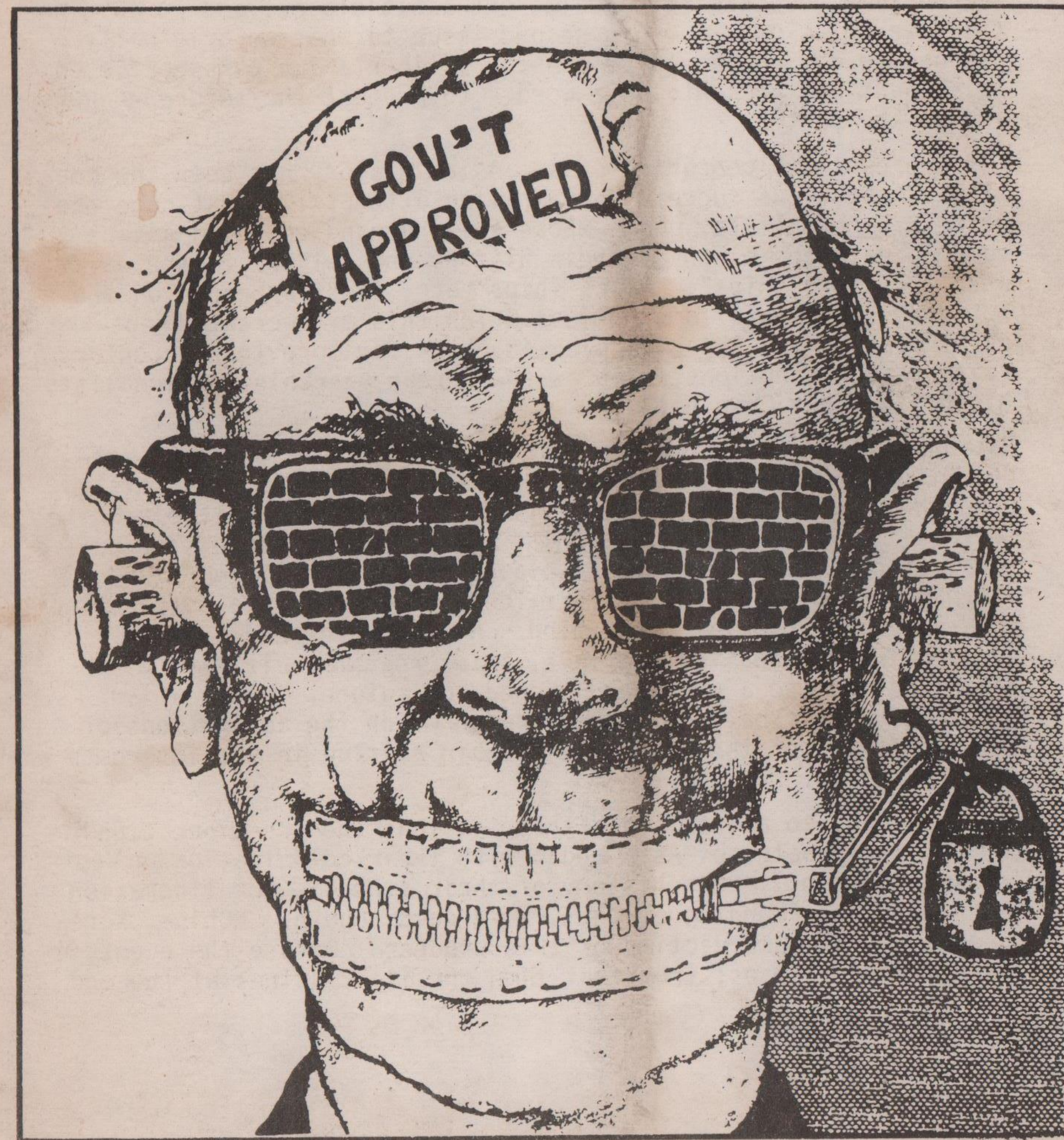
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Please address all correspondence, bus- iness or editorial, to:

Libero International
C.P.O. Box 1065
Kobe, Japan 650-91

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libero ^{int'l} no. 2



Where We're At

Phew! After a constipated couple of months, we finally made it with No. 2. Like someone said once, when you decide you want to put out a new paper, you first decide what you want it to be, aim for it in the first issue, and usually miss by miles. Then the second time you take better aim, get a bit closer, and so on. We think we got closer in this second issue to what we originally planned to do, which was to present a libertarian perspective on Asia, past and present: in a word, "to protect the future by opening up the past".

For the past two centuries or so, Asian history has been the constant casualty of successive rewriting attempts. First came the Western imperialists, under whose guiding hand educated Asians came to date the birth of their history and culture to the day when the "long ships", "black ships" etc. first appeared on the horizon. The mental distortions which this myth created kept the great mass of the Asian peoples in check for more than a century (with a few exceptions, such as the Korean anarchist/nationalist historian, Shin Chae-ho).

Nationalism, much maligned though it is, was the strongest weapon with which to fight the corrupt, semi-feudal regimes foisted upon the people by their colonial-educated elites and their white masters. Stifled in the beginning by the subtle process of cultural imperialism (recently displayed in the carrying-off of Vietnamese babies to the US), it found a voice in the post-Lenin programme for colonial liberation. However, instead of freely encouraging nationalist feelings, this programme ultimately subordinated them to a precisely mapped-out future. "Nationalism" meant "bourgeois nationalism", through which the aspirations of the great mass of the people were again stifled in the interests of the Kremlin.

The corollary to all this was that, just as the pre-liberation history of the peoples of Asia began with their colonization by Western imperialism, so the history of their struggle for liberation began with the founding of the CPs in each country. China, Korea Indochina — all are victims of this process. Before the event, there was only chaos; from that time the light shines at the end

of the tunnel. All ruling elites, in Asia as elsewhere, seek to justify and whitewash their acquisition of power, fearing the avenging wrath of history.

Thus Asian history, already one re-written, was re-re-written — yet still with a view to obscuring the truth in the name of pre-ordained destiny. The Asian anarchists were but a tiny minority of those affected by these successive master-plans for cultural/political hegemony, yet their experience was typical. What we'll be trying to do in *Libero International* is, among other things, to set the historical record straight, to document the role of the Asian peoples themselves in their fight for freedom and dignity. "To protect the future" means to destroy the myth that only through the all-seeing eye of the CP can Asians view the road ahead. "Opening up the past" means showing that the Asian peoples existed long before the imperialists arrived, and began struggling against the foreign yoke long before the party line told them how to do it. Confidence in the past creates confidence for the future.

On the other hand, this is not to advocate some minority position which denies the facts of life in Asia today. The dominoes are falling neatly into place — SE Asia is "going communist" (as we type this, PRG soldiers are marching into Saigon), and anarchists must be very clear about where they stand. "Neither Washington nor Hanoi!" was the rallying-cry of the 60s. This slogan is out of date. An anarchist society will not be created overnight, least of all in Asia, where a "workers' state" led by the CP is a very likely outcome of all the liberation movements for some time to come. For authoritarian Marxism is a logical outgrowth of capitalism; it sustains and exploits the mental contortions generated by "free competition".

The CPs in Asia not only would not, but could not create a libertarian society in an area devastated by high explosive, defoliated by super-insecticides, de-humanized by population control measures, and now, most probably, to be de-stabilized by CIA intrigue. However, what they have achieved, through calling upon the power to resist of the people themselves, is the most important revolutionary task in Asia today: the discrediting and expulsion of American neo-fascist imperialism. Western anarchists who do not recognize these facts only perpetuate the West's inherent blindness towards Asia. The Marxist liberation movements in Asia today, in the post-American (American military, that is — the CIA is far from defeated) era, must be given critical support, just as the Russian anarchists initially supported the Bolsheviks. When they begin to turn the revolution back on itself, however, as the Bolsheviks did, they must be attacked and exposed without fail.

This demands, as Kropotkin said, that we not only talk about rev-

olution, but actively prepare ourselves for the work to be done during the process, particularly economic work. It also demands that we understand the importance of nationalism for popular mobilization in Asia. In a future issue we mean to put together a more comprehensive treatment of this question, probably the most important one facing anarchists in Asia today. For the moment, though, the short biography of Shin Chae-ho should provide food for thought.

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Anyway, like we said, it was quite a strain to get this issue out. The four of us in the collective have all had various things to keep us busy — one was in Korea, another in Europe. We've also been flooded with letters — they're piling up, too. Worst of all, the Yasaka coop, mentioned in the Korea article in this issue, was totally burned out last month. Everything was lost — farm buildings, personal things, clothes, even cash. A lot of work is going to be needed to get it back to normal, and an appeal has gone out for cash here in Japan. So please be patient if the "bi-monthly" sometimes stretches the time limit a bit.

We forgot to say last time, *Libero Int'l* costs 20p/50¢ per single copy; £1.20/\$3.00 for a "year's" sub (6 issues). Institutions' rate is double, to cover the losses we make on selling cheap to individuals. "Government agencies" get hit for £1/£7 in the UK, and for \$2.50/15.00 in the US. Prices in other areas available on request.

We also made some cock-ups last time — some through carelessness, some through translation problems, some just because we're still learning ourselves. These are listed at the back. Since we'll no doubt make more mistakes, this will probably become a regular feature.

A lot of people were late getting No. 1. This is because the air mail rates are just too heavy for the price we want to sell the magazine at. That goes for people who wrote for samples too — a bit of patience, 'hif you don't mind. Since there is this great time-lag between mailing and delivery, we'll continue to send free to all the addresses we have until the next issue. People who don't respond by then will not receive any more — our lists are a bit out of date, and we can't afford to keep mailing out free unless it's in exchange. Although our main aim is free exchange, we need to sell as many copies as possible to keep going in this format. PLEASE SUBSCRIBE!!

One more thing: when you send us bread, please don't send cheques — they cost too much to cash here. Send either money orders or just plain old cash. DON'T LET THE BASTARDS RIP US OFF!!

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continued on p. 37

Wot! Organization?



FEDERATION ISSUE IN JAPAN (1)

One way or another, few anarchists in Japan these days are able to ignore the current debate over the need for a new national organization. The ball was first put into play two years ago by young Kyoto activists who then, last summer, suddenly issued a program and statement of principles for the new organization they advocated. The clearness with which these two drafts were set out suggested a great deal of preparation, and most people were taken by surprise. Once they recovered, however, the issue of anarchists' attitudes towards organization in no time became the central one within the Japanese movement. While not everyone supported the suggestion, few people were left untouched by the succession of arguments which exploded everywhere.

What was it that made young Japanese anarchists, almost without exception, throw themselves into this discussion despite the suddenness with which it emerged? The answer lies, beyond a doubt, in the current low ebb in anti-establishment activities in Japan, and the need which most people feel for a basic re-evaluation of the anarchist movement's fundamental tenets.

In the immediate aftermath of the voluntary dissolution of the Japan Anarchist Federation (JAF) in 1968, discussion of forming a new national organization was sporadic and uncoordinated. Once the heady days of the late 60s / early 70s passed, however, and the anarchists entered upon a period of circumspection — the "period of winter", as they call it — voices again began to be heard urging the rebuilding of group relations: in particular, the reconstruction of the national federation. The realization that the "summer" had not been fully exploited (see below) made these voices the more strident.

At the centre of the new movement were the 'Japan Anarchists' League Preparatory Committees' in the Tokyo, Nagoya, and Kansai (Kobe-Osaka-Kyoto) districts. Their minimum suggestions were, first, concrete contacts between Tokyo and the provinces; and second, a national information centre.

In this three-part article we'll summarize the proposals of the preparatory committees and the criticisms that have been made of

them, describe the progress of the new movement to date, and finally add some notes of our own. First of all, however, in this first part it'd be useful to look back briefly at conditions before and after 1968, for the arguments surrounding the recent revival of the national federation issue can be said to date back to JAF's self-dissolution in that year. Hence the main theme of the arguments coming from the preparatory committees has been the old JAF and the situation which it left in the wake of its disappearance.

THE SITUATION PRECEDING JAF'S DEMISE IN 1968

1. JAF's Political Failure

The best English-language source on the recent circumstances of the anarchist movement in Japan is Tsuzuki Chushichi's article 'Anarchism in Japan' in Apter & Joll's *Anarchism Today* (see 'Now Read On...' in this issue). The paper is brief and to the point, especially in its evaluation of the post-war movement. After quickly dealing with pre-war conditions, Professor Tsuzuki then focusses on the anti-war activities launched by students and local citizens' groups all over Japan in the 60s and 70s. In particular, he makes the important point that, while these did not call themselves anarchist movements, they should be recognized as having been highly anarchistic in their aims and methods. In choosing to lay the stress on this area, Tsuzuki accurately reflects the post-war development of the Japanese anarchist movement.

After the war, Japanese Marxists, skilfully riding the waves of 'Potsdam Democracy', succeeded in seizing the lead of the labour and social movements, and quickly turned them to their own purposes. The anarchists, meanwhile, missed the bus, failed utterly to expand their support, and never neared achieving anything which might truthfully have been called a real movement. Despite the vigorousness of the labour and student movements in those early years, very few anarchists took an active part, and it must be confessed that what few activities they did promote were largely ineffectual. The one exception was their work in the pacifist movement — such as the Japanese branch of War Resisters International — yet this bore little relation to the dominant trends of the time.

JAF, for its own part, concentrated on putting out its bulletins, and one would have been hard-put to pinpoint any concrete activities amongst its isolated and scattered groups of members (except however, for a few in the Tokyo, Nagoya and Kansai regions). Meanwhile, social conditions in Japan, and the overall trend of the Left in general, were changing dramatically.

In common with developments in the rest of the world, the violent confrontation policy of the Japan Communist Party's (JCP) immediate post-war days was bankrupted by the events in Hungary in 1956

and the international criticism of Stalinism which followed. The myth of the CP as the pre-ordained vanguard of the revolution crashed. The effect on Party members and on the Japanese Left in general was catastrophic. The first indication of the new state of affairs was the eruption in 1960 of the AMPO (Amerika-Japan Joint Security Treaty) struggle — the first great popular outburst in post-war Japan.

JAF, unlike most other revolutionary organizations, was left far behind by the rapidly accelerating rate of change. For the anarchists, this new criticism of Stalinism was already a fundamental part of their programme. The repression in Hungary should merely have confirmed their arguments: the opportunity was a golden one, but did they exploit it? Far from it — JAF completely underestimated the traumas which the events had sparked off among the Marxists. As a result, when the anti-AMPO struggle broke out, JAF took no part, and members ignored it as they threw themselves into their own local activities.

Criticism of JAF's obvious impotence began almost at once. "JAF is just another group; while it may claim national boundaries, it has absolutely no meaning as a federation. We should concentrate on our own local activities and ignore it." Views of this sort were commonly held — particularly among the Kansai members — and were voiced as early as the autumn of 1953 in a speech entitled 'On Rebuilding the Federation, and the Present State of the Movement', delivered to that year's National Conference by the delegate Yamaguchi:

"We have an elaborate programme for current activities, but have never considered how to put it into practice. We have an ideal set of principles, but they remain unrealized. We have a few members dotted around the country — most are simply names on the register who make no real contribution; others are just sympathizer types, whose allegiance we can never rely on. Then there are a few "old" anarchists who, if you run across them, give you a little money "for the cause" and chat a bit, and finally the young ones who, no sooner than they become members, withdraw again. With only these people to call upon, cooperation between local branches has become comatose. Instead, we have a few scattered efforts, and that's the lot.

"On the positive side then, what do we have? Well, we have an irregular bulletin, *Anakizumu*; and then we have sporadic, unplanned meetings which nobody pays much attention to..."

While JAF thus amounted to little more than a political contemplation circle, there were in fact some who wanted to make it into something more, such as the same delegate Yamaguchi:

"Since the federation is no more than a circle, why don't we just face facts and reorganize it accordingly? I don't mean that we

should destroy the federation — it is what it is, so we simply acknowledge the truth by changing both the form of the organization and our own attitudes accordingly. We have three tasks: number one, to face the facts; number two, on the basis of these facts, to make a clearcut decision as to what direction we want to go in; and number three, after considering concrete measures to take us in that direction, to agree amongst ourselves to concentrate the strength of all members of the federation to implement those measures." [quoted in Mukai Ko "Yamaga Taiji, p 177]

Consequently, in 1962, just as people were beginning to assess the meaning of the now-finished anti-AMPO struggle, JAF at last amended its principles to state specifically: "JAF is not a movement organization", but a "study group on theory and ideology". Few practical changes followed, however, as this merely made the name fit the facts.

On the other hand, unforeseen consequences were to follow. What — ever the principles it laid down for itself, just the name 'Japan Anarchist Federation' gave the impression of a revolutionary organization engaged in practical and useful activities. Hence many young people drawn to it for this reason were quickly disillusioned. Behind the decision to turn the federation into a pure study group had been the desire to prevent disillusionment with the federation by reducing the gap between theory and practice. By retaining the name 'Anarchist Federation', however, the effect was to destroy people's faith in anarchism itself, as well as in JAF.

2. The 'New Left' in Japan

The 1960-1970 period witnessed a new flowering within the anti-establishment movement of the Japanese Left. Most significant was the growth in the late 60s of the 'non-sect radicals' — anti-Stalinist militants opposed to the hegemony of the JCP. This was the principal factor distinguishing the first anti-AMPO struggle,

NOTE: "Zenkyōtō" should not be confused with "Zengakuren," the National Union of Japanese Students, which was a child of the 60s and played no role in this new struggle. Although it continued in name, after the first anti-AMPO struggle ended in defeat, its organization was fragmented and fell apart. Moreover, while Zengakuren was a single organization, Zenkyōtō should rightly be regarded as a movement.

Some comrades have just produced a 72-page pamphlet exposing the south Korean government's rigged rigged trial + execution of 8 alleged 'People's Revolutionary Party' members. Copies \$3.00 (50c covers cost, rest helps families).

peaking in 1960 — which was led for the most part by the established (ie, JCP-dominated) Left — from the second, aimed at preventing the renewal of the Treaty in 1970. In fact, this second phase was no more than one aspect of a broad popular movement emerging simultaneously on several fronts.

The movement at that time comprised a union of students, particularly the non-JCP radicals, under the banner of the 'Students' Joint Struggle Committee' (*zenkyōtō*), and the group representative of the anti-war sentiments strong among the Japanese people, the 'Citizens' Committee for Peace in Vietnam' (*Beheiren*). The students' tactic, that of making each university a separate "storm centre" of the revolutionary struggle, had a great effect, one which continues to this day even though the movement itself has entered a quiet phase.

BEHEIREN

In the mid- to late 60s, *Beheiren* groups were born all over the country, and immediately began to initiate local struggles to eradicate local grievances through their own efforts. While they recognized people like Oda Makoto, the first to advocate a citizens' movement, as their theoretical and practical leaders, this anti-war, anti-JCP popular movement was certainly not one to allow itself to be led by the nose. It was a genuine social movement capable of drawing in all people living in Japan, free of domination by either the labour movement or the students.

'Citizens' group' was simply a generic term to apply to a whole multitude of spontaneous popular activities. When activists decided to come together to give their spontaneity some kind of "movement form", therefore, the idea of an 'organization' was strongly resisted. "*Beheiren* is born when we ourselves declare it so!"; "Not an organization, but a movement!" Consequently, *Beheiren* existed so long as there was an active movement involving its members in their own local struggles. Since that movement has itself disappeared because of the new conditions in Indochina, *Beheiren* too has been dissolved.

Beheiren was like a breath of fresh air to the Japanese Left, its style something completely new in the history of popular movements in Japan. In its dependence upon horizontal relationships, based on a nationwide mutual consciousness of solidarity in the same struggle, it was a manifest criticism of the centralized organizations hitherto dominant on the left. In the *Beheiren* movement, we caught a glimpse of the kind of solidarity which only a free federation could achieve.

The characteristics of the *Beheiren* movement may be listed as follows:

1. Rejecting the 'leaders and led' syndrome, it stressed the spon-

taneity of individual groups;

2. Once the movement's aims had been clearly set out, any political tendency was acceptable on condition that it contributed to these aims, and did not seek to coerce others' acceptance of its own premises. Consequently, *Beheiren* activists included Marxists, anarchists, social democrats, liberals, and all the shades in-between.

3. A positive appeal was made to people who belonged to no organization, and who had hitherto been denied a chance to take part in any activity.

4. The concept of 'organization' was rejected in favour of that of 'movement'. As noted before, this amounted to a rejection of the centralized power structure common to most Left groupings in the past.

ZENKYŌTŌ

Japan was no exception to the ferment which hit the world's universities following the 1968 May Days in Paris, and the non-sect radicals played a major role. Although the alliance later degenerated into a struggle for hegemony over the student movement, in the beginning these groups placed a premium upon spontaneous activity. The organization which they created, *zenkyoto*, constituted a major revolt against the establishment, and it is significant that the most violent attacks on the new style, physical as well as political, were launched by the JCP-oriented section of the students (known as *Minsei*). This period of student rebellion is usually referred to as the "*zenkyoto* Movement".

zenkyoto, with branches in every university, rebelled specifically and violently against the university authorities. From here, the struggle exploded naturally and simultaneously against the authority of the Japanese system itself. The solidarity created by the realization of a common aim was the strongest characteristic of the *zenkyoto* Movement. In the most popular slogan of the time — "Strength in Solidarity, Without Fear of Isolation" — can be seen the all-important combination: self-reliance and determination, and the knowledge of complete solidarity within the movement. In short, the characteristics which we already noted as typical of *Beheiren*, were equally representative of *zenkyoto*.*

In terms of political results, these two movements, *Beheiren* and *zenkyoto*, achieved little. However, what they did achieve was something far greater — through their concrete activities and agitation, they played an immeasurable educative role which affected not only those taking part, but also the consciousness of vast numbers of people throughout Japan. This effect can now be seen in the multitude of anti-pollution, anti-inflation, anti-war and other groups existing all over the country. Practically every issue, however minor, is capable of giving rise to a new citizens'

group.

The conditions of the time were a thorough exoneration of anarchist theory. In fact, one could say that, for a time, to use a time-worn phrase, "anarchy prevailed"! There was a general tendency to look beyond Marx to explain the theoretical meaning of this multi-centred, spontaneous movement. So fertile was the soil at this time! The only problem for the anarchists was that, while this great upsurge was taking place, JAF was nowhere to be seen.

3. JAF's Death Agony

In the late 60s, 'Anarchism Study Groups' had sprung up in practically every university of Japan. Members took an active part in the *zenkyoto* Movement, gaining a reputation as the 'Black Helmet Brigade' (although, since they generally abstained from the kind of street-fighting designed to enhance one's own group's position as ideological standard-bearer of the Left, they did not receive the international acclaim that many of the quasi-Trotskyist factions did).

JAF was way out of line with all this activity. Most members of the federation simply forgot it as they got on with their own thing. JAF therefore found itself stranded — both by the movement itself and by the rapidly-changing social situation. Subsequently observing the difficulty of raising any enthusiasm in its ideology study groups, and seeing its mutual contacts with local groups falling off, JAF, via a succession of self-critical reviews (an anachronistic occupation at the time, for a start!), gradually began to get the message.

