

RADICAL

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NOW, IN JAPAN ---

It is decided to take place the election of Upper House on 7th July of this year. It is also nicknamed Tanabata Senkyo literally the election at Tanabata Festival. Referring to a traditional story, a young semi-god accompanying an ox meets a weaver girl at the Milky Way on 7th July, once a year, while on the earth the grown-ups instruct their children to put down their desires such as acquiring ability of good hand writting, possessing so and so doll or toy on colourful tags to hang on twigs of a bamboo, which attach at a gate of the house. But such dreamy festival remains its trace only in a kindergarten. The more sophisticated grown-ups are busy to obtain seat in Upper House. It is rumoured "5 to 3 raku" which means that a candidate shall expend 5 thousand million yens to become a member, but expenditures of 3 thousand million yens in the electoral competition will result in nothing. Besides this foolish economics, many candidates have stood from popular circle, for example, a journalist, a novelist, a broad caster, and a comic artist are called "talent candidates". It is caused partly due to the institution of the Upper House. Before the War the Upper House nominated as Kizokuin or the Senator mainly composed of peer, and enjoyed privileges to dismiss a bill circulated from the Lower House and directly participated to the state affairs on pretext of helping the emperor. And as it is well known the position and the ordinance of the emperor had been supremer and inviolable until 1945. Then it is not exaggerated to say that the emperor and peer monopolized the state affairs, which was called Genro Seiji literally ruling by meritorious retainers to the emperor's family. But in the post war political scene, the Upper House has been reconstructed with two representative systems i.e., Zenkoku-ku (a nation wide constituency) and Chiho-ku (a prefecture-unit constituency), while every 3 years, half members of the House are to be elected relatively. While political priorities have been widely eliminated.

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Now, big businesses are trying to keep their candidates like a feudal lord and divide the supposed votes through their net work of agents over the country. The opposition parties of Socialist, Komei To (Sooka Gakkai), Communist (Japanese Marxist) and Minsha To (Democratic Socialist) have issued a plan of Minshu Rengo Seifu, or a federated government of democrats, yet such plan has been easily smashed due to dissension and ulterior aims. The prime minister Tanaka takes the advantage of this situation and are appealing a shame crisis of "Freedom or Communism?" to the people with using a helicopter in the election campaign, and boastly promises to carry out Tasuketsu Seiji, or to govern with consensus of the majority. But the menace has not yet reached under three fathoms of the sea.*¹ What the anarchists are doing? They keep their silence or issue an anti-election statement, so that we offer Kotoku's opinion in English.

- The editor -

*¹ According to "New States man", an English literate says "there is always calm under three fathoms of the sea."

MY THOUGHT HAS CHANGED*¹

- Of Universal Suffrage -*²

by Shyusui Kotoku*³

(1)

Let me confess frankly my thought. Related to a strategy and tactics of the Socialist movement, my thought has changed a little since my imprisonment*⁴ of the year before last, then being reviewed by a great deal at the occasion of my foreign tour*⁵ in the last year, and that having reminded of the state of mine at several years ago, I have found myself to be a quite different person.

I have discussed hotly this matter with Mr. Sakai*⁶ a

dozen times, and tried often to convey it to the other comrades. Furthermore a part of it has been appeared on the Hikari*⁷, so there is a few comrade who know its development generally. But so far as now I could not find a proper organ and due to the difficulty to write with my illness, there is no chance to deliver a purport of my thought to all comrades. The tide comes to high. A long silence, I believe, will not contribute to our cause. I confess it honestly, "universal suffrage and parliamentarism do not realize a true social revolution, and there is no other alternative but a direct action of the united workers to achieve the purpose of socialism." This is my thought at the present time.

(2)

Once I have listened abundantly to the theories and opinions of German Social Democrats and its sympathizers*⁸, that is the reason why I have emphasized the effect of voting and efficiency of parliament. "If universal suffrage was realized, a great number of our comrades would be chosen, then socialism would become a reality with a resolution of the Diet." This is my conscience. Of course I have thought of urgent need of the unification of the worker, at least, the first step of the socialist movement in Japan is nothing less than universal suffrage, thus I have declared it with my pen and by mouth. Now I reflect it to be a naive and simple idea.

When I consider the aspects in detail, the so-called parliamentarism of to-day can not afford happiness for the mass people. From the beginning a member of parliament elected with amalgam such as candidacy, militant and Sooshi activities, news paper scandals, intrigues, blackmail, an entertainment, buying votes and so on, can not be expected to have a serious conscience about the state and the people. However a proper person is chosen, he removes to a metropolis as a MP, "KYO wa KOKORO o utsusu" (new abode makes one's conscience afresh), so a proverb says, then he is no longer a

candidate, nor a representative from his district. How many MPs have kept their promises before the election? All member of parliament, or many of them estimate his own honour at the top, power in the middle and his advantage at the rest. In his eyes there is nothing else but his own prosperity, honour of his family and the interests of the party, even he is a qualified person.

The consequence does not be peculiar only in Japan under limited election system. The most of victors of the election in Switzerland, Germany, France, U.S.A. and any other countries under universal suffrage, are those of rich, the brazen faced, popularity and it is few that the first rate person among the country or the party may be elected. Therefore there is none of parliament which represent the consensus of the public opinion in its strict meaning. This granted, it is also recognized by many scholars that Diet does not express, as the whole, the will of the people even under universal suffrage. So the reformative methods such as equal election (proportional method), direct voting (referendum) the people's initiatives and so on have been contrived. But I will not explain the details here. Nevertheless the parliament does not organized by the majority, i.e., the working class, on the contrary, it purports against the worker, or being composed of Shinshi Batsu (bourgeoisie) trampling upon the worker. According to P. Kropotkin in his "Wage System", the representative institution has originated from revolt of the middle class against the king, and at the same time, it has been contrived to reign over the working class, i.e., a typical governing method accompanied with the middle class, which I agree with him. Certainly the member of parliament will be elected not only from bourgeoisie, but also from the worker. In England 50 workers were elected in the last year. Yet you know, these workers having succeeded to be the MP, lost the temper of worker, acquainted with the luxury and delicious food, so that are they not severely criticized now?

There are many clerks who serve to his shopkeeper, the attorney to his applicant, but the MP does not effort for the benefit of the whole worker. If he endeavoured to eliminate a harmful law and to make a useful one, it would complicate only with his temporary honour or profits, at the best, with a motivation for reelection.

(3)

There is an opinion that the MP might be as you have described, but a MP of the socialist party will not betray desire of the people with his honesty and sincerity. Well, I admit the member of the socialist party is all honest, because any one under his hardship is sincere, few is frivolous. For one does not dare participate to the depressed faction which is unable to promote his personal advantage. Some day comes when socialism obtain its prosperity and a lot of MP are elected. Then the candidates debating at the side of socialism will be, not those of honesty, but those of considering his own honour, power, advantage or one who entered in the socialist party to procure merely his seat at parliament. Thereby the victorious MP will be those of rich, the brazen faced, and popularity.

As far as the former Liberal Party*⁹ struggled with adversity, all member were patriotic deplorers, while their vigor and spirit were superior to that of a socialist to-day. Yet immediately after they had concerned to keep their force, no longer they concentrated an attention to a benefit of the people. Far from it they attended to keep a seat and promote their interests. Soon under the cloak of cooperation, compromise, and mutual concession, the former revolutionary party has fallen into a position of slave to an enemy of life and death, or the Hanbatsu Seifu (the government monopolized by feudal lords). It is not a dubious story. On the contrary it is natural that whenever a political party has intended to open parliament and occupy the major seat, it would be corrupted with a success. If the socialist party take up an enterprise with an

illusion of a majority of votes or saliva full-in-mouth for a majority of seats i.e., a vulgar force, sooner or later, it will track on the foot step of the Liberal Party and its future may be predicted to be a calamity.

Nay, the case does not provided for the late Liberal Party. Dis not Mr. Milleran, a member of the French Socialist Party enter into the ministry having compromised with bourgeorgie? Jhon Burns, did he not partaken with an individualist to occupy a seat in the cabinet? Personally I respect Milleran and Burns, but they have advanced one step towards corruption rather than a revolutionary. The spirit concerned with voting and the major seat is one approaching to power, and that the spirit clinging to power is none other than a source of concession and compromise. Fortunately the socialist parties in both France and England do not so corrupted as they departed from them to secure their purity. But when we inquire into a cause, we must observe that either a Milleran or a Burns is simply a product of the electoral and parliamentary policy of the socialist party.

(4)

Supposedly I offer you an advancement by 100 steps, were the election carried out fairly, the MPs elected and that they represented the conscience of the people attentively. This granted, is it possible to realize our socialism at any rate? In Germany, the honourable country of Lassalle and Marx, only two comrades were elected under universal suffrage at first. Since then it has elapsed more than 31 years until the member has reached to eighty one. On the other hand, the achievement of these 31 years' struggle has been blown away with a mere ordinance with out provoking any resistance. How it is trivial that majority of votes! There is a time to suspend the Constitution as well as violation of rights of universal suffrage. There is also a time to disperse parliament. The ruling class decide it, having judged the forces of the socialist

too strong to be controlled in the Diet. We can observe such instances in Germany. In the course of developments, there is no other alternative but appeal to the unity of workers, or a direct action of the united workers. Then is it possible to take up a tactic of direct action without daily preparation and discipline of the workers?

Mr. Hydman, a leader of British Socialist Democrat larmented and said in an American magazine "Wilshier" that the Japanese has rashed into the capitalist society breaking through the feudal system of the middle age within these 40 years. They have achieved an enterprise for 40 years which the other nations have endeavoured for several centuries. On the other hand, what we, the socialists, have done during the same years? German Social Democrats has the member of 3 million, which account for two fifth of the whole German army. They know their aim and chance of its realization. But they dare not rise, is it because of their extreme patience, modesty and weakness? What do they want to do as the revolutionary with their carrier of 40 years? I ask them and other people that the death in Europe will be worse than that in Marchuria?*10

There is no argument against Mr. Hydman. If 3 million members were real revolutionaries, the socialist revolution would have realized not before long.

But there is the difference between the voting member and the convinced one. 3 million members disciplined for the election do not functioned for a purpose of revolution. The suffragist and the parliamentary politician persuade always the worker that "vote, again you must vote, as soon as our comrades become the member of parliament and amount to the majority, the social revolution will be realized. You, the worker, are enough to cast a ballot." Thus the honest worker believe in, resting to parliamentalism and cast his ballot. Immediately it reaches to 3 million votings. Yet this is not a convinced unity of 3 million, merely 3 million voters. Therefore when an emergency arise, and being

asked for insurrection, they complain that such event can not be expected in virtue of voting, and say they will think of another method in replacement of ballot. The more parliamentarism gains its forces, the more the revolutionary movement declines due to this reason. Among German Federations, in Saxony, Lubeck, and Hamburg, the most flourished districts of socialism, the rights of election were subjected to hideous restriction, yet we have not been informed any resistance by the people, while they have beared it patiently. Mr. Bebel explained that it is natural to struggle at parliament as far as he can enjoy the electoral rights, and a direct action including a general strike shall be the last resort. I wonder how long they would like to commit such foolish errors!

(5)

If German Social Democratic Party had payed their efforts in self-conscience and the unity of the worker with their time, labour, patience and expenditures consumed in the election campaign for 40 years, it could not be happened that the Kaiser and the prime minister would enjoy their victory as they do now. I do not suggest the German^{*11} Social Democrats had not educated any worker, but without doubt, they had striven for their work on one day ballot.

Of course the suffragist and the parliamentary politician demand self conscience and the unity of worker. For however universal suffrage were carried out, they know that they could not perform anything in the parliament without the convined unity of worker. But is it not true that every thing is realized with the real self-conscience and the unity of worker, with their direct action? It is needless to elect a MP and to ask for the parliament.

When a MP is corrupted, we have nothing else to do. The parliament can be dispersed, there is no more. Thereby the social revolution, i.e., the revolution by the worker should be, after all, carried out with the worker's own strength. It is better for the worker to

keep his life safely instead of becoming a foot-stool of an ambitious candidate represented from bourgeoisie. He ought to be satisfied with cloth and food. It may be an evagelic movement such as universal suffrage and the election of a candidate. Then why you ought take up such an indirect method instead of a direct one? Why you depend on such frivorous voting without doing the effective discipline for the worker? I estimate the amount of 2000 yens consumed for a candidate in the electoral competation in Japan. When the fund were invested purely for evangelic activities and the unity of workers, it would result in a tremendous effects. At the present moment the many socialist parties in Europe have become tired with a meagle result of parliamentary power. The socialist and the working class in the continent have been inclined to an antagonism. It is observed a fact that the member and a reserve fund become reduced gradually due to the fanatic candidate campaign in the British Trade Union. It must be the most important point attracting an attention of Japanese Socialist Party.

It is "a conquest of bread"^{*12}, not for political rights, that the working class demand. Not for law, but for cloth and food. Therefore the parliament is at the most useless. If we are content to mend some article or eliminate a few item depending on parliamentary procedures, it is better to entrust our business to a social reformer or a state socialist. On the contrary, if we decide a social revolution, advancement of practical life for the working class, we must pour our energy into disciplines and the unity of the worker instead of cultivating parliamentary forces. While the worker himself should make up his mind to achieve the purpose with his own hand, his direct action without regarding a MP. I repeat to say "a ballot and a MP can not be trusted!"

(6)

However I have denounced parliamentarism like this, I

do not regard possession of electoral rights to be the worst, nor I am forcibly against reformation of the election law. If universal suffrage were realized, the parliament would like to amend a bill in consideration of the will of the people. Surely it is an advantage. Yet such advantage is not more than that of labour insurance, the rules of factory management, of tennant farmer, public security law, revision or abolition for rules of news paper, the other laws such as protection of labour and poor man's rescue etc., I mean such advantage is the same thing obtained from social reforming enterprise. Therefore it is one thing to work for election campaign, nay a virtuous thing, yet I can not admit it the most emergent problem that a socialist has to solve.

Neither do I point out the electoral competition of candidacy among our comrades to be worse, nor do I object to your activities of parliamentarism. Far from it I feel pleasure to find our comrades increased among MPs, with the same reason as I can find them in the government, business circle, army and navy, circle of education, artisan, peasantry as well as the other whole society and all classes. Then if you can, you may compete candidacy, yet it is not an emergent matter to be solved by the socialist party. At the least, as a socialist or a member of socialist party, I believe in 10 convinced worker more than a register of 1000 petitioners for universal suffrage, in order to achieve our purposes such as fundamental revolution of economic system and destroy of the wage system. I believe it is the urgent duty to use 10 yens for the unity of the worker instead of consuming 2000 yens for the electoral campaign. I believe also an advantage of exercise of a discussion meeting for the worker than ten times' speech in the parliament.

Comrades! so far as I have mentioned, I hope you will make use a stratage and tactics of direct action by the unified workers, not take up a parliamentary policy hereafter in our socialist movement. I know perfectly well that you are participating passionately to the

campaign of universal suffrage, and I am afraid that you might not tolerate to hear my words. So I have hesitated to put them down a hundred times. But my conscience does not keep silence. A long silence, I pondered it on, is not true to our cause. Moreover some comrades engaged in the campaign in question have recommended to deliver my opinion, then I dare ask for your criticism and instruction about it.

Comrades! be sure that there remains no rear thought in my heart.*13

Remarks;

- (1) This article appeared originally on Heimin Shinbun, No.16 dated 5 Feb. 1907. The air was filled with dissension between the direct actionists and the advocates of parliamentarism, which partly caused by severe persecution of the Meiji government.
- (2) In 1890 general election took place. The Upper House was consisted of Kazoku (peer), while the Lower House, with land owners, industrialists and others qualified to pay a direct tax by 100 yens. Thereby demand of universal suffrage became an aim of socialist movement.
- (3) Shusui Kotoku (1871-1911) born in Tosa, a disciple of Naka, started his carrier as a journalist, then a socialist and a convinced anarchist, died as a ring leader of High treason affair.
- (4) He was imprisoned for 5 months due to an article "An appeal to school teachers" by Sanshiro Ishikawa, a christian anarchist and socialist.
- (5) After his release he went abroad, visited his comrades in San Francisco and Seattle for 6 months.
- (6) Toshihiko Sakai (1870-1933), a son originated from lower class of Samurai, followed several professions such as school teacher, journalist and a contributor. He cooperated to establish Heimin Sha with Kotoku in 1903 and issued a Japanese version of "Communist Manifesto" together with Kotoku in 1904. After Kotoku's death, he endeavoured to keep a hold of

Socialist faction, yet gradually he fortified his stand of Marxist and detached from anarchist camp.

- (7) The Hikari was edited by Kojiro Nishikawa and Koken Yamaguchi in 1905, a half monthly magazine due to dispersion of Heimin Sha. Kotoku helped them with his contribution of articles, more in truth, owing to ban of Heimin Shinbun, the staffs ought to find a route of propagation of socialism. The magazine coexisted with another one Shinkigen (new epoch) edited by Ishikawa, Naoe Kinoshita and Isao Abe.
- (8) This paragraph alludes that Kotoku indebted to Marxist doctrine especially Communist Manifesto, Schäffle's "the quintessence of socialism". While he wrote a brief biography of F. Lassalle which published in a book form in 1904.
- (9) Of Liberal Party, see appendix C "Jiyu Minken Undo".
- (10) It alludes Ching-Japan war in 1894-1895.
- (11) The reader may find a good explanation in B. Russell's book "German Social Democracy" reprinted by George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
- (12) The first Japanese version of "the conquest of bread" was made during 1908 by Kotoku and issued as an underground publication, then his indication here was based on his own study of P. Kropotkin's work.
- (13) Aftermath of this article and general meeting of Socialist Party on 17 Feb., 1907, the Party disunited into three factions, i.e., Kotoku's faction, the parliamentary faction advocated by Sen Katayama and Tetsuji Tazoe, and the neutral faction led by Toshihiko Sakai, then continued their strifes so far as High Traison affair was provoked. Afterward Sakai commented the event cinically in his article "Nihon Shakaishugi Undo ni okeru Museifu-shugi no Yakuwari (The roles of Anarchism in Japanese Socialist Movement)" that "in briefly, Anarchism has performed its roles to prevent orthodox socialism from corruption due to reformism, to pull it and whiped it towards the road of Communism"

But this statement should be examined, for he boastfully acknowledged his orthodox socialism, or Marxism and confessed that he utilized as a consequence the anarchists including Kotoku, Oosugi and others to shape his Marxist Party. Sakai was not a rigid orthodoxy, far from that, he was a humourist despite his Marxism, yet he fell into the same error to make use of even his comrades politically as a Marxist do.

ONE MAN IN HIS TIME

Arthur Moyse (London).

This month (in April) saw the death of Lilian Wolfe and she is one who will be sorely missed. She was born in 1875 and died at the age of 99 years. I knew her these many years and I first made her acquaintance in the old days when the anarchist bookshop was in Red Lion Square in Holborn. I watched her within the shop as she sorted out the books and the pamphlets and cooked her vegetarian food and stood a little in awe of her for she was the image of the English middle class woman, self composed, well dressed and always well groomed. I learned to respect her and then to grow fond of her and my respect was heightened when I saw her, not marching, but walking on various demonstrations for she must have been 80 years of age then yet she walked at the head of the demonstration in her neat costume and her sensible heavy town shoes. The left flows with genius but Lilian was one of the indispensables in that she did all those dreary chores that few of the romantic and revolutionary anarchists wish to waste their valuable time on but without Lilian and others there would be no anarchist movement for like the unknown sellers of the street paper and the hander out of other men's leaflets she and they formed that most vital of links in the chain of communication. But Lilian is dead and I shall always remember that small white haired figure with

affection
and my mem-
ory of her
will be of
her stand-
ing at the
desk within
the anarch-
ist book-
shop with-
in Maxwell
Road in
Fulham.
Pray that
we in our
turn shall
be so re-
membered.



An innocent abroad!

"Having a marvelous time out West
please send me a medal"

And Pat

Arrowsmith who is as tough as an old boot and has more than her fair share of courage has once more been sent to prison by the British court. She is a pacifist and this week at London's Old Bailey she was sent to prison of 18 months on two charges concerning the incitement of troops to disaffection. Pat pleaded not guilty but the jury took only 50 minutes to return a verdict of guilty and Pat who is claiming that the trial is a political one over the British governments policy in Northern Ireland turned and shouted to the court "Freedom for Ireland". Pat's crime was that she handed out leaflets suggesting various ways that soldiers could leave the army, including going absent without leave and deserting and discussed the merits of various places and countries that the soldiers could go to. Amnesty International expressed deep shock at the 18 months sentence but Martin Webster of the National Front, an organisation that many people regard as a militant fascist party, publicly approved the sentence of guilty. There seemed little that one could do as

an individual and for to brief and short a time one took one's place opposite the Old Bailey law court to carry a banner protesting the trial and in all there were but sic people there when I arrived for my short short stint but we took our place on the pavement and waited for the gossip from the small police guarded court room and as Pat Arrowsmith was driven away in the barred police wagon we managed to wave to her and hold up our banners that she might see them and she sat upright within the police wagon looking very stately and one feels that in the atmosphere of daily death and political murder she will serve out her sentence forgotten except for her close friends and fellow workers. Yet there are those who claim that Pat sought an open confrontation with the law and it was the point that Judge Abdela made in his summing up before sentence yet this is no offence for many good men and women have sort the criminal dock as the only platform wherein they can argue their case with the State but there is always the nagging doubt that when any one deliberately courts this type of confrontation others not too committed will find themselves facing a peril they did not seek out of loyalty to a cause and idea and to a person. Each day civil war draws nearer and nearer in Northern Ireland and there are to many who wish it so for the guns are now in to many hands and there are those who see rich political prizes waiting for the winners. But for many it will be a miserable death of a bullet in the head or an ill aimed bomb or indifferently planted explosive. The time to protest for the anarchist is not when the violence gets out of hand and murder rules the streets but in the beginning when the first shots have all the romantic sounds of history. There were to many drifting along with the anarchist movement in the early days of the Civil Rights movement felt it was an amusing game to play for there was the marching and the banners and the slogans to be shouted and the police to be booed at but of their stupidity they did not or would not accept that the militant nationalist IRA was using them as tourist Judas goats. O they marched and now they are

pushed aside while the militant Catholics and Protestants shoot it out in open warfare and the Irish working class live in daily fear from the hidden bombs. One sits in Wards Irish pub in Piccadilly and meets those who marched in the Civil Rights movement and they are alive and well and the working class of Ireland continue to die for their ideals and the answer comrades to reject violence as a political weapon and never be the reason for others sacrificing for your cause.

A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT
IN JAPAN (3)

Appendix: B will be appeared on next issue

Appendix C JIYU MINKEN UNDO (Civil Liberty Movement
1874-1884)

This movement is important by considering the following points;

1. Civic rights are regarded a synonym for Liberty.
2. Every one has a right of Liberty without regarding his rank in the society.
3. The movement has been supported widely from Samurai clan to peasant class.
4. The movement has resulted in the 1st political Party in Japan.
5. After dissolution of the Party in 1884, it was separated, one assimilated to the party in power and the other went forward to socialism.

When the senator Taisuke Itagaki () resigned his post and returned to his native place with a frustration of appeal to beat Korea^{*1}, he was welcomed heartily by his friends, colleagues and relatives. For he was assigned to be a representative of his country, Tosa. Soon he founded Aikoku Sha (association of patriotic men) gathering the youth to instruct them law,

practical knowledge and European culture. The affair stirred young mens' imagination. Similar associations protruded in Shikoku and Kyushu islands. An episode gave further illustration. Kotoku under his teen age met this event in Tosa, he made a banner on which he wrote Liberty in Chinese letter by himself and carried through the streets together with his followers. Then they broke in a meeting hall of the antagonist to Itagaki and declaired usefulness of civic rights and Liberty to the audience.

The movement has started thus as a group. But it is usually influenced by its leader's personality when the movement is small scale, while it becomes a big one, there emerges factionalism in lack of strong initiative of leadership, especially in the organization of centralism. However Aikoku Sha transformed into Riishi Sha literally an association of ambitious men which take men of talent into government service in 1874, the conservative nature of the leader, Itagaki produced an effect over actions of the Sha to restrict them within the permissable range of national law, and that his loyalty to the emperor called him back several times to the post of high official of the government. In my view he was utilized by the establishment to alleviate complain and unsatisfaction of the people in their political conscience. The member of the association regarded the Meiji government, a monopoly of a few privilages, and they advocated every one had a right to participate the state affaires while he payed his tax as his duty. This idea was deduced from the theory Tenpu Jinken Setsu (天賦人權説) that is, "Heaven does not put a man above or below his fellow man". The first object of the movement was to force the government to open the parliament. Related to this problems opinion leaders debated hotly by inducing a theme of Constitution. The flatterers to the government held an opinion that the time had not come yet for Japanese people to have a parliament due to inexperience and being devoid of political knowledge. Granted this,

if political rights were bestowed to the ignorant people, they would surely ruin the foundations of the state.

Moreover Darwinism was imported at this period in order to emphasize "the fittest i.e. the stronger has a right of survival". Thereby even among the Minkenka (activists of Civic Liberty Movement) said openly that a Rikisha man and a groom have no right of public affairs, because they are compelled to earn their daily bread and have no time spare to study and engage in political activity. In this context a governmental official was straight in his statement after he had rejected several times in acceptance of the petitioners, he cried out sternly and said that the people has no right of petition! The Liberal Party was founded in 1880*² out of this circumstance.

In the course of the movement they worked for reduction of heavy tax, rent of tenant farmer and so on. For example, one of ideologues of the movement, Emori Ueki (1857-1892) drew a draft of petition for the manufacturers of sake at Osaka district in 1881. He worked as a journalist and a Minkenka through his short life. His uniqueness is recognized with his private draft of constitution (the authorized constitution did not appeared until 1889). According to his treat of Poor Man (Hinin Rhon) he argued that it is true the peasant is poor, not for his personal deficiency, but because of defects of social institution. Therefore when the government bestowed the right of politics, the peasant would fulfill his duty and contribute to the society. Moreover the people has a right of resistance to the state when she compelled them to unreasonable subjugation. He also persuaded the poor men the necessity of unity to protect their rights against the state. In his youth he had an experience to be confirmed in a prison owing to his anti-regim opinion for two months. After his release he wrote an article to the press which proclaimed that Liberty is worth while to procure even shedding one's blood, for it is an inalienable right of man, and a raison d'être of the government is

to defend it for the people. Generally his thought was infected with republicanism, yet we are astonished that he had acquired his knowledge from Japanese translations of European political theories in addition with Chinese classic traditions. In a word he was a self-cultivated thinker.

Since Osaka Kaigi (the meeting of sake manufacturers at Osaka) the Civic Liberty movement found out its supporters among land owners in the countries and manufacturers in urban districts. Referring to the list of representatives, the members covered nearly the whole part of Japan. In 1882 the chief director Itagaki was attacked by a Sooshi*³ at Gifu on the way of his speech tour. He exclaimed his famous phrase "Itagaki may be dead, but Liberty does not!" The terrorist asserted to be a provocator from the government. But Itagaki proved the innocence of his opponent at the court, and the authority liquidated him after his short imprisonment fearing a discovery of its secrecy. Itagaki received a call of sympathy from the Mikado. This year is also memorable for the Oriental Socialist Party which emerged in Chikuzen Shimabara with the nature of anarchist organization (see Appendix E).

In order to appease a demand for national assembly, the Meiji government sponsored and took a hold of Chihokan Kaigi, the meeting participated by several governors in districts for an excuse of postponement of opening the parliament until 1890. This caused a tumult in the society. During this period the Liberal Party faced to factionalism among the executive insidely, and a competition with the other political party like Kaishin To, i.e., the Reformers' Party outwardly. Itagaki went a tour to Europe for 6 months. In his absence the district members suffered by persecution from the authority. Besides prohibition of meeting and public speech*⁴, they were often raided at home or meeting hall and cast into prisons for the sake of propagation of people's rights. Without succumbing to the interference of police, they

revolted against the governmental force with a bomb or riots*⁵. Yet carelessness and lack of systematic tactics for the militants led themselves to a trap of tragedy. In 1884 the government issued an order of 5 sorts of ranking, duke, marquis, count, viscount and baron, which showed a regressive nature of the authority, contrary to the theme of Shi min Byodo (equality among 4 clans) at the Restoration. While high officials played a host in turn to accept foreign embassies at guest hall, Narumeikan every night, from which the manner of luxury spread among high society. The authority pretended such manouver was necessary for reviewing treaties of inequality*⁶ with foreign countries confirmed before the Restoration. Yet the government utilized a policy of candy and whip which means to use persecution and honour alternatively to the Minkenka in domestic affairs. When Itagaki returned from his tour, he was honoured with a title of count. He refused it twice, but accepted it with gratitude to the Mikado. He lost his leadership among the militants (Minkenka). To tell the truth, the people advanced already one step before Civic Liberty movement (see Appendix D.) The Party dissolved in 1884. Then the idealogues and militants tried to reorganize new movement, but they did not flourish again like the former occasion. Even Itagaki was consolidated to the governmental forces. Atsuke Nakae asked Kotoku to compose a requiem in prose and the latter took a service for the deceased Party by accusing vehemently the leaders of the party that they forsook the movement, offered it as a decoration of the despotic government and thus blood of Minkenkas was shed in vain.

* * * * *

I want to add some comment on the movement. In the course of this movement Samurai clan has lost its influence gradually over the people, but survived to compose the bureaucracy around the new government. Moreover its ethical sentiments have continued through the Meiji Era. Newly raised bourgeoisie consisted of the land owners and the industrialists can grasp a chance to

partake in the state affairs. The idea of civic Liberty spread among the people, stirred ambition of the youth and taught how to form a spontaneous movement. While its disadvantage is however it becomes possible to doubt the Mikado hierarchy ideologically, loyalty of the Minkenkas was so strong that they contented to serve for the Mikado. For the Meiji Restoration was fait accompli and they thought it a normal state to restore sovereign power to the Mikado which usurped by Syogunate for 300 years. Then how they compromised between the patriarchal tradition and individualism represented by Tenpu Jin Ken Setsu (the theory of the innate right of man)? At first utilitarianism which means to effect maximum happiness for the people has been acknowledged as supreme duty of the state. Emori Ueki advocates this attitude. In this stage each one finds his satisfaction by imaging that he is connected to the state directly. The Restoration has broken down 4 clans Samurai, Peasant Artisan and Merchant, a kind of caste system kept tightly during Edo Period, and proclaimed equality of them in new society. While the state has another duty, i.e., the independence of Japan in the Far East, to have recognize her identity to European states, at least Japan would not like to spare Hongkong to the British as the Ching dynasty due to opium war or a colony like India. This is usually called nationalism, but such sentiments are shared with even the Minkenka like Nakae. The state machinery utilizes every thing. It uses national conscience of the people to form the unity of the nation after the example of Prussia, the aristocracy composed of courtiers, Daimyos (the lords of feudal period) and meritorious retainers like Itagaki is introduced with an excuse to assist the Mikado family. The ideal of the political body at this period is a constitutional monarchism, that is, the Mikado and the people cooperates to reign the state. But this becomes soon an illusion. Firstly having persecuted the Minkenkas, suppression of speech and press and deportation of notable militants of Civic Liberty movement from Tokyo by

Hoanjoyorei (Public Security Law) in 1887, the government has began to fix final draft of constitution consulting with German scholar and issued it*7 in 1889 with the rule of Imperial Household and the election law of the Upper and Lower Houses. Thus having formed bureaucracy supporting the Mikado family, the government has successfully to tower over individuals provided with the state law and police forces without obtaining an agreement from the people about Constitution. On the other hand, if the qualification of the electorate is limited to the person payable 100 yens for a direct tax, then the qualified class will be the land owner and the industrialist, the governmental function will be easily distorted for the benefit of the bourgeoisie. In truth the movement of universal suffrage has its origin in this insufficient institution. Furthermore rank and file of Japanese society at this period, there are three kinds of rank, i.e. Kazoku (the nobility which is divided into 5 sorts as I have mentioned above), Shizoku (Samurai clan including village master, high priests, scholars) and Heimin (common man composed of peasant, artisan and merchant), in another word, it took place 4 clans at the Edo period. It is ordered to indicate his rank on every official paper including a family record. Therefore it is understandable that the Minkenkas despised ability of the peasant class, for they were usually intellectuals and came from Samurai clan. But gradually they have become to realize that a common interest of them would not be achieved without cooperation with the common people. While official teachings through education and public media have been that charity and compassion of the Mikado are so high like the mountain and so wide like the sea, The Mikado regards the people as his own children, on the other side they are expected to respect the Mikado like their own father (this intrigue is always used in the despotic monarchism as you find an example in Czuarism in Russia) and there is a Mikado in the nation as well as a master at home, etc. Though the master of a family (Kachyo) has lost a sense of patriarch, but accepted the responsibility for tax payment,

prevention of a criminal from his household, in another word, a joint liability for public matters. Besides this, bondage of village community, the relation of the master and an apprentice in artisan guild are so strong to be survived through the Restoration, and being utilized by the Meiji government to unify the nation with its ethical aspect and to attack individualism as a foreign idea.

I can say that the civic liberty movement has started in parallel with formation of the state as the body politic, and contributed to destroy feudal ideologies such as loyalty to one's lord, caste system, but the other demand for equality has caused fear to newly raised governing class, thereby it has been subjected to "divide and rule" policy of the Meiji government through its life of ten years.

Kotoku has witnessed its prosperity and fall in his youth, not committed to the movement, and his friend Toshihiko Sakai, one of founders of Communist party in Japan, Sanshiro Ishikawa, a Christian Anarchist have declared openly influences of this movement. It may be said that insufficiency of civic liberty movement related to the demand of equality has induced socialism invoking new elements such as Christianity, Communism and Anarchism in novel social setting. In another word, it has handed down the Ethos of the popular movement with its tragical experiences to that of socialism in Japan.

Remarks:

*1 to beat Korea----in 1873 Itagaki and other senators advocated to beat Korea on pretext of impoliteness of the Korean government, but his offering was rejected with betrayal of the colleagues, yet in truth, Japan has not enough power to beat Korea. The unsatisfied Samurais insurrected and suppressed.

*2 Rules of Liberal Party

1. Our party ought to propagate Liberty, protect people's rights, promote their happiness and

reform the society.

2. Our Party ought to serve for the establishment of good constitutional polity.
3. Our Party ought to co-work with any one or group having the same ideal and purpose, thus to realize our intentions, etc.

The Liberal Party put a center in Tokyo and branches in the Districts. The annual session was held at Tokyo on October.

*3 ..Sooshi

The name comes from Chinese tradition indicating a man who work for public affaires ignoring his private interests. But in its decay it alludes to a terrorist.

*4 ..Prohibition of speech and meeting

The Reformation of law for public meeting. It declares that any one who want to form an association to discuss political matter shall inform its name, rules, meeting place, and offer the list of members to a police station in the said district and obtain a permission.-----When you are examined, you shall inform every thing in details. At the meeting place when a police man requests his seat, you must offer one, and explaine about the purport or any thing related to the meeting.--- Chief of Metropolitan police office has a privilage to order the dissolution of the meeting, prohibit a public speech for one year to the speaker. Furthermore the said association is against the government, he can break it up, too. --- Fine and imprisonment are provided for the militants. It is enacted in 1882.

*5 ..Fukushima no Goku (Imprisonment of militants at Fukushima Prefecture) in 1882

The governor Tsūyō Mishima boasted to say "as far as I reighn the prefecture, an incendiary, a bandit and a Minkenka have no chance to raise. "He intended to open two roads and put a heavy levy and imposed labour on the peasantry. Hironaka Kōno, a chief member of the district (Liberal Party) wrote a petition to the mayor but being rejected.

Antagonism between the minkenkas and the governer became the worse. Kōno and others were raded at an inn and arrested. They were subjected to a torture and a severe inquisition based on the rioter's law. For instance Tamigoro Konno, one of militants was forced to stand at the court of the police station among drifted snow with sticking wind for three days and nights. He fell down by losing his consciousness. When he gained his spirit, he was examined again, thus his left eye became nearely closed with purple colour due to beatings, and he died vomitting blood on the way of removing to another prison. Kōnō was sentenced for 7 years' imprisonment with the other fifty comrades.

* After 4 months of Fukushima imprisonment, another one at Takada occured. It was caused by a provocator, Saburo Hasegawa. The ring leader Keisho Akai declared in his Tenchu To Shuisho (the purport of Heaven's punishment) that his members would attempt to terrorize high staffs of the government as far as they monopolized state machinary and infected a corruption to the society. Yet his good will was betrayed by the agent and sold to the authority. This incident shows that the civic liberty movement covered even the sentiments and ideology of the so-called right wing political conscience of Japanese people.

* In 1887 at Gunma prefecture, due to influences of Itagaki speech tour, the Gunma district members of Liberal party held a public meeting which was immediately ordered to disperse, the auditories raged and attacked the police station. Then they insurrected to destroy a firm managed by a covetous industrialist. About 41 persons were arrested and sentenced for penalties such as robbery, incendiary and riot etc. (see the other case in Appendix D)

*6 ...Treaties of inequality with foreign countries

The Shyogunate confirmed some entente cordials with several countries, e.g. a treaty of amity with England in 1854, with Russia in the same year, with

Holland in 1855, with America in 1857 and so on. Extraterritorial rights and inequality of tariff system became hot topics during 1887. The government failed to obtain an agreement with the revision.

*7 ...The authorized Constitution

Nakae criticized it with bitter smile and said one word "nonsensical constitution". In his editorial he commented "The dignity and inviolability of the Constitution are admitted by every constitutional nations, Especially our Japanese Imperial Constitution shall not be compared with its superiority as the authorized one. We, the subjects, feel the inability to discuss it." Despite his sarcasm he recommended the people to remend it with utilization in the real world.

Appendix D A CHICHIBU AFFAIR

The county of Chichibu situates in the distance of 80 kilometers from Tokyo, which is connected to Nagano Prefecture in the west, Gunma Prefecture in the north and a part of the Kanto plains surrounded by Chichibu mountains clearing towards Tokyo in the south.

In the Meiji Era, most of inhabitants engaged in agriculture, yet the cultivated land was so sterile as the farmer was obliged to develop a raw field up to the belly of the mountain. Rice crop was chief work, silk raising, silk reeling and its fabrication were subsidiary jobs for the farmer's wife from the Edo period. Then the State found out that silk would provide a tremendous income and contribute to modernization of the country. Within several years silk industry flourished in Chichibu, resulted in to hold regurally a bazar at the town Ōmiya (now it is Chichibu City). But exportation of silk rose up and down with an economic cycle of the capitalist state, furthermore government sponsored factories oppressed the farmer's work by introducing machineries. In depressed years from 1882 to 1884 peasants borrowed money from usuries, merchants of farm

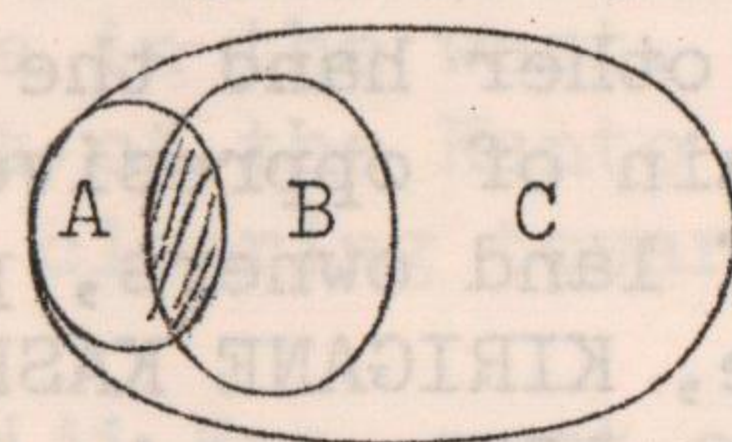
implements, buyers of cocoon and pawn brokers. Reduction of bounty from the government increased local tax, too. They were forced to leave their homes as in a period of famine or to sell their daughters to brothels.

Among inhabitants of Chichibu county, there were several militants of Civic Liberty movement, represented by land owners and intellectuals nourished in Chinese classic literature, though they acquired some knowledge of European civilization. Their propaganda of Liberal Party was usually hold a meeting at a hall of the Buddhist temple or a private home of the member. The open meeting was supervised by police man having a privilege to stop a public speech against the government. In a word, freedom of speech and publication was throughly suppressed by the authority.

At the beginning farmers appealed personally their hardship to the county government hoping to lighten their tax. But the chief of bureau dismissed them with an excuse of hors de droit. On the other hand the legislative office accepted their complain of oppressive usuries, yet it enacted for convenience of land owners, pawn brokers. There was, for instance, KIRIGANE KASHI, which means when a farmer went to borrow 100 yens in January, he received money reduced at high interest before-hand and found out his debts by 126 yens in November through renewal of his bond of loan. The other method was to add 15 percent of interest to his debt within three months.

In this circumstance there emerged Chichibu Poor Mens' League, or Chichibu Shakkin To, literally the Debtors' Party during 1883 and 1884. Leaders of League were Eisuke Tashiro in his age of 50s, Denzo Inowe, a land owner, Kanpei Kikuchi and others. The aim of the movement was the postponment of term for 10 years, repayment of one's debt annually by 40 years, reduction of county tax and school expenditures. Ministry of Education decided a compulsory education for children

of farmers, but its expenses were also entrusted to district administration. The developments of the movement invoked an insurrection. Another instructive point was that the official political party, i.e. Liberal Party did not concern, even suppress flourishment of the movement for the sake of party organization. The leadership of Party was easily surpassed by a direct action of peasants. In fact when a member of league went secretly to inform an uprising in Chichibu and wanted to obtain some advice from Center in Tokyo, true, several district members including Tazoe participated, Kentaro Ooi, one of chief staffes of Liberal Party astonished and persuaded him not to behave stupidly. Then he immediately dispatched his comrade as a messenger to sooth farmers, but he was surrounded by them and at last he was obliged to instruct them tactics of struggle, how to use fire arms. The organization of League was so remarkably that it did not deserved to be called a mob or rioters in vain. According to Professor Koji Inowe, its structure is showed as follow;



- A indicates members of Liberal Party (30 persons)
- B indicates the district organizers of League (100 - 130 persons)
- C indicates the possible range of members activated by League (3000 persons)

Eisuke Tashiro was appointed by farmers, Sōli, chief director of uprising forces following the nomination of Liberal Party, yet a great difference existed here that the chief of Party in Tokyo, Taisuke Itagaki was elected by class of land owners, interigentures, newly raising bourgeorgie, while Tashiro nominated by about one hundred or one hundred thirty peasants, peddlers, silk brokers, daily labourers, tenant farmers, carpenters and plasterers. They wanