

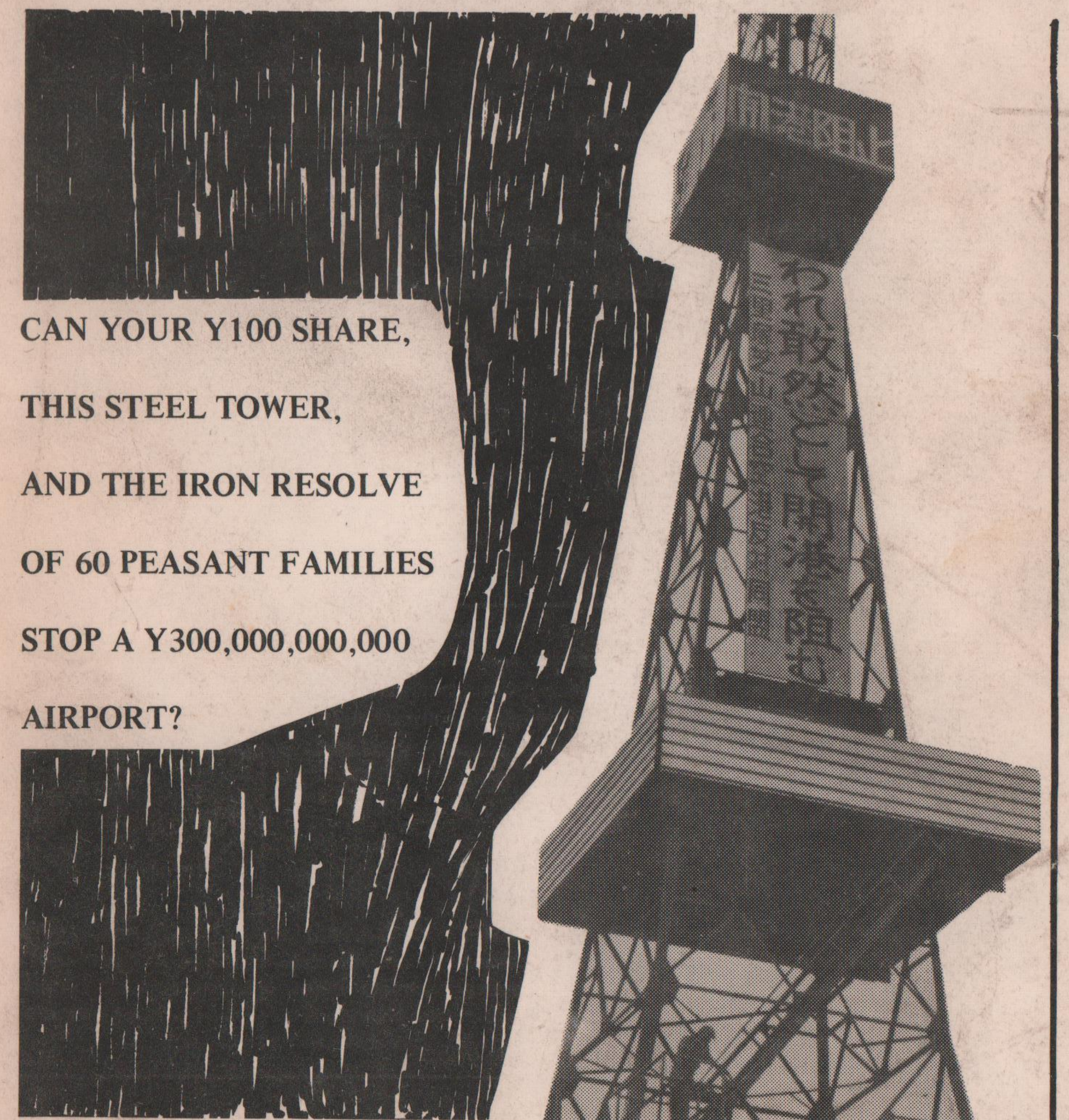
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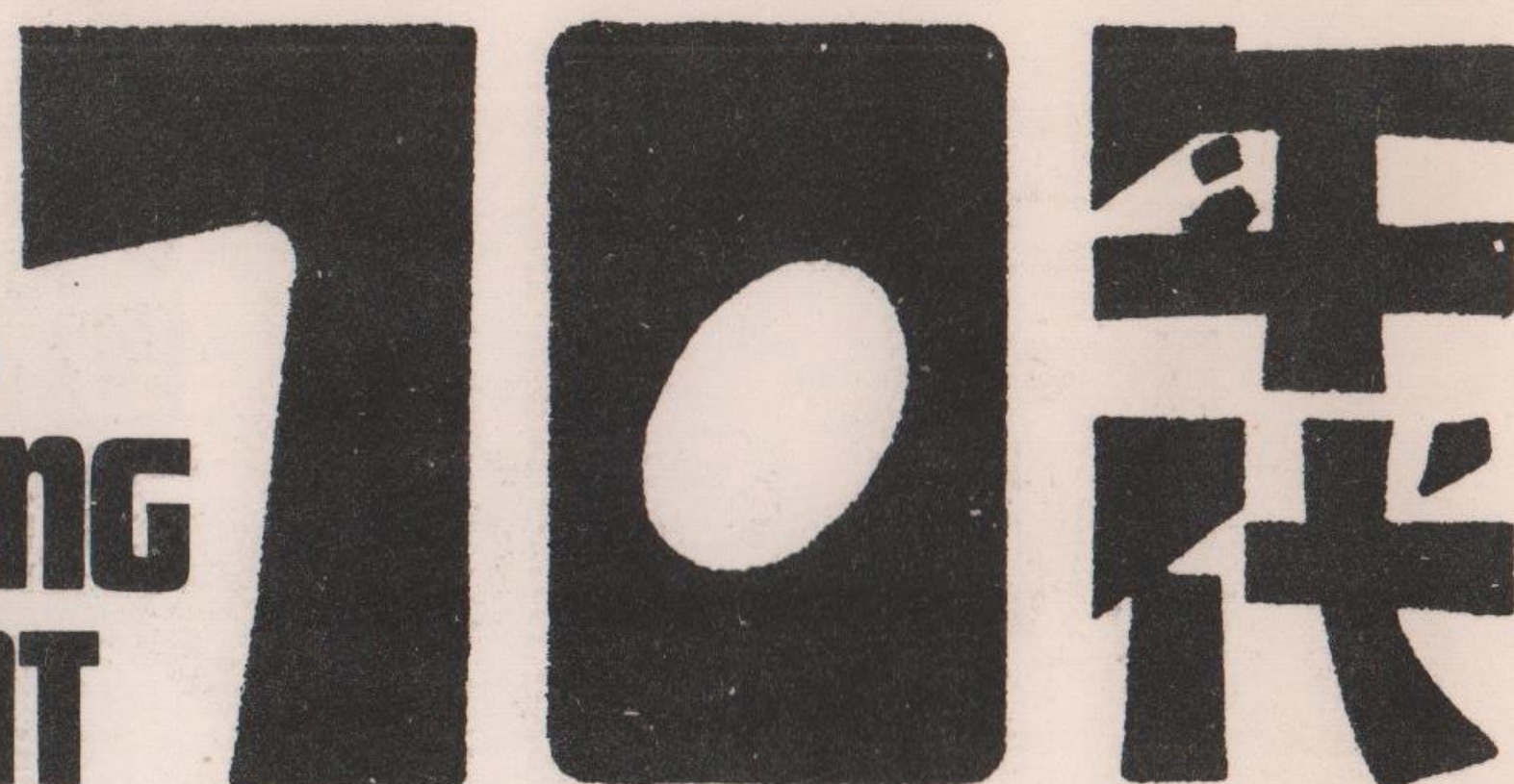
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CAN YOUR Y100 SHARE,
THIS STEEL TOWER,
AND THE IRON RESOLVE
OF 60 PEASANT FAMILIES
STOP A Y300,000,000,000
AIRPORT?

GROUP PROFILE: HONG KONG 70s FRONT



The 70s Front group consists of both Hong Kong Chinese and many libertarian refugees from the reaction which accompanied the so-called "cultural revolution" in China.

Some members publish a magazine, "70s Bi-weekly" (in Chinese).

Others have organized the Asia/Pacific branch of the Alternative Press Syndicate, and have put out three issues of "Minus 9," the local APS bulletin. This is from their statement entitled, "Our Position." You can contact them at 158 Shauiwan Road, Hong Kong.

An active organization carrying out the social revolution, the "70s Front" is naturally ready to confront many questions, such as: What are your beliefs and ideals? How do you see the future Hong Kong revolution? And so on. Such questions are, honestly, hard to answer, but nonetheless demand thorough analysis, lest our action come to lose all its vitality, our words and deeds become rootless and our blindness laughable. The below can be said to be our first, tentative attitudes toward the above questions.

OUR IDEALS

In certain cases people ordinarily say: "I'm an xxx-ist." Likewise, we are often asked, "What ism are you?" Questions such as these put us in a predicament — which doesn't mean that we've no ideals nor beliefs, only that we've yet to come upon the perfect banner representing our thoughts. Those whose heads hanker after worn-out ways, treading the straight and narrow of rigid self-restraint; who, without a shred of principle, take the teachings of the prophets and priests and call

them their own ideas — they represent the flight from freedom. The aim of revolution is to change society, not to register the correctness of this or that ism. With an open attitude, we therefore recognize, criticize and welcome all progressive thought. Any "pure xxx-ism" is absolutely meaningless. So, to answer the questions above, usually all we can say is: "We are socialists." Socialism is a tide in which we find many currents, some of them mutually opposed. Those who insist on classifying the ultimate aim of socialism according to two distinct higher and lower stages, communist and socialist, bring up the "transition question," a theoretical basis advanced so as to perpetuate the state machine, oppress the people, and secure the advantage of a small elite after the elimination of capitalism.

In general, socialist currents and sects share one point: they all favor the abolition of private ownership and the return of production capital to the public ownership of society. They seek to remake society on an egalitarian base so as to establish an ideal society which meets people's needs. Since we too share these concepts, we too call ourselves "socialists." But compared to all the other socialist strands, we especially stress the humanist spirit to be found in socialism. As Marx stressed in his Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts, if communism lacks humanism then it isn't communism, and humanism lacking communism isn't humanism. One who seeks complete independence and freedom can only exist in a society both rational and prosperous. And a rational and prosperous society's existence, in turn, depends on whether the individual character is to fully develop. . . . The most revolutionary aspect of a revolution lies precisely in his/her independence and freedom. Come the day our individuality is wiped out, we're robbed of our freedom, and all is done at the direction of a solitary authority, leader or party, then we'll have reached the ideal society — if this isn't the biggest joke the world has ever seen, then it has got to be the most beautiful!

We are resolutely against all authority: authority suggests suppression. And against all power, no matter its shape or form. We affirm that, under freedom and equality, a socialist life is founded on mutual cooperation and free association. But unlike the proverbial thief who covers his ears that the ringing of the bell he's stealing won't give him away, we don't deceive ourselves by denying the existence of the class struggle in the society before us. We are, however, resolutely against encouraging class hatred as the driving power of the revolution. Hatred will only bring in its wake retribution, suppression, stripping of the people's rights and the distortion of the people's humanity. . . . Violence perpetuates the slavery and robbery of the masses — precisely this principle serves as the foundation of contemporary society. A violent socialist revolution is necessary, and if we are to radically transform society and construct in its place one of free workers, there is no way for us to accomplish this save by a violent socialist revolution. But naturally we cannot encourage and sing the praises of violence. Rather than saying violence inevitably and logically proceeds from revolution, better to say that we are forced to resort to violence because, in order to secure their own profits, the anti-revolutionists suppress us with violence.

. . . In the last analysis is the Chinese social structure under the communist regime socialism? This, more than all else, calls for urgent analysis.

First the economic side. The Chinese communists are stuck as ever in the rut of capitalism. . . . The economic system under the Chinese communists is simply one where the capital resources have been rationalized, domestic markets brought under state control and nationally-operated ventures come to replace private ones. But nationalizing production resources has little to do with socializing production resources, and even less to do with realizing a socialist economy. . . . In China, nationalizing production resources means only that the state has become the general capitalist; and its control powers are all concentrated in the hands of a small clique of party bureaucrats. Thus have the party bureaucrats, in turn, metamorphosed to where they've taken "protective custody" of productive resources.

As ever before, the industrial workers are wage labor, people plundered and repressed. Having failed to eliminate capitalism, the Chinese communists have driven the capitalist system to the extreme. . . . Not only do wages not reflect the value of labor itself, but are low compared to other capitalist countries. Not only are wages not subject to supply and demand, likewise neither is return on investment regulated, so that the push for attainment of the greatest scale of return on investment has been rendered into the guideline of the People's Economic Plan. This kind of policy is reflected in the universal low wages and shortage of consumer goods, and is reflected all the more in the flow of goods from the mainland to Hong Kong. The application of political force to the suppression of labor, to the increase in expropriation of value, and to the exalting of the return on investment rate all leave any traditional capitalist system trailing far behind in a cloud of dust. . . .

The socialist economy we seek:

1) is not the **nationalization** but the **socialization** of production resources. In areas of production control, all responsibility for coordination and control will lie

Comrades in Barcelona have just begun publishing a new paper on anarchism and the libertarian movement. Its name is *Acracia*. The editor is Carlos Semprun Maura. These comrades want contact with non-Spanish groups, and want to exchange with other publications, especially Spanish-language ones. Contact them at: TUSQUETS EDITOR, c/o ROSELLON, 285, 2o. Barcelona - 9.

In LI-2 we said that comrades in south Korea are waiting to hear from foreign friends, but we didn't explain how to contact them. Since all incoming and outgoing mail is opened by the south Korean authorities, the best plan would be to send letters to them c/o us, and we'll take them in when we go. If you decide to write, though, be cool, because the comrades there are working in very difficult conditions.

with Workers' Committees, comprising representatives chosen by the workers. As for the form of production, the division-of-labor system will be abolished — including the division between industrial and agricultural labor, between mental and physical labor, between that of managers and producers, and between dissimilar production processes, thereby ensuring that every last worker becomes the embodiment of creative power;

2) abolishes the wage labor system;

3) determines social production according to mass consumption, and plans an economy where need determines income.

As for the political aspect in China, the party directs everything, and the Chinese Communist Party has been influenced by the foul weed of the Leninist vanguard party organized as a high-level, concentrated formation, founded on the principle of "democratic centralism." Theoretically, policy formulation involves a democratic-style discussion by standing party members or their proxies, thereafter to be collectivized and implemented. And should there be an opposing view, once the matter is put to a vote, the majority will must be obeyed absolutely. On the surface this appears both democratic and collective; actual circumstances are quite the contrary. In this case ample democracy means nothing more than the opportunity for those attending the meeting to understand opposing views. But it does not necessarily follow that this will solve the problems, because a policy's correctness can only be tested in the crucible of actual implementation. Under centralism, minority opinions lose all chance of being tried and tested, and naturally which way is right cannot be determined. Therefore, when events reveal majority decisions and consequent policy to have been in error, the people must go on believing that that was the only way. As far as those who hold democratic centralism sacred are concerned, to allow any chance of implementation to dissimilar ideas or policies represents the path of adventurism or the stupid dissipation of "actual energies." But we'd like to point out that the opinion of the majority is not necessarily the correct one. If it is majority opinion that serves as the refuge for all policies, is not this too a kind of adventurism? Rather, wouldn't it be far safer to allow different policies a chance at experimentation and actualization, so as to provide mutually complementary, supportive policies? And as for the line that this would mean a dissipation of actual energies, there's even less of a leg to stand on. For the concrete expression of actualized energies is to be found in the efficient application of all resources, and the quick — and accurate — attaining of projected targets. . . .

Democratic centralization suffers from one serious defect: it becomes a warm bed to bureaucrats. This is the result of high-level centralization of power as well as information and materials. Consider the case of an ordinary party member: though s/he is legally entitled to criticize and review the policies of his/her superiors, yet, unable to obtain the relevant data, how is s/he to conduct a virgorous criticism an effective review? In such cases where decisions flow top-down and not bottom-up, the slow development of absolute submissiveness to one's superiors is the result. . . .