At the same time, however, the attitude towards it of anarchist activists also began to harden. From "the movement can get along fine without a national federation", the general feeling turned to "this national federation is a positive hindrance to the movement!" The final breakdown came as a result of the crack which yawned within the federation itself over the *Haihansha* (Society of Rebels) Incident. This was a raid on a Nagoya factory carried out in the name of the anti-war movement by a small anarchist group affiliated to JAF. From this incident may be dated JAF's last days. In 1968, at long last, it resolved upon voluntary dissolution. The last issue of its bulletin, *Free Federation* (*Jiyū Rengo*), which appeared in January 1969, announced the move as "progressive dissolution", and even as "deployment in the face of the enemy". Be that as it may, JAF, in 1968, finally acknowledged what had been the truth since the early 60's, and voluntarily put an end to itself. Ironically enough, this ignominious end came at the peak of a new upsurge in the anarchist movement, and amongst increasing activity by the "new" anarchists. As for the reasons for JAF's demise, only now, midway through the 70's, is the work of evaluation beginning.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

Toilers' Tales

report from a hospital doctor in japan

For more than a year now, nurses at the T. hospital here have been demanding repeatedly that the director show them a copy of their conditions of work. Thus far, they have been gentry fobbed off with excuses like, "Well, the only copy we have is 15 years old, and rather out of date, so it would be quite pointless to show it to you. We are in the process of having a new one printed — wait a little longer please".

Since mid-February I have questioned the administrative chief at least four times on whether they weren't actually liable to be reprimanded by the Labour Standards Bureau for not providing copies of either the conditions of work or the wage structure: "Yes, indeed, the Bureau has also demanded that we make these things known. They're almost ready; two-three days — a week at the outside. Please be patient till then".

A month passed in this way. Meanwhile, I later discovered, the same people had been at work behind the scenes, trying to pacify the nurses: "You must realize that a hospital is a very busy place. Please stop encouraging Dr Haguma!" was whispered in friendly undertones. Since the director (a former Japanese CP member) won't allow the 70-odd nurses to form a union, his talent for this kind of politicking reigns supreme in T. hospital.

"How has he been able to prevent the nurses from forming a union" you might ask. Well, in the first place, all the responsible positions are occupied by the director's relatives. The nursing school, for example, is run by his wife. Lower down the scale, too, five or six members of his family defend the breach. His two sons work as hospital doctors.

In the second place, the nurses are split. The older and more experienced ones, living in this tradition-bound castle city for many years, are the double captives of *giri-ninjo* — ties of obligation and humanitarian feeling. They acknowledge the absolute control of the director: "We do not make any demands — but only because we fear his anger".

As for the young nurses, they have only two lives. One complaint is tolerated; a second, and they lose their jobs. The way of getting rid of them is quite simple. The nurses are originally rec-

ruited from the director's own birthplace: Oita, in far-off Kyushu, Western Japan. When it takes them on as student nurses, the hospital takes complete charge of them: "We will direct you in your daily life, as well as in your work", is the friendly reassurance. So, when any trouble threatens, a quick word to the parents, who come rushing to the hospital to see what's going on. Under pressure from both sides, the poor nurses have little choice: give up or shut up! "Because I felt I owed the hospital something for the two years' training it gave me, I stayed on for a few years; but the conditions are so bad that I'm going to quit before long!" is the unanimous sentiment of the young nurses.

Yet T. hospital still manages to carry on. Once again, the reason is simple: a constant store of replacements is kept, in the form of the "student nurses" — anywhere else they would be called junior nurses — who are made to work in return for a skimpy allowance. Along with the young nurses, they are simply products to be used up and thrown away.

Since the conditions of employment are unknown, the sum payable to a nurse who quits the hospital is equally mysterious. Several who left last year, for example, apparently had to come back five times to demand their dues. Even when it is forthcoming, the sum is often paid out on an instalment basis!

The hand-over-fist profit accruing from this situation has allowed the hospital to extend its buildings almost constantly. Last year, for instance, a senior nursing school was added. Incidentally, there was enough left over to build new houses for the director's two sons.

The director's autocratic rule at T. hospital, bolstered by his divide-and-rule policy, is complete. I can screw things up a bit myself, by going to the director himself to complain. But for the nurses, male nurses and other medical staff, it's quite different though. Unless they send their complaint through the "proper channels" — the chief nurse and the administrative offices — they face the director's anger. On the other hand, the "proper channels" are feared and hated just as much as the director himself, for they are linked to him by personal ties and ties of obligation: family connections, treatment of their own family's illnesses, their status in the hospital, the fact that other members of their family are also employed there, and so on.

The director's despotism is summed up in his two favourite remarks: "The age of democracy is dead!"; "Mere talk gets you nowhere — if you want to get something done, do it!" Lately, the nurses, who're well pissed off with his power politics, are beginning to take him at his word. The mood for action is spreading.

Nohara Shiro

Anarchism and the May 4th Movement

In LI#1 we began our serialization of Nohara Shiro's important essay on the early period of the anarchist movement in China. We continue with his opening chapter, "An Anarchist Genealogy." The translation and notes are by Wat Tyler throughout.

By the time of the May 4 Incident, the lingering influence of Shih Fu's ideas had spread to all parts of north China. His 'twelve regulations, for example, were reiterated in the principles of the 'Society for Promoting Virtue' (*Chin-te Hui*) formed by Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei and others in 1918.¹ In May of the previous year, Peking university students had already formed an anarchist group which they called the 'Reality Society' (*Shih She*). Its prominent members included Huang Ling-shuang,² Ch'ü Sheng-pai,³ and T'ai Mou. In their occasional magazine 'Notes on Liberty' (*Tzu-yu Lu*),⁴ they explained Kropotkin's 'Mutual Aid' theory, and argued for a workers' general strike to bring about a socialist revolution. Elsewhere, too, new anarchist groups appeared, like the 'Masses Society' (*Ch'ün She*) of Nanking and the 'Equality Society' (*P'ing She*) of T'aiyüan. They also put out magazines: 'The Masses' (*Jen-ch'ün*) and 'Peace' (*Taiping*) respectively. By March 1918 Wu Chih-hui [see pt 1] had begun publication in Shanghai of an anarchist periodical, 'Labour' (*Lao-tung*), where Chinese readers first received the message of May Day.⁵

Within these groups there was considerable overlap among the editors and contributors, testifying to the degree of mutual contact between them. Huang Ling-shuang summed it up, saying that, while these local societies were really just completely free, small groups with only the barest of ideological ties, they were viewed by the warlord government as treasonable, immoral, and as ultra-

extremists. The authorities' harsh attempts to put them down, however, just made anarchist ideas even more appealing in the current mood of Chinese intellectuals.

Now, in February 1909 the Japanese Diet had heard the following speech:

"Broadly speaking, the Japanese socialists may be divided into 5 groups: of these, the state socialists are not in the least dangerous — on the contrary, they should be encouraged; second come the pure Marxian socialists who, while not dangerous, should nonetheless not be encouraged. Then there are the communists, visionaries admittedly, but not to the extent of posing any threat to order. Fourth and fifth, respectively, come the plainly dangerous syndicalists, with their advocacy of revolutionary labour unionism, and anarchists, who seek to overthrow authority and substitute for it individual liberty."

Conditions in China, where unionization lagged far behind Japan,⁶ were thus vastly different. Still, the Chinese ruling class kept a firm grip on things, just in case. During 1918, therefore, the 'People's Voice' [see pt 1], 'Reality', 'Masses' and 'Equality' groups were all forcibly dissolved. For a brief period beginning in January 1919, they joined forces to form the 'Progress Society' (*Chin-hua She*), and even put out a new monthly, 'Progress' (*Chin-hua*), whose third issue (March 1919) was a special one commemorating the fourth anniversary of Shih Fu's death. Before long, however, this too was proscribed, amid the furore surrounding the May 4 Incident. We can get an idea of how these conditions affected Peking University, especially the activities of the anarchists, from Hsü Te-heng's 'Recollections of May 4'.⁷

There were three major ideological trends, the most influential of which was that represented by Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Hu Shih and Li Ta-chao,⁸ all initiators of the 'New Culture Movement' [see pt 1]. Their paths, though, had already begun to diverge by 1919. Where Li Ta-chao wrote of 'The Victory of the Poor', for instance, Hu would retort with 'The Victory of Democracy over Militarism', always trying to counter with democratic theory. On the other hand to Hu's insistence upon "more study of problems. less talk of 'isms'", Li also wrote a refutation, precipitating a clash over the fundamental problem of theory versus practice. Among Hu's student followers were Fu Ssu-nien and Lo Chia-lun, who in January 1919 began publishing the monthly 'New Tide' (*Hsin Ch'ao*). They were most active in the vernacular speech movement which grew out of May 4.

Less influential was the so-called 'National Heritage Faction' (*Kuo-ku P'ai*), represented by Ku Hung-ming, Huang K'an and [the former anarchist] Liu Shih-p'ei [see pt 1]. The group published

its own monthly entitled 'National Heritage' (*Kuo-ku*), and expressed its conservatism by refuting politics entirely.

Last, but not least of the three trends were the troublesome anarchists, who included Li Shih-tseng, Wu Chih-hui and, for a time, even the Chancellor of Peking University, Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei [see pt 1]. Under super-repressive political conditions, and with little comprehension among students of the arguments of the social sciences, there were many whose anarchist convictions originally stemmed from the inspiration of these 'eminent scholars'. Best remembered among these students are Huang Ling-shuang and Ch'ü Sheng-pai. Denying the need for both state and family institutions, these two symbolized their rejection by refusing to use their family names.⁹

The 'Recollections' contain many points of interest concerning the 1919 student movement. On the other hand, it's worth mentioning that the ground for this movement had already been prepared in the previous year's struggle of Peking university students against the 'Japan-China Military Mutual Assistance Conventions'. Japan, involved in the intervention against the new Soviet regime, accordingly devised the pretext of a Sino-Japanese alliance to protect the Far East against this new enemy. To this end, Japanese and Chinese armies would "cooperate" in north Manchuria, while other clauses provided for sending troops of both nations to fight "beyond the Chinese border" [ie, in Siberia]. Furthermore, Japan would appoint "advisors" to the Chinese army to "maintain mutual contacts", while setting up jointly-operated military bases within China itself. The real objects of this "mutuality", however, were no more than the establishment of Japanese influence over the Chinese army, and the subjection of China herself through the system of military bases [see also pt 1].

When wind of the Conventions' contents eventually reached Japan, Chinese students there immediately called an opposition meeting; in the scuffle with police which followed, many were arrested, many more injured, and, as a gesture of protest, the majority returned to China in May 1918. Once in Shanghai, they organized the 'National Salvation Corps of Chinese Students in Japan',¹⁰ founded the 'National Salvation Daily' (*Ch'iu-kuo Jih-pao*), and sent representatives to Peking to explain to the students what was happening and appeal for their support. Consequently, on May 21 1918 2000 students of Peking University and other colleges in the city demonstrated against the Conventions.

While having little direct effect, the anti-Conventions movement did provide an issue for the students of Peking and Tientsin to organize around. The most spectacular result was the establishment soon after by some Peking students of the Students' Society for National Salvation. In July, Peking and Tientsin representa-

nan, Nanking and Shanghai. Within only a month, a country-wide organization had been created, and in October preparations began for a new monthly, the 'Citizens' Magazine' (*Kuo-min Tsa-chih*), designed to bring groups into contact with each other.¹¹ The Citizens' Magazine Society, founded at the same time, had over 200 members, each of whom paid 5 *guan* into a fund to finance activities. Many were subsequently active in the following year's May 4 demonstrations.

According to the 'Recollections', however, the anarchist students in Peking did not take part in the 1918 agitation. They poured scorn upon their fellow-students' patriotic emotions, deriding patriotism as a decadent ideology. Since this opposition is said to have been behind the renaming of the 'Students' Patriotic Association' as the 'Students' Society for National Salvation', it may be gathered that the anarchists wielded considerable influence of their own. Moreover, few Citizens' Magazine Society members were as yet capable of rejecting theoretically the cosmopolitanism of the anarchists.

"Unite with the Toiling Masses!"

All this changed when, in April 1919, the Versailles Peace Conference granted Japan the former German colonial rights in Shantung province, sparking off almost unanimous, nation-wide fury [see pt 1]. The failure of China's international diplomacy was blamed upon the "nation-selling" policies of the Peking government. Coupled with the existing opposition to China's warlord rulers, already intensified by the New Culture Movement, this new outbreak heightened even further the atmosphere of struggle. The first to translate this emotion into concrete activities were the students. After their demonstration on May 4, the impact of their slogans, "Fight for Sovereignty Abroad; Smash the Traitors at Home!"; "Refuse to Ratify the Peace Treaty!"; "Fight to Retrieve Shantung!"; "Bury the 21 Demands!" [see pt 1]; "Boycott Japanese goods!"; "Kill the Nation-Selling Traitors!"; "China for the Chinese!" and so on soon turned the original Peking-centred student movement into nation-wide strikes by merchants and workers, beginning on June 3. Under pressure from this unified resistance, the government finally refused to ratify the treaty.¹²

According to the 'Recollections', again, Peking student groups who had previously expounded quite different roads to victory, now put politics behind them as they joined forces at the head of the May 4 Movement. The anarchists too, who saw in the movement a golden opportunity, were no exception. While in principle they rejected all political activities as pointless, they could have hoped for no better chance to realize the general strike which they advocated. However, they certainly had not calculated for it, and, like tives were sent south, where they contacted other students in Tsi-

most other groups, were propelled into the movement by an unstemmable tide.

The organizational leadership of May 4 was quite independent of established groups and political parties. When word of the Peace Conference's humiliating decision reached Peking, the Citizens' Magazine Society, New Tide Association, Work-Study Society (*Kung-hsüeh Hui*)¹³ and other powerful student groups immediately held a meeting, at which they resolved to stage a mass demonstration on May 7, 'National Humiliation Day' (the anniversary of Japan's ultimatum on the 21 Demands). At a later meeting of Peking students on the university campus on May 3, the demonstration was re-scheduled for the next day. When the movement got into its stride, the previous year's efforts by the Students' Society for National Salvation began to bear fruit. First in Peking, then elsewhere, students' unions were formed, culminating on June 16 with the formation in Shanghai of the Students' Union of China. It was precisely these local students' unions which provided the organizing power for May 4.

The first shot was fired by the militant Work-Study Society, formed by students and graduates of Peking Higher Normal School in February 1919. The society's work-study principles, as we shall see later [see pt 3, next issue], owed much to anarchist theory, and the group repeatedly took a leading role on the May 4 stage. For example, it was said to have planned the May 4 raid on the homes of the three Ministers held responsible for acceptance of the 21 Demands and conclusion of the Nishihara Loans [see pt 1]: Minister of Communications Ts'ao Ju-lin; Minister to Japan Chang Tsung-hsiang; and Director-General of the Currency Reform Bureau Lu Tsung-yü.

The achievements of May 4 were varied. Most significant was the gradual awakening of a new popular consciousness, inspired by the nationalism implicit in the joint struggle against feudalism and imperialism. Another was the lesson that the decisive factor in the struggle had been the unified strength of the many multi-class popular organizations. Hence the long-term result: the formation in July 1924 [1923?] of the Great Anti-Imperialist League, comprising the Students' Union of China, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the National Labour Union, and some fifty other organizations.

Effect on Political Leaders

Sun Yat-sen, who at the peak of the movement was staying in Shanghai,¹⁴ told student representatives who came to plead for his support that he was powerless to help them. Nevertheless, in an address to the World Association of Chinese Students on October 18 1919, Sun exclaimed:

"Even in so short a space of time, what tremendous things this

student movement has achieved! I now know that unity is strength."

He then sought support for his own 'Constitution-Protection Movement'. Moreover, in a letter to overseas Kuomintang members in January 1920, he pinned his hopes upon the ideological changes wrought by May 4, and highly appraised the New Culture Movement.

In fact, Sun had already, in October 1919, renamed his 'Chinese Revolutionary Party' (*Chung-hua Ko-ming Tang*) as the 'Chinese Nationalist Party' (*Chung-kuo Kuo-min Tang*). This was his first step in transforming it from an elitist secret society into a mass political party.

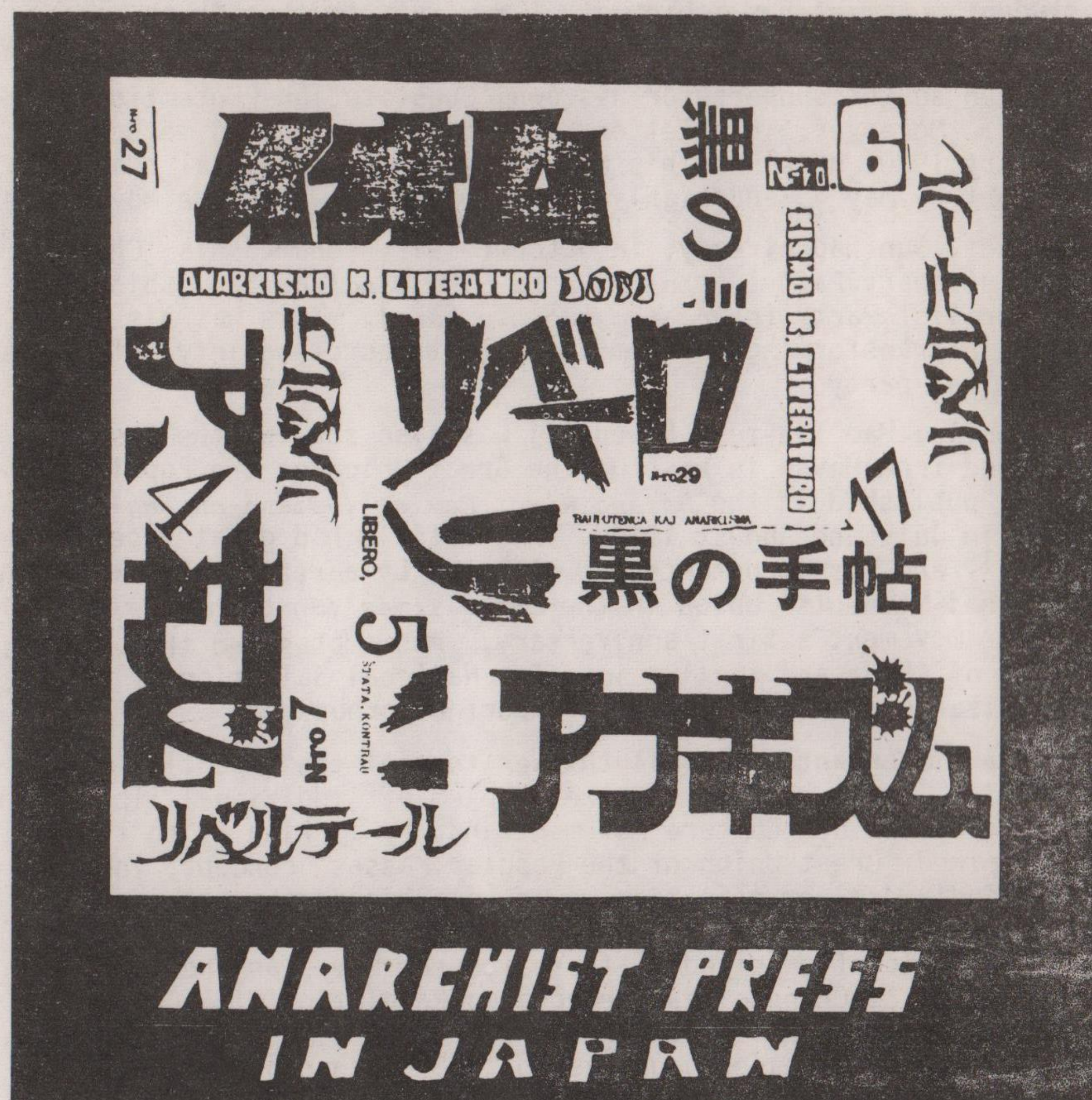
Meanwhile, Mao Tse-tung [then 26] was also showing the lessons learned from May 4 in his 'On the Great Union of the Popular Masses', published in the *Hsiang River Review* (*Hsiang-chiang P'ing-lun*) in July and August 1919. This article had great repercussions,¹⁵ and its importance was stressed by a representative of the Shanghai Students' Union in the *China Times* (*Shih-shih Hsin-pao*) on the movement's first anniversary. Mao emphasised the Students' Union of China and the 'Society for National Salvation of all Organizations' as the two most important groups.

Another important political thinker to feel the impact of May 4 was Li Ta-chao. Li took up the problem of 'individual liberation' raised by the New Culture Movement and, by linking it to the May 4-inspired 'Great Union of the Popular Masses' concept, insisted that individual emancipation would be achieved through organized struggle. This breakthrough revamped modern political thought in Asia, and is often cited by those who see May 4 as the take-off point for the Chinese 'New Democratic Revolution'.¹⁶ Chinese scholars have even seen the germs of the wartime National United Front [against Japanese aggression] in the concept of the 'Great Union of the Popular Masses'.

New organizations also appeared, notably the 'Street Unions' (*ma-lu lien-ho-hui*) formed in Shanghai and other big cities by merchants and shop proprietors. The unions differed fundamentally from the old commercial guilds, which had become the creatures of successive warlord governments, and in later years were active in campaigns to demand civil rights for city dwellers.¹⁷

However, the peasants — in other words, the great bulk of the Chinese population — had been left unaffected despite the apparent success of the movement. To be sure, Li Ta-chao and Mao Tse-tung were displaying great interest in the peasant problem, but they had yet to take any practical steps to alleviate it. Otherwise, there was only the efforts of Peking university students who, in March 1919, set up the 'Mass Education Speech Corps' (*P'ing-min Chiao-yü Chiang-yen-t'uan*) with the aim of increasing the common people's educational level and awareness. They had inherited the

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In each issue from now on, if space allows, we'll list briefly the new Japanese publications on past and present libertarian theory and practice. If necessary, we'll also roughly sketch the contents. As there are so many 'mini-comi' small magazines appearing, it would be impossible to list them all, so the list will be confined to books and quarterly periodicals, plus anything else of special importance. Since the majority of people who read this magazine won't understand the stuff anyway, it may turn out to be a frustrating exercise. Still, we'll try to review the most interesting and important ones. In any case, the main aim is to try to give an idea of the kind of material currently appearing here.

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1. *Anakizumu* No. 6 (Feb. 75): Quarterly bulletin of CIRA-Nippon; contains articles on local self-government; the new element in

- local residents' movements (featuring the current resistance to the new electricity rates); a special section on communes; a factory report. Continuing features are the biography of the Korean anarchist Kim Jong-jin; the chronology of the Japanese post-war anarchist movement; a discussion of Esperanto as a revolutionary weapon; translations from the *Kronstadt Izvestia*; and movement notes, publication/film reviews etc.
2. Aizawa Hisao: *The Japan Anarcho-Communist Party*: history by its former secretary of the abortive terrorist party banned by the police only two years after its founding in 1933.
3. Eguchi Kan: *Black Paris*: report of the author's experiences in Paris with the French left and with the French police, May - August, 1971.
4. Ōsawa Masamichi: *Selections from Ōsugi Sakae's Writings*: some of the best pieces by the Japanese anarcho-syndicalist murdered by the secret police in 1923.
5. Ōshima Yoshio / Miyamoto Masao: *History of Anti-State Activities Within the Esperanto Movement*
6. Kitazawa Fumitake: *The Life & Ideas of Ishikawa Sanshiro*: biography of one of the fathers of pacifist anarchism in Japan.
7. Mukai Ko / Watanabe Ichie: *Let's Think About the Problem of Our Own Existence Before Anything Else*: statement of position by two anarchists active in the pacifist anti-war movement.
8. Iyoshi Shoten (publisher): *Andō Shoeki*: collection of works by the late 19th century intellectual, sometimes seen as Japan's first anarchist thinker.
9. Hagiwara Shintaro: *Takao Hyobei - Revolutionist with an Unmarked Grave*: biography of the pre-war Japanese anarchist terrorist.
10. Katsuda Yoshitaro: *The Anarchists - Forerunners of the Russian Revolution*
11. Tamagawa Shimmei: *China - the Spectre of Anarchism*: short discussion of the pre-1949 movement, followed by the case for the persistence of anarchism in Chinese political ideology.
12. Ōsugi Sakae Research Group: *Collected Letters of Ōsugi Sakae*
13. Kogawa Masao: *Sex & Anarchism*.
14. *Rōdō Undō (The Labour Movement)*: five-year run of the paper started by Ōsugi in 1919, published in book form to commemorate the 50th anniversary of his death.
15. *Kokushoku Sensen (Black Battlefront)*: re-issue of another anarchist newspaper of the 20s.

NOW READ ON...

ASIAN ANARCHISM IN ENGLISH (1): JAPAN

Frank Gould: *Anarchism in Japan* (*Anarchy* (London), special issue, 1972): quite good, detailed information on anarchists in the pre-war labour movement, and on the struggle with the CP; not so much on the post-war period, mainly for lack of things to write about. Summaries of current (1970-71) groups' positions and activities are useful and interesting, but need up-dating.

C. Tsuzuki: "Kotoku, Ōsugi and Japanese Anarchism" (*Hitotsubashi Journal of Social Studies*, March 1966): written by a university professor; a history of the early movement based on biographies of Kotoku and Ōsugi. Tries to show that Japanese anarchism grew out of traditional Eastern nihilism; plenty of facts, but hardly inspiring reading.

C. Tsuzuki: "Anarchism in Japan" in D.E. Apter/J. Joll (ed): *Anarchism Today* (anchor: 1971): the best source on the modern movement, concentrating on the popular movements of the late 60s/early 70s. He stresses that these were highly anarchistic in their aims and methods, and puts his finger on the pulse of what is happening today.

Phil Billingsley: *The Japanese Anarchists* (Leeds Anarchist Group, 1969): a brief history up to 1923, concentrating on Kotoku and Ōsugi; very short, and inaccurate in places, but useful as a summary and in combination with the previous two.

Martin Bernal: "The Triumph of Anarchism over Marxism, 1906-1907" (in M.C. Wright: *China in Revolution*, Stanford University, 1968, pp 97-142): actually concerns the Chinese movement, but the publishing and other activities of the Chinese anarchists in Japan are described, along with their relations with the Japanese comrades; written by a scholar - very detailed and copiously foot-noted, most useful for showing the inter-relationship between the two movements.

F.G. Notehelfer: *Kotoku Shūsui* (Cambridge University, 1971): this is also written by a scholar - a very detailed biography which tries to show, almost apologetically, that his anarchism was an inevitable result of the cultural strains placed upon the traditional samurai ethic by the sudden political changes after 1868. See the review piece in LI 1.

More detailed articles, especially on Kotoku, are listed in the bibliography to Notehelfer. There are several books on the labour movement, none of which do justice to the anarchists. Still, odds and ends of information can be found in them, and also in the relatively rich "preventive scholarship"-type stuff on the communist movement. When we've had a chance to look at these, we'll suggest some titles. Meanwhile, Cecil H. Uyehara: *Leftwing Social Movements in Japan: Annotated Bibliography* (Tokyo: 1959), though out of date, might be useful (it's probably in university libraries in England and the States). These are all the titles we know at present specifically concerning the Japanese anarchist movement. We hope people will let us know of anything we've left out.



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New Culture Movement's twin concepts of "science" and "democracy" and initiated an enlightenment programme aimed particularly at the illiterate village masses. After the spring of 1921, however, their message too was confined to the lecture halls of Peking University. While some Chinese scholars have attributed this failure to official obstruction or to financial difficulties, it is far more likely that the inability of the Corps members to shake off their inherent didacticism came up against a brick wall in the villages themselves. The fathomless vacuum which May 4 ultimately created [among young people] is vividly described in the writing of Lu Hsün.¹⁸

At long last, the problem of how to organize the working class became the central one. The movement had reached a turning point. The posture taken by the students during the immediate May 4 period had been one of attempting to persuade the government to heed their appeals by a combination of petitions to the authorities and propaganda among the masses. The government, however, not only fell in with Japanese demands to prohibit the nation-wide boycott of Japanese goods, but also, in January-February 1920, suppressed students in Peking and Tientsin protesting at the Sino-Japanese negotiations on the Shantung question. In both these cities, the Students' Unions, the Teachers' Union Alliance and the Federation of All Organizations of China were ordered to dissolve.

As anti-government feelings were thus strengthened, the more radical students were already beginning to tire of petitions, protest demonstrations and the like, and their line gradually hardened. From dismissal of the nation-selling politicians, opposing ratification of the Peace Treaty, and the boycott of Japanese goods, they now began to advocate the wholesale overthrow of the present government and the reform of the social structure. The Kuomintang organ 'Weekly Review' (*Hsing-ch'i P'ing-lun*) of Shanghai, pinpointed this trend in an article, 'The Past & Present of the Student Movement':

"Up to now the movement has concerned itself solely with foreign policy issues; from now on it will address itself to the fundamental social problems...Through this new movement, the class of victims shall overthrow the thieves, and all the people of the world become workers!"¹⁹

The effect of government repression was that social change, hitherto overshadowed by the concern with imperialism and feudalistic ideas, became the students' dominant concern. Their vision of the form that change should take was dominated by the memory of the decisive role of the manual workers in the victory of May 4; that same energy would now serve to destroy the existing order and to construct a new society.

Consequently, the relative merits of anarchism vis-a-vis the var-

ious forms of socialism became the subject of heated debates within many of the student groups. Teng Ying-ch'ao's 'A Memoir of the May 4 Movement'²⁰ gives an example. In the 'Awakening Society' (*Ch'ieh-wu She*), an organization formed in Tientsin in March 1919 by progressive male and female students (who included Chou En-lai) such arguments took place constantly, though there were no firm convictions either way. For them, communism was simply an ideal society, where you had only to work for all your desires to be met. Exposure to the limitless savageries of the warlord governments, meanwhile, made anarchism for a time the predominant trend.²¹

We can see quite clearly how this happened by looking at the 'Peking University Students' Weekly' (*Pei-ching Ta-hsueh Hsueh-sheng Chou-k'an*), founded as the official union magazine in January 1920; 'Struggle' (*Fen-tou*), a small anarchist group established in Peking university soon after May 4;²² and 'Chekiang New Tide' (*Che-kiang Hsin-ch'ao*), established in October 1919 and edited in Hangchow by students of the Chekiang Province 1st Normal, 1st Middle and other schools.²⁴ In particular, the way in which the tone of the 'Students' Weekly' changed in mid-flow is a striking illustration of the turning-point mentioned above. In its original conception, the magazine was intended to express the ideas of the entire student body; in line with Chancellor Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei's principle of encouraging divergent opinions, no single ideology or theory was to be promoted within its pages. Up to the 5th issue it continued to reflect the persisting influence of the New Culture Movement — the so-called "mass movement" consisted of academic research, importing new scientific methods, exploding current ideologies, and rebuilding the cultural framework. These intellectuals saw themselves as responsible for remaking civilization and leading society forward — one looks in vain for any suggestion of learning from the labouring masses themselves in order to change one's own preconceptions.

With the new upsurge in the student movement after February 1920, however, the magazine's tenor began to harden. In response to the February movement, the Peking government had announced:

"Of late...various people have organized illegal groups in which they unlawfully engage in discussions of politics and thereby endanger the public good."

Several groups, including the Peking Students' Union, were therefore ordered to disband. In response, the magazine's No. 9 issue (Feb. 27), in an article 'Dissolution! Dissolution! Illegal Dissolution!', argued that the Public Order Police Law invoked to justify the dissolution order itself infringed the Provisional Code of Law, and, having been drafted by a parliament which was no more than a rubber-stamp for [former President] Yüan Shih-k'ai's poli-

cies, was itself illegal. Furthermore, the warlord clique then controlling the government in Peking, the 'Anfu Club', was just as illegal as the student organizations according to the new order, so why did the Police Department not dissolve it too? In short, the article concluded bitterly, while the powerholders are allowed to sell the country out and create chaos, the powerless are forbidden even to utter the word "patriotism"!

In the following issue (March 7), an article entitled 'On Non-Violence' came out explicitly for direct action, arguing that "laws and institutions created by the state are designed to protect the interests of the capitalists and suppress those of the workers". Such an arbitrary system is bound to make people consider staging "general strikes" and "overthrowing the government". The government points to such tactics and labels them "violence"; for the people, on the other hand, they are simply extraordinary methods forced upon them by the need to escape the extraordinary hardship they suffer. Citizens of a republic have the right to express their opinions concerning national affairs — this is agitation, not violence, and the sole criterion of a movement should be, not whether it is violent or non-violent, but whether its motives are honest or dishonest. That is why the people's movements in Russia and Germany to overthrow their monarchies to improve their own living conditions were not violent movements as such. On the other hand, the Japanese government's suppression of the Korean Independence Movement [in 1919], Yuan Shih-k'ai's attempt to install himself as emperor [1915-16], and the present government's armed interference in the students' patriotic movement, are all motivated by despotism, and as such are certainly "violent". "In our stagnant and poverty-stricken China", the article summed up, "is there any way for the people but to smash these evil schemes with action of elemental strength?"

(to be continued)

NOTES

1. Modeled on the organization of the same name founded in Shanghai in 1912 by Wu Chih-hui, Li Shih-tseng & Wang Ching-wei; members were required not to visit prostitutes, to gamble or to have concubines. Certain members also swore never to hold government office or to enter parliament. Shih Fu's "Twelve Regulations" were the conditions of membership of the Heart Society [LI 1, 12]
2. Huang was the son of Huang Hsing, one of the most famous Chinese insurrectionary leaders of the 1911 period.
3. Ch'u, an anarcho-syndicalist, actually converted Mao Tse-tung to anarchism while both were students in Peking in 1919. He subsequently fought a political duel with CP secretary Ch'en Tu-hsiu. A copy of their debate exists, and we hope to translate it in the future.

Ch'u's name is wrongly transcribed as 'Ou' Sheng-pai in Scalapino & Yu's *The Chinese Anarchist Movement*, and the mistake is repeated in *Internationalist: The Origins of the Anarchist Movement in China*. We haven't yet found anything further on T'ai Mou.

4. Also known as the *Liberal Record*. Pa Chin, the anarchist writer, became an anarchist after reading a translation of Emma Goldman's 'Anarchy' in one issue of the magazine.

5. *Labour* propagated Proudhon's theory of labour, and advocated syndicalist organization for the Chinese workers. May Day was first celebrated in Canton ("the Barcelona of the East", as it was called by Shih Fu) in 1918 and in Shanghai in 1920.

According to Olga Lang: *Pa Chin & His Writings* (p 54), there were more than 20 groups throughout China at this time.

6. Factory workers numbered only some 650,000 from 1912 to 1915. By 1919 they had increased to one third of the total urban working class population of 3 million — the population of China at the time was about 400 million.

7. Hsu was arrested after the May 4 Incident. He had been prominent as an organizer since 1918 (see below), and was among those who broke into the homes of the unpopular officials during the May 4 demo. After 1949, he became leader of a minority party on the mainland.

8. Ch'en later helped found the Chinese Communist Party, and became its leader. In the early days he learned his lessons so well that much of his writing was directed against the young anarchists who defied his calls for subordination to the party, and who refused to believe that "coercion could be used for good in the proper hands". He saw the anarchists as reflecting traditional Chinese contempt for authority, and therefore criticised them as reactionary; but it escaped his attention that his own belief in a benevolent elite wielding power on the people's behalf was itself part and parcel of the Confucian tradition which had bolstered autocratic rule in China for centuries, and which had been the primary target of his attacks since the New Culture Movement began in 1915. Ironically enough, both his sons were themselves anarchists. Ch'en was later purged as a Trotskyist, and was executed by the government in 1942.

Hu Shih was a true liberal, educated in the US, who opposed the politicization of the May 4 Movement. After 1949 he became a pillar of Taiwan respectability.

On Li Ta-chao, see LI 1, 18.

9. Shih Fu had done the same thing, dropping his surname of Liu. Western readers can only really appreciate the significance of such a stand by understanding the power of the despotism tradition.

nally exercised by the Chinese family over its individual members. A vivid picture of what it was like is drawn in Pa Chin's novels, especially *Family* (*Chia*: translated and published in Peking in 1958 — beware! The text has been re-written to suit CP needs.)

10. In fact, as the name suggests, this organization was founded while the students were still in Japan. After they returned to China, the government tried to force them to go back to Japan to finish their studies, but to their credit, most stayed on.

11. Initially very moderate and opposed to direct action, the magazine eventually moved to the left, and published the *Communist Manifesto* in its November 1 1919 issue.

12. In fact, the principal reason for the refusal was that on June 28, the date set for OK'ing the Treaty, Chinese students and workers in Paris surrounded the HQ of the Chinese delegation to prevent them leaving for the signing ceremony. Many had been organized by the anarchists of the *New Century* group [LI 1, 11]. Only when French guns announced the Treaty signed, did the demonstrators disperse.

13. The society rejected the traditional Chinese idea that "mental labourers are the governors and manual labourers the governed". Their major purpose was to realize anarchist ideals in China to serve the interests of the working class; they also accepted the theory that education is life and school, society. Yet they still resisted wholesale change, favouring bit-by-bit reforms. Nevertheless, they did often succeed in persuading the students to take direct action where many preferred to hold back. In May 1922 the society published a May Day issue of its magazine, *Work-Study Monthly*, and proposed to establish a school for workers, though the school never seems to have opened.

14. To oppose the Peking government, Sun had established a Military Government in Canton on September 1 1917, backed by certain local military figures. Several small wars with the north followed, until peace negotiations began in Shanghai just before the May 4 Incident. This was Sun's reason for being in the city. Sun's support for the student movement was calculated as a weapon to use against Peking.

15. Though not so much as Maoist hagiography has claimed. Still, many May 4 leaders proclaimed his analysis of the movement to be the best. The basic point was that the movement had awakened people to the need for a unified front of students, merchants and workers in the struggle for civil rights and social organization. The article was really Mao's coming-out, for he had been no more than a high-school graduate when the movement began. He also edited the paper, founded on July 4 1919, until its suppression in August. It was said to have been one of the six best magazines to come out of May 4, despite its short life.

16. This union has since been hailed as part of Mao's original contribution to Marxism-Leninism.

In his concept of 'New Democracy', Mao described May 4 as the dividing line between 'old democracy' and 'new democracy'. Before May 4, the bourgeoisie had controlled the revolutionary movement, while after it the working class took on an independent role, although the bourgeoisie, suffering from imperialist oppression, could still cooperate in the revolutionary movement. Needless to say, the concept was principally intended to justify the peculiar alliances which the Chinese CP was forced to make in its fight for power.

17. The Federation of Street Unions of Shanghai soon became the most influential organization in the city, establishing night schools and directing sanitary and welfare measures.

18. Lu Hsün (1881-1936), recognized as China's greatest essayist and writer of modern fiction: originally a medical student, Lu turned to writing to arouse the Chinese people to struggle for their liberation. His most important work was *The True Story of Ah Q*, an allegory of the shortcomings of the Chinese character under the influence of traditional ethics and institutions, and faced with the onslaught of the modern west.

19. In issue No. 46 (April 18 1920).

20. Teng later married Chou En-lai; she is now a minor party functionary in Peking.

21. The Awakening Society was heavily influenced by anarchism and guild socialism. In January 1920 it began publishing its own magazine, *Awakening* (*Chüeh-wu*).

22. We haven't yet found anything further on this group.

23. The school had a strong anarchist tradition, and was eventually closed down by the government in the spring of 1920. Some students went to Japan, where they worked with Japanese anarchist Ōsugi Sakae [LI 1, 17]. One teacher, Shen Chung-chiu, later became director of the anarchist Shanghai Labour University in 1927.

24. We haven't yet found any more information on Huang T'ien-chün and Ch'en Yu-ch'in.

For people who can read Chinese and who want to dig deeper, No-hara's sources for this section are as follows:

Hsü Te-heng: 'Recollections of May 4' (*Kuang-ming Jih-pao*, May 4 1951).

Sun Yat-sen: 'The Urgent Task of Saving the Country' (*Sun Chung-shan Hsüan-chi*, vol.1, 1956).

Teng Ying-ch'ao: 'Memories of the May 4 Movement' (*Wu-ssu Chien Wen-chi*, ed. Tung-pei Ta-hsüeh, 1950).

GROUP PROFILE

The LI Editorial Collective sent out a questionnaire to various Japanese anarchist groups. We shall be serializing the profiles of each group beginning with this issue of LI.

1. Name of group: Iomu no Kai
Date of formation: March, 1973
Number of members: Twenty
Main location(s) of activity: Kobe and Osaka
2. Members' main occupations: Mostly laborers and students
3. Close relations with which other anarchist or political groups? Libertaire, Nagano Kyodo Shimbun, Paranka, Ribeero, CIRA-Nippon, Museifushugi-kenkyu. Also exchange pub'lins and info in meetings organized with Liberteeru.
4. Main activities. Publication of Iomu ("Literature and Anarchism"); occasional lecture meetings on anarchism and related subjects.
5. Do you put out any publications? Iomu Frequency of publication: Quarterly
Average number copies/issue: 500
Occupational category readers: Various
Format and number of pages: A-5, 60 pages.
Main pamphlets: Organization Prospectus for JAF (Japan Anarchist Federation).
6. What are the feelings of your group regarding the proposed all-Japan anarchist federation, establishment of the "JAF"? Most of us feel the need for a national confederation. As an experiment in that direction, we participated in the opening, in the summer of 1974, of an interchange meeting program with Liberteeru.

イオムの会
IOM

7. What, in your opinion, are the main responsibilities and problems which need coordination by anarchists in Japan today? We have not discussed this and so cannot answer at this pt.
8. Are you aware of CIRA-Nippon? What do you think of it? We cooperate with it.
9. Are you preserving materials and documents, and, if so, are you offering them for the use of other comrades and groups? March 1975 we opened our "Communal Library" in Kobe.
10. What sort of materials and documents do you presently hold? Do you have any non-Japanese language materials? Only anarchist stuff? Renmei Nyusu. Various A organ papers. JAF pamphlets.
11. Do you maintain contact with foreign groups? If so, which? Publishers of New Echo, Ruta, etc.
12. Please describe the ideological position, objectives, etc., of your group. Our first objective is publication of Iomu. Contents are varied, but largely deal with anarchist thought and its relation to literature and the larger movement. Until now we've concentrated on the translation and discussion of "old anarchist" thinkers, but this is not with the aim of dwelling on the anarchist past or an over-indulgent penchant for "history for history's sake," but in examining the relevance of past anarchist thought to today's problems.

Chronology

The Pre-War Korean Anarchist Movement (2)

- 1929.11.3
KOREA
KWANGJU STUDENTS INCIDENT: trouble involving rival Korean and Japanese school students in Kwangju develops into nationwide patriotic student movement; 54,000 students in 194 schools strike, creating anti-Japan movement which continues until March 1930.
- 1930.1
MANCHURIA
Anarchist organizer of Chong-yi Bu commune, Kim Joa-jin, murdered by communist agent.
- 1930.4
CHINA
League of Eastern Anarchists (*Tung-fang Wu-cheng-fu Chu-i-che Lien-meng*) reorganized as South China Korean Youth League (*Nan Hua Han-jen Ch'ing-nien Lien-meng*); principal members: Chong Hwa-am, Kim Ji-gang, Park Kee-seung, Lee Eul-kyu, Hwang Eung, Yoo Ja-myong, Park Kee-byeung, Ryu San-bang, Lee Yong-kyu, Kim Kwang-ju, An Kyong-kun.
- 1930.5.30
JAPAN
Anarchist Youth League (*Anākisuto Seinen Remmei*), Eastern Workers' Federation (*Tōhō Rōdō Dōmei*) formed in Osaka by Lee Mee-haek, Kim Yong-su.
- 1930.6
JAPAN
Black Flag Workers' League (*Kurohata Rōdōsha Remmei*) formed; Chung Chan-jin main figure.
- 1931.1
MANCHURIA
Korean People's Self-Governing Joint Council (*Han-jok Cha-ji Ryong-hap-hoe*) formed, chaired by anarchist Chong Shin-won.
- 1931.7.11
MANCHURIA
Leader of Korean anarchist partisans, Kim Jong-jin, murdered by communist agent; total of six Korean anarchists murdered in 1930 and 1931.
- 1931.7
KOREA
KOREAN ANARCHO-COMMUNIST LEAGUE (*Cho-sun Mu-chung-bu Kong-san Zu-ui-ja Ryong-myung*) INCIDENT: Japanese authorities clamp down on few anarchists remaining in Korea in attempt at 'final solution': Ryu Hwa-yong, Choi Kap-ryong, Lee Hong-kun, Kang Chang-gi, An Bong-yong, Cho Tsung-bok, Rin Tsung-hak, Kim Dae-hwan, others, arrested.

LIBERO INTERNATIONAL 2

MAY 1975

- 1932.1.8
JAPAN
In front of the Imperial Palace's Sakurada Gate, Korean anarchist Lee Pang-chang hurls bomb at Japanese emperor's car returning from military review.
- 1932.4.29
CHINA
Korean anarchist Yun Pang-gil hurls bomb into Japanese emperor's official birthday celebrations in Hung-k'ou Park, Shanghai; General Shirakawa, several civil, military officials killed, hurt.
- 1933.3.15
CHINA
Assassination attempt in Shanghai on Japanese Minister to China Ariyoshi; 3 Korean anarchists, Paek Chung-kee, Won Sim-chang, Lee Gang-hyon arrested.
- 1933.3
KOREA
DAI-ICHI RO INCIDENT: police raid Chinese restaurant where reconstruction of anarchist movement in Korea is being discussed; anarchists Chae Yin-kok, O Nam-gi, Choi Hak-ju, Lee Jung-kyu, Lee Eul-kyu, others, arrested.
- 1934.1.21
JAPAN
KOREAN GENERAL WORKERS' UNION (*CHOSEN IPPAN RŌDŌ KUMIAI*) FORMED: Korean Casual Labourers' Union (*Chosen Jiyū Rōdōsha Kumiai*) reorganized; main figures Lee Kyu-uk, Lee Chong-mun, Lee Yun-hee, Lee Chong-shik, Chong Kwang-shin, An Heung-ok, O U-yong.
- 1934.5.1
JAPAN
While reactionary elements participate in National Foundation Day celebrations held same day, total of 289 Korean anarchists, 298 'Bolsheviks', jointly organize boisterous May Day rally.
- 1935.10.11
JAPAN
After Japanese universities decide to discontinue use of Korean language in teaching, Korean students, graduates in Japan resolve to launch opposition movement.
- 1935.11.4
JAPAN
JAPAN ANARCHO-COMMUNIST PARTY (*NIPPON MUSEIFU-KYŌSANSUGI TŌ*) INCIDENT: terrorist party formed in 1933; spies reveal its plans to the police, several Korean anarchists, Lee Dong-sun, Han Kuk-tang, Lee Chong-mun, Chin Rok-chul arrested.
- Autumn 1937
CHINA
KOREAN REVOLUTIONISTS' LEAGUE (*CH'AO-HSIEN KO-MING-CHE LIEN-MENG*) FORMED: Chong Hwa-am, Yoo Ja-myong, other Korean anarchists take part in broad anti-Japanese front following the full-scale invasion of China.

Shin Chae-ho

KOREA'S KOTOKU

Shin Chae-ho, a veteran of the Korean anarchist movement and regarded as one of its "fathers", was born in 1880 in Chongju, Chungchong province. In many respects, his life bore a striking resemblance to that of Kotoku Shusui, the first Japanese anarchist [see LI 1]. By the age of 20, like Kotoku, he was the foremost Korean journalist of his time, having worked on the prominent *Hansong News* and *Dae Han Daily*. His main reputation was as a writer of elegant prose, and his talent was put to good revolutionary use when, in 1923, he was asked to compose the draft of the *Korean Revolutionary Manifesto*. It was issued by the 'Band of Heroes' (*Eiyuldan* — see 'Chronology' in LI 1)*; a revolutionary terrorist group responsible for a campaign of anti-Japanese violence in the 1920's. Similarly, Kotoku's journalistic gift was put at the service of the Ashio copper miners in 1907 when, at the request of their representative, he wrote a petition to the Emperor on their behalf. The protest was against copper poisoning caused by the mining company's failure to take safety measures; this incident marked the beginning of Japan's continuing history of fatal pollution problems.

Shin Chae-ho was a Bakuninist anarchist. In the manifesto he wrote of the "mutuality of destruction and construction":

"The revolutionary path begins at destruction, thus opening up new ways for progress. However, revolution does not stop at destruction. There can be no destruction without construction; no construction without destruction...In the mind of the revolutionist, these two are indivisibly linked: destruction, ergo construction!"

*

Where Shin Chae-ho differed from Kotoku was in his elaboration of a personal historical vision. His Japanese biographer points out:

"What was essential for Shin Chae-ho was to take this image of history and spread it as widely as possible among Korean youth — who

in the last analysis would be the bearers of any ideological banners to be unfurled."

In a word, Shin's view of history might be described as 'Pan-Koreanism'. It traced the lines of Korean history and culture back as far as the days of the Hun and Mongol empires, and even included Japan as having once been under Korean cultural influence. In his view, therefore, in all of East Asia only Korea could match, in both civil and military achievements, the record of the Hans — the Chinese. This was the starting point for Shin's historical vision. If it seems less than anarchistic to us, one has only to remember the total racial and cultural obliteration which Japanese rule aimed at for the Korean people. Needless to say, it provided a solid spiritual basis for the national independence movement.

Shin Chae-ho is today one of that rare breed of scholars who receive positive appraisal both north and south of the 38th parallel. It goes without saying that the anarchist side of his character has been obliterated; it is as a pure nationalist that his memory is being preserved, and within the ranks of past Korean scholars that his reputation has been imprisoned. Hence it is all the more important for us to throw light on his anarchist belief.

*

So, what kind of man was Shin Chae-ho? Well, in the first place, it seems that he was generally a bit dirty! Totally heedless of his clothes and overall personal appearance, he would wear things for days even after they turned stiff with sweat and dirt. Nevertheless, this same man was a teacher at the Osan High School, especially set up to teach the offspring of the Korean middle class and using the finest methods of Western bourgeois education.

One day, Shin happened to go to the public bath-house with a colleague from school. While they were taking off their clothes, this man noticed that Shin seemed to be wearing a pair of bright red women's bloomers. Queried about them, Shin replied nonchalantly: "Oh, as I was walking along the street yesterday I passed a shop selling these beautiful coloured knickers, so I popped in and bought a pair!" This colleague, Lee Kwang-sop, later recalled in his memoirs the absurd image of Shin Chae-ho the eminent historian, with his bald, pointed head and several days' growth of whiskers because he couldn't be bothered to shave, standing there in a pair of bright red knickers looking totally unconcerned.

Another of Shin's idiosyncrasies was as follows: whenever he washed his face, he would do so standing erect, with the result that always drenched himself with water. When someone asked him what the problem was, he replied: "Because I refuse to lower my head for anyone till the day I die!"

*



Anyway: Shin Chae-ho first entered the anarchist movement in 1928 when he joined the League of Eastern Anarchists, organized in Nanking by the brothers Lee Jung-kyu and Lee Eul-kyu [see 'Chronology' in LI-1]. Members were from China, Korea, Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines, India, Vietnam—an Asian Anarchist International, in fact. On the other hand, while it called itself an anarchist organization, it acted more as an international contact point for all those fighting in exile for independence from the Japanese yoke.

However, Shin's espousal of anarchism dated from much earlier—at least, from the period 1920-23, we would guess. For by

the time he came to draft the Korean Revolutionary Manifesto in 1923, he was already clearly an anarchist.

It seems that Shin first turned to anarchism after reading Kōtoku's book *Rubbing Out Christ*—yet another link. There was more to it than that, however. Forced to leave Korea and go into exile early in his life, he saw first the militarism and political repression of the Bolsheviks, then the state of affairs in China, dominated by the Chinese CP. "So this is where the communists lead us; then it has to be anarchism..." he must have felt.

In 1929, Shin was involved in plans to set up an Oriental Anarchists' League (*Tung-pang Wu-cheng-fu Chu-i-che Lien-meng*) in Peking. In order to raise funds for a new magazine, he concocted a plan with a Chinese comrade working in the Peking Post Office. It was arranged that Shin would go to Dairen, Manchuria (then controlled by the Japanese) with a forged international money order provided by the Chinese comrade. By presenting this, he could pretend to have money deposited in Peking, and demand payment in Dairen. Suspicions were aroused, however, when he presented the receipt, and both he and his partner were arrested by the Japanese

police. Shin was given 10 years' hard labour on a charge of belonging to a secret organization, but before he could complete his sentence, he died in prison in Dairen on February 21 1936.

*

In conclusion, two points stand out about Shin Chae-ho. The first is that he, a privileged intellectual and established historian, in the course of the independence struggle, turned not as so many did to communism, but to anarchism—inevitable given his experiences. The second was the clear expression in his thinking of that peculiarity of Korean anarchism: the mixture of anarchism and nationalism.

*

In 1945, following the Japanese defeat, some former comrades of Shin Chae-ho including Chong Hwa-am and Lee Ha-yu established in Shanghai a publishing house which they named in his memory the 'Shin Chae-ho Study School'. Here, up till 1949, they printed and published anarchist materials and historical works, until they were closed down by the communists.

*NOTE: While some anarchists did take part in the Band of Heroes' activities, it is best known as an organization of nationalist terrorists. It provided Park Yul (see Chronology, part I) with explosives for his activities in Japan.

continued from p.4

Thought you might like to know who we are (or who we say we are, at any rate):

KUSAURA NAOHIDE: the organization freak—into economic history, Proudhon and international solidarity. Now running SFIC, and trying to translate Solidarity's *Workers' Control & the Economics of Self-Management* into Japanese.

OZEKI HIROSHI: took part in the International Congress at Carrara—where he got well pissed off with the traditional-type anarchist movement. Since then he's translated Brinton's *Bolsheviks and Workers' Control* into Japanese and wondered where it's at.

QUINCE O'TOOLE: for the last five years has worked hard in the movements to free Taiwanese, south Korean and American political prisoners; keeps two cats called Kropotkin and Krishna, and a 16-month human called Natania Miwako.

WAT TYLER: is hung up on the lessons of history, especially Chinese and Korean, and is working on a book about the Chinese anarchist movement. Thinks anarchist theory is all very well, but that the answer probably lies in the soil anyway...

MAY 1975

37

Korean Anarchists

Under Martial Law (2)

Publications

Information for this article was gathered on two separate trips to south Korea by collective members Ozeki Hiroshi and Wat Tyler, in 1973 and 1975 respectively. We were able to bring back with us copies of the publications mentioned (apart from the translations that is), and are looking for ways to have them translated into English. Most of what we know about them was learned from conversations at the National Culture Research Institute in Seoul. At least, they show that, despite horrendous repression, the idea is not dead in south Korea; on the contrary, it shows signs of a new revival among young people, as we tried to show in part 1 of this article.

In south Korea today, the anarchist idea is sustained by twelve, freely- or not-so-freely available publications:

1. *Anarchism — the Idea: A History of the Ideology & Activities of the Free Men* (a translation of George Woodcock's *Anarchism*, pt 1 only, by Ha Kee-rak; published by Hyung Sul Press).
2. *Anarchism — the Movement* (a translation of pt 2 of Woodcock's book, by Choi Kap-ryong; same publisher).
3. *Modern Science & Anarchism / Anarchism & Morality* (a translation of Kropotkin, by Lee Eul-kyu; issued by the Committee to Publish the Posthumous Manuscripts of Lee Eul-kyu, 1973).
4. *1917 — The Lesson of the Russian Revolution* (a translation of Voline's *La Revolution Inconnue*, by Ha Kee-rak; published by Sei Eun Press, Nov. 1973).
5. *Biography of Kim Jong-jin* (written by Lee Eul-kyu, published by Han Heung Press, 1963).
6. *The Constitution, Programme & Policies of the Democratic Unification Party*.
7. *The Free Individualists' League*, July 17 — Sept. 17, 1973.
8. *The Collected Writings of Lee Jung-kyu* (published by Sam Hwa Press, 1974; 500 copies, privately distributed).

9. Correspondence.

10. *The Memoirs of a Nationalist Militant's Widow — History of the Struggle in West Chientao* (written by Lee Eun-seung, published by Chong Eun Press, Jan. 1975).
11. *The History of the Anti-Japanese Independence Movement in Korea* (written by Lee Gang-hyon, published Chong Eun Press, 1974).
12. *Passion for Liberation* (written by Lee Bom-sok, published by Chong Eun Press, 1972).

Struggling to exist despite Park Chung-hee's fascist dictatorship, the anarchist movement in south Korea naturally has to put up with severe restrictions and almost total obstructionism. Before we go any further, people reading this should understand that the activities described here are taking place under conditions where even the right to hold discussion meetings, let alone publish their materials, are denied the Korean anarchists.

Still, in early 1973 anarchists living in the capital, Seoul, managed to put together the *Jajyuin Yuenmaeng* (Free Men's Federation — FMF) [see pt 1]. With this group as the nucleus, publishing activities gradually got under way. The first two items on the list represent a two-volume translation of George Woodcock's *Anarchism*. The subtitle, *History of the Ideology & Activities of the Free Men*, was a tactical measure adopted after long consideration as a necessary sacrifice to get the book past the censors. 500 copies of pt 1, *The Idea*, were printed and distributed by a regular commercial press which normally handles university textbooks.

Pt 2, however, *The Movement*, was not so easily disguised. Thought control, obviously, is an essential part of the south Korean government's martial law set-up, and the publishers naturally hung back even after completing the printing. Only when FMF members finally decided to buy up and distribute all the printed copies themselves did this second part see the light of day. Since that experience, all actual anarchist publications in south Korea have been produced at the movement's own expense and distributed privately.

Modern Science & Anarchism / Anarchism & Morality is a translation of Kropotkin's *Modern Science & Anarchism*, together with selections from his *Ethics*. The translator, Lee Eul-kyu, was widely known as 'Korea's Kropotkin' until his death a few years ago. During his exile days in China, he fought in the front line of the Korean independence and anarchist movements. With this career behind him, the influence of his ideas and personality has become strong not only among young Korean anarchists, but even on a national scale.

The Voline translation is an interesting illustration of the curious political relationship between the anarchists and the government in south Korea, founded on the mutual opposition to communism which we mentioned in pt 1. Because it comes down against the Bolsheviks in their conduct of the revolution, and condemns their suppression of freedom of speech and organization in order to consolidate their power, the book was able to find an outlet through a commercial publisher. Hence it can be bought in any of the student bookshops of Seoul. Even the word 'revolution' is no longer anathema in the contorted jargon of south Korean politics, and is thus used to describe the officers' coup d'etat which in 1961 overthrew the elected government and put Park Chung-hee in power.

Biography of Kim Jong-jin is the story of one of the outstanding figures of the little-known pre-war Korean anarchist movement: the organizer of the anarchist partisans in north Manchuria, Kim Jong-jin. The author, Lee Eul-kyu, fought alongside Kim, and has put this book together from his experiences and memories. The circumstances of Kim's career bear an amazing resemblance to the Russian Makhnovschina of 1918-21: Kim as Nestor Makhno; Lee Eul-kyu as his Voline; and north Manchuria as the Ukraine. The contrast, too, was merely one of degree. Whereas Makhno was suppressed by Bolshevik arms and forced into exile in Paris, where he later died in a sanatorium, Kim Jong-jin was surreptitiously murdered by a communist agent on July 11, 1931.

Of all the books which have reached us from south Korea, this one is easily the most important. Not only the Koreans living in Japan, but also young Japanese anarchists, as well as comrades elsewhere, should all read this book if they have a chance. We are trying to translate it, to make that possible. For, more than anything else, Kim's story gives living proof that, in the Korean independence movement hitherto shown as monopolized by communists and pure nationalists, there were also anarchists who fought sincerely in the front line of that movement, and who sacrificed their lives as anarchists to the struggle for national dignity.

Apart from the FMF, whose members are mainly concerned with maintaining the anarchist 'idea', the remaining activities can be broadly divided into two separate movements. These are, first, the group which has set up the Democratic Unification Party (DUP) in order to carry on legal political activities; and second, the trend which has become known as the 'Autonomous Village Movement'.

The three major figures in the DUP are the party head, Yang Il-dong; his chief advisor, Chong Hwa-am; and the chairman of the Policy Advisory Committee, Ha Kee-rak. Yang helped set up the Eastern Workers' Alliance (*Toko Rodo Domei*), a union for Korean casu-

al labourers in Japan, in Tokyo in 1926; he also co-edited the *Black Newspaper* (*Kokushoku Shimbun*), the organ of Korean anarchists in Japan before the war. Chong is often called the "father" of the Korean anarchist / independence movement; he was active in Korea, China and Manchuria before the war. Ha also has a career as a fighter behind him. In short, strange as it may sound, the DUP is the only south Korean opposition party which was organized by anarchists!

The *Constitution, Programme & Policies of the DUP* and the *Free Individualists' League* piece present the political policies of the DUP, together with accounts of press interviews with its leaders. Since the regular press is forbidden to publish such things, it would be impossible to learn anything of the party's activities without these items. Most important of all, they explain the special nature of the anarchist movement in south Korea — why, after 'Liberation' in 1945, a section of the movement took the risky decision to soil its hands with politics [see pt 1]. The circumstances suggest a certain resemblance with the situation of the Spanish anarchists late in the Civil War.

The second main trend, the Autonomous Village Movement, operates from its newly-established centre, the National Culture Research Institute in central Seoul. This is headed by Lee Eul-kyu's younger brother, Jung-kyu. It originally evolved out of the Narodnik-type activities to which many intellectuals — mainly teachers and students — resorted after Park Chung-hee's military coup in 1961, and has now come to lead that movement. Its Narodnik ideology was inevitable, given the strong Kropotkinist leanings of the two Lee brothers. Lee Jung-kyu, thanks to his former position as head of the famous Confucianist 'Equality-Creating Hall' University, also wields considerable influence among educational circles in south Korea. Out of this, through admiration of Lee's ideas and personality, many young people are beginning to turn to anarchism.

Most of Lee's experiences and ideas are contained in his *Collected Writings*, 500 copies of which were privately printed and distributed by the FMF. This is another vital book for anarchists to read, and parts of it are now being translated into both Japanese and English. As well as a detailed chronology of Lee Jung-kyu's long life (he's now 80), the book contains his experiences in the anti-Japanese struggle in Korea, China and Manchuria; the history of the political and educational activities of the anarchists in Korea since Liberation; and the background to the National Culture Research Institute / Autonomous Village Movement. Although his late elder brother, Eul-kyu, actually acquired the nickname of the 'Korean Kropotkin', Lee Jung-kyu surely deserves that title today for the respect in which he is held by young and old alike.

Correspondence is the organ of the Autonomous Village Movement's main organization department, the National Conference of Village Activists. It contains reports on activities, discussions of the direction of the village movement, and so on. The conference chairman, Park Seung-han, is a young anarchist and a former high school geography teacher who resigned to live in the countryside. He now combines teaching with his work in the Conference.

Incidentally, Yasaka collective, near Hiroshima, Japan, is now planning to set up a kind of 'student exchange scheme' with the Korean movement, to give young anarchists from both countries a chance to change places. The first step will be, we hope, a summer camp in Korea this July. When you think about it, there are many points at which the Japanese and Korean situations coincide: turning the villages into communes; building an autonomous, self-defensible society; creating an awareness of actual conditions; even the aims and methods of each movement. We expect to learn a lot in the way of concrete strategies, methods and tactics. We hope it will be possible to put such an exchange scheme into practice despite the obvious difficulties.

Although the FMF, as we said, originally decided to finance and distribute all future anarchist publications itself, of course this severely limited the amount of material they could put out. The last three titles represent one way of getting around this problem. As we explained in part 1, the history of the Korean anarchist movement is tightly intertwined with that of the (non-communist) struggle for national independence. So it's very simple to portray someone as a hero of the anti-Japanese resistance (anti-Japanese sentiment is still felt by practically every Korean) without mentioning that he was at the same time an anarchist. On the other hand, for those prepared to read between the lines, as well as for those who already have some personal experience of the movement, the message comes through quite clearly. If this seems an unsatisfactory situation, you have to remember the reality of political repression in south Korea today — particularly the almost infinite applicability of the fascist government's anti-communism legislation.

Items 10 and 11 are ideal examples. Lee Eun-seung's *Memoirs* contain her reminiscences of the anarchist / independence struggle in Manchuria, China and Korea up to 1945. The book makes no theoretical or ideological pretensions — it hardly could in current conditions; instead it contains a wealth of information about the pre-war movement that cannot be found elsewhere. Lee herself (she's now 86) was in the thick of the struggle with her husband. The publishers, a straight commercial outfit putting out cheap editions much like Penguins, attached the title to the book to distract attention from its contents. Whether this was out of dedi-

cation to the movement, or whether they simply smelt a scoop, is not clear. At any rate, the book is selling like hot cakes, and in March 1975 won a major literary award carrying a prize of 500,000 won — ₩500. Lee Eun-seung's husband, Lee He-yong, was a hero and martyr of the Korean struggle and one of the first Korean anarchists. When he was arrested by the Japanese secret police in 1932, to avoid betraying his friends under torture, he bit out his own tongue and died a few hours later. The book describes this incident and many others in a moving description of the conditions under which comrades struggled at that time.

Lee Gang-hyon's *History* is similar. Lee himself is a veteran of the Korean and Chinese anarchist movements, and one of the few prominent anarchists in Manchuria to escaped being bumped off by the CP in its bloodstained campaign for control over the Korean nationalist movement. He still lives in Seoul, is a member of the FMF, and is at present writing a book of memoirs. The *History*, also published as a cheap paperback, is a detailed history of the Korean Independence Movement beginning from the March 1st 1919 Incident [see 'Chronology' in LI 1]. Lee taught in primary schools in Manchuria for twelve years before going to Shanghai, where he was later arrested for an assassination attempt on the Japanese ambassador. His book is more than just a history though; it tells the confused and little-known background of the Korean anarchist movement in China and Manchuria at first hand, and is a very important book which deserves translation.

The last book is a bit different. The author, Lee Bom-sok, is a pure nationalist, and his book contains his memories of the movement from the point of view of a nationalist, rather than that of an anarchist. Although for that reason it's probably the least important of these books for understanding the anarchist movement, the distinction between the anarchist and nationalist movements was often very blurred, and Lee, a former military leader, was around for many of the important events affecting both. For example, he was co-commander with Kim Joa-jin of the Korean Independence Army when it was enticed to take refuge in Siberia in the early 1920's. Both turned anti-communist as a result of this experience, and Kim later became known as an anarchist until his murder by a communist agent in 1930.

One other effort deserves mention. The workers at the National Culture Research Institute are planning a *History of the South Korean Agrarian Movement*. Volume one should be published by the end of 1975. It will be based upon information provided by local groups in touch with the Institute, student activists, and contemporary newspapers. Lee Mun-chang, who will be one of the principle editors and who writes regularly for *Correspondence*, told us

continued on p. 45

OOPS...

PAGE	LINE	
10	32	For <i>Measurement</i> , read <i>Justice</i> .
18	10	Chang Ching-chiang also joined the KMT. He had strong gangster connections in Shanghai, and became both banker and rabble-rouser to Chiang Kai-shek.
28	4-6	For "Kyong Sung Dae Wha Park", read, "the Dae Wha Chinese restaurant; for "Tab Dong Kong", read "Tap Dong Park" — the second was more important.
"	16	Kim Joa-jin was at this time a pure nationalist, and only later became known as an anarchist general.
"	19	Add, Kaneko Fumiko, Yuk Hong-kyun, Kurihara.
29	12	For "New People's Government", read "New People's Commune".
"	9	For "Kaneko Ayako", read, "Kaneko Fumiko".
"	20	For "Ryukamoto" read "Mukumoto".
31	21	For "Kim Wan-jin", read, "Kim Jong-jin".
32	title	The gremlin ran off with the note in which we intended to explain how this article was written. It was based on the trip of one of the collective members, Ozeki Hiroshi, to south Korea in 1973. The information he gathered was put in dialogue form to make it easier to explain.
"	15,28	For "Kaneko Ayako", read, "Kaneko Fumiko".
"	23-4	DUP stands for "Democratic Unification Party".
33	1	For "Cho Han-ku", read, "Cho Han-eung".

"	4	Lee Dong-sun's 'Commune Movement' has always been part of the Autonomous Village Movement, according to Lee Mun-chang, and Lee is an influential member of the National Conference of Village Activists.
"	5	For "Choi Hea-cheung", read "Choi Hae-cheung".
36	23	In March 1975, for obscure reasons, the DUP announced that it would re-merge with the New Democratic Party.
"	42-3	Yang & Ha are not MP's; they simply decide policy.
38	28	Lee Eul-kyu died in 1971.
"	31	Lee Jung-kyu is now retired.
38-9	39ff	This paragraph is a bit confused. The student demo took place on April 19, leaving at least 111 students and 4 pigs dead, and earning for that day the label of 'Bloody Tuesday'. The 'Faculty Demo', involving 200 university professors and lecturers led by Lee Jung-kyu, happened on the 25th, despite the declaration of martial law on the 19th. The government's violent response brought forth further demos, and President Syngman Rhee resigned on the 27th.
39	7-8	The participants were all university teachers.

continued from p.43

that he hopes the book will reflect the Korean people's own ideas on how to organize and improve rural life, and also show the direction in which they want the countryside to develop, as opposed to that in which it is being pushed by the government's unpopular 'New Village' campaign.

Finally, other south Korean comrades, notably Yang Hee-sop, have set up the 'Freedom Library' (*Jayu Munko*). Their aim is to gather the scattered materials on the Korean movement in order to compile a history of Korean anarchism. They also want to set up correspondence with comrades abroad. Anarchists everywhere should do all we can to enable the 'Freedom Library' to become a CIRA-Korea; by offering encouragement from outside, we can help it escape from the jaws of the tiger, giving south Korean anarchists the opportunity to take part in the international anarchist movement. Yang Hee-sop himself has told us of his desire to receive news of developments elsewhere in the world, and is waiting for letters from us all.

anarchdots

Many Young Americans May Become Stateless



Hey, comrades, bet this is one you haven't tried! Instant anarchism, "stateless-in-spite-of-myself" Utopia today! Oh happy day!

Not everyone shares our bliss, however. Concerned eyebrows are being raised these days among the state-obsessed ranks of social planners and managers in Asia. For Instant Anarchy! is the fortune of some 3000 lucky people within the next two or three years unless the US government decides to exercise its paternal rights over their lives. They are the legitimate children of American GI or civilian fathers and Japanese mothers, abandoned (along with their mothers) by their fathers during the Occupation period. If they were illegitimate, they'd have received Japanese citizenship. Since they are legitimate, however, under US law they must live in the US for at least two years between their 14th and 26th birthdays to retain their US citizenship.

Since most of them speak no English, and have no way of living in the US for two years, they will attain the Nirvana of statelessness automatically upon reaching their 26th birthdays. Tens of thousands more are also in line for this jackpot during the next decade or so. Salute! to these (unwitting) pioneers of the new way!

CIRA-NIPPON

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.

We still have back copies of *RONIN* magazine, dealing with oppression in south Korea, pollution in Japan, exploitation in SE Asia, and so on. Issues #4 to #16 are available, at 25p/50c each (30p/75c air mail).

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