

# RADICAL



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\* the cover picture represents Kotoku in 1909.

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NOW, IN JAPAN---

After two national holidays ( May 3rd is the commemoration of Constitution, May 5th is the child-day) and one sunday, we have faced to 72 hours strike of National Rail Ways, the private enterprises of Transportation and 24 hour's strike of Mail and Telephone Services. This is usually called SHUNTO or the general strike for the spring time, and this year the workers want to raise their wage up to 17% per year, while the authorities try to control it under 14%. In Japan the wage system is not regulated with the minimum standard and a long service allowance, i.e. an annual salary is added with the term of service, and that there are many differences with the same work in accordance with the factories and shops beside regional diversification. To take an example, a shop girl in Tokyo earns her salary by a month from 60,000 yens to 80,000 yens ( approximately \$214-\$285, \$1 stands for 280yens) but if she stays out of her parent's home that is, an independent young woman, she must pay a rent of about 15,000 yens, \$53.5 for her apartment which is usually a square room about 8.2 square meters with a tiny kitchen, yet the class of this girl is excluded from even a 14% raise up unless she were an employee of a public corporation or a big business. Tradeunionism is a benifit for the workers of big enterprises, not for those of small retails or work shops. Interclass solidarity is weak and the many people endure inconvenience with silence clinging to a hope that a strike is only right of the worker. The Asahi shinbun of May 9th reports the consumer comodity' price raises already up to 14% !

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ELIZABETH II has gave us the honour to visit Japan on 7th May. It was a fine day. Every green soft leaves have sprouted and the grass has covered the hill. She would enjoy her trip amid the general strike of transportation. Indeed, the authorities have scheduled on starting a ball train from Tokyo to Kyoto, which has been cut off by the strikers, so they have explained to the people in order to stress the illegality of the strike.

Since the age of Edmund Burke, the crown has been a symbole of the tradition, historical identity, a tie of blood, and continuity of the nation, the purple costume of Her Majesty has impressed the Japanese people that their emperor has also authority over them, if His Majesty had descended to the level of popurality as a spokes man of his own nation.

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#### THE MORALITY OF ONE'S A DVOCA CY

by Genzo Ishikawa

For a long time anarchism in Japan has been alienated from the people, but a recognition that it has at last reached to the starting point of late is in common with the old and the new anarchists.

The typical nature with an individual inclination and a solitary dispersed tendency shaded post war anarchism shall be surmounted by anarchism as a movement. But the participants to form this situation are no other than the young anarchists. They have organized and fought themselves outside of old anarchism. For there is no movement among the old circles. Nevertheless the old anarchists have held a stand of

indifference. They do not consider beforehand the direct influence of their advocacy to the youth and talk about, for instance, an organization discarding similarity of the organization put forth by the youth. In another word, they do not explain their stand points or the objective situation. So far as now it is tolerated. But in the atmosphere to raise a nationwide movement, is it not add worse effects to the development of anarchism without considering simularity and homogeneity of the theme, especially lacking the will to achieve comradship among the old and the new?

I do not advocate rudeness, wild and loose disposition which can be seen in the behaviour and the opinion of the youth, but it must be an error to disregard the young one's deed and advocacy at all.

You may point out there is a few convinced anarchist in Japan. Yet it is a fact that we have seldom to talk each other face to face. That is, it is only a chance to know you from your published opinion. Thereby you must include your explanation of yourself. When you declare what you want to say without clearing your stand, you will receive a repugnance from an unacquainted comrade " what are you talking about at this moment?"

I want rather ask for an attention by the old anarchist to this point.

Selected from "Liberio, ANARKISMA JURNARO" Nro. 26, Feb., 1975 published by Liberio-sha; 28-5 Tanaka monzenchyō, Sakyo-ku Kyoto city, Japan.

## AN IMPRESSION OF READING

by Toshikazu Eto

Recently I have enjoyed to read some books treated the outline of anarchism, such as "The Anarchists" by Kichitaro Katsuda, "The History of Movement in Japanese Anarchism" by Liyuji Komatsu, which I have found interesting because of my lack of knowledge and theory of anarchism. But I feel uneasy about the attitude and a way of living of the authors toward anarchism. Mr. Katsuda says that anarchism offers a serious problem, but it is already out of date---. We must lay a line of demarcation between an anarchist and a historian and an intellectual who are apt to think it a merely historical phenomena or a means of living.

One essential idea of anarchism is a unity of intellectual work and manual labor, that is, a unity of labor and play. Of course I do not deny a division of work, as it is needed, yet a division of intellectual work and manual labor is another problem. For it brings us a dissolution of personality rather than a division of work and accompanys with a hierarchy.

We must take a sever attitude to a professor and an intellectual who earn their living with anarchism, for they belong to the class of exploitation as well as a capitalist, a politician and a business like artist. We must ask them whether they affirm a dissolution between intellectual activity and manual labor.

Such asking impacts us, too. I want to criticize the intellectual in some future, but now my own attitude has not been settled yet.

Mr. Eto is an esperantist and a coeditor of Libertaire.

Selected from Libertaire No.63

## A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN JAPAN (5)

### 3. The Anarchists of Direct Action

Shusui Kotoku (1871-1911), his first name Denjiro, was born in 1871, in Kochi-Prefecture in Shikoku island, the west-southern part of Japan, the same native place of Atsusuke Nakae. He started his intellectual carrier as a student dependent on Nakae. It was a custom of Japanese society in the Meiji era that the intellectual class, i.e. high class of governmental officials, medical doctors, powerful merchants and attorneys had willingly provided for students who served as a servant, a secretary and a disciple and obtained scholarship from their master. Its number seemed to boast the master's status in the society. And after apprenticeship, they had made their debut in their master's social circle. So it might be said that it was a kind of hereditary custom of feudal hierarchy.

In 1893 Shusui Kotoku had entered in a "Jiyû Shinbun Sha" literally "Liberal Press" with the recommendation of Nakae as a journalist and departed his master's home at the same time. But the respect to his master could not change at the least during his life and he edited the works of Nakae and wrote his memoir beautifully. The shadow of the master had been cast on his intellectual and sensitive personality till the end of his life. I think this causes merits and demerits of his activities of the anarchist. Its merits are his critical spirit, anti-authoritative activity and literal sense. Shusui Kotoku was one of 1st grade literate especially in politics. He was also 1st journalist who adopted and promoted colloquial style in the news paper which were usually written in a mixed composition of Japanese and chinese classics. While demerits, he had started as a parliamentalist, Liberal-Civil right's activist and even once he wanted to be a candidate of the

member of parliament as a socialist, though this hope was easily smashed owing to the interference of government. Even now it is some problematic to a critic, in what reason he converted into an anarchist. It is true that his conversion can be traced in its date and circumstance can be explained as I describe soon enough in this story. But his subjective attitude toward anarchism is somewhat obscure. Beside this, his tragical death accused to be a criminal of "A high treason affair" one of greatest scandals of the Meiji Government, and first Martyrdom for the anarchists had added more pathetic spice to this anarchist than the others.

He had changed his press office several times in accordance with his evolution of thought from liberalism to socialism. On Japan socialism landed together with communism. So that the forerunner of anarchism had been mingled with pioneers of socialism and even with Christian socialists.

In 1898, at the age of 28, Shusui became an editorial writer of "Yorozuchyo-Ho", in which he had formed a warm friendship with such geniuses as Kanzo Uchimura, a founder of (none-churchist movement), Konan Naito (an authority of Chinese classic literature), Toshihiko Sakai (one of founder of socialist party) and Ketsuson Kusumi (1860-1925), an anarchist who had introduced anarchism by dealing with it from ancient European thought to Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin and J. Most, yet some critic observed him an Individual anarchist withdrawing from active life, i.e. it is said that according to his opinion, both anarchism & socialism is the remotest ideal, so that it is better to live outside of the actual world. In my observation Ketsuson Kusumi was influenced by F. Nietzsche & Stirner and preferred individual anarchism as an apogee of socialism.

In October 8 1903, Shusui retired from "Yorozuchyo-Ho" with Toshihiko Sakai and Kanzo Uchimura because of its Jingoism of the press at the menace of Russo-Japanese War in 1904 - 1905. In November of the same year, he issued a weekly paper titled "Heimin Shinbun (the paper for the

proletariates)" with Sakai. This paper was first organ of socialists, which attracted a lot of radical intellectuals, workers and contributed the prevail of socialism, anarchism and marxism in Japan. A remarkable event which showed international solidarity of the workers was a proposal to the Russian socialist party appeared on No. 18 of the Heimin Shinbun at the beginning of Russo-Japanese war in 1904. It appealed to the socialists in Russia as follows:

.....Comrades! Now, both governments of Japan and Russia have started the war recklessly in order to satisfy their imperial ambitions each other. But we, socialists take no notice the difference of race, land or nationality, and you and us are comrades, brothers and sisters. There is none of reason for us to fight in the battle field at all. Your enemy is not a Japanese, but the so-called patriotism, and militarism. On the other hand our enemy is not a Russian, but it is also the well-known nationalism and jingoism. In fact, this patriotism and militarism are our common enemy, that is, the common enemy for the socialists over the world. You, us and the socialists over the world, must fight against this common enemy courageously, and thus it is the most important time and a good chance. We expect you will not overlook such an opportunity, while we promise you to effort ourselves up to the utmost".....  
.....We are not able to predict victory or defeat. But whatever its development might be, the war will result in hardship for the people, increase of the heavy tax and decay of morality, besides the spread of militarism and patriotism. Therefore, you and us shall not prefer the side of victory or defeat. In short, we should oppose to the war persistently and be against it, for our intentions are to cease the war immediately and to restore peace soon enough. The agreement and the activity of the International Workingmen's Association during Franco-Prussian War in 1870 shall be an example to be studied and we believe you will agree with us in this subject ....." (from No.18, Heimin Shinbun)

The appeal achieved a success of a shake hand with Sen Katayama (socialist) and Plekhnov at the 6th assembly of

2nd International in Amsterdam, which manifested the will of antiwar between the Japanese and the Russian. At that time Shusui criticized the article of antimilitarism written by Leo Tolstoy from a view point of a socialist. He said "Repent and follow God's will!" was not enough for the cause of war was neither the people had forgotten the dogma of Christianity, but, in fact, due to aggravation of economic competition among states. On No.20 of Heimin Shinbun he attacked a tax increase by 60 million yens for the sake of war expenditure in succession.

".....and see! the general has often reported to the Throne of his victory, but the people has neither obtained a grain of rice for that, nor a cloth for his military achievements. On the contrary, many country men should face to the weapons, and their family should weep for their hunger, industry becomes weakened, prices of commodities rise high, the salary of beadle has been lowered, and then application for a military bond is coerced, adventurism is promoted. Notwithstanding heavy tax does not cease its exploitation up to extracting a last drop of life blood of the poor people".

In order to exterminate such exploitation, he recommended an alternative of the socialist institution in which political power was divided equally among the people and products of the manufacture were collected in the hands of the producer having added with prohibition of private possession of land & capital. For "the present mischief and suffering are caused by badness of the institution and the organization of state".

This article was subjected to a prohibition of sale, and the editor, Toshihiko Sakai was sentenced to minor imprisonment for 2 months. It was the first imprisonment of the socialist.

Another event to be noted here was the appearance of the translation of "the Communist Manifesto" cooperated with Kotoku & Sakai in the celebration of the first anniversary of the founding of Heimin Sha (the press Office of the

Heimin Shinbun) in 1904. But the suppression was immediately enacted and Kotoku, Sakai and the other editor were charged with 80 yen. Then in November of the same year, Shakai Shugi Kyogikai (Socialism association), the organization of socialists was ordered to be dissolved.

The Heimin Sha had issued 4,000 copies whose some 1,000 copies had been supplied to the subscribers and the others being sold at the news paper agents. It was the first step of persecution by government. The more the adherents of socialism became radical in their activities such as public speeches, meetings and anti military campaigns, the more hostility of government increased. On January of 1905, the last issue of the Heimin Shinbun by No.64, announced its discontinuance before an executive measure had operated, with red printing after the example of the New Rhine paper edited by Marx & Engels. In which Kotoku explained that the socialist movement could not be retained only in the Heimin Shinbun, but to spread in various field, that is, it was forced to evolve into new realm.

To tell the truth, the socialist assembly was suppressed by the authorities, but at the same time factionalism among socialists appeared explicitly at this occasion and christian socialists such as Sanshiro Ishikawa (whom I will refer to as a christian anarchist later on), Isoo Abe separated from the materialism-socialists like Kotoku and Sa Sakai. The former published a monthly magazine "Shinkigen" (New Era). On the other hand, in spite of ceasing of the Heimin Shinbun, the Heimin Sha was remained for a while, so that Kotoku made an advantage of the monthly "Chokugen" (the plain talk), which was the organ for the consumer's union. Yet this magazine was prohibited in September and the Heimin Sha was also dispersed at once. Besides Kotoku was confirmed in Sugamo jail for 5 months from February to June of the same year because of the article of ex-paper written by the comrade, Sanshiro Ishikawa.

It was this period during which he converted himself to be an anarchist. After his release from prison, he wrote to an American friend, Albert Johnson on August 10th, 1905 in English, whom I can not make out but an anarchist in San Francisco. Furthermore it is said that the following

letter was appeared in "Mother Earth" edited by Emma Goldman on August in 1911.

At the beginning of the letter he described briefly his circumstances and regretfulness for the death of a son-in-law of Mr. Johnson's youngest daughter. Then he continued;

.....Five months imprisonment not a little injured by health (he did suffered from intestinal catarrh which evolved into intestinal tuberculosis in his later days), but it gave me many lessons of the social questions. I have seen and studied great many of so-called "criminals" and became convinced that the governmental institutions...court, law, prison.....are only responsible for them...poverty and crime.

Among the many books which I have read in the prison were Draper's "Conflict between Religion and Science", Haechel's "The Riddle of the universe", Renan's "Life of Jesus", and so forth. Besides I repeated again two interesting books which you sent me.....Mr. Ladd's "Hebrew and Christian Mythology" and Mr. Kropotkin's "Fieldes, Factories and Workshops".....(here he pointed out an error of Mr. Ladd that Buddha or Gautama was not Chinese but Hindhu of which religion was interoduced into China. Then he explained his conversion).....

Indeed, I had gone (to Sugamo Prison) as a Marxian Socialist and returned as a radical Anarchist. To propagate Anarchism in this country, however, it means the death of life long, at least several years' imprisonment. Therefore its movement must be entirely secret, and its progress and success will need long, long time and endurance.

(He expressed his intention to go abroad which would be fulfilled in 3 months later).

I am now intending to live in America and Europe during several years for the following purpose;

1) To study foreign conversation and writing which are most important instruments for the International Movement of Communists or Anarchists. I can only read English

literature, but can not speak. And writing in English, as you see, is very hard for me.

2) To visit the leaders of many foreign revolutionists and learn something from their movements.

3) To criticize freely the position of the "His Majesty" and the political, economic and institutions from foreign land where the pernicious hand of "His Majesty" can not reach.

If my health allows and money, that is to be borrowed from my relatives and friends, could be raised I will start in the coming winter or next spring. Although we are now at Odawara, we (he and his wife) will return to Tokio at next month.

This letter is very important not only that his confession is expressed, but also his programe in his life hereafter. As a faithful disciple of the philosopher of Enlightenment, he was at first a liberalist fascinated with French type Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Then about 1904 he explained his personal development in his essay of "How I became a socialist", who had put forward 2 reasons, i.e. his surroundings and reading. At the age of two he had lost his father, a village headman at his native place, and her mother became a widow with four children, two daughters & two sons. Shusui was the youngest son and saw his mother's struggle in life since his childhood. Filial piety had been a virtue recommended by the privilege class to the Japanese people since the feudal age, but his obedience to his mother was famous even in his days. After all he was a self-made thinker. He nourished his thought from books written in English, but at the background we can discern his deep culture in Chinese classics. While his humour emerged spontaniously from popular novels of the Edo period. As long as he was a socialist, he was influenced by Christian socialism and workers' movement promoted by Tom Man, John Burns & K. Hardy, and Prossian Social Democracy represented by Ferdinand Lassalle. (According to R. Rocker in his Anarco-Sandycalism, Lassalle's activities directed toward welding the workers into a political party.) The tactics was no doubt adopted by the Japanese socialist, for in those days the election was only nominal

and the right of voting was enjoyed by persons who could pay a tax more than 10 yen. Of course women were excluded even from this disgraceful privilege until the end of the 2nd World War.)

If any foreigner who has read this story doubts the rapid transformation of Shusui's thinking, I will indicate that Japan, as a backward country in the East was forced to be modernized for a short period. Even in 1861, that memorial day, August 4th, the great leader of anarchism, Michael Bakunin had grasped his golden opportunity to escape from Siberia and reached to 1st Japanese port of Hakodate, then Yokohama on the way to the U.S.A., Japan stood on a cross road either continuing of deep slumber of feudalism or opening ports for European countries. She did not know capitalism at all, without mentioning anarchism. (I indebted the above paragraph from "Michael Bakunin" by E. H. Carr.)

Japanese Bourgeoisie was a force generated between the feudal clan and political factions in accordance with the advance of the Meiji society and industrial & capital institution. It was promoted by business men with political affiliation such as the Mitsui family and Konoike family. For big business like transportation, supply for the army, banking, and so forth could not grow without under the guardianship of the Meiji government. Therefore owing to 2 wars i.e. the Shina-Japanese war (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905) they earned a huge amount of money. While the people were cast into the abyss of poverty as I cited from the article of the Heimin Shinbun. The awakening of Japanese people in a class strife became rapidly because of frustration of liberal party (which was lastly absorbed into the authorized party) and increase of properganda of the socialists (they were all most all composed intellectuals from the low class of Bushi, artisans and peasants.)

Further, I remark here the educational institution in the Meiji Era. Perhaps you remember that I have mentioned the student-dependant in the paragraph of the period of

row youth of Shusui. The whole country was divided into 8 university-districts and in each district there was established one university prefixed the word of Teikoku (Imperial), added with the name of the district, like Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku (Tokyo Imperial University). Then this university-district was again subdivided into the high school, the middle school and several primary school districts in 1872. Before the Meiji Restoration the Japanese children obtained the primary course of writing and reading beside abacus accounting for the children of the merchant. Though this zeal for education is somewhat ridiculous for the foreigner. But in a transition of civilization from Confucianism to European culture, it was needed to transfuse new blood from the youth who would contribute to build up new bureaucracy. Thus Japanese youth, graduated from the Imperial Universities in various districts did nearly entered into the governmental services in every gradation. Even today Japanese intellectuals at the top level are apt to walk the same cause. On the other hand, anti-authoritative militant do usually come from private colleges. I believe this tendency is not so differed from that of any European country. The reason why I adhere this subject so earnestly is that anarchism as an anti-authoritative movement shall be supported by many anonymous people, but without support by intelligentzia in a sense of Russian intelligentzia (refer to Les sources et le sens du communisme russe by Nicolas Berdiaev, P.112, Collection Idées) its activity will stray in the labyrinth of the complexity of the modern times.

I must not extrude a conclusion here and come back from a digression.

His planes at his discharge from prison were 1) continuation of socialist movement with acquiring a daily paper. 2) to go America and Europe where he wanted to enter cooperation of the campaign from abroad. 3) withdrawal from activities with books of science, philosophy & religion in order to study new materialism. 4) or to purchase a firm and live with several hundred peasants in Hokaido, the northern island of Japan, in Utopic circumstances.

Though he complained to his friend Sakai that even one of such planes could not be performed due to lack of money. It is marvelous that human destiny can be sometimes anticipated by the person concerned. From its geographical situation and the remaining influence of seclusionism, political exiles were scarce in Japan. Doubtlessly Chinese political fugitives and leaders of independence movement of Philippine and India lodged once at prominent persons in Japan. But the reverse case was utterly impossible to find out. Reminding this point, you may read again Shusui's letter to A. Johnson. Especially (2) is very important. If he could do as he hoped, his calamity would not be occurred. For even Lenine stayed in Paris during the time when the pernicious hand of Czarism had menaced his life severely.

His foreign travel was promoted sooner than he had expected. Because of his physical weakness after prison life, economical hardship of Heimin Sha and its domestic discord about leadership of Sakai in Kotoku's absence, the weekly Chokugen was on the verge of discontinuance. Moreover in September of 1905 dissatisfaction of the people for the peace treaty of Russo-Japanese war was exploded. And they fired the city Hall at Hibiya. I will again make him talk himself this situation.

Tokio, Sept. 8th 1905

Dear Comrade (Mr. A. Johnson),

Japanese Government is now receiving natural but dreadful result of the patriotism and jingoism which were stirred up by the hands of themselves. During the last four days the city of Tokio has been drowned by the sea of fire and blood. The state of siege has been proclaimed, many publications suspended, and to the Postmaster given the right of confiscating any letter.

D. Kotoku.

(Then on 11th Oct., he reported to Mr. Johnson that his Heimin Sha was forced to be dissolved.)

Dear Comrade: ..... Our weekly is still suspended, and our office has been compelled to dissolve ourselves.

to the barbarous persecution and financial difficulties. I'm now intending to organize the Japanese laborers in America. There is no other means to get freedom of speech and press than to quit the soil of the state of the siege and go to a more civilized country.

D. Kotoku

Sakai commented about closing of Heimin Sha that after all Heimin Sha was opened at the opening of Russo-Japanese war and destroyed with its peace treaty.

A socialist analysed its role and though he homaged its glory in the socialist movement, he complained that it was not yet the movement based on the proletariat, and could not surpass the sphere of radicalism and enlightenment of the interigentzia because of immaturity of the proletarian class, that is, they had observed a lot of defect of the society, but they could not find out the social force in their circle which would promote the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Kotoku did apologize the financial difficulties and disaccordance with Christian socialists. Then he promised to continue his strife against the authority and to be a soldier of socialism.

Again he wrote on 11th, Oct. to Mr. Johnson that he had decided to start on the N.Y.K.'s ship in November 14th, for Shattle and San Francisco with his nephew. His fund for the travel was \$150 mainly bestowed by his friends and acquaintances. On 29th, November, he arrived at Shattle and welcomed with another anarchist Sakutarō Iwasa (1879-1966) who had being established a printing office at San Francisco and got acquainted with Emma Goldman & A. Berkman.

In Cisco he met Mr. Johnson and lodged at Mrs. Fritz, Oak St. 537. It was just at the back of Mr. Johnson's home. During his stay in America. Shusui did seem to be influenced by the movement of I.W.W. and to hear the progress of Russian Revolution in 1905 by Mrs. Frits, a revolutionary committee-woman. Since then he held the opinion of Direct Action and General Strike.

About that time he predicted a conflict along the sides of the Pacific Ocean. He said that interests of

both Japan & America would sooner or later crash in tradings in the Far East, and which cause a trouble of feelings and result in a calamity. To prevent it, he warned that it should alleviate misunderstandings each other by spreading socialism among the workers in both countries.

But Japanese Government did not grasp its meaning, far from it, it earnestly pursued the trace of the anarchist and utilized the consul in Barkley for his oppression. While Japanese emigrants did not show any interests to his activity.

Now then he faced with the earthquake in San Francisco on April of 1906, and received the news of the imprisonment of the comrades, Sakai and Nishikawa, in June. So he resolved his mind to go back to rebuild the camp of socialists. After 8 months on abroad, he returned with new idea of Sandicalism.

At the welcome-meeting held by Japan Socialist Party, he spoke publicly for his audience with the title of "The current of revolutional movement over the world" in which he revealed his products of thinking and experiences in America.

The purport of his speech was to change the tactics of the socialist movement from its performance of universal suffrage into the propaganda by deed. He asserted that the fundamental principle of Japan Socialist Party had been the parliamentary policy and its primary enterprise, to carry out general election. This scheme was naturally because of the similarity of domestic situation of Japan to that of Germany. But as a result of his reading and thinking, he became to doubt the effect of the so-called parliamentary policy, and after having met foreign comrades, he confessed to feel a change of their movement. Then he cited an example of inefficiency of activities of German Socialist Party which had 3,500,000 voters and 90 members of Parliament. Further if such parliamentary policy had been established, a lot of participant would have been a candidate, a carrier-seeker and a power possessed. Thereby activity of the socialists would be limited within law-making and alternation and abolition of some articles, without mentioning moral decay for the members. Such tactics would only contribute an advantage to bourgeoisie which had all means

of money, army and police authority. Then he declared that a counter measure for parliamentary policy was general strike which meant nothing to do of the workers for several days or several weeks, and it would convince the bourgeois to be a parasite. Yet Kotoku suspended his conclusion because of his ignorance about the domestic affair for the reason of 8 months' travel and restrained himself to introduce the tendency of activity of the American and European Comrades. (See his article "My thought has been changed" in RADICAL No.4)

But it was his prearranged tactics. For Japan Socialist Party had been prepared a nation wide meeting for a campaign of universal suffrage by this time. So his revolutional sandicalism impelled the socialists to commit either parliamentarism or direct action. A trial was set before them. After half year of his speech, he was busily to rebuild his organization and prepared to issue a daily "Heimin Shinbun" again. I pick up a letter dated Dec. 8th 1906 to Mr. Johnson in which he described his circumstances briefly. He introduced his comrade, Osugi (who became later his inheritor of anarchism in Japan, and I will describe his case in details) and explained the nature of Japanese Christianity.

.....My wife went to the law-court to attend as a hearer to the trial of Comrade Osugi this morning. Comrade Osugi is a young student and a best friend of mine. When I was in San Francisco he wrote to you in French language and Mrs. Osugi is now under the trial on the charge of "Violence of the press law". He translated an article titled "To the conscripts" from a French Anarchist paper and published it in Hikari, (it means "Light" in English and Kotoku contributed his articles to this monthly after discontinuance of the weekly, Heimin Shinbun.) Japanese Socialist paper. This antimilitaristic deed was prosecuted by the public officials. I am now anxious to hear the result of that trial ..... (he commented Christianity in Japan)..... The most commical fact of the results of the late war is the concilation (or rather embrace) of Christianity with Buddhism & Shintoism. The history of Christianity in Japan was until now a history of horrible persecutions. The

Japanese diplomats, however, earnestly desiring to silence the rumours caused and spread in Europe during the war that "Japan is a yellow peril" or "Japan is a pagan country", suddenly began to put on the mask of Western civilization, and eagerly welcome and protect, and use it as a means of introducing Japan to European and American powers as a civilized Christendom (sic). On the other hand, Christian priests, taking advantage of the weakness of the government, got a great monetary aid from the State, and under its protection they are propagating in full vigor the Gospel of Patriotism. Thus Japanese Christianity, which was before the war the religion of poor, literally now changed within only two years to a great bourgeois religion and a machine of the State and militarism!

The preparation for the Socialist daily is almost completed. I hope the daily will have a success. The Japanese Socialist Party consists, as you know, of many different elements. Social-Democrats, Social Revolutionists, and even Christian Socialists. So the daily would be very strange paper.

Most of our comrades are inclined to take the tactics of Parliamentarism (sic) rather than Syndicalism or Anarchism. But it is not because they are assuredly convinced which is true, but because of their ignorance of Anarchist Communism. Therefore our most important work at present is the translation and publication of Anarchist and Free-thought literature. I will do my best, and use our paper as an organ for the libertarian propaganda. (then he predicted the future of China which would be the second revolutionary country in this century!.).....

In China the rebellions and insurrections are spreading. The social and political conditions of China are just same to that of Russia in last century. I think China will be within coming ten years a land of great rebellion, and Tokio is becoming the center of Chinese Revolutionary movement.

In this letter I must point out his antipathy towards Christianity. Our readers may remember that he red Renan's "Life of Jesus" and Mr. Ladd's "Hebrew and Christian

Mythology" in his days of Sugamo prison. In fact, he wrote a treat titled "Kiristo Masatsu Ron" literally "A treat on extermination of Jesus Christ" before his execution, which he dealt with Christian mythology with scientific analysis and declared that the Cross is not but a symbol of phallus. It is true that Christianity, especially protestantism imported from America in the Meiji Era had achieved splendid products in culture and ethical feeling of Japanese people with its pionian spirit. Even today, influences of Kanzo Uchimura can be seen in Japanese intellectual life. But it is also true as Shusui's indication that Japanese Christianity has been utilized by the privilege class of Japan for her gesticulation of Europeanized civilization towards European and American, if occasion demands.

The daily Heimin Shinbun was published by amalgamation of the Hikari and the New Era. Though it had contained a tension caused by many different elements of socialism until the 2nd general meeting of Japan Socialist Party. It took place on 17 Feb. 1907, and there were offered three drafts i.e. a parliamentary policy (Tazoe), and anarchistic direct action (Kotoku) and their compromise (Sakai who intended to appease a conflict.) In those days severe oppression of the authorities pushed the youth who could not satisfy the lukewarm leadership of the elder socialists to the side of Kotoku. Further it is said that supporters of socialism were 25,000- all over the country and some 60 representatives attended to the meeting. The original draft of its resolution was;

Our party does intend to reform the present social organization from its foundation and make the means of production to be common of the society, and thus it is managed, for interests and happiness of the whole proletariat. Our party does decide the following rules under the present situations by conforming to our aims.

1. Our party awakens class consciousness of the workers and efforts their discipline and unity.

2. Our party expressed a regret for the subjugation by the army towards the riot of Ashio copper miners and here confirm that it was caused by serious failure of the Government.

3. Our party shows deep sympathy to various revolutionary activities over the world.

4. The following subjects are entrusted to a free decision for each member of the party.

- (A) To revise the peace law of police
- (B) Campaigne of universal suffrage
- (C) Anti-military campaigne.
- (D) Anti-religious campaigne

(Note: The riot of Ashio Copper mine in Ibaragi Pref. was caused by a general strike of miners in Feb. 4 -7, of 1907 which was the 1st case of public damage for the peasants, who utilized water of the Watarase-river for their rice cultivation. For the river was contaminated with solution of sulfuric acid. Moreover, the case was famous for its indomitable leader, Shyozo Tanaka, and Kotoku wrote for him the draft of petition to the emperor in a fine prose.)

To this draft two modifications were offered immediately, that is, one from Tetsuji Tazoe (a Christian socialist) who intended to set an item before 2nd article that our party confirms the parliamentary policy to be one of effective activities. The other was put in by Kotoku to modify 1st article with that our party confirms inefficiency of parliamentary policy and intended to erase (B). Each of them did not compromise at the least. Thereby after the discussion for 3 hours, it was restored to voting. Tazoe advocated parliamentary routine to be a demonstration of the workers. For parliament was a center of interests of bourgeoisie that is, authoritative and capitalistic institution, so that it was better to negotiate with them on the tribune of parliament than to cast away such useful mean without considering the worker's advantage. While Kotoku propagated his direct action by citing the example of success of Ashio miners, that three days' strike shocked the privileged class so much as Mr. Tanaka's strife for 20 years at parliament, and there was no example of promotion of interests and rights for the workers by parliament. On the contrary, the workers did promote their rights and interests by their strikes. He affirmed that in England,

Parliament, in fact, issued several legislation for the workers, though it was nothing but the result of unity and pressure by conscious workers. He persuaded his followers that during Russo-Japanese war there were 40,000 victims, and we endured such great sacrifice caused only to increase interests for the capitalists, then there would be no reason to bear a small victim which might be occurred due to direct action.

Last ballot was taken, in which Kotoku obtained 22, Tazoe 2 and council 28, thus the original draft was adopted without modification. The result indicates that the socialists were liable to adopt the method of direct action. He reported this process to Mr. Johnson in the letter on Dec. 6th, 1907.

.....Japanese Socialists movement was split at last two parties.....Social Democrat and Anarchist Communist. It is a very natural development known in all countries. Japan, which has already produced Social-Democrats and Anarchist Communist, shall now produce many Direct-Actionists, Anti-Militarists, General Strikers and even Terrorists.....

It seems that he again presupposed our history. The authorities was frightened and from then on its persecution became systematically. After many trials the daily Heimin Shinbun was suspended. He lost his organ. While the advocates of Parliamentary policy started a weekly, Shakai Shinbun (the Social paper). Kotoku commented he could not expect very much from it. The indefatigable soldier of Anarchism, Shusui Kotoku found a space to contribute his articles in Osaka Heimin Shinbun which was published by Unpei Morichika at Osaka, and held a seminar in summer and a meeting on every Friday.

In December 1907, he published a Japanese version of social general strike and he was forced to retire to his native place because of interinal troubles, but during this period (from January to June 1908), he translated "The Conquest of Bread" from English version to Japanese language. It was his last repose. For there was occurred an affaire of red flag (Akahata Jiken) on 6th June. According to the letter of Kotoku to Mr. Johnson, it was described

as follows:

.....You will be alarmed to hear that a wholesale arrest of Anarchists was made in Tokio.

In carrying through the city two or three red flags on which the letters "Anarchy" or "Anarchist Communism" were written, 15 or 20 of our comrades conflicted with 60 police men who tried to seize the flags. After a severe struggle 14 comrades were arrested and thrown into prison. Among them are comrades Sakai and 4 young girls. They are now under most barbarous treatment, it is said, and any interview or communications with them are prohibited, so we can not know what conditions they are in. We are only waiting for the day when they will appear before the court. ....

But according to a commercial paper, the Tokyo Niroku Shinbun dated 24th, June 1908, it was said that Sakae Osugi had been kicked at his left trunk without any reason, Kan-son Arahata had been in a state of convulsion due to kicks by police and Toshihiko Sakai got faint, while four women, Kogure attacked by spasme, Nishikawa, Osuga and Kan-no (wife of Arahata, later she became an illegal wife of Kotoku and induced him to direct action) were injured. It was clearly observed that they had been subjected to a lynch. This affair was a heavy blow to the socialists. And certain comrade was said to contrive a revenge. Such critical situation called Shusui back to Tokyo immediately. Thus a dark spider began to weave a huge web for tackling her captures.

( to be continued )

A LETTER FROM PRISON \*

by Kotoku Shusui  
at Tokyo Prison  
December 18, 1910 \*

To Isobe sensei  
Hanai kun  
Imamura kun \*

1.

I know all of you might have been persecuted with various means for our affair\* as you have defenced of the traitor and the bandit, despite attending the court every day, spending your precious time and ignoring your own buisness. When I take a consideration of your pains, damages, and troubles you have received from surroundings, I have no word to express my regret.

But I remember your sympathy bestowed to us and say a thousand thanks for you.

In proceedings of the recent court, the saying of "Kotoku has provoked a violent revolution" has become a part of indictment for my comrades, though our anarchist' opinion about a revolution and the nature of our movement have been completely ignored both at prosecutor's examination and preexamination, having added with a whimsical hypothesis, explanation and addition, which, I am afraid, distort at the most the reality of the affair. Thereby I offer you my opinion and the fact generally for your reference.

Whenever the anarchist' movement is mentioned, there are many people who understand it an assassination of a sovereign person with a pistol or a bomb, which show their ignorance what anarchism is. You, the attorneys, know already Anarchism is a kind of philosophy similar to those of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu, which taught us we must progress in accordance with a general tendency

to fulfill our freedom and happiness, because the tendency is natural in the human society to be realized with mutual aid and communal life bonded by morality and charity without government of compulsion as it is now. Therefore it is needless to say that the anarchist hates oppression, disdains a bondage as well as violence, and there is no one else who loves freedom and peace like him. I am asked by a judge whether P. Kropotkin is a leader of the anarchists, and he might thought of him a rascal, but in truth, Kropotkin is a Russian prince, now an old man in his 69 years of age, at first having become a military man, then first degree geographer with his scientific researches and found out useful discoveries, he is a man of genius in every learning field including philosophy and literature. About 20 years ago, when he was cast into prison on suspicion of bomb-explosion by the workers at Lyons, the most of first rate scholars and literay men in Europe petitioned to the French president of his release in virtue of learning, and the president admitted it immediately. The record of petition was jointly signed with scholars of Britanica added with special notes of H. Spencer and Victor Hugo who are well known in Japan. Thus it is recognized the importance of his post and a reputation as a scholar. On the other hand his personality is so noble, his character, gentle and kind as he disdain any violence.

Again the late Elise Reclus, a French man who enjoyed the similar popularity like Kropotkin, was a scholar of geography, and France estimated his honour, while the metropolis took his name and put it on a street in Paris to commemorate his achievements. He hated killing so much as abandoning to eat meat and became a vegetarian. Indeed many anarchists in Europe are vegetarians. Then is it possible one who does not dare to kill a domestic animal feels a pleasure of assassination?

Not only those scholars regarded to be the leader, but also the workers of Anarchism, so far as I have acquainted with, have good mannar and read a book, further many of

them do not drink sake, nor taste in smoking. They are not at all knaves.

In truth there emerged an assassins from the anarchists. But it does not mean the activist of Anarchism is without fail an assassin. Far from it, there are many assassins originated not only from the anarchist, but also from the state socialist, the Republican, the Minkenka, the patriot, and the loyalist. Till now the assassins has been almost all asserted to be an anarchist, and a great many number is pretendly accounted. Indeed, when Alexander the second was terrorized, it was alluded to the performance of the Anarchist Party, but it was done by the advocators of civic liberty movement like Sei yukai\* of to-day in our country. In fact, having consulted with history, the number of assassination by the anarchist is a few comparing to those of other parties, and it may be counted less than 10 instances all the world over for last 50 years. While those of the loyalist and the patriot, there are some tens or several hundred even in Japan only, not mentioning the world. If the idea is asserted to be terrorism due to appearance of an assassin, there is no other violent idea than the loyal or patriotic one.

Therefore it may be said that appearance of an assassin does not concern with his ideology, but he commits his deed affiliated with his peculiar disposition and special conditions under which he lives.

For instance, had the government so oppressed as many comrades were robbed their means of subsistence besides lost of freedom of speech, assembly and publication, or due to tyranny of the rich, the miserable condition stricken with hunger and freezing of the poor, which can not be regarded without compassion, or there is no other law abiding and peaceful method to deal with, one feels to get on a dead rock, then a passionate youth commits to assassination and a violent action. For him such deed seems, at any rate, a right of self defence. It is like

a deed of the patriot who has imagined that the govern-  
al officials have deviated from the right way of the state,  
or no other method to alleviate severe oppression for his  
movement, then he commits an assassination with his indign-  
ation. He is not inclined to take up an assassination as  
an aim and a mean from the beginning, but he is chased  
like a hare to such deed with his disposition and parti-  
cular conditions. Accordingly when we consult with the  
history, the first step of violence is usually initi-  
ated by the governmental officials, the rich and the  
peer, while the militant and the worker would be pro-  
voked, so exploited as they are compelled to revolt  
against them with violence for a last resort. I know  
there is a special cause with the assassination of  
president McKinley of America, the case of Umberto,  
the king of Italy and a bomb throwing to Alfonso,  
the king of Spain, but I will not explain the detail.

Briefly an assassin appears from any party whenever one's  
nature corresponds to his living conditions. It can not  
be asserted only an anarchist. Nay, the truth is that  
there is a few instance of assassination among anarchists  
because of their inclination for peace and freedom.  
I hope the prosecutor attorneys do not hold a prejudice  
of "an anarchist is an assassin."

## II.

There occurs a problem how to do the anarchist revolu-  
tion, if you do not attack a sovereign with a bomb.  
The word of KAKUMEI (革命) has been coined after a chi-  
nese version, which means the emperor titled A shall take  
place the throne from the emperor titled B with the will  
of Providence, in another word, it suggests a shift of  
sovereign or emperor, but our KAKUMEI is the translated  
word of REVOLUTION which means a fundamental transformation

of political and social institution without regard to  
change of a sovereign. However Ashikaga Shyogun\* was  
replaced by a lord Oda\* which followed by Toyotomi\*  
and Tokugawa\* one after another, yet the regime was  
the same of Samurai power in feudalism, we can not  
allude such transformation as a revolution. On the  
other hand OSEI ISHIN, the Restoration of Imperial  
Rule was a revolution in spite of the emperor system.  
It does not mean whether the emperor or Satsuchyo (the  
leading political factions represented by Satsuma clan  
and Chyoshyu clan) took over Shogunate of Tokugawa,  
but because of the fundamental change in hundreds of  
conventional institutions. The new regime of Taika\*,  
a thousand years ago, I think, reached nearly to a  
revolution however the position of the emperor was in-  
tact or achieved by his hand, not through hand of the  
people. In another word, when we account for the revo-  
lution, it does not suggest that the sovereign A is  
replaced by the sovereign B, or a forceful individual  
and a group C takes out a political power from another  
person and a group D. On the contrary, it indicates  
a process of coming new social organization followed  
by decay of the ancient regime at its apogee of decline  
and that it signifies a fullstop in the social evolution.  
Therefore, in its strict sense, the revolution occurs  
spontaneously, neither individual, nor party could in-  
duce it. For example, none of a Kido, a Saigo or an  
Ookubo initiated, but the feudal institution and  
class system founded at the beginning of Tokugawa Shogu-  
nate had become unable to accompany with the advance-  
ment of humanity and society during 300 years, manifest  
ed themselves a decay and a failure, so they were over-  
thrown with spontaneities. Without ripened opportunity  
of overthrowing the ancient regime and old institution,  
even one hundred Ookubo and Saigo could not do anything.  
Had they been born 20 years earlier than they were, their  
heads would have been chopped off like Shyoin Yoshida\*  
or buried in oblivion. Fortunately they got a chance,  
a participation and a ride on the tide, never they ini-  
tiated a revolution. Indeed the genesis of a revolu-

tion is always like to build up a drain whenever water comes.

Thereby we can not design previously how to initiate a revolution or how to proceed it. At the time of Meiji Restoration, there was no one who could premeditate and foresee it due to fluctuations of the situation. When a power was handed down peacefully with a memorandum to restore the supreme power to the emperor, a civil war at Toba and Fushimi were ignited, when the people supposed the inevitability of fire and blood scene at Edo, the metropolis in those days, Katsu and Saigo turned its crisis with a negotiation behind the curtain. Meanwhile the people felt relieved from a calamity, a revolt of the Shyogitai\* and a battle at Kou District started by turns. Even the transfer of the metropolis Edo (Tokyo) would be resulted in a disaster, if there were not a golden chance to hold a meeting by two representative men like Katsu and Saigo. Is it not true such epoch making event could not be predicted at all by a human being like us? So that a presupposition obtained by intelligentsias and the precursors is that the institution and hieracy of to-day will not go with the advance and development of the society and humanity, otherwise its overthrow and a genesis of new institution becomes inevitable, after the feudal hieracy, it follows by the county and prefecture system contrary to the former, next to despotic monarchism, it will be constitutional liberalism and so on, anyway it is not a problem how to shape a revolution, whether the coming revolution is peaceful or warlike one.

Considering this evolution, we believe that after the decay of personal competition and private property system, it follows the communistic institution, while anarchistic liberal institution drives off the modern static despotism, thus we want to have such revolution.

There was a presumption offered the other day, what the emperor's family will be at the time of realization of the anarchist revolution, but it is not a problem

indicated or ordered by us. Far from it, the emperor's family should determine it themselves. As I have mentioned it before, the anarchists long for the realization of a free society for the million people without compulsion of arm forces and power. When the society had become a reality, no one would decree for the emperor's family how to do with any power. Unless one does not injure freedom of his fellow man, the emperor's family is able to keep the prosperity and happiness at her own pleasure and there is no reason to be bonded.

Thus we can not predict under what conditions a revolution shall be realized and how it shall be achieved, but at any rate the participants in the revolution of freedom and peace for the million people must strive for not to involve violence as well as to lessen the victim at its minimum. There is no great revolution since the old ages that it has not induced a few violence and the victim, but such collision has, in fact, provoked usually by the obstinate conservative elements against the general tendency. Even to-day is it true that the emperor's family which is said to pray for freedom and peace of the people would have used violence cooperated with the stubborn conservatives against this tendency? That fancy is like to imagine the affair of the Ganji and Keio period at the time of around Kansei period. I say it is impossible. Only I hope that the anarchist revolution should not be misunderstood that its aim is to assassinate or shoot a ruler.

### III

I wonder there is a misunderstanding that if a revolution were a natural tendency like the construction of the drain whenever water came, then it would be useless to exert a revolutionary movement, while there exists the movement which is to provoke a revolution and to cast a bomb.

The so-called revolutional movement by the anarchist is not to induce a revolution immediately, nor it is a mutinous assault. Far from it, it includes all efforts such as cultivation of one's understanding and knowledge and discipline of his ability to contribute his service for the coming revolution. Thus publication of the news paper, the organ, writing and distribution of the books and leaflets, speech and meeting, all of them are utilized to explain a reason and a sequence of vicissitude of the tendency and the social evolution, then cultivate the knowledge related to them.

Beside this, to set up a trade union with various cooperative works is an advantageous discipline for us to have capacity living in a commune both at the time and the aftermath of revolution. But the previous trade union \* movement in Japan has merely promoted the interests at hand of the working class, not to pay an attention to the future revolution. Even the anarchist has not yet set to work for the trade union in Japan.

Therefore it is barbarous and unreasonable accusation that a youth has agitated with an aim of revolt or assassination to the emperor, because he has usually insisted a revolution and conducted a campaign.

Among our associates it is commonly called the movement to lecture an anarchist theory, to distribute news paper and stickers of our cause. Yet it is differed to provoke a revolution.

It may be observed that the movement is useless, if the revolution had come spontaneously, but it is not true. Whenever the ancient régime and the old institution arrived at its apogee, then the society declined with its own accord, moreover were there no idea and knowledge about the general tendency with what new institution and organization would enable the people to replace the old one, nor there were ability in participation, the society would have weathered away with the ancient régime, without sprouted a bud of revolution. On the other hand, if we had prepared with knowledge and ability, a new bud would have put forth however the original stock had died. The society of Roman Empire had been declined without new idea and

new movement, merely in reliance on its decay. In France corruption has reached to the zenith at the last days of the Bourbon dynasty, yet the ideas of Rousseau, Voltaire and Montesquieu have prepared a new life, which has induced a revolution instead of a catastrophe, Thus new France has emerged forth. At the occasion of the revolution of Japanese Restoration, the preparation has been also provided before hand. That is a propagation of loyalism. The Dai Nippon Shi (the History of Japan) published by Mito circle\*, the Gaishi (the unofficial History) and the Seiki (the Political theory) written by Rai Sanyo\*, Japanese National Classics advocated by Motori and Hirata\*, and a speech tour by Hikokuro Takayama\* stood for its witness. All of them knew with intuition that the Shogunate by the Tokugawa family has become unfitted gradually with the life of Japanese people. Rather having perceived it directly they have prepared a revolution with consciousness or vague consciousness. At the downfall of Tokugawa family, they have already acquired sufficient knowledge and ideas not to be confused in the Restoration. Thus there was no collapse, but a splendid revolution was realized. If such preparation were not provided for the revolution, alas! Japan would have met the same fate like Korea of to-day due to a sudden change of conditions such as an invasion of the foreigners. I hold to an opinion that a loss of independence of Korea was caused with no capacity and idea to enter into the new society and the new life through her own efforts and reformation, but leaving a decay or a downfall to take its own course.

There is no permanent institution or organization which does not fluctuate and evolve ceaselessly, for a human being is activated as well as a society. It is necessary to advance and to renovate it in accordance with the time. A small punctuation with such advancement and renovation is called a reformation or a renovation, while a big one, a revolution. Therefore in order to prevent a decay and a downfall of the society, I believe, it is needed to propagate new idea and new thought, in another word, a revolutional movement is indispensable. (to be continued)

NOTE:

This translation is based on "Gokuchyu yori Boryoku Ka-kumei o Ronzu" literally "To discuss a violent revolution from prison" edited by Shobei Shioda in "the Diaries and Letters of Kotoku Shusui", an edition of Mirai Sha in 1965. The reason why I have put a different title is that a sensational one is not fitted or the reader may be led astray from the reality of Kotoku. We must pay a consideration to a living, but a truth to the dead.

May in 1910, a mass arrest of the well known High Treason Affair started from Nagano Prefecture, and Kotoku was captured on 1st June at Yugawara a health resort, where he engaged in his writing of "Kiristo Masatsu Ron". It is said that several hundreds of anarchist and socialist were arrested over the country, but 26 persons were prosecuted. Further 24 anarchists, so the authorities condemned them, received a death sentence on 18 January 1911, then 12 persons were reduced to life imprisonment. The last survival of the affair, Seima Sakamoto was dead in January of this year without obtaining a legal right of re-examination at court inspite of his demand.

Anyway Kotoku wrote this letter on his trial in order to clear his stand point and defend his associates, for the prosecutor attorneys chased the innocentes to the gallows obeying an intention of the betes noire included Mutsu Hito, the emperor of Meiji, to exterminate the socialists and anarchists in the country. On 17, 18 November of 1910 he wrote it in the cold, solitary cell prepared for his death and disclosed the real state with a letter style essay. It is said the original has no title, then the translator is better to follow it as an anarchist.

About that time, exactly on 11 November 1910 Kotoku expressed his feelings in a poem in chinese charaters delivered to his comrade Toshihiko Sakai;

An outline is as follows:

My sentiments at cell.

All faults can be attributed to me,  
As a prisoner, I have no complain.

I entrust myself to Providence without any means,  
However I have not prayed to a God at a loss.

Life and death are like a dream of the long night,  
Groly and misery are a dust in the air.

When I smile in a solitary cell,  
The universe reflects in my eyes afresh.

昨非皆在我 何怨楚囚身  
才拙唯任命 途窮末禱神  
死生長夜夢 榮辱太虛塵  
一笑幽窓底 乾坤入眼新

\*\*\*\*\*

(note)

\*Isobe-sensei, Hanai-kun, Imamura-kun----  
All of them were the defence attorneys for Kotoku affair. Sensei is a suffix for a senior Kun for a collegue or a junior in Japanese language.

\*Seiyu-kai--- The name of a conservative party led by Hirobumi Ito.

\*Ashikaga shyogun, lords of Oda, Toyotomi, Tokugawa  
Ashikaga shyogun was the dictator of samurai clan

in 16th century, then Oda had an ambition to usurper the title of Shyogun. As the war lords, Toyotomi and Tokugawa started from the retainers of Oda, fought each other until Ieyasu Tokugawa established the Shyogunate at Edo (now Tokyo) in 1603 which continued so far as the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

\* Taikano-kaishin--- A.C 645 - 649. During this period the emperor system was established in the form of Chinese institution and taxation started.

\* Ookubo and Saigo-- They were representative meritorious retainers of the Meiji government. Especially Saigo was a kind of Goketsu-kun described by Nakae.

\* Shyoin Yoshida-- a loyalist executed in 1859 who tried to emigrate to America to study European culture, but his influences of ethic was fairly inherited by the revolutionaries in those days.

\* Shyogitai--- In 1868: May 15 the former retainers of Tokugawa shyogun rose in revolt because of discontent that the Edo castle was seized by the Kangun, i.e. Sats-Chyo federated armies. While the same year the Kangun attacked the Oou District, now Aizu-Wakamatsu. The commander of this battle was Taisuke Itagaki, the chief director Jiyu To, Liberal Party in 1881.

\* To imagine the affair of Ganji and Keio period at the time of around Kansei period--- The Ganji and Keio period were the turbulent years before the Restoration, i.e. from 1864 to 1867, while the Kansei (1789-1800) were comparatively peaceful except an insurrection of Aininu which was oppressed by Matsumae-han in 1789. Kotoku's allusion is to indicate a premeditation of dealing with the emperor's family in an emergency is impossible at the peaceful time. He has tried vainly to shake off a framed crime. For his affair has been, in truth contrived with an intention of the emperor himself, which will be cleared up later in this story.

\* A lost of independence of Korea--- Kotou's opinion is not true, a lot of Koreans even in those days had shed

## TWO FITS IN TOKYO

On 19 May 1975 there were two fits in Tokyo. One was that of the ex-prime minister and the Nobel Prize winner for Peace, Eisaku Sato, who had a fit of apoplexy at Shinkiraku, Tokyo, having attended a familiar talk with the leaders of Zaibatsu, the other was a young man named Nodoka Saito in his 27 years of age. The former was a notorious national interest promoter, in another word, a yes-man for the side of the U.S.A. and except leading the oversea army like the South Korea into South Vietnam, did everything for the sake of Japanese economic expansion there, while recently volunteered a member of Amnesty, but now (in the evening of 20th May) it is said he has been in deep slumber due to a fit of apoplexy.

After a long silence about the theme of Anarchism only sporadic comments of its revival, the journalists suddenly burst out accusation against the anarchists in accordance with the author tie -s, for 6 young men and 2 young women were arrested on suspicion of a series of bomb explosion, such as at Korea Industrial Economic Research Institute and the main Office of Mitsubishi Heavy Industry in August of 1974, of the latter affair 8 persons died and about 385 persons, all of them the passers-by were injured. Among these 8 suspected activists alluded to be black helmet splinters of the New Left, Nodoka Saito was included and was dead at the moment of placing under arrest. Another information said that he might take poison potassium cyanide with resolution. This group, I am not sure, in which anarchists' group they belong to, is said was led by Saito, a theorist and splintered from Tokyo Activist Front which was also a fanciful group.

But only reality is that some anarchist attacked Nitoku Kinzoku (the weapon maker factory in the suburb of Tokyo) in 1968 and the said Saito was a sympathetic member of the Haihan-Sha (the Revolt Group). Yet due to this event the Japan Anarchist Free Federation was dissolved in 1969. Two young women are the pharmaceutical college graduates, so they were suspected to compound the explosives.

Anyway is this a frame or a real crime? So far as now it is cleared up that if they had committed a crime, they were against imperialism of Japan, especially an economic expansion in South Korea and sympathized with the Ainu, the destiny of this folk was a kind of the Indian in the north America in Japan, and I have no complain against them. Yet toward their suspected bomb activities, the true anarchist remembers a phrase of Kropotkin that we must not criticize them, for they are subjected to a miserable condition, while we are safe at our comfortable home, Yes, but we are also easily chased to the same blind alley at a rod of the State.

A key point, which I imagine is that after the end of Vietnam War, the South Korea is nervous about her fate, in truth the president has enforced Martial law, so the Japanese government cooperated with him to prove her authority with rigorous severity over the people. It is natural that the responsible opposite parties keep their silence, while our senior Kanson Alahata, the former socialist, anarchist, and Bolshevik sympathizer, now a new left associate(?) is said to celebrate of his 88 years of age with applause of Intellectuals on 26 May. Japan seems truly a fool's paradise?

Y. Hashimoto  
May 21st, 1975

La reddition sans conditions du régime de Saigon a été la terminaison échouée de la politique en l'Indochine par des Etats-Unis. Que faisaient-ils en l'Indochine? Qui aidaient ils avec beaucoup d'argent et des armes et des troupes? On dit qu'ils ont travaillé pour la bonne cause d'aider et protéger la liberté du peuple de l'Indochine contre les communistes. Mais, en réalité, l'argent et les armes n'ont été donné qu'à un gouvernement fantouche qui se sont composé de les politiciens corrompus et les coteries militaires. Pour le peuple qui veut toujours vivre soi-même sur sa terre. Rien n'a été donné au peuple diligent que la devastation par la guerre. Est-ce que c'était la bonne cause des Etats-Unis? Ce n'était pas pour lancer ses marchandises sur le marché d'Asie? Ce n'était pas pour la liberté d'exploitation de peuple d'Asie par leurs capitalistes?

Avant la reddition du régime de Saigon, Kim Il-song de la Corée du Nord a visité Mao en Chine. On ne peut pas savoir qu'est-ce qu'il parlait avec Mao. Mais on doit s'apercevoir qu'il y a en Corée deux états, le nord et le sud, comme au Viet-Nam. Aujourd'hui, il y a déjà hostilités implicites entre ces deux pays, demain y aura hostilités explicites même si c'étaient retardés par la discorde entre la Chine et la Russie.

Augustin S. MIURA  
7-4-60, Yachiyodai-kita,  
Yachiyo-shi, CHIBA,  
276 JAPON

The Saigon Regime surrendered unconditionally. U.S. policy in Indochina failed at last. What have done the U.S. in Indochina? The great quantity of arms and money of U.S. helped who and what? The cause of U.S. was to help and keep the people of Indochina against Communists. But the arms and money of her were all given to the puppet government which consists of corrupted politicians and military cliques, and not to the people who want to live themselves on their own land. Arms of U.S. devastated the land of people turning it into the battle field and money of U.S. enriched corrupted politicians of government. What was the real cause of U.S.? Wasn't it for the liberty of exploitation of populace of Asia by their capitalists?

People of Asia has long been suffered from their own government military cliques in the history. The only hope of people has been to continue his life under the least possible taxes and the least possible requisition of government and military cliques. For the people of Asia, there was no difference between those governments, communists or capitalists. All the governments are the one and the same.

Previous to the collapse of Saigon regime, Kim Il-song of North Korea visited Pekin. What was the subject of Kim-Mao conversation was unknown. But we must notice that there are two Koreas, the North and the South, as those of Viet-Nam, the battle-field of communist and capitalist. Today it is delayed by the existing discord between China and Russia, but who knows tomorrow.

Augustin S. MIURA  
7-4-60, Yachiyodai-kita  
Yachiyo-shi, CHIBA  
276 JAPAN

their blood for her independence, rather the Japanese government interefered the affair of Korea with an excuse of menace by the Ching dynasty. So ironically Kotoku's affair was treated the day before of annexation of Korea to Japan in 1910 in order to divert the eyes of Japanese people.

(to be continued)

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Mini News

\* March 9 the fire started at an agricatural commune Yasaka-no- Sato Kyodotai. It is said that the main building and the new one were burned down except a simple frame house. But no one injured. They said " Kyodotai begins to inquire a cause of fire, proceeding of the calamity and self-criticism for the associates of the Yasaka movement as well as t to tryour efforts in order to rebuild up."

It is a discouragous event, for there is a few commune activities among the anarchists, They call for a donation and a help to build a new commune.

Contact to; Komiyun Hyakunin Iinkai  
(Commune One hundred Comittee)  
c/o Tamatsu Post Office, Higashi Nari-ku  
Osaka city, Japan.

\* A reprint edition of "Dynamic", a monthly organ edited by Sanshiro Ishikawa, Yuriko Mochizuki (she is now living in her 60s years) from Dec 1929 to Oct. 1934 was issued by Kokushyoku Sensen Sha. Ishikawa started his activities as a Christian socialist at the Meiji era, after the high treason affair of Kotoku he went exile to France, then having become an anarchist through acquaintanceship with Paul Reclus and Edward Carpenter, died in 1940s.