"Without the efforts of the Chinese Communist Party, without CCP members serving as the mainstream pillars of the people, the independence and liberation of China would have been impossible, as would the industrialization of China and the

modernization of its agriculture." — **Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung**, Vol. III, "On Coalition Government." This passage fully reflects a reactionary toward the interests of the revolution, the masses, and the party, etc. And it is with just such attitudes that a small group of bureaucrats, regarding the advantage of the party as that of the revolution, see their own interests and theirs only as the interests of the party. And whenever they meet opponents of different mind, they immediately attack them as "counter-revolutionaries" or a "conspiracy party." Under the pretext of dictatorship of the proletariat, gradually all become subject to a progressively unsrupulous repression. Not only is this true for extra-party affairs, but also within the party too — as demonstrated in the reactionary line, "No party outside the party, no faction within the party." If such a dictatorship is meant to protect the fruits of the revolution, and to bring the passage to communism, then it amounts to the most colossal absurdity. We must understand that dictatorship is only meant to maintain the special class interests of the ruling class, and the proletariat hasn't its own class property interests. So there's no such thing as a so-called class dictatorship. The entire process of stripping the bourgeoisie of all its capital should be a revolution involving the whole of humanity. To set up, at any point in this process, a controlling party dictatorship under the fine-sounding name of "dictatorship of the proletariat" is simply a dirty insult to, and shameless deceit of, the proletariat. No matter whose hands hold the reins of the state, the result is still suppression of the people. In a nutshell, "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely."

Therefore we resolutely oppose the vanguard party concept, instead advocating a myriad of mass organizations, each producing its own ideas and policies. At the same time this assures a consciousness-raising struggle of the people on the broadest possible scale. The consciousness of the people is the main condition for the fruition of the true socialist revolution. A revolution directed by a party or a few "heroes" cannot possibly be a revolution liberating humankind. Simultaneously, we oppose using the pretext of dictatorship of the proletariat to strengthen the instrument of the state. Simply put, we oppose all dictatorships, all governments, all forms of statism, and all authority. We stand for endlessly-evolving freedom, for we sense, intuitively, that individual freedom is the prior condition for the freedom of all, and that once the individual is robbed of his/her freedom, freedom for all cannot possibly exist. Likewise, when the collective good ignores or suppresses individual interest, that spells the end of the collective good.

WHERE IS CHINA GOING?

In China, the true meaning of socialism has been distorted and corrupted. A cruel, relentless dictatorship, ubiquitous security agents, the impersonal concepts of the murky religion of "socialism"... made people feel dark and secretive. Just when all hope was lost, the "Great Cultural Revolution" burst forth in a shower of sparks, penetrating the darkness with a gleaming light, illuminating for China the road ahead, whereon performed those socialist fighters who, for the sake of truth, would not submit, but would fight back, struggle, and ultimately seize the victory. The Great Cultural Revolution, beginning with a top-to-bottom false revolution,

was transformed into a bottom-to-top genuine revolution. The masses would never again be made fools of, never again let themselves be led by the nose into bringing down those designated as the so-called class enemy. . . . On their own, they organized and took control, and they discovered that even without the bureaucrats and supreme directives, their factories could maintain and even increase production. And they found that their lives were fuller than ever before, the gap between people closed. In order to thoroughly smash the bureaucratic structure — the "revolutionary committees" — mass revolutionary organizations appeared. This spontaneous mass movement was diametrically opposed to the religious socialism of Mao Tse-tung; the authority of the "pope" lost some of its glamor. Repression failed time and again, ideology momentarily came to life, and for the first time the people came into contact with the tide of true socialism. One by one, groups representing the vanguard of the masses, who had come to a socialist awareness, began to emerge in the ranks of the ultra-left. Their growth heralded the death of Mao Tse-tung Thought. The fear-stricken bureaucrats shed their masks, revealing their ferocious features, and mobilized the state apparatus to lord it over the people. Then the military fired its guns, and the revolutionary generation became a generation ground underfoot. The revolution died. Long live the revolution! The flesh may disappear, but the idea will stand strong in the face of armed repression.

The ultra-left factions of the Great Cultural Revolution symbolized the dawn of the Chinese revolution, but we must point out that, though they consciously opposed the bureaucrats and though they sincerely struggled for socialism, yet over 20 years of authoritarian control has forged an authoritarian character in a great majority of the people. Hence, even within the ranks of the ultra-left, not a few of the anti-bureaucrat fighters still subconsciously fashioned themselves after their rulers. This is history's tragedy, the poisoned legacy of the Mao Tse-tung dictatorship — and will become a great obstacle to the coming revolution. To mitigate this disaster, it is precisely here that we revolutionaries overseas who, taking advantage of our relatively free contacts with all the new trends in revolutionary thought throughout the world, should apply our energy.

CONCLUSION

The future of the Chinese revolution is tied up with the question of whether or not the ultra-leftists can spark off an all-encompassing socialist revolution; and that for Hong Kong with its success or failure. This does not mean that we in Hong Kong must wait by the stump for the hare* in anticipation of the arrival of the Chinese revolution. On the contrary, we must fight to oppose all irrational systems and let the mass movement in Hong Kong serve as catalyst for the Chinese revolution. To prevent the Hong Kong mass movement from falling into the ruts of the toppled cart of Kronstadt, the Chinese revolution remains the only effective assurance.

*an old Chinese proverb which refers to the story of the man who, having seen a hare go down its hole, decided to sit down at a stump nearby and wait for it to come out again; the saying means to wait in vain, or to passively wait instead of taking constructive action.

Nohara Shiro

Anarchism and the May 4th Movement

This is the third part
of our four-part serialized translation of Nohara Shiro's
important essay on one of the richest phases in the Chinese anarchist
movement. For background information on the May 4 Movement,
see LI-1. The translation and notes are by Wat Tyler.

Thus far, in its call for resistance [against the corrupt Chinese government], the 'Peking University Students' Weekly' had not overstepped the bounds laid down by the Provisional Constitution. Not only were the seeds of its conversion clearly being sowed, however, the first shoots had indeed already become visible. From issues 6 and 7, the magazine moved steadily towards anarchism. The addition to the editorial board of anarchist members of the Reality Society (Shih She), Huang Ling-shuang, Ch'en Yu-ch'in, Huang T'ien-chun and others¹ was the decisive factor. In issue 6, for example, an article called 'Government & Freedom' began: "So long as governments persist, there will be no freedom for the people. From today, we must burst the illusion that governments are divinely prescribed." From issue 7 on, Kropotkin's theories were enthusiastically introduced, alongside editorials discussing anarchism. Finally, with issue 17, an anarchism "special" appeared. One article in this issue, 'The Meaning of the Anarchist Revolution,' explained:

"Direct action by the workers, the main force of the revolution, will reappropriate all production techniques — fields, mines, factories, and machines — and put them back under public ownership, thus abolishing the private property system. In our propaganda activities, we cannot exclude extreme methods, if we are to disrupt society enough to threaten government. But whatever methods we choose, we must put over our message with all our might!"

Another article, 'Anarchy and Socialism,' took an unmistakably anarcho-syndicalist line:

"The most effective means for the realization of anarchy is the general strike. Naturally, the speed with which it can be achieved depends on the tightness of the workers' organization. Now, many Chinese workers are

untrained — to create anarchy overnight would thus be difficult. As anarchists, therefore, our most pressing tasks at this time are, first, to explain the principles of anarchism as energetically as possible; second, to raise the workers' educational level so as to make them self-sufficient and able to resist attempts to lead them astray."

Yet, even here, the calls for action were still toned down to suit the stringencies of the Provisional Constitution, and were a far cry from being "Heaven-startling" or even "earth-shaking" (see Part II).

The anarchist idea, meanwhile, had already cropped up in previous issues of the magazine. On direct action, the ideal society envisaged by the Kropotkinists was invoked:

"The workers will run the factories directly, and all means of production, hitherto plundered by the capitalists, will revert to public ownership. After that, both production and consumption will be communal, based on the principle of liberty" ('Congratulations on May 4,' issue 14).

On prospects for the future:

"Workers of the whole world will organize themselves, irrespective of national boundaries, into 'labor boards' at strategic points, which will take over the planning responsibilities historically assumed by governments." ('Labor's Main Enemy and its Future,' same issue).

This second article, which sang the praises of cosmopolitanism, described the October Revolution in Russia as only the first stage in the liberation of the proletariat, which would have to await the anarchist revolution for its ultimate victory.

The message of anarchism was definitely in the wind, for, even as the tone of the 'Students' Weekly' veered sharply to the libertarian-left, similar sentiments were being expressed in the 'Chekiang New Tide' (see Part II) program for social change contained in its "Opening Statement":

"We envisage a society based on Freedom, mutual aid and work. In order to bring prosperity and progress to the lives of the common people, laws, states, families, impotent theories, customs and habits which stand in the way must be smashed!"

At the same time, the mission of reforming society was to be taken up by the workers and peasants. The world was divided into four classes: politicians, capitalists, intellectuals and workers:

"The politicians and capitalists, rooted in enslavement, competition and plunder, are the principal opponents of freedom, mutual aid, and work, and are therefore incapable of social reconstruction. The intellectuals, too, since they assist the former in their crimes against society, are unable to create change. Only the laboring people, forming the vast majority of the people in the world, are capable of both mutual aid and work. Moreover, since their lives are filled with misery, they must take the responsibility for change, however much they shrink from it.

"Enlightened members of the intelligentsia must cast off their intellectual preconceptions, join the world of labor, and become as one with the toilers. . . This is how we expect the future to develop initially; the students will become aware, form federations and promote the awareness of and links with the laboring world; in the second stage, the student and laboring worlds will join forces; finally, the students will all become workers, and the laboring world will move towards one great federation. If all the students threw in their lot with the workers, the aim of reconstruction would be easily attainable."

Teng Ying-ch'ao (see Part II), who had already been through the May 4 Movement as a 16-year-old pupil of the Tientsin-Chihli First Girls' Normal School, was not then aware of the need for such things as intellectual-worker unity. Yet, she relates in her 'Memories of the May 4 Movement,' she felt intuitively even then that the students alone could not save China, that they must go beyond their limited capacities and awaken the entire country to the dangers facing it. What was no more than an idea for her, however, had already been refined by the 'Chekiang New Tide' as a theory of the union of intellectuals, workers and peasants. It was no longer mere didacticism.

Their experiences in the May 4 Movement had brought home to the youthful students the fact that not only construction, but even the destruction which must precede it, required the strength of the laboring classes. The problem of allying with and organizing the workers now assumed critical proportions. The main thrust of the 'Chekiang New Tide' program thus stipulated that the intellectual could not merely act as purveyor of propaganda education from some foreign haven. He must deny his very existence as an intellectual, casting in his lot with the working class. While raising the latter's consciousness, he would also remake himself, blending into its midst. The total strength of the workers would thus be increased, allowing them to free themselves by their own efforts. As a result, it would be possible to reconstruct society in the direction of freedom, mutual aid and work.

Certain Chinese scholars, holding up as proof Li Ta-chao's theory (see part I) of the 'unity of intellectuals and workers' (in his 'Villages and Youth'), have insisted that the principle of uniting with the laboring masses was first proclaimed by the early Chinese communists, whose understanding of Marxism had been deepened by the lessons of the October Revolution. This is simply not true. On this point, the Chinese Marxists did not differ from the anarchists or anyone else. That the principle of uniting with the toilers was, in theory at least, held in common by both anarchists and Marxists at this time is left in no doubt by the 'Chekiang New Tide' program for social reconstruction.²

THE RISE AND FALL OF PRACTICAL ACTIVITIES

How did the anarchist students first put into practice their plans for social reconstruction? One way was the 'Work and Learning Mutual Aid Corps' (Kung-tu Hu-chu T'uan) movement,³ which lasted for some six months following its found-

ing at the end of 1919. Centered on Peking University students and helped by Hangchow students from 'Chekiang New Tide' group, apart from the founder, Wang Kuang-ch'i, members included Luo Chia-lun from Peking and Shih Ts'un-t'ung⁴ and Fu Lin-jan from Chekiang. Financial support was provided by Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Hu Shih, Li Ta-chao, and Chou Tso-jen [all popular, liberal or radical educators at the time]. This movement also seems to have sprung up among students in Shanghai and Tientsin.

What the Mutual Aid Corps students did, in short, was to initiate, in one part of Peking, a new life-style based on self-sustaining group activities. In addition to his or her studies, all members would work at least four hours a day, contributing their income to a pool which paid for living expenses and other outlays. Some opened printing shops, restaurants and laundries for students and teachers. Others even tried selling handicrafts, peddling, etc.

So far, there was little to distinguish this from the life of the average student in China. For Mutual Aid Corps members, however, their life-style was a sincere effort to tackle the problem of what was to become of China in the post-May 4 era. Believing that the class contradictions in society stemmed from the disparity between mental and physical work, they sought initially to create, by their own efforts, in an out-of-the-way spot, a new social entity in which the two would be reunited. Beginning from this base, they would then seek to extend their influence to the rest of society. Wang Kuang-ch'i summed up their aspirations in issue 7 (January 1920) of the group's magazine, 'Work and Learning Mutual Aid Corps':

"The Mutual Aid Corps is the embryo of the new society, and the first step in the realization of our ideals. . . In our writings we advocate a social revolution, but we are not pushing to have it realized now. . . Our mutual aid organization is just the starting-point for our real movement. . . If it is successful, by a process of gradual expansion it will eventually be possible to realize the ideal of 'from each according to his ability; to each according to his needs.' Hence this movement should be called a 'peaceful economic revolution'."

Similar ideals were invoked in an article in issue 2 (August 1919) of 'Young China' (Shao-nien Chung-kuo),⁵ called: 'My Plan for Creating a Young China'. This article proposed the setting-up of small groups:

"We should escape from the confines of the old society and head for the hills and forests, where we can create a truly free, truly egalitarian association. Then, by promoting economic and cultural autonomy through coopera-



Chinese Anarchist Pa Chin, Victim of the Red Guards. See 'Asian Anarchism,' pp. 14-16.

tive labor, we can cut ourselves off completely from the corrupting influence of the old society. After that, we will rebuild it on the pattern of our own society. Like the socialist parties of Europe, we do not declare war on the old society by the method of armed insurrection."

The influence of Mushanokōji's 'New Village' movement (LI-1, 16), then very popular, was particularly strong, though these proposals were but a caricature of the concept of "uniting with the toiling masses." Yet these students threw themselves sincerely into the work they chose, and must have resented Hu Shih's dismissal of them as no different from American students, with their typical "poor student," haphazard ways of making ends meet.

The previously mentioned Work-Study Society (Kung-hsüeh Hui) (see part II) of Peking Higher Normal School, on the other hand, openly advocated anarchy. They also made a fundamental distinction between their own doctrine of work and study and that of the Mutual Aid Corps. Still, there was nothing to choose between the two as far as practical activities were concerned, and both came to an untimely end. Shih Ts'un-t'ung, in a self-critical piece, described the failure of the Mutual Aid Corps as follows:

"Present day society is organized on a capitalist basis, and the capitalists keep a firm grip on all capital resources. There is absolutely nothing we can do about it, least of all think of returning control to the people! Pitting our feeble strength against such a treacherous, vicious society as this — how could we not be defeated? In the past we tried to rebuild society, but even by creating the Work and Learning Mutual Aid Corps we could not penetrate it. Rebuilding society — it was never on the cards! From now on, if we seek to rebuild society, we must plan to do it wholesale and from the very roots! Piecemeal reforms will get us nowhere. As long as society is not reformed at the roots, no experiments in new lifestyle can ever succeed. Since we cannot isolate such experiments from present-day society, it follows that they will always be determined by it. As a result, the path will be strewn with obstacles. The only way to avoid this is a joint rising of the people of the whole world, which will destroy these obstacles once and for all! If we want to rebuild society, we must gain entry into the productive organs controlled now by the capitalists. This is our conclusions."

When a contemporary disciple of Marxism, Tai Chi-t'ao, looked back on the failure of the Mutual Aid Corps, he, too, advised the students that their tactics should have been to go into the capitalist-controlled factories and, toiling side-by-side with the workers there, try to seize their leadership.

Then, among the serious anarchists, a new tendency emerged: syndicalism. Huang Ai was representative of the many who tried to realize syndicalist ideas. In May 4 days, Huang had been a Tientsin students' union delegate. Subsequently, at a joint preparatory meeting for the May 30 'Petition Movement', Huang became involved in a violent confrontation with the then general-secretary of the Peking Students' Union, Chang Kuo-t'ao,⁶ over the advisability of such a movement. He and his followers' position — that, even though it would not achieve much in

itself, such a movement would effectively expose [Premier] Tuan Ch'i-jui's collusion with the Japanese, obstruct Sino-Japanese negotiations, and awaken the entire people to the situation — eventually triumphed. Huang was arrested twice during the May 4 agitation, and in early 1920 returned to his native Hunan Province [in central China]. There, in November of that year, he and another comrade, P'ang Jen-ch'üan, organized the All-Hunan Labor Syndicate (AHLS), a syndicalist organization, in [the provincial capital of] Changsha.

The Japanese historian, Suzue Gennichi, has a little more information on other syndicalist organizing activities:

"At that time, there was in Shanghai a group known as the 'Chinese Wartime Laborers' Corps,' part of which showed syndicalist tendencies. However, the part played by this organization was minimal, its only *raison d'être* being that its members had worked in France during and after the war. Comprising a very loose group with a mixed membership, there was very little of a labor union nature about it, whether of the industrial or the commercial variety.⁷

"On the other hand, there did exist another body of individuals, also returned from France, the 'Diligent Work and Frugal Study Students' (Ch'in-kung Chien-hsüeh-sheng). Sent to France after the war ended as part of a scheme organized by Wu Chih-hui to help poor students, they had found upon arrival that their work schedule left them no time to study, and soon returned to China where they founded this organization. Several of the original students had helped organize a communist party while in France, and had been deported for their pains. Many others, however, had returned to China advocating syndicalism, and had immediately thrown themselves into practical activities."

The syndicalism of these students was primarily due to the lingering influence of the 'New Century Society' (Hsin Shih-chi She) organized [in Paris] during the late Ch'ing [Manchu] dynasty by [the anarchists] Wu Chih-hui, Li Shih-tseng and others. However, no details of any of these student activities appear to exist.⁸

Meanwhile, however, with the help of the Comintern, a small group calling itself the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) had been formed in Shanghai in May 1920. Subsequently, communist groups were set up in [Peking], Wuhan, Changsha, Tsinan, and Hangchow in China, in Paris and in Tokyo (the name varied from place to place: some were simply called 'Society for the Study of Marxism').⁹ Members began to apply themselves energetically to the task of organizing labor unions. The following two or three examples were characteristic: in mid-1920 the Shanghai group established in Hsiao Sha Tu the 'Workers' Spare Time School' (Lao-tung P'u-hsi Hsüeh-hsiao), where they began political education classes in Marxist theory. In November of that year, the same group established the first communist-led labor union in China, the Shanghai Machineworkers' Union, followed in December by the Shanghai Printers' Union. The Peking group followed, in January 1921, with another 'Workers' Spare Time School' in Ch'ang-hsin-tien,¹⁰ leading to the establishment of the Ch'ang-hsin-tien Labor Union that May. After the formal inaugu-

ration of the CCP in July 1921, with its membership drawn from these local groups, a GHQ was formed, the Chinese Labor Union Secretariat (Chung-kuo Lao-tung Tsu-ho Shu-chi-pu), which was to publicly direct the labor movement in China, building cells and directing strikes.

Meanwhile, within the communist groups themselves, the arguments between the anarchists and the communists continued unabated. A typical one involved Huang Ling-shuang, Ch'ü Sheng-pai, Yüan Ming-hsiung and other anarchists¹¹ in the Peking group. At discussions on the provisional draft for a party general program which the group had independently drawn up, Huang and the others fiercely opposed a clause advocating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and were finally expelled. As anarchists, they were all in favor of direct political activities that would help accomplish the revolution — i.e., negative ones that would bring down the present system. However, they rejected, in the pre-revolutionary period, parliamentary politicking, and in the post-revolutionary era, the seizure of political power and the setting up of a "revolutionary government" to administer the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Consequently, unlike the communists, the anarchists in China sought to separate the labor movement from everyday politics. The debate on this point was common to the anarchist-communist struggle in all countries and, in China as elsewhere, rose to the familiar heights of abstract polemic. To try to enter into this argument would be extremely tedious, and I propose to ignore it.¹² Even in the Kwangtung communist group, where Shih Fu's influence (see part I) persisted, the conflict saw eventually either the expulsion of the anarchists or their conversion to Marxism.

Let us now pick up the string once again of Huang Ai's story. After returning to Hunan in June 1920, Huang and P'ang Jen-ch'üan set up the AHLS in Changsha in November. Its aims were to improve both the living standards and the educational level of local workers. The original membership consisted of students, mostly from Huang's alma mater, Hunan First Industrial School. Gradually though, technicians and workers of the No. 1 Spinning Mill and the local mint joined, followed by construction workers, machinists and barbers. By the time of the December 1921 strike at the No. 1 Spinning Mill, some 4000–5000 workers were said to be under the AHLS's influence. This was perhaps the largest of all the workers' groups organized by anarchists.¹³ The mill, first established in 1912 under joint manage-

"Give someone a fish and they'll enjoy a splendid dinner. Teach them how to fish and they'll have splendid dinners to the end of their days."

—Lao Tse

ment of officials and merchants, had been brought to a standstill by successive years of warlord conflict,¹⁴ though its doors remained open. In the meantime, the Hua Shih Company, a Hunan capitalist concern, had colluded with local warlords to acquire the management rights of the mill. Since their policy of importing capital and techniques from other provinces had aroused the resentment of Hunan's industrial, commercial and educational circles together, the AHLS achieved great general popularity when, in April 1920, it began an all-out struggle to restore the mill to the Hunanese.

Meanwhile, [another Hunanese], Mao Tse-tung, was also setting about organizing Hunan workers, though his efforts to alter the direction of the AHLS were in vain. The Marxists' contention, that government was necessary provided it was established by the workers themselves, was scorned. For the AHLS workers, whatever the government, it could be no different from [rule by] the warlords. Mao Tse-tung, nevertheless, continued patiently trying to convince selected workers. As for Huang and P'ang themselves, while supporting their fight against the warlords and capitalists, Mao frankly criticized their anarchistic activities and, through mutual discussions, finally persuaded them to call a halt to their "impetuous" activities. Moreover, following another of Mao's proposals, the AHLS was reorganized, membership fees were introduced, together with other formal procedures, until it began to look like a regular organization.

The Hunan branch of the CCP was probably founded in the first half of 1921. Huang and P'ang seem to have joined the Socialist Youth Corps (SYC, She-hui Chu-i ch'ing-nien T'uan),¹⁵ set up at the end of that year, after the party itself. Meanwhile, Shih Yang, originally a firm advocate of anarchy, had also changed his mind after conducting on-the-spot investigations into the living conditions of working people and examining the problem of improving their lot. From these experiences he concluded that anarchy was but the product of a Utopian dream, incapable in practice of liberating the working class. Further, he decided that the idea of free organizations, free federations, etc., in which men would work only according to their abilities and receive whatever they desired, while a noble vision, gave no clue as to how to set about their practical realization. The only concrete and reliable program, he apparently came to feel, was that offered by communism.¹⁶ The change of heart experienced by Huang and P'ang was perhaps similar: "Even the most minor struggles must be taken into the political arena. Unless the two struggles are made as one, we will not move even one step closer to our goal of improving the workers' lot." With these words, Huang and P'ang, who had voluntarily entered into the struggle to improve conditions in China, demonstrated their loss of interest in anarcho-syndicalism's rejection of political agitation.

Not long after this [in December 1921], spurred by the Nine-Power Treaty passed at the Washington Conference,¹⁷ the AHLS organized an opposition rally, followed by an anti-imperialist demonstration in which several scores of organizations and some 10,000 people, workers and others, took part. Mao Tse-tung, following the inauguration of the CCP, hence increased his efforts at cooperation.

(cont. on p. 20)

CHINA

1. Internationalist: *The Origins of the Anarchist Movement in China* (Coptic Press, London, 1968; many reprints including Solidarity-Chicago, 1971; now a Simian pamphlet, London): the pioneer libertarian study on the Chinese movement; much of the contents drawn from contacts with Chinese workers and sailors; weak on history, but the movement really comes to life. From 83a Haverstock Hill, London NW3.
2. Robert A. Scalapino and George T. Yu: *The Chinese Anarchist Movement* (Berkeley, California, 1961): The lone book-length foray of the establishment scholars into the history of the Chinese movement; a very small book which conceals more than it reveals. Information on work-study movements and ideological exchanges, but nothing on the important anarchist movement which resisted communist centralization. Concludes that the anarchists were the losers from the start.
3. Olga Lang: *Pa Chin and His Writings* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1967): a sensitive political and literary biography of the anarchist novelist who did so much through his books to expose the evils of the old society, and who was rewarded with the dunce's cap by Red Guards in 1968. More information on the movement background would have been useful though, and the lack of it probably reflects the position of Pa Chin, a "soft" anarchist. Bibliography gives many titles not included here.
4. Chao Ts'ung: "Pa Chin Destined for the Trials in Purgatory", *China Weekly*, XXIV/7 (17/11/68), Hong Kong. Not seen.
5. Pa Chin: "Dog", in Edgar Snow, compiled, *Living China* (New York, ca 1936), pp. 173-80: first translation of any of Pa Chin's work into English. . . "powerful" (Beni). P. 173 has short biographical sketch of Pa Chin.
6. Pa Chin: *Family* (Anchor, 1972, translated and introduced by Olga Lang, \$1.95): Unfortunately, translated from the emasculated 1958 Peking version with all references to anarchists removed (item 3, above, discusses this emasculation). A stinging denunciation of the traditional Chinese family. Also translated into German, Polish, Russian and Italian.
7. "International News China," *Black Flag*, III/19 (April 1975): about Pa Chin's public humiliation by Red Guards during the "Cultural Revolution" and befriending by the workers among whom he was sent for "re-education".

8. Victor Garcia: *The Literary Suicide of Pa Chin*: a pamphlet, translated into English. Not seen, details unknown.
9. K. C. Hsiao: "Anarchism in Chinese Political Thought" *Tien Hsia Monthly*, III/3 (Oct. 1936), pp. 249-63: very simplistic treatment of Lao Tse and other traditional utopian thinkers with little reference to the modern movement. Probably in university libraries with Asian studies sections.
10. "La lutte des ouvriers chinois pendant la revolution culturelle," *Informations Rassemblés a Lyon*, 4 (Nov-Dec. 1974), pp. 12-15: on the workers' struggles in industrial cities, especially Shanghai, in late 66—early 67; evidence of anarchist organizations in the cultural revolution, though information is 2nd-hand and from official Chinese sources. From: HL, Boite Postale 543, 69221, Lyon Cedex 1; or xerox from us, \$2.00 or L1.
11. "Workers on Trial in China," *Anarchist Black Cross Bulletin*, 7 (Jan. 1974), Chicago: some 300 workers charged with trying to get control of the workers' committees running their factories; charged simultaneously with "anarcho-syndicalism" and "hooliganism." Xerox from us, \$1.00 or 50p.
12. "Anarchists in China", *Direct Action*, IX/5 (May 1968). Not seen.
13. "The Ultra-Left in China," *70s Biweekly*, 29 (Hong Kong). Not seen.
14. "Whither China?", *International Socialism*, 37 (June/July 1969), pp. 23-27; also excerpted in *News and Letters* pamphlet published at 1900 East Jefferson, Detroit, MI 48207: excerpts from the program of the Sheng-wu-lien, an anti-bureaucratic, libertarian group created in 1968 when Mao sent the cultural revolution into reverse. Criticized Mao for not practising what he preached; suppressed amid great ideological furore.
15. "Chinese Anarchy," *Freedom*, 27/1/68: sees anarchism in the cultural revolution's attack on the bureaucracy. Overtaken by events. Xerox from us, \$1.00 or 50p.
16. "Conflict in China," *Freedom*, 27/4/68: a rejoinder to item 15. Denies that cultural revolution itself inspired by anarchists, but notes how the anarchists rebelled against the false promises and were put down by the army. Xerox from us, \$1.00 or 50p.
17. Martin Bernal: "The Triumph of Anarchism over Marxism," in M. C. Wright, ed., *China in Revolution* (Stanford Univ. Press, ca 1968), pp. 97-142: on the origins of the socialist movement and its immediate conversion to anarchism, including both traditional theories of universal harmony and new terroristic ideas; scholarly, useful.
18. ———: "Chinese Socialism Before 1913," in Jack Gray, ed., *Modern China's Search for a Political Forum* (Oxford University Press, 1969): not seen, but probably has good background information.
19. ———: An article on Liu Shih-p'ei, in Charlotte Furth, ed., *Chinese Conservatism* (Harvard University Press, forthcoming). Not seen.

20. Robert A. Scalapino: "Early Socialist Currents in the Chinese Revolutionary Movement," *Journal of Asian Studies*, XVIII/3 (May 1959), pp. 321-42. Not seen, but again probably good background information.
21. Chow Tse-tsung: *The May Fourth Movement* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1960, \$4.50): important background text to the nationalist movement which provided the first steeling for many Chinese revolutionaries including the present Peking leadership.
22. Michael Gasster: "The Anarchists," in his book, *Chinese Intellectuals and the Revolution of 1911*, (Univ. of Washington Press, ca 1969): on Chang Pinglin, Wu Chih-hui, and Liu Shih-p'ei.
23. Conrad Brandt: "The French-Returned Elite in the Chinese Communist Party," in E. F. Szcepanik, ed., *Symposium on Economic Problems of the Far East*, (Hong Kong, 1961), pp. 229-38: not seen.
24. Annie Kriegel: "Aux origines francaises du parti communiste chinois," *Preuves*, Aug-Sept. (1968): not seen, but note that this magazine was allegedly published under the auspices of the CIA-sponsored Congress for Cultural Freedom.
25. Marianne Rachline: "A propos de l'anarchisme chinois," *Le Mouvement Social*, 50 (1968): review of item 9, above. Not seen.
26. Victor Garcia: *Escarceos sobre China* (Mexico City, Tierra y Libertad, 1962): chapter on Shih Fu, Pa Chin, others. Not seen.
27. ———: preface to his translation of the Japanese anarchist Yamaga Taiji's book: *Lao Tse y su libro del Camino y la Virtud* (Tierra y Libertad, Mexico City, 1963). Not seen.
28. Jean Chesneaux: *The Chinese Labor Movement, 1919-27* (publisher unknown, ca 1968): translated from the French original. Masses of detailed information on the labor movement; haven't seen it, but wouldn't trust author's Maoist politics to do justice to the anarchists.
29. Ting Ling: *Purged Feminist* (Femintern Press, Tokyo, 1974): short biography and translation of two articles by the woman writer purged as a "rightist" in 1957 for criticizing the party's attitude towards women and towards sexual relations. From PO Box 5426, Tokyo Int'l, Japan.
30. "Voice of the 70s Front," *Minus 9*, No. 1, (Hong Kong): news of the local situation — anti-government strikes and Maoist collusion in their suppression. From Percy Fung, APS/Asia-Pacific, 158 Shaukiwan Road, Ground Floor, Hong Kong.
31. Agnes Chan: "Liu Shih-fu: a Chinese anarchist and the radicalization of early Chinese socialist thought," (PhD thesis). Contact c/o History Dept., Univ. of California, Berkeley, CA.
32. Paul Clifford: "The intellectual development of Wu Chih-hui," (PhD thesis): Wu was one of the founders of the Chinese movement. Contact c/o History Dept., SOAS, Univ of London, Malet St., London WC 1.

33. Edward S. Krebs: "Liu Ssu-fu and Chinese anarchism, 1905-15," (PhD thesis): on Shih Fu. Contact c/o History Dept., Georgia College, Carrollton, Georgia 30117.
34. Vallerie J. Steenson: "The work-study movement: Chinese students in France, 1912-24," (PhD thesis). Contact c/o History Dept., Univ of California, Santa Barbara, CA 93016.

The criteria used to select this bibliography were (a) availability and (b) direct relevance. More detailed pieces, as well as background materials, can be found in the bibliographies to items 7, 9, 12, 14 (a separate volume titled *Research Guide to the May Fourth Movement*), 16, 24 and 25. Not much has appeared from the "China scholars," though some academic theses are in progress, as shown above. Good libertarian critiques of the Chinese regime will be introduced in a future issue. Thanks to CIRA Switzerland, Alan Charles, and Beni for help with sources. We'd appreciate hearing of anything we've left out.

(cont. from p.50)

We must make the facts known. It is not enough to simply take a doctrinaire position and wait for events to prove its correctness. It is essential, for one thing, to begin the systematic documentation of the bloody history of Marx-Leninist movements throughout the world since 1917 — to take it out of the realm of anarchist propaganda and so perform a service to the overall revolutionary movement.

* * *

One way we don't think the anarchist revolution will be brought any closer is through writing the kind of letters that G.J. does. We don't make any excuses for our choice of words—rabid accusations of "anarcho-bolshevism," of being "traitors" (a funny one, that), and denunciations of "intellectuals" (a false Marxist/bourgeois category anyway), are some indication of what can be unleashed by it. This kind of fratricidal conflict is best left to the Trots, who, after all, are so much better at it. Indochina has already presented—and will continue to present—anarchists with any number of very challenging problems. These cannot be painted all black or all white, as some would prefer—nor will they be solved by frenetic name-calling in third-party papers.

Another way we don't think the libertarian millenium will be brought any closer is by looking on any group, anarchist or otherwise, as representing anyone other than itself. We don't pretend to represent the anarchist movement in Japan, nor did it ever occur to us that we might be taken to do so. The aims of *Libero Int'l* are set out quite clearly in issue No.1 for all to see. Even as we write these lines debate over the issues presented by the Indochinese victories over Amerikan imperialism continues to rage within Japanese anarchist circles, and we doubt whether G.J.'s facile assertion that one particular group's view is "representative" would be taken seriously by anarchists in Japan.

Comrades who would like to make contact with other groups within the Japanese anarchist movement might like to write to Augustin Miura of the 'Libertaire' group, whose English is very good. The address is:

Augustin Miura, 7-4-60, Yachiyodai-kita, Yachiyo-shi, Chiba, Japan

(cont. from p. 15)

In January 1922 the workers at the No. 1 Spinning Mill struck in pursuit of their claim for a year-end (on the lunar calendar, that is) bonus. Huang and his comrades began agitating to ensure the strike's success. Before long, they fell into the hands of the local warlord, Chao [Heng-t'i], who had been bought off by the mill-owners, and were put to death.¹⁸

Following their execution and the forced closure of the union which ensued, the leadership fled to Shanghai, Tientsin, Hankow and other cities, where they reconstructed the AHLS. From that point on, however, its activities were confined to resisting the CCP-controlled labor organizations. Hence, following the successful strike by Changsha construction workers in 1922, many AHLS members began to join the CCP. One section, moreover, was bought off by the local warlord and used in an attempt to destroy the great Shanghai strike which followed the May 30 Incident of 1925.¹⁹

On April 10, 1924, the Labor Union Secretariat initiated an all-faction national congress of labor unions in Shanghai, but the meeting was marked by constant and violent conflicts between the Marxists and the syndicalists. The Hunan anarchist delegate, Ch'en Hsiao-ts'en, was probably one of those who had fled the province following the execution of Huang and P'ang. As usual, the syndicalists proposed a resolution that unions should not engage in political activities. Moreover, they waged a last-ditch struggle against unification of the unions in the hands of the Marxists. Finally, the syndicalists were banished from the congress altogether.

With this move, the last vestiges of anarcho-syndicalist strength within the Chinese labor movement all but vanished.²⁰ To cap it all, Huang Ling-shuang, one of its principle proponents in the post-May 4 era, soon after left to study in the U.S. and, after receiving his Ph.D., became professor of sociology at Chuo University in Tokyo. Subsequently, so it is said, he became a lesser light in the [neo-fascist] 'CC Clique' of the Kuomintang. Other anarchists either disappeared or met unsavory ends. Nevertheless, there is no question of the ideological part played by anarchism in China, so let us examine that once more, rather than dwell upon the fate of individual anarchists. (to be continued)

NOTES:

1. Huang Ling-shuang: see LI-2, page 26; we haven't discovered anything more about the other two.
2. In other words, the worker-peasant alliance, upon which Mao staked and won his political life in the 20s and 30s, was first introduced by the anarchists! In fact, they had called for this kind of strategy as early as 1911, when the mainstream of Chinese revolutionary politics had been anti-Manchu nationalism. This they criticized as capable of benefitting only a minority. Another way in which the anarchists anticipated the Chinese Leninists of later years was in advocating the infiltration of the secret societies and other mass organizations to spread the message of social revolution and free federation. (See also note 10, below.)
3. Hu Shih (LI-1, p. 27) later claimed that Mao Tse-tung had also shown great interest in the Corps at this time. (Nohara's note.) Mao then considered himself an anarchist.

4. Shih became notorious in November 1919 for writing an article in 'Chekiang New Tide' attacking filial piety (the basis of the traditional Chinese family) and Confucian society as a whole. The government accused him of treason, the magazine was suppressed, and Shih went to Peking to join the Corps. He later went to Japan, where he met Osugi Sakae (LI-1, p. 19) and was converted to anarchism.
5. The organ of the Young China Association (Shao-nien Chung-kuo Hui), founded in July 1919. Mao Tse-tung, Li Ta -chao and others of varying political persuasions joined, making it one of the strongest of the May 4 period groups (Nohara's original note).
6. Later to become Mao's most dangerous rival for party leadership. He was a founder of the Chinese Communist Party, a labor organizer, and a Red Army Commissar. During the Long March he led a dissident faction to Tibet, and in 1938 he defected to the Chiang Kai-shek side. He still lives in Hong Kong today.
7. In Canton, however, returnees organized 26 new unions, considered the first modern unions in China. Some 200,000 Chinese workers were sent to help the Allied war effort, building roads, railways, factories, barracks and arms depots. They were given permission to organize unions, maybe under pressure from the then syndicalist-influenced French CGT, and this had important consequences for the Chinese mass movement in later years. Some were teachers and students working as interpreters, and for the first time had the opportunity to link up with the workers, an impossible task back in China. They helped organize numerous industrial and social organizations. Between 1916 and 1918 there were 25 strikes protesting against conditions in French factories. When they returned to China, these people were dreaded as "potential Bolsheviks". Suzue's assertion that this organization was a toothless one therefore seems way off the mark.
8. The link between the New Century Society and the post-war work-study scheme was the 'Society for Frugal Study in France' (Liu-Fa Chien-hsueh Hui), founded by Wu, Li and others in 1912. Its principles were very close to those of the 'Society for Promoting Virtue' and Shih Fu's 'Heart Society' (LI-2, pp. 14 & 26). A 'Frugal Study Society' was also established for England, managed by Wu Chih-hui, and some 20 students were sent there.

The post-war scheme was supported by the French government, which had allowed much of its labor force to be slaughtered during the war. With the post-war inflation, however, many students lost their jobs and the scheme eventually collapsed.

Now, the 'Society for Diligent Work and Frugal Study' was actually organized in June 1915 to encourage and help poor students to study in France by working their way. The organization mentioned as being established after the return to China might therefore have been a separate one.

For details, see Scalapino and Yu, *The Chinese Anarchist Movement*, pp.44-54.

9. It's important to note that the meaning of "Marxism" was very broad in those days. As late as 1921 Marxian socialism was being acknowledged by Chinese communist leaders as including orthodox Marxism (represented by Kautsky), revisionist Marxism (Bernstein), syndicalism, guild socialism, and Bolshevism (Lenin & Trotsky). There were some who considered Bolshevism to be a faction of anarchism rather than Marxism because of its militant tactics. Others saw socialism as comprising two branches: collectivism (i.e., Marxism) and communism (Kropotkin). Hence, it's not surprising that we find many anarchists in at the founding of the CCP, and working in the local communist groups, as well as working together with Marxists on magazines. The differences were largely sorted out within a year or two, under the influence of the returned students and of the Comintern emissaries, but for a time there was a genuine mood of revolutionary solidarity in China.
10. There had already been in Ch'ang-hsin-tien a preparatory class for students intending to go to France on the work-study program. The communist school was presumably built on this, another instance of their taking over a framework created by the anarchists. An old communist recalled that the schedule was to work in the mornings, attend school in the afternoons, and study in the evenings.

Ch'ang-hsin-tien was a town on the Peking-Hankow main line, one of the major Chinese cross-country routes. In 1921 Chang Kuo-t'ao organized a few thousand railway workers into a labor union, though they had already been militant enough on their own behalf to launch a spontaneous strike two years earlier in support of the '21 Demands' (LI-1, p. 16).

11. On Ch'ü, see LI-2, p. 26; Yüan may well be Yüan Chen-ying, a well-known Peking anarchist intellectual, since Chinese militants were often known by several different names.
12. In actual fact, a classic in the way of political interchanges took place between Ch'en Tu-hsiu (LI-2, p. 26) and Ch'ü Sheng-pai. We hope to translate it in the future. A summary is given in Scalapino and Yu, pp. 55-59.
13. Perhaps. Even after control over most of the Chinese labor movement had fallen into the hands of the communists, however, anarchists continued to be active. (See the letters to 'Freedom' in 1925, mentioned in Lang's book on Pa Chin cited in the reading list). In 1925, for instance, anarchists predominated in the Shanghai Confederation of Labor Associations (Kung-t'uan Lien-ho-hui), said to comprise 37 unions with 50,000 members. The Confederation was anti-Bolshevik, and tended towards syndicalism, though because of its anti-communism, it has often been consigned to Lenin's highly-fertile dustheap. It also published a periodical, the 'China Labor Herald'.

P'ang is also known as P'ang Yüan-ch'ing.

14. The 'warlords' were local militarists who exercised complete sway over their own territory between 1911 and the Japanese invasion, independent of the central governments. They levied taxes, suppressed popular grievances, and amassed huge fortunes for as long as their control lasted.
15. Mao says that he set up the Hunan SYC himself in October 1920, and through it tried to set up craft unions in the province. It later became known as the Communist Youth League. The Corps was more or less a communist front, since most branches were set up in the aftermath of the great anarchist-Bolshevik split.
16. A Shih Yang, also known as Chao Shih-yen, later joined the Party after establishing a branch of the SYC in Paris. In the "Great Revolution" of 1927, Chao was a labor leader and helped organize pickets to take over Shanghai from the warlord governor. On the other hand, another militant called Shih Yang was executed in 1923.
17. Called mainly to counter Japan's upstart expansionism by allowing China to develop some "stability" (i.e., the Great Powers wanted the pickings to themselves). Lip service was paid to abolition of the unequal treaties imposed on China since the mid-19th century.
18. In later years Mao was to be less charitable towards the Hunan comrades, claiming many of their successes for himself. Relating his life story to Edgar Snow in 1936 (see 'Red Star Over China'), he described the Hunan incidents as follows:

"In May 1922, the Hunan party, of which I was then secretary, had already organized more than twenty trade unions among miners, railway workers, municipal employees, printers and workers in the government mint. A vigorous labor movement began that winter. . . Most of the big mines were organized, and virtually all the students. There were numerous struggles on both the students' and workers' fronts. In the winter of 1922, Chao Heng-t'i, civil-governor of Hunan, ordered the execution of two Hunanese workers, Huang Ai and P'ang Yüan-ch'ing, and as a result a widespread agitation began against him. Huang Ai, one of the two workers killed, was a leader of the right-wing labor movement, which had its base in the industrial school students and was opposed to us, but we supported them in this case and in many other struggles. Anarchists were also influential in the trade unions, which were then organized into an All-Hunan Labor Syndicate, but we compromised and through negotiation prevented many hasty and useless actions by them."

By this time, the label "right-wing" when applied to labor unions or politicians generally

meant "anti-communist", and "hasty" meant "before communist control was consolidated."

19. This paragraph is probably over-simplified. More probably the AHLS affiliated to the Shanghai Confederation of Labor Associations (see note 12, above). This organization opposed the strike called by the communist-led unions in 1927 to take over the city on behalf of the Nationalist armies, but certainly was not in the pay of any warlord (though it may well have been manipulated by Chiang Kai-shek). In conversations with veterans of the strike, we were told that anarchist opposition to the strike was logical in terms of their past anti-Bolshevik record. Victory would have meant CCP takeover and suppression of the syndicalist unions, whereas the Nationalists were expected to be more tolerant. In retrospect, this is a very debatable point, but admittedly Chiang Kai-shek had not at that time fully bared his fascist fangs, and there was more confidence in the Kuomintang than in the CCP. Moreover, certain "old" anarchists like Wu Chih-hui had joined the KMT and had exercised some influence over the labor organizers.

The 'May 30 Incident' was the shooting by British police of Chinese workers protesting conditions in Japanese factories following the death of a girl worker there. The result was the 'May 30 Movement', a protracted boycott and series of strikes which took up where the May 4 Movement had left off.

20. Not quite. See notes 12 & 18 above.

* * *

For people who can read Chinese or Japanese and want to dig deeper, Nohara's sources for this section are as follows:

- a) Teng Ying-ch'ao, 'Memories of the May 4 Movement' in Wu-ssu Chi-nien Wen-chi, edited by Tung-pei Ta-hsüeh, 1950.
- b) Fu Lin-jan, 'May 4 Days', in Wu-ssu Yun-tung Hui-i-lu, ed. by Chung-kuo K'o-hsüeh-yuan Li-shih Yen-chiu Ti-san-suo.
- c) Suzue Gennichi, Chūgoku Kaihō Tōsō Shi (History of China's Struggle for Liberation), Tokyo.

Comrades in Japan have produced a 72-page pamphlet, **The PRP — State Conspiracy**, exposing the South Korean government's rigged trial and judicial murder of 8 alleged "People's Revolutionary Party" members in 1974-1975. Single copies \$3.00 (\$0.50 covers cost, the rest is sent to victims' families in south Korea). Order to: Cry of the People Committee, P.O. Box 37, Ashiya, Hyogo 659, Japan.

We still have copies of **RONIN**, on which some LI Editorial Collective members formerly worked. Articles on the oppression in south Korea, imperialism in Southeast Asia, racism in Japan, etc., provide valuable background information for readers of LI. Issues 4 thru 16 are available from us at 25p/50c each (30p/75c air mail).

THE POST-WAR KOREAN

ANARCHIST MOVEMENT (1)

FORMATION OF THE LEAGUE OF FREE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTORS

In the Cairo Conference statement of December 1943, the heads of state of the U.S., Britain and China announced unequivocally: "We take note of the conditions of slavery endured by the people of Korea, and reassure them that, in due course, their freedom and independence will be restored to them." Moreover, at the July 1945 Potsdam Conference on the post-war order, this principle was confirmed. The Soviet Union, in its August 1945 declaration of war against Japan, also expressed its adherence.

With the Japanese emperor's surrender statement of August 15, 1945, the curtain finally fell on the Korean people's 36-year tragedy. For these 30 million people, the death of the Japanese empire and the end of over a generation of brutal colonial exploitation all added up to a sudden, electrifying emotional experience. In every corner of Korea, the moment surrender was announced the people rose as one to set about the building of a new nation. Not just the cities, but even the remotest of villages, saw the spontaneous creation of "Preparatory Committees for Building a New Korea". Simultaneously, "like bamboo shoots after the spring rain," peasant unions, labor unions, cooperative associations and so on appeared. Through these activities the 36-year grudge of a people deprived of a country was finally being settled.

In Korea, the expression "post-war" does not exist. North or south, the appropriate term is "post-Liberation", because for the people of Korea liberation from Japanese rule was the overriding event. Liberation, however, had not brought freedom to Korea. In place of the defeated Japanese army now stood two new armies, one American, one Russian, which occupied both north and south Korea and proclaimed military governments in their respective zones of control. If military government was not to become a fact, the people of Korea needed to construct their own representative organs through which to negotiate with their occupiers.

The home town of Ha Ree Rak (see LI-1) is Anwi, a medium-sized country town in central south Korea. Anwi has for years enjoyed a reputation for turning out well-known anarchists. Here too, after liberation, there appeared a "Preparatory Committee for Building a New Korea," centered on local anarchists. Comrades Lee Siu Ryung and Ha Kee Rak were elected chairman and vice-chairman. Ha, at the same time, was also chairman of the Free Peasant Union Committee of

Anwi. For its first task, the union began providing food and living quarters and finding jobs for the comrades beginning to trickle back from exile in Japan and China.

The communists, meanwhile, with the help of the Russian army then occupying the north, were moving fast. All over Korea, the Preparatory Committees were speedily re-organized as "People's Committees," which gradually came to absorb all unions. Needless to say, the communists strewed vast sums of money about to expand their organization in this way.

In October 1945, a National Congress of Peasant Union Delegates was called in Seoul. According to Ha Kee Rak, who took part, almost all the bodies represented had already been transformed into red unions, and the Congress was to all appearances a communist party one. Ha himself did not stay long, and the following day he resigned his delegateship.

By this time most of the exiled anarchists had one by one returned to Korea, and it was decided that the anarchists, too, should create a unified organization for rebuilding their country. This was to be the "League of Free Social Constructors." Two precious months had been lost to the communists, a delay that was to inflict a fatal handicap on the Korean anarchists for years to come.

At that time, of course, traffic was open between north and south, and when the call went out to set up the League, anarchists from every corner of the Korean peninsula gathered in Seoul to take part. More than 60 comrades turned up, including the brothers Lee Eul Kyu and Lee Chung Kyu, Kim Hyan Un, Han Ha Yun, O Nam Ki, Pak Ryung Hong and Bang Han Sang. All were fighters with long experience. Ha Kee Rak, too, after the disaster of the Peasant Union Congress, eagerly took part in this new anarchist organization aimed at building a new Korea. Lee Chung Kyu has described the atmosphere at the time as follows:

"By early August 1945, Japanese imperialism's imminent defeat was obvious, and the tide of liberation was rising daily. Every corner of Korean society was affected. Among the scattered ranks of the anarchists there was



Lee Eul Kyu (1894 - 1972), the "Korean Kropotkin."

DECLARATION AND PROGRAM OF THE LEAGUE OF FREE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTORS

We have come from underground, shedding our disguises as we emerge into the light. With this declaration we sunder the chains of silence, proclaiming our principles to all the world.

All people thirst for freedom. Equality is the fundamental condition of social life. And mutual aid is the guiding factor in human evolution. Therefore, when this demand is not met, this condition not fulfilled, this basic factor distorted, society becomes corrupted and ruined.

Like it or not, we have fallen into the pit of this social ruin. When we, out of ignorance, overlooked these demands for freedom and equality in our own private interests, we forgot the principle of mutual aid, and our society took the first step along the road to impotence and corruption. For four centuries since Im Jin [known to Japanese as Toyotomi Hideyoshi's 1772 unsuccessful expedition against Korea], the poisonous fang of Japanese aggression was pointed at our heart, and finally it came to plunder our lives and to suck our blood. With this, the dignity of the 30 million Korean people was trampled in the dust, and our long history of liberty came to an end.

Only by throwing out all the elements in our national ruin can we emerge from this pit of extinction to restore life to our people and our society, and set our history into motion once more. Therefore, not only must we overthrow Japanese imperialism, but also eradicate the internal evils of lack of freedom, inequality, and mutual antagonism. In their place we must lay a foundation of mutual aid, upon which to build a new society based on freedom and equality. No other method, and no other theory, will ensure the happiness and prosperity of our 30 million compatriots and their descendants for ever more.

With the support of the people, we have begun to propagate and struggle for this program all over the country. However, even with the support of the people, we could not fight on three fronts at once. Yet neither could we shirk that struggle — against, on the one hand, Japanese imperialism, and on the other, feudal and local capitalist elements who collaborated with the Japanese, plus the sham-revolutionary advocates of dictatorship. In such conditions, it must be borne in mind, we sought to cooperate with all genuinely revolutionary nationalist groups of the left.

Looking back on the four-and-a-half centuries of our struggle, what sacrifices it has demanded from amongst the ranks of our comrades! Some have ended their days on the point of the enemy's sword, others on his gallows; still others have languished in his pitiless gaols, until their souls departed to become unrequited ghosts. The sweat and blood of all these comrades, blood stained by the melancholy of life behind bars, will never be forgotten. Just as the three-headed enemy still remembers its hesitation and fear before our bayonets, so, on the other hand, the precious blood shed by the martyrs of our struggle gives new impetus to our army. Seeing our many front-line comrades scattered all over the country, we confidently call for positive participation in the imminent task of constructing a new Korea. At the same time, we willingly assume the principal role. If not, would any others really seek to control and re-organize the wild gyrations of the power-hungry, and restore life and prosperity to the people disillusioned by their antics?

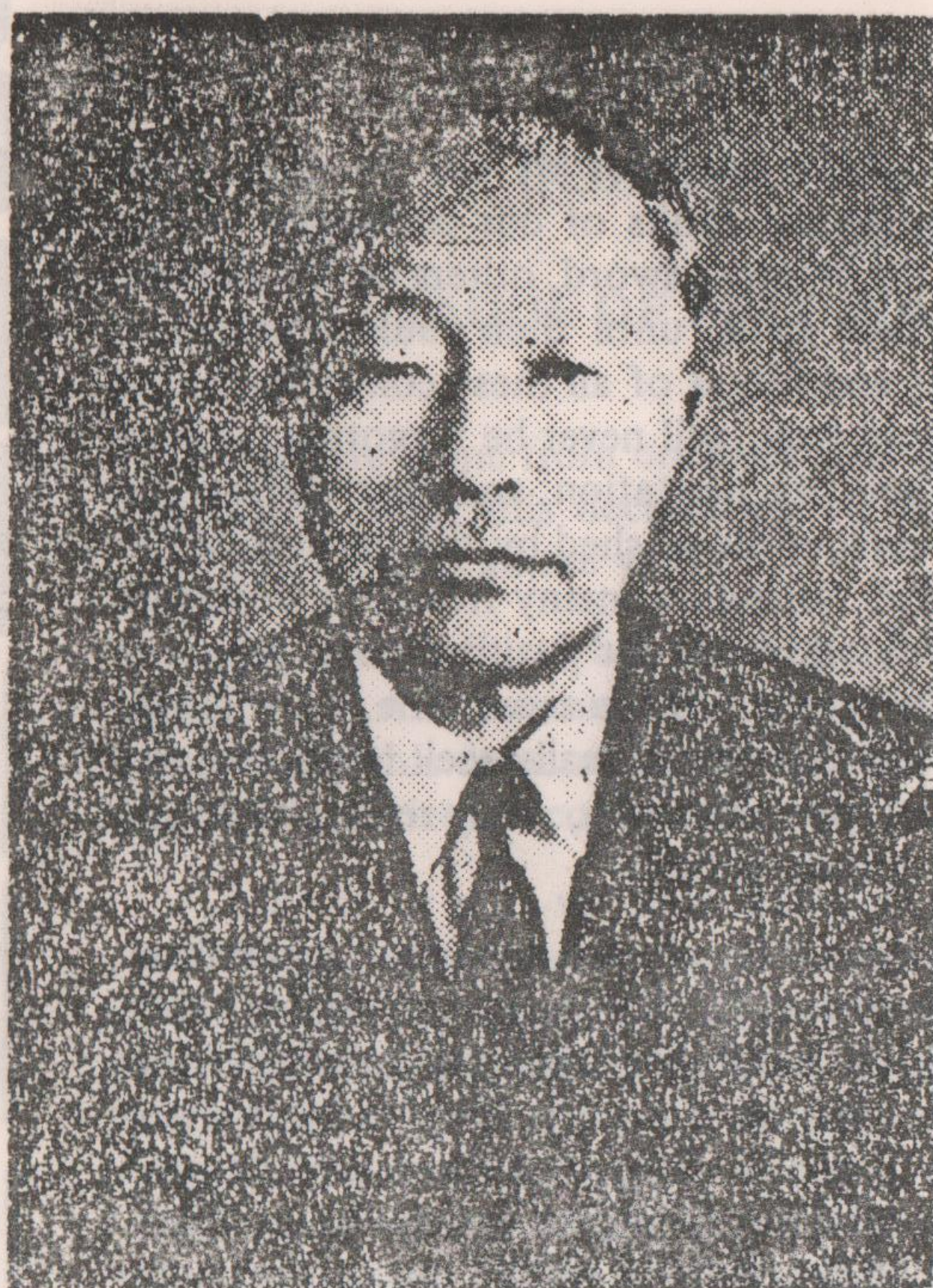
The struggle continues. Although the main enemy, Japanese imperialism, has fled in defeat, dark clouds hang over us still, like the trusteeship decision. Moreover, our two-headed internal enemy is not like the natural obstacles that inspire one with the thrill of challenge; on the contrary, they forbode many bloody struggles in the future in the name of total liberation, and demand protracted efforts for complete national reconstruction. For the moment, therefore, we should put aside current affairs, and strengthen our solidarity for the fight. The blood of our martyrs flows in our veins, and the experiences it has lived through teach us this.

Let us hoist high our flag without hesitation. An entirely free, entirely egalitarian new Korea based on mutual aid will only be created from a free federation of autonomous units covering the whole country. In this new campaign we will open a united front with all revolutionary left-wing nationalist armies, until the day that self-reliance, independence and complete liberation are realized.

PROGRAM

1. We stand for the overthrow of all dictatorships, and for the creation of a genuinely free Korea.
2. We reject the market economy system, and propose a decentralized one based on scattered local units.
3. We advocate realization of the ideal of "all the world one family" through the principle of mutual aid.

Lee Chung Kyu (1897-), educator and early militant.



an almost telepathic sensation that "this was it!" So they began busily contacting each other and preparing for the day of decision. When August 15 finally dawned, many more comrades were released from prison, and huddled meetings were convened to debate the future. In all, 67 comrades, some from remote parts of the country, some fresh out of gaol, gathered in Seoul.

"Within the Preparatory Committees, the reactionaries attempted to form a united front with the communists in order to seize total power at one fell swoop. To oppose them, the right wing, typically, flooded the committees with candidates from diverse parties and factions. Among the anarchists, however, some comrades, associated with the just-released Kim Ji Gang (now dead), and Cha Ik Hyun, proposed: 'The first step in the building of a new Korea is to take our re-

venge on the Japanese!' Consequently, at the beginning of September, the Japanese police official, Saiga Ichirō, and the Secret Service agent, Harayoshi Tsubouchi, and others, were sentenced to death and successfully assassinated.

"In a period dominated by groups blinded by their lust for total political power, direct action like this heroic revenge killing of the lackeys of Japanese imperialism represented a shout for joy. Yet we anarchists, who had always advocated a social revolution, had also to take charge of the constructive activities necessary for building the new Korea. Everyone agreed that we had to declare our principles, and produce a positive, constructive plan for a new Korea. And so, after numerous meetings, the following declaration and program were drafted and published at the end of September.

"In the meantime, however, comrades Chul Ri Bang and Lee Yu San were murdered in the continuing struggle with the communists. In December came the further bad news of the UN Trusteeship proposed by the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers. The next day, December 30, was raised the first flag proclaiming the struggle to the death to resist the trusteeship decision."

Against this background, the first post-Liberation organization of Korean anarchists was formed.

the post-war left in japan

by YAMABE YOSHIYUKI

Looking back over the past ten years or so of the left wing movement in Japan, it becomes clear that a great change has taken place. As soon as the Left, at the time of the 1960 anti-Ampo struggle,¹ abandoned the "if it ain't the CP, it ain't Left" sort of "common sense" of the previous decade, the focus of political activities — both practical and theoretical — became the government's foreign policy. Attention rarely turned to broader issues, and what few lessons the Movement learned at this time were confined to some new insights into the nature of this policy. The favorite activity of the time was street demonstrations, followed by propaganda-leafletting. Compared with the state of things today, it was a very feeble movement indeed.

At the same time, thanks to the policies of the American occupation regime [1945-1952], "democracy" was still a word with strong popular appeal. For the Left, therefore, the call to struggle against the government's attempts to turn the clock back was a highly effective weapon in their appeals to the masses. The "democratic constitution"² still weighed heavily as a factor in the Left's consideration of revolutionary possibilities.

At the beginning of 1965, the war in Vietnam escalated with the commencement of American bombing of the north. In April, a group of Japanese citizens demonstrated in the Ginza, [Tokyo's most fashionable boulevard], carrying banners and placards denouncing the war. This was the humble beginning of "Beheiren" ["Citizens' League for Peace in Vietnam"].

Politically, I suppose, Beheiren was less sophisticated than the student movement [Zenkyōtō], whose biggest drawback was its members' doctrinal habit of employing complex conceptual and philosophical abstractions incomprehensible to the outsider. Beheiren, however, did not depend on any organization for its vocabulary. It was a new-style movement, in which individuals thought for themselves, then did whatever they could. Beheiren's membership stretched from middle-school pupils to old folks with sticks, a multi-layered movement with a rare richness of variety that gave it peculiar tenaciousness. In its organization, too, it broke away from the essentially exclusive, pyramidal Leninist pattern adopted by the CP and the student sects. Emphasis was on the self-discipline and spontaneity of each individual in the movement, with whom all responsibility lay.

Beheiren's three guiding principles were:

1. "Peace in Vietnam!"
2. "American Hands Off Vietnam!"
3. "Oppose the Japanese Government's Complicity!"

In the beginning its activities consisted of no more than a moderate, verbal demonstrations of solidarity with Vietnam — a foreign country — from a "peaceful" Japan. In other words, at that time the emphasis was on principles (1) and (2), while the meaning of (3) had yet to become apparent. As the movement developed, however, people gradually began to see for the first time that it was the third point in fact that was the most crucial for Japanese. They became aware of the sacrifices forced upon the people of both southeast Asia and Japan itself over the past 10 years of high Japanese economic growth geared to the American aggression in Vietnam.

Instances of a movement with humble beginnings growing, like Beheiren, into something far deeper and broader, are not difficult to find. The nationwide campus struggles which flared up after 1968, too, were at their outset nothing out of the ordinary, making only the usual petit-bourgeois demands for student autonomy, etc. It would be only fair to say, however, that neither the extent of the movement, nor the level of student consciousness, have changed much since 1968. Imprisoned, like most such movements, by fixed concepts of organization and ideology, the students were forced to choose direct confrontation with the authorities as the most radical form of struggle. This, together with the transformation of violent state repression into an everyday experience, is the stage reached by the student movement over the past ten years.

Today, "radical activities" have been monopolized by: (1) the fratricidal infighting of the various Trotskyite sects, (2) the world-wide "crimes" of the Japanese Red Army, and (3) the underground bombing campaign of the East Asia Anti-Japanese Armed Front. As yet, the authorities have been unable to run any of these completely to ground.³ While such activities have no public support at present, I myself would not deny their part in the preparations for the coming revolution. Though such activities may be sneered at, in the long run their success in exposing the real nature of the government and its characteristically Japanese authoritarianism, by challenging it to a direct confrontation, will not be so easily dismissed. Nor will the direct and concrete injuries inflicted upon the enemy be so lightly appraised.

However, it is not only in terms of violence that the pressure on the authorities should be understood. Whereas in the past the Movement had simply taken a conceptual stand opposing the general line of the Japanese government and of the Japanese bourgeoisie, during the past 10 years, particularly from 1968 to 1970, it has broadened its attacks to include almost all aspects of the system. During this time, the piecemeal struggles of local residents and oppressed minorities have developed a new meaning, and taken on a truly dynamic image. These movements, hitherto isolated and ineffectual, have found a new kind of unity and solidarity, and a new means of communication, by studying the issues raised by the Zenkyoto

and Beheiren movements.

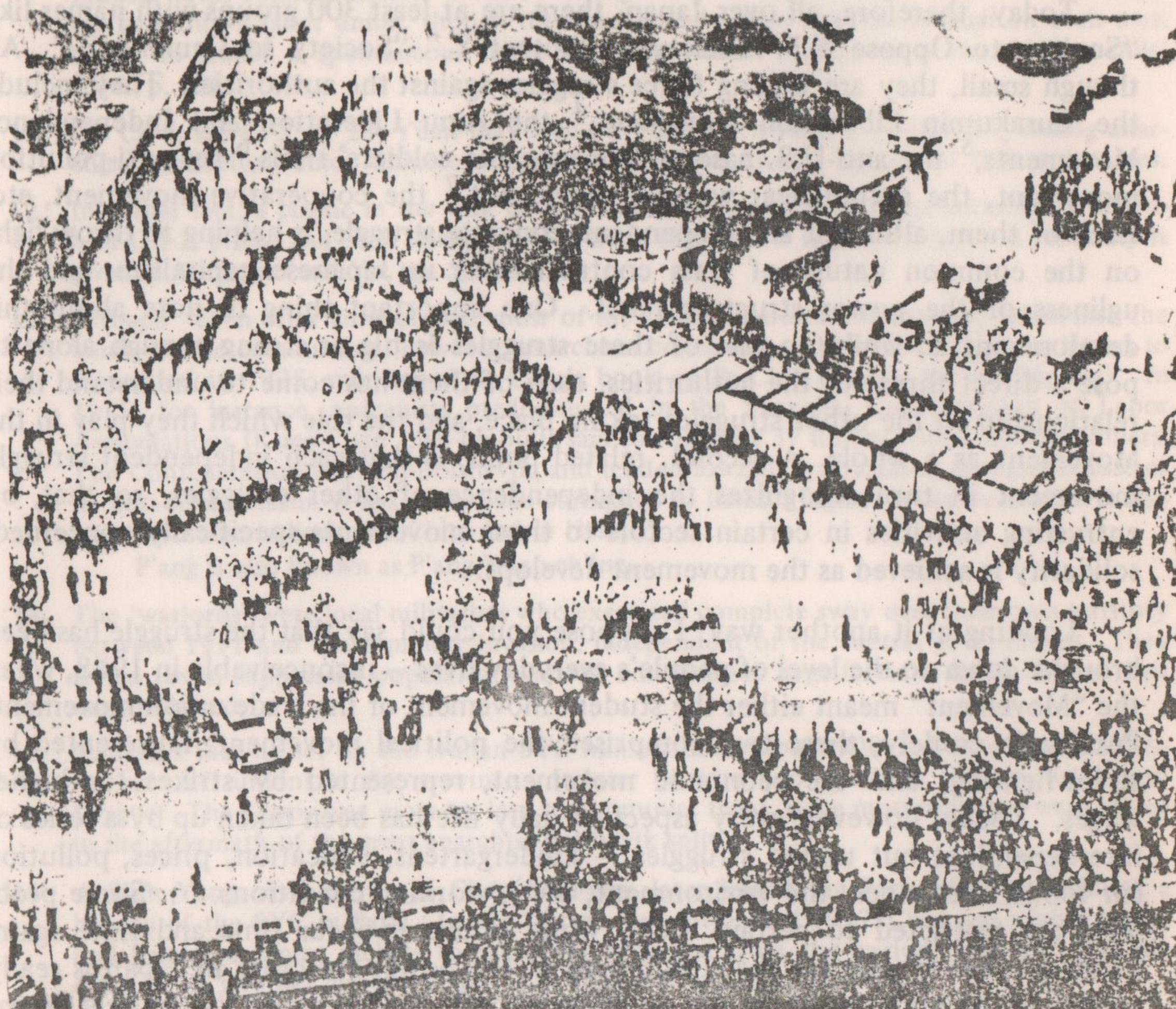
Today, therefore, all over Japan, there are at least 300 groups with names like "Society to Oppose X," "Society to Protect Y," "Society to Demand Z." Although small, they are waging fierce struggles against the authorities. They include the Burakumin Liberation Movement,⁴ the Ainu Liberation and Independence Movements,⁵ the anti-U.S. base movements, the soldiers' trials,⁶ the anti-pollution movement, the anti-nuclear weapon movement,⁷ the cooperative movement, etc. Each of them, although an independent, concrete struggle, is helping to throw light on the common nature of class contradictions in Japanese capitalism, and the ugliness of the power structure itself. One important thing to note about this development is, while no one of these struggles is big or strong enough alone to pose a direct threat to the authorities, each of them has come to understand their relationship to the other struggles taking place, and the role which they play in the Movement as a whole. A second, related point, is that each independent struggle movement in turn recognizes the independence of other struggles, so that, by entrusting activities in certain sectors to those movements specifically concerned, solidarity is achieved as the movement develops.

Looking at it another way, I suppose you could say that the struggle has been brought down to the level of people's everyday lives — inconceivable in 1968, when the "Movement" meant either the student movement or the trade union movement. Putting it crudely, these two comprised the political movement, represented by street-fighting, and the economic movement, represented by strikes for higher wages. Today, however, every aspect of daily life has been taken up by a series of interdependent but united struggles — kindergartens, education, prices, pollution (in foods, medicines, the environment, etc.), working conditions. . . . Some problems are restricted to certain areas, while others re-occur time and time again. From all this we can see that the nature of the power structure in Japan is really coming to be understood by the common people, both through its physical extent and over time.

Again, in the past no struggle was separable from communism or some other left-wing ideology. To put it another way, popular movements were always organized by communists or leftists of some sort, and directed at the kind of revolution which they prescribed. Today, though, in almost all cases this relationship has been reversed. Not infrequently, movements at first aided and supported by the political parties or student sects, only to be deserted by them later, have continued and even grown without them. The Sanrizuka struggle⁸ is the perfect example. Following the early departure of the Communist and Socialist parties, disgruntled at the rejection of the party line, now almost all the left-wing [student] groups have abandoned the peasants' cause. Yet the struggle goes on.⁹ To put it briefly, the anti-establishment struggles of today are no longer fought "for the people!", but are "for us, the People!"

The old Japanese climate in which a person could shrug off political involvement because s/he was not a party member, or because his/her student days were

June 15, 1960: Zengakuren students snake-dance in front of the Diet building's main gate as police prepare to defend against their attack.



over, now seems exotic. The times when the political movement meant for the majority of its participants a temporary flaring-up of the fires of youth are fast disappearing. The fact that political involvement — for some people at least — has become an essential part of daily life marks a definite advance. So, too, does the new tendency to place equal value on one's daily life, family and political activities, instead of accepting that activists must sacrifice all else for "The Movement".

Unfortunately I do not have space here to sum up these political trends from a more global aspect. However, one can say that the fact that these local movements have concentrated on the individual contradictions nearest them proves the felt inadequacy of the old idea that the root of all evil was the state structure, whose overthrow would solve all problems at one swoop. In conceptual terms, it convinces me that the political revolution cannot march at the head of the social revolution — that the former will only be achieved in intimate connection with the latter. I would also add that the ideal of a world revolution, of ties of international solidarity, are no longer a wild vision for us, thanks to this new kind of movement.

One of the factors primarily responsible for the reaching of this turning-point has been none other than — the Japanese Red Army. The days when "abroad" meant America seem far away to us now. Of course, when one thinks about it, the expansion of Japanese imperialism into southeast Asia has been a great impetus, [but the credit is undeniably due to the former]. Meanwhile, young Japanese are gradually beginning to take up the Korean language, to visit southeast Asia, and to express greater and greater interest in the countries of that area.

Compared with five years ago, the political movement today would seem to be at an unbelievably low ebb. As for me, however, I'm sure that the flood-waters are building up, soon to burst forth.

NOTES:

1. AMPO is short for the "US-Japan Joint Security Treaty," designed to tie the two countries in a tight military partnership dominated by the U.S. nuclear umbrella. First signed in 1960, it is renewable every 10 years.
2. The "democratic constitution" was written by U.S. occupation lawyers in 1947. In it, Japan renounces the right to maintain armed forces or to use force as an instrument of national policy; it transfers sovereign power to the people, and strips the emperor of his divine authority.
3. Eight members of the Armed Front were arrested in May 1975. One committed suicide (according to the police) immediately, another was sprung by the Japanese Red Army in the Kuala Lumpur Incident of August 1975. Two other members remain at large.
4. 'Burakumin' are the untouchables of Japan, unable to get 'respectable' jobs, or even to associate with people not of their caste. (see RONIN No. 16.)
5. The Ainu were the original inhabitants, the 'Red Indians', of Japan. Now only a few remain, living mostly in model villages in the far North as a result of expansion by the present race known as "Japanese".
6. Konishi Makoto, a sergeant in the Air Self Defense Force (ASDF — i.e., the Japanese Air Force; see note 2), was arrested in 1969 for denouncing the AMPO treaty and calling for a boycott of "civil order training" then being conducted on all SDF bases. During the 5-year series of court hearings which followed, the first political prosecution of an SDF member, a Support Konishi Committee was formed to help in his defense and gather public support. He was acquitted in February 1975. (See AMPO Magazine, No. 6 [Summer 1970] and Vol. 7 No. 2 [April-June 1975]).
7. Japan's government subscribes to the "three non-nuclear principles": non-production of, non-possession of, and non-transit of nuclear weapons in Japan. Recent events, however, have exposed its secret collusion with the American military in allowing U.S. Navy ships to call at Japanese ports while carrying nuclear weapons, and the U.S. Army to store its warheads in Okinawa.
8. The 10-year struggle of local farmers against construction of a new international airport at Narita, outside Tokyo. (See AMPO Nos. 9-10, 11 & 15.)
9. In the latest stage of the Sanrizuka struggle, the farmers have launched a movement to sell shares in an iron tower they have constructed to prevent the use of the airport runway. (See "SANRIZUKA" on pp. 37-42 of this issue.)

what kind of organization?

The Japan Anarchist Association (JAF) dissolved itself in 1968. In the words of its dissolution manifesto, the move was a "deployment in the face of the enemy." Social conditions were heading for a new high point, and all sorts of new social movements were being born. JAF's decision to deploy was thus based on the expectation of a re-birth (of the anarchist movement, that is) in the midst of this refreshing atmosphere. What it amounted to was, in fact, JAF's admission of failure to relate to people as it was currently constituted.

Of these new social movements, two are most worthy of notice. One was the student rebellion (*Zenkyōtō*), a link in the world-wide chain of student outbursts of the late 60s. The other was *Beheiren* (see part I), a movement which denounced the rape of Vietnam by U.S. imperialism and the Japanese government's complicity therein. Although with the subsequent lapse of the overall social movement into a "quiet" phase, the former fell into the hands of the so-called "New Left" Marxist-Leninist sects, both *Beheiren* and *Zenkyōtō* were once distinguishable by their reliance on individual spontaneity.

Neither of the two were movements of anarchists, nor did either of them profess anarchist beliefs. Truth to say, very few people involved made the connection between their activities and "anarchist" ones. In any case, the nature of the two movements made such distinctions irrelevant. When a movement is prospering, and in practical terms moving towards the realization of anarchy, not only do such arguments and false distinctions not arise, there is no time even for debating them.

Overall, conditions at the time were very close to the theoretical projections of anarchism. That is, the movement seemed to be heading towards a state of anarchy, to judge from the attitudes and actions of its participants. Even the mass media were forced to confess that the revolutionary doctrine of anarchy, so long hidden under the shadow of Marxism, had been rediscovered. For the first time, reflected in the mass media as well as in general publishing activities, anarchism began to receive the serious attention it deserved. For example, it was at this time that Daniel Guérin's *Anarchism* was published and attracted a wide readership, to be followed by a spate of publications concerning anarchism. The appearance of Guérin's book marked the first time since the war that the ideas of anarchism had been made available in a genuine, complete, compact and, moreover, cheap form. For many young Japanese, I think, this book worked as an introductory course to anarchy.

With the popular movement at its height, interest in anarchism was widespread, and many "new" anarchists were appearing. The problem was, to what extent were the anarchists themselves able to grasp the significance of the fact that many people were becoming acquainted with anarchism through a movement which was developing, by and large, independent of the anarchists? Frankly speaking, not well enough, though some people admittedly worked hard to realize their proposals for restructuring anarchist theory to suit the changing social conditions and to anticipate future developments.

Even after JAF's dissolution, local anarchists continued to form their own groups and engage in local activities as before. For some, indeed, it could even be said that the end of JAF offered a fresh opportunity for action. Apart from the anarchism study circles up and down the country, other groups which immediately spring to mind are the *Mugi Sha* (Barley Society — so named because the character used to transliterate the "ba" of "Bakunin" into Japanese means literally "barley") and the *Libertaire* group in Tokyo; the Rebel Association (*Futei Sha*), Osaka Anarchism Study Society and Kyoto Anarchism Study Society, both in Kansai; and the Liberty and the Pale Horse Society groups in northern Japan. There must surely have been many more than that which we don't know about. Most of them seem to have been small. The biggest was the *Libertaire* group in Tokyo, still active today, holding regular meetings and putting out a small magazine, *Libertaire* (in Japanese). However, one more group which formed at this time demands attention. This comprised the people who formed around the monthly Osaka publication, *Jiyū Rengō* (Free Federation).

The Osaka *Jiyū Rengō* published its first "preparatory issue" on March 10, 1969, and ceased publication 3½ years later on October 15, 1972. Circulation grew from 1000 at the outset, through 1800 a year later, to 2500 when publication ceased. The regular readership also grew, from 800 after the first year to 1800 at the end. While many of the readers lived either in Tokyo or in the Kyoto-Osaka-Kobe areas, distribution was nationwide. In social terms, while a large proportion of the readership naturally comprised young people and students, in fact there was a very broad mix. Space does not allow a detailed examination of the part played by the Osaka *Jiyū Rengō*. What follows are just the impressions left by its most outstanding features.

In the first place, it should be pointed out that the Osaka *Jiyū Rengō* took its name from that of an earlier JAF broadsheet of the same name. However, as the *Osaka Jiren* (we use this abbreviation to distinguish it from the JAF paper, which was usually known as *Jiren*) stated time and time again, while it retained the name of the JAF paper, it was not the organ of any one group. Instead, it insisted, by paying for the paper through taking out subscriptions the readership was expressing and concretely proving its "sincere desire to create a free federation within the movement." Thus was a new kind of managerial form created. The idea which its title suggested, of an anarchist organ, was wrong.

"Through this paper we are aiming at a broad, anti-establishment,

free-federated movement, including but not restricted to anarchists. This is because we believe that, above all else, the complete equality of every movement, joined together in a federation allowing complete freedom of action, is essential if the present anti-establishment struggle is to wage a successful fight.

"Jiren must at all times correspond to actual conditions. The idea of a 'free federation' with no relationship to current conditions is simply nonsense. This is why the backbone of Jiren is on-the-spot, subjective reports from actual participants in concrete struggles." (No. 13, 20/3/70)

In other words, what the **Osaka Jiren** was aiming at was to encourage awareness that the kind of organizational forms then being created within the **Beheiren** and **Zenkyōtō** movements amounted to free federation forms. For this purpose, it would provide an open forum and a meeting place for people actually involved in these struggles. While anticipating that it would be confused with the old **JAF Jiyu Rengo**, the **Osaka Jiren** insisted that the name was simply the most appropriate to express the position of the Osaka group. So the question which cropped up over and over again during the 3½ years of the paper's life was: What is a free federation?

As the above quote made clear, **Osaka Jiren** did not want to be labelled an anarchist paper produced by anarchists, and deliberately assumed a posture which rejected such a position. For outsiders this must have seemed a highly curious situation. The paper was rich in information about anarchism and news of anarchist groups — in fact it was the only national outlet for such material. For people trying to find out more about anarchism (as we said, great numbers of young people were then turning on to anarchism), and for the anarchists themselves, there was simply no other source covering the whole country. Hence the impression of an "anarchist monthly" which **Osaka Jiren** gave was quite inevitable.

Nevertheless, the paper rejected the strict anarchist standpoint, on the grounds that it sought to create a much broader-based, federated social movement. For the establishment of the "open forum" envisaged by **Osaka Jiren**, its members felt that to accept the label of "anarchists" would have been a hindrance.

That they were reasonably successful in this attempt can be seen from the figures for circulation and subscription. Very few other libertarian papers went beyond the groups which published them, and almost all circulated only in a limited area. For people without a strong interest in anarchism, they were extremely boring and suggested a closed shop. **Osaka Jiren**, on the other hand, was somewhat different. The "liberated" impression which it gave was largely due to its attempts to break away from the anarchist framework. Its subscribers, scattered all over the country, and including senior and middle-school students and many non-anarchists, were the measure of its success.

So what exactly did the **Osaka Jiren** people mean when they talked about a "free federation?" We will pass on to this in part III.

SANRIZUKA

One of our intrepid editors recently returned, with a running nose and a battered camera, from a weekend at Sanrizuka. There he took part in a support demonstration for the local farmers, and this is what he saw and heard.

In the rolling hills of Narita, cabbages and burdock grow where once blossomed molotov cocktails. Yet the struggle of the people of Sanrizuka for the right to live and die and be buried in the soil they love has not diminished. Only, a new stage has been reached. Their unity was manifest in the twin iron towers poised above the rain-soaked land that Sunday.

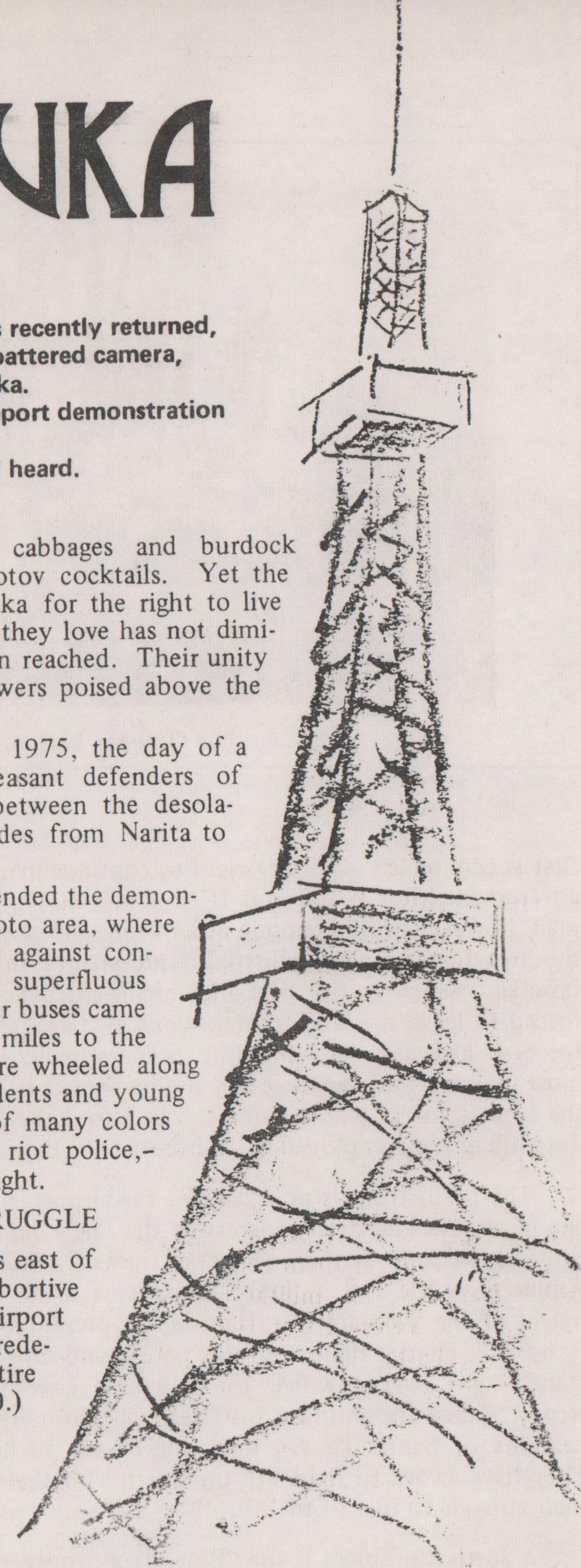
That Sunday was October 11, 1975, the day of a solidarity-happening with the peasant defenders of Sanrizuka. 6000 people snaked between the desolation of "civilization" on both sides from Narita to the main tower.

Three bus-loads of people attended the demonstration from the Kobe-Osaka-Kyoto area, where a parallel struggle is being waged against construction of a new and equally superfluous Kansai International Airport. Other buses came from as faraway as Kyushu, 700 miles to the west. Cerebral palsy victims were wheeled along the route of the march, while students and young workers with flags and helmets of many colors zig-zagged and clashed with the riot police, — Who are always spoiling for a fight.

BEHIND THE SANRIZUKA STRUGGLE

Sanrizuka, some 70 kilometers east of Tokyo, is the site of the so-far abortive 'New Tokyo Int'l Airport.' The airport "is one of the main pillars of a redevelopment plan for [Japan's] entire economic structure." (AMPO 9-10.)

The peasants of Narita (the name of the city in which Sanrizuka stands) are fighting on two fronts at once. The





The October 12th demo.

first is economic — for the right to continue living on land granted to them by the government after World War II “for eternity.” The government’s redevelopment plan, however, would, among other things, involve the re-routing of all the rivers in the area to serve new industrial requirements: in other words, the DEATH of the farmland which is the peasants’ birthright. As for the farmers, they would be forced to leave the land to seek work in the cities, there to swell the reserve labor force so necessary to capitalism to keep profits high and wages low. Already, almost every major Japanese city has its own ghetto comprised of farmers forced off the land, some of whom cannot even afford the fare to return home, but must endure life as semi-employed day-laborers until they die of fatigue or cold.

The other front is political, for the airport, though innocently billed as part of the inevitable industrial progress of the “new Japan,” is tightly bound up with the provisions (many of them secret) of the U.S.—Japan Joint Security Treaty (Ampo). Ampo gives the U.S. military free access to all Japanese civil airports. At the height of the Vietnam War, Haneda, the present Tokyo airport, was used extensively by U.S. charter flights ferrying people and supplies to and from Vietnam. When Haneda got over-crowded, the Japanese government claimed it needed a new airport. Since the military privilege will naturally extend to the new airport, the peasants of Sanrizuka say they don’t want to help the U.S. fight other Asians. They have sworn to fight “to the death” for their land, and have often compared their struggle to that of their brothers and sisters in Vietnam.

A further problem is the “Blue 14” air route, reserved under Ampo for sole use

by the U.S. military, which makes it impossible to build a new airport west of Tokyo where Yokota airbase takes up land and airspace. Suggestions that Yokota itself, only one of numerous U.S. air bases in Japan, be given to the government for development as a civil airport have been brushed aside with excuses. The farmers of Sanrizuka, therefore, are not only fighting on two fronts: on one of those sides, they must fight a double enemy — their own government and the U.S. military.

ORIGINS OF THE FARMERS’ MOVEMENT

The Sanrizuka struggle began in a rainstorm on June 28, 1966, when 1000 farmers resolved to fight the government’s decision to build the new airport here in utter contempt for their homes and family graves. Having already been forced by the strong resistance of local farmers to abandon plans to build the airport at its first choice, Tomisato, however, the government was determined not to lose face again. Sanrizuka had an added advantage in that one-third of the land to be requisitioned was part of the imperial estate — which of course offered no resistance. Of the land owned by the farmers, much had been occupied only since the end of the war, and so, thought the government, community resistance would be weaker than in areas like Tomisato, which had a long tradition of peasant resistance behind it. Now as their struggle approaches its decennium, the smoke of war and the fumes of tear-gas have dispersed. Many farmers have accepted the government’s compensation offers and left the area. More remain, to protect the future. In another rainstorm, the October 12 meeting drew several thousand members of the Opposition League (Hantai Dōmei) and its supporters.

Political support for the Sanrizuka struggle has fluctuated. When the parliamentary opposition parties made it clear their support was conditional upon the issue’s usefulness for their own petty politics, the farmers realized that only their own strength would prevent the building of the new airport. For a time, the Sanrizuka struggle provided a focus for the “non-sect” anti-establishment student movement of the late 60s, until this too drifted into realms of obscurity far from the practical fight for life and the land. Today, the farmers of Sanrizuka have themselves become the forefront of the people’s struggle in Japan, a source of imagination for those who believe in the need to oppose state violence, and the most important obstacle to the Japanese government’s plans to obliterate an archipelago.

Credit for the successful delaying tactics which have taken the Sanrizuka struggle towards its tenth anniversary is due to the stand taken by the Opposition League. Since 1966 it has maintained its solidarity before the bland promises of airport corporation officials, who have offered big cash payments in return for a sell-out. It has also led a series of struggles, sit-ins, and demonstrations to oppose the surveyors sent to draw up plans for the airport, and even more, with the riot police detailed to protect them. The farmers employed a simple but devastating weapon: human shit, liquefied for use as fertilizer. It sure was powerful stuff — Sanrizuka has inspired a succession of popular struggles all over the country.

NEW STAGE IN THE STRUGGLE

The October 12 demonstration came just one day after a decision by the local establishment which sent the Sanrizuka epic into a new stage. The government's plans to ship jet fuel to the airport by rail had long been opposed by citizens of two towns along the proposed route. On October 11, however, the local assembly of Kamisu Town in Ibaraki prefecture withdrew its opposition, and the other town is expected to follow suit. Sure enough, the Kamisu officials had been bought off: promises by the government to extend a Japan National Railways line into the town and to improve the town's transportation system were the bait, calculated to appeal to the officials' desire for re-election, and while the assembly took the necessary steps to make its decision binding, 600 riot police provided "security" against 200 irate local citizens reluctant to see the lethal cargo passing through the midst of their homes.

Rail transportation of the fuel was first put forward by the New Tokyo International Airport Corporation three years ago, when earlier plans to build a pipeline through Chiba City to the east were abandoned in the face of similar local opposition. The townspeople refused to give their land to these transports of death, fearing accidents, and voiced their solidarity with their neighbors in Sanrizuka.

The corporation claims that the rail plan is a stop-gap measure until a pipe-line is built from Chiba Bay according to the original plan — doubtless expecting to buy off the citizens' "representatives" with hollow promises in the usual fashion of Japanese money politics. The citizens themselves, though, remain steadfastly



The October 12th demo.

opposed to the plan, and the rail link is likely to remain for some time to come. Meanwhile, the railwaymen expressed their own opposition to their management's collusion with the government by turning out in strength at the demonstration. They received applause from all the people gathered there.

The airport was originally scheduled to open in April 1971. Now, after 4½ years of dashed predictions, the Transport Ministry has given up making guesses when the airport will be opened. Instead, they confirm that it **will not be opened before the end of 1976** — still an optimistic opinion in the minds of many, especially the Sanrizuka farmers themselves.

Sanrizuka farmers are angry — angry because, whatever this land is today, they made it, from reclaimed wasteland where once feudal daimyo lords exercised their war ponies; angry because of the government's blatant reneging on its promises, such as its plan to develop a silk industry in the area, launched in 1964, and scuttled in 1966 by the airport plan, after farmers had gone deeply into debt converting their farmland over to mulberry leaves.

THE IRON TOWERS AND INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

Today, 'New Tokyo International Airport' stands an empty, rusting skeleton, testimony to the will of Sanrizuka to resist. In hangers built for Jumbo jets, and confidently emblazoned with the letters JAL (Japan Air Lines), buses stand in rows. The only people manning the ghost-like structure are the security and maintenance staff. It has already become too small to take the overflow from Haneda, and is quickly becoming obsolete. Cracks have appeared in the one completed runway. Upkeep is costing 25 million yen a day, and the total cost has already topped 300 billion yen!

The one completed runway, moreover, is unusable. The farmers and their supporters have erected an iron tower on Opposition League land at a height which prevents the take-off or landing of modern jets. The tower is strong, 62 meters high with foundations sunk deep into the soil that symbolize the steadfast will of the Sanrizuka farmers. Surrounded by friendly fields, gleaming emerald that day in the rain, the tower exuded **strength**. Its steel girders, meshing and intermeshing like the joined arms of its defenders, wield an uncanny power of attraction. A tower of power indeed! As if the secret forces of the earth had come together at this point to replenish the struggle of those pledged to defend it, against those who would spread the pall of death.

The second and third runways remain on the drawing-board. The determination of the last 24 families to stay on the land required for building these, promises more bloody struggles for the future. "In the name of Japanese peasants, we reject land confiscation!" — the slogan which has inspired the struggle for almost 10 years, resounds still. More than once in the past, the Sanrizuka farmers likened their fight to that of the Vietnamese people against similar forces of darkness and destruction. Another tower, 32 meters high, has also been built as a second line of defense. The Airport Corporation has conducted flight checks, and confirmed that the airport

cannot be used until the two towers are removed. To do this, heavy cranes and earth-moving equipment will be necessary. Although the Corporation has begun to build a road from the airport down towards the towers, it has come to a full stop at the point where the land owned by Opposition League farmers begins. Meanwhile, the farmers continue to till their land, in the shadow of these twin sentinels.

The land surrounding the main tower is farmed collectively with the cooperation of work brigades from radical labor and student organizations. A small group of supporters has guarded the tower 24 hours a day while living in a bus parked at its base; more recently, a platform-residence was built part-way up the tower to house families who have made the tower their home.

The towers, symbols both, stand as proud reminders of a heroic past, and as defiant obstacles to an unsolicited future. The defence of Sanrizuka is rooted in these two towers. The Opposition League has appealed to the people of Japan to buy shares in the ownership of the towers as an act of solidarity with the farmers of Sanrizuka. (The farmers were originally taken to court by the Airport Corporation over the towers, but under traditional Japanese law it is illegal to buy agricultural land and change its use without the consent of the owner. The judge upheld the farmers' ownership rights. He also announced that he would order the towers' removal two months before the opening of the airport as they would constitute a public safety hazard.) Unfortunately, it takes a minimum of four months to give pilots simulator training for new flight paths, and simulator programs cannot be made without the real airport to fly into! The future of the airport hangs on these two towers.

Already many shares have been sold. Now the Opposition League asks foreign friends to join in this movement, to add their strength to the popular resistance to the Japanese government bulldozer. Sanrizuka will become a battleground again. It is important that new support be gathered from all quarters. The farmers' struggle for their lives will gain new strength from your contribution to the share movement. One may buy as many shares as s/he wants, at 100 yen (15p/50c) each. When we receive money, we will send you share-holders' forms, together with instructions for filling them in (the forms are in Japanese). Money sent to us will be sent on to the International Support Group for Sanrizuka in Kobe. Money is also needed for the Medical Aid Fund.

But it is not just the money that counts. Supporters overseas can play a vital obstructionist role: if the government is to take possession of the towers it must first obtain permission from all the shareholders, contacting each and every one of them by mail. The more shareholders there are, and the further-flung they are, the bigger the hassles for the government (can't say its our fault — we didn't make the laws!)

Tell your friends, don't delay!
Help bankrupt a gov't today!!

For further reading material on Sanrizuka, see AMPO Magazine, especially the early issues. AMPO: Box 5250, Tokyo International, Japan.

Spring 'Offensive' Offensive?

For better or for worse, the astonishing post-war recovery of the Japanese economy has become a celebrated phenomenon. But few people, save the Japanese consumers themselves, are aware of the accompanying, and equally astonishing, rise in consumer prices — some 10 to 20% annually. As a result, the labor movement in Japan has established as its major premise that wage rates should rise by at least an equivalent amount every year (see chart A).

The strategy devised to carry through this premise has been the uniquely Japanese "Spring Offensive" (Shuntō). Generally speaking, the strategy runs as follows: at the beginning of each spring, representatives of the labor unions meet to formulate a proposed wage demand for that year, based on the current rate of price hikes. After arriving at an agreed figure, unions all over the country then begin negotiations with the management. As a rule, the lead is taken by the big, powerful unions, while the smaller, weaker ones follow behind them (chart B). The figure which the former manage to wrest from the employers (the "wage-hike index") more or less decides the fate of the latter and of all workers in Japan.

Needless to say, however, negotiations between the two sides run less than smoothly. So, when the talks break down, unions all over the country, led by Sōhyō (General Council of Trade Unions, the main labor grouping), begin a strike campaign. "Strike," though, is hardly the word for what takes place. Stopping the trains for two or three hours, knocking off work for half a day, holding a meeting instead — this is the usual pattern. In other words, a form of struggle feasible only for workers in the large corporations. On the other hand, when, as has become usual, the national railway workers announce a one-day strike, all of the mass media — television, radio, newspapers — let out a unanimous shriek of protest about the "inconvenience caused to innocent people" and so on. A radical labor movement in Japan thus faces the same problems as do those elsewhere.

When the wage negotiations finally break down, the government's arbitration council is empowered to intervene. From this point on, all decisions are made by repeated meetings of the "bosses" on both sides, with the result that the union

leaders are usually cajoled into accepting a figure which the government mediators think tolerable — high enough to satisfy the unionists, and low enough to appease the company directors. Of course, once this “bosses only” stage is reached, the rank-and-file workers have no clue at all of what is happening to their wage demands. They are like puppets, dancing to the tune of the instructions which reach them from on high.

Anyway, like it or not, the “Spring Offensive” strategy for seeking wage hikes has persisted for the past twenty years, thanks to the prodigious growth rate of the Japanese economy. In the past couple of years, however, sudden changes have been set in motion. The “oil panic” of October 1973 brought Japan nose to eyeball with its greatest business slump since the war. First textile circles, then the motor car manufacturers, the steel industry, and the makers of small electrical appliances, one by one felt the pinch. Throughout Japanese industry, production fell. The consequence for wage negotiations, naturally, was to reduce the size of the “pie” to be shared out between company and employees.

Japan has now entered a phase of “minus” or, at best, slow economic growth. Logically, it is now being said, the “Spring Offensive” strategy should also be abandoned. In fact, though, this strategy has always done more harm than good to those who should reap the benefits. Why? The reasons are:

1. It has become an annual event — a kind of ceremonial festival in which not only has the sense of a **workers’** struggle all but disappeared, but which also allows unions to be totally inactive outside the “Spring Offensive” period.

2. It has accelerated trends towards centralization within the labor movement. Since all effective negotiations are carried among the “bosses,” the effect on the labor movement as a whole has been debilitating.

3. It has been taken over by the government and by the opposition Communist, Socialist and Democratic-Socialist parties as a political stratagem. In other words, the wage settlement achieved by the campaign is tied up with all sorts of political issues (i.e., parliamentary power struggles), and is used as a pawn in the political underworld.

4. It benefits only workers employed in large concerns: the vast majority, those employed by small and medium-sized firms, are quite neglected. The present depression has encouraged this tendency, since the latter, unable to strike, are seen to be completely at the mercy of the former, who by their power to dictate the year’s wage rise, constitute in effect no more than sub-contractors.

5. It widens the class differences within the working class itself. The big capitalists, by their conciliatory approach towards the major unions, have been able to cut them off from the lower-paid workers. In other words, a clever system of divide-and-rule has come about. We Japanese workers must fight to destroy this process!

6. The time calls for a return to a real labor movement, one which embodies the image of the worker her/himself. Now that the absolute value of the economic pie has shrunk, the “Spring Offensive” style of movement, which shortsightedly

relies on simply taking a larger share for itself has become redundant. From now on, a new kind of movement, one which combines voluntary efforts to increase the size of the pie with the assurance of its fair distribution, one with its sights firmly set on a society based on workers’ self-management of production, may well be on the move!

CHART A
CONSUMER PRICE INDEX

| Year | Index No. | Annual % Increase |
|------|-----------|-------------------|
| 1970 | 101.4 | 7.3% |
| 1971 | 107.2 | 5.7% |
| 1972 | 112.8 | 5.2% |
| 1973 | 131.0 | 16.1% |
| 1974 | 159.6 | 21.8% |
| 1975 | 175.6 | 10.3% |

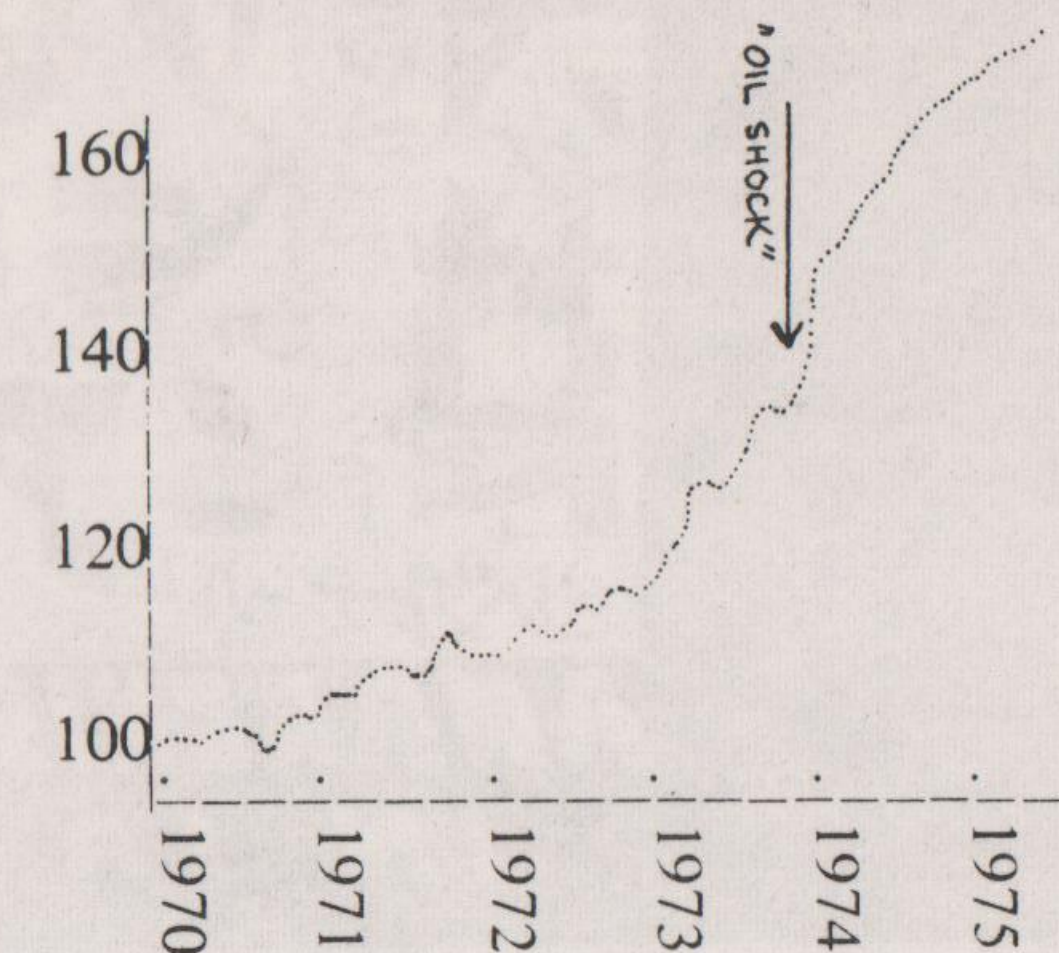


CHART B

TABLE OF LABOR ORGANIZATION
ACCORDING TO SIZE OF ENTERPRISES

(Gov’t Workers and Workers at Gov’t-owned
Companies Included)

| Size of Enterprise | No. of organized workers | % of total union membership | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 5,000 + | 5,267,000 | 45.4 | |
| 1,000-4,999 | 2,733,700 | 23.6 | |
| 500-999 | 954,900 | 8.2 | |
| 100-499 | 1,885,600 | 16.2 | |
| 30-99 | 647,500 | 5.6 | |
| 29 or less | 115,800 | 1.0 | |
| Private Industry Only | | | |
| Size of Enterprise | No. of organized workers | % of total union membership | % of work-force employed (approx.) |
| 1,000 + | 4,793,400 | 58.4 | 25 |
| 500-999 | 742,900 | 9.1 | |
| 100-499 | 1,439,200 | 17.6 | 15 |
| 30-99 | 411,200 | 5.0 | 15 |
| 29 or less | 60,100 | 0.7 | 45 |

Source: Ministry of Labour, “Basic Enquiry of Trade Unions, 1971”.



The following are some of the more interesting developments in the libertarian publishing field in Japan. All are in Japanese, and are published in Tokyo unless otherwise stated. The titles we have given are all taken from review/news columns of anarchist magazines here. There is also much good libertarian materials coming out of areas like the women's movement too, though, and these are not usually listed. When we hear about these, we'll include them in our listing.

1. **Daidōkan-Kokin** (Committee to Publish the Writings of Iwasa Sakutarō), No. 8: "A Refutation of the Syndicalists." Iwasa was a well-known figure in the anti-syndicalist, anarcho-communist faction both before and after the war.
2. **Libertaire** No. 2 (1975): a special on anarchism and the occult.
3. **Museifu-shugi Kenkyū** (Studies on Anarchism), No. 4: special issue on some of the problems raised by sex and communal living: contains articles on Ōsugi Sakae's views on sex; and some previously unpublished pieces by the anarcho-feminist Takamure Itsue. Also has articles on Nechaev, trying to refute the Machiavellian image hitherto accepted; and on Stirner (a translation of an essay by Albon). Quarterly.
4. **IOM: Anarchism, Literature and Ideology**, No. 8: articles on anarchist attitudes towards work; report of a visit to anarchist centers in Sicily; and some criticisms of the Japan Anarcho-Communist Party of the 30s. Published in Kobe. **IOM**, No. 9: contains a school teacher's criticism of compulsory education; report of a trip to anarchist centers in France and Holland; the first part of a short story; and the final part of the article on anarchists and work.

5. War Resisters' International, Osaka branch: **Kamagasaki Ettō Tendo-mura Yōkakan** (Eight Days in the Winter-Survival Tent Village at Kamagasaki): Kamagasaki is the slum area of Osaka, where the population is 80% day laborers. In the depression of 1973-74, few could find work, and this tent village was established to provide cover at night and also simple food.
6. **Anākizumu**, No. 7: special issue on organization; the revolutionary movement's obsession with organization; the rise of a new kind of left; translations of pieces on self-management from France; plus continuing translations from Kronstadt Izvestia and report on the development of a non-company-based union movement (gōdō rōsō).
Anākizumu, No. 8: special issue on the emperor system in Japan; also articles on anarchism and terrorism; on kibbutz; on the movement to withhold military taxes; plus the continuing biography of the Korean anarchist Kim Jong Jin; translation from Kronstadt Izvestia, etc.
7. Takamure Itsue: **Fujin Undō no Tan'itsu Taikei** (A Definitive Women's Movement): by the feminist militant heavily involved in the anarchist-Bolshevik controversies of the 1920s, the editor of several feminist journals; a very important but neglected figure who spanned the anarchist and women's movements at the time.
8. **Jiyū Rengō/Jiyū Rengō Shimbun** (Free Federation/Free Federation Newspaper): complete reprint of the anarchist labor union journal of the early 20s.
9. **Dinamikku** (Dynamic): reprint of the pre-war paper edited by Ishikawa San-shirō, a representative Japanese libertarian.
10. **Kokushoku Sensen** (Black Battlefront): another reprint, this time of the militant paper published from 1929 into the 30s.
11. Ōsawa Masamichi: **Rōdō to Yūgi no Benshōhō** (The Dialectics of Work and Play): by one of the foremost libertarian theorists in Japan today.
12. Satō Shigeyuki: **Purūdon Kenkyū** (Studies on Proudhon): collection of essays on aspects of Proudhon's thought.
13. Hasegawa Takeshi: **Anākisuto Undō to sono Rinen** (The Concept of an Anarchist Movement).
14. Kikuoka Hisatoshi: **Fukkoku Sanshishū** (Reprint of Three Poems) by the anarchist poet.
15. **Anākisuto Kakumei** (The Anarchist Revolution): translation of the pamphlet by George Barrett.
16. **Anākisuto** (The Anarchists): translation of James Joll's *The Anarchists*.
17. A. Berukuman: **Roshiya Kakumei no Hihan** (translation of Alexander Berkman's *The Bolshevik Myth*): reprinted.

indochina and anarchists

The following letter was sent to us by Mit-Teilung (London), in whose No. 22 (October '75) issue it appeared. Our reply doesn't represent our last word on the subject (especially on "Nationalism," about which we'll be writing more later.) We hope that readers (G. J. included) will send us their comments and criticism.

A LETTER. . . .

I too noted the comments in LIBERO INT'L No. 2, re. Marxism-Leninism and Asia. Those Japanese & English intellectuals write a good magazine, extremely good. But they are not workers and have not learned the **bloody** lessons of Anarchist History since 1917.

It is one thing to recognize that the Marxist-Leninists are the major revolutionary force in Asia (with excellent cadre, Moscow gold, and weaponry from China, USSR & Czechoslovakia). This necessitates "tactical" considerations. But it is quite another to become Anarcho-Bolshevists, as so many Russian Anarchist **TRAITORS** did.

It is crass stupidity to write, "...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...."

What goddam shit! The most foolish, suicidal thing the Russian and Ukrainian Anarchists did was to ally — for one minute even — with the Bolsheviks — who turned and butchered, massacred, exterminated ¼ million Anarchists and peasant supporters. The Bolsheviks were counter-revolutionary from day one. So are the Marxist-Leninists: What of the 1945 massacre in Saigon? The extermination of the Viet Trots? The murder of 10,000 Red River peasants in 1956...? What of the Chinese "terrorists," anarchists, in labour camps in the "People's Republic?" The Army crushing of worker revolts in Shanghai and Canton? The mass-murder of Inner Mongolians and Uighur Moslems...?

"Attacks and exposes without fail." What shit! From where? The security of Tokyo? When the Commies take power, there's no time to "attack" and "expose"! You are jailed or shot. Ask the Bulgarian Anarchists about that one. It is one thing to recognize cultural & regional needs, desires, demands for independence. But to support nationalism — the nation **State** — that is not Anarchism. Nor is Anarcho-Bolshevism.

Yes, we know that the Communists will seize most of Asia. That is in the cards. But if the Revolutionary and non-communist forces fight hard, we can establish our own bases — as Makhno in the S. Ukraine. But, as with Makhno, it is suicide to ally or allow entry to communists. Co-ordinate, yes! Alliance, no! We are always devoured in that position....

If others can organize, so can we. Otherwise, give up the farce! I support more the position of the Augustin Miura in *Libertaire* No. 8. I support East-Asia Anti-Japanese—even though some Marxism, basically libertarian. No support for authoritarian Red Army concept or for the concept of the Japan Anarchist Communist

Party 1934-35.

Help protect jailed, yes! But no public alliance with ideology.

I don't think you've the authority to say that *Libero* Int'l represents the Japanese Anarchist movement. *Libertaire* and *Idea* Publishing represent larger groupings.

G. J. Toronto

. . . AND A REPLY

The problem with all anarchist critiques that we have seen of Indochinese and other Bolshevik dictatorships — including both G.J.'s letter and our own original editorial — is that they rarely amount to realistic, down-to-earth **practical** ones. It seems a contradiction to accept, on the one hand, the existence of cultural needs, customs, desires and so on, while ignoring the effect which these might have on the regimes set up in response. The point is: though the "communist" regimes have been more or less uniform in their treatment of those whose ideas fall outside the straight and narrow, it isn't enough to dismiss them as being all of a piece. To do so is to resurrect the McCarthyite demon of "monolithic communism." Before we can begin to adopt a definitive position, we must know **why** such a regime emerged in a given place; **what** it depends on for its existence; **who** (doesn't) support it and **why** (not).

Our "critical support" for "marxist liberation movements in Asia today" was too broadly phrased and is, justly, the object of G.J.'s condemnation. Actually, our "critical support" was meant in the Indochinese context, where, in the face of the most colossal imperial intervention imaginable, such movements succeeded — and could only have succeeded — because the vast majority of the Indochinese peasants **wanted them to**. We did not say that a Marx-Leninist triumph would usher in freedom. All the same, the image of a million sweating peasants, with enemy swords at their throats and NLF guns at their backs, is by-and-large a CIA fiction.

In other words, the problem really boiled down to one of utter social and environmental dislocation wrought by an imperial power gone mad. While we offered no constructive suggestions for the future, we did at least say that a libertarian outcome to the war was out of the question. The possibility of an Indochina promising its people social justice and individual freedom was the first casualty of American intervention, the most savage in history. One wonders how G.J.'s "bases" would have fared under a blanket of napalm. What few choices there had been in pre-war Indochina were reduced by the war to a bare alternative: death, destruction and colonial slavery under Amerika and its Saigon lackeys; or national independence and collective self-reliance under the communists. The "Third Force," which had no program beyond the vague promise of "democracy," was thus forced to the sidelines as the battle for the "hearts and minds" of the people degenerated into a test of brute strength. In other words, there was no choice — **and no revolution** — while American bombs rained down. We repeat the need to comprehend the impact on Asian people of 100 years' imperialist control.

"But to support nationalism — the nation **State** — that is not Anarchism." Hold it! We never equated nationalism with the state, nor did we ever suggest any kind of support for the nation-state, let alone the alleged "alliance with ideology" (whatever that means). The nation-state concept was undoubtedly played up by the communists, just as it was by Thieu and the other puppets, but the communists didn't invent nationalism. It was a natural result of imperialist repression and colonial strangulation. The Indochinese communists, like the Chinese and others

before them, succeeded because they responded to powerful popular emotions, and comprehended that the essential first step to the regaining by the people of control over their lives was the riddance of the outside aggressor.

There is a time, events have shown, when the national revolution runs parallel to the class struggle. As in China, so in Vietnam. This phase lasts only until the foreign rulers are thrown out and the native people find a home-grown government telling them what to do. They will in all probability find that national independence, once won, is a life-crushing burden. From this point on, nationalism works only to the benefit of the rulers. To keep nationalism alive, the rulers must then invent a foreign threat (as in China — first Amerika, now Russia), or else exploit the fear of internal subversion financed from abroad (as in South Vietnam now). What we should be doing a propos of Indochina is attacking the communists for blinding popular aspirations to independence with the concept of nation-state independence, instead of complaining what a hard time we anarchists would have.

In the sense that the peasants of Indochina still till their fields and the workers work their lathes in the interest of some distant master, the revolution there has certainly been set back further. But now is not the time to expect any broad resistance. Resistance there will be, undoubtedly, but not until the people have enough occasion to discover the true meaning of "people" as used in Leninist parlance. Only then can we expect to see anything like a restaging of the revolt in China, where the workers finally saw through their masters' deceit and the betrayal of the revolution in their name.

Having in mind the kind of "resistance" that can be expected now — back-door financing by the U.S. — therefore we spoke of "critical support." Indochina is in far more danger from that quarter than the Soviets were in 1918, for the CIA can and does act without our knowledge. (To take just one example, how are we to regard the stories of mass starvation in Saigon? Are they true, or just another CIA fabrication off the AP wire in Bangkok?) CIA de-stabilization is intended to prepare public opinion for any counter-revolutions to come by creating the fiction that the new governments have no control and no support.

We "have not learned from the bloody lessons of Anarchist history since 1917." Name a decade since then, and you will find libertarian sacrifices to the god of power. How long must we go on learning the lessons before we become the teachers? How much blood do we have? What is going to be our strategy? The time is past for tactics.

The Russian anarchists did not commit "suicide." Without historical precedents to go by, they fell for the Bolsheviks' deceptions — as did many others, erstwhile Bolsheviks not excepted. This is the lesson, and it is the anarchists who must be the teachers. For we do have precedents to rely on. We expect the present-day Bolsheviks to trample on the revolution — it is in their authoritarian nature! So, where their victory is inevitable, we wait for it, denounce and expose it. But it is only the people themselves who will judge — and act!

How is that only libertarians appear to know about the 1945 massacre in Saigon. . . the murder of 10,000 Red River peasants in 1956. . . the Chinese anarchists in labor camps. . . the mass murder of Inner Mongolians and Uighur Moslems — to say nothing of Kronstadt and similar atrocities? How do we — the "Revolutionary and non-communist forces" — face up to this challenge? Or are the anarchists just going to inherit the earth some fine day when the sole wears down on the last fascist jackboot? Long before then, it will have been too late!

(cont. on p. 19)

CIRA-Nippon

CIRA-Nippon, founded in 1973, is a federation of autonomous libertarian groups, including the Section for International Correspondence (SIC), a small group of comrades living in the Osaka-Kobe area. The SIC works as the communication link between domestic anarchist groups associated with CIRA-Nippon, and various groups outside Japan. To achieve its aim of improved solidarity through international communication and understanding, the SIC has three main functions:

- to handle day-to-day correspondence between groups outside Japan and CIRA-Nippon;
- to publish news and materials concerning libertarian movements in Japan and East Asia; and
- to translate or summarize published material received from outside Japan and make them 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 new or largely unknown in Japan will be summarized, translated, etc., by the SIC, some sent to Fujinomiya to become part of the CIRA-Nippon collection, and some housed in the SIC collection in Osaka. We hope that our friends overseas will be interested in not only receiving *Libero International* and what other pamphlets and materials we produce, but will also help us communicate their own theory, practice and experience as widely as possible in Japan.

At present we plan to publish quarterly (bi-monthly proved over-optimistic). Sole editorial responsibility for the contents lies with the publisher, the SIC Editorial Collective. Correspondence relating to the contents, requests for further information, subscription inquiries, or letters dealing with other matters relating to the anarchist movement in Japan and Asia should be addressed to the SIC, at:

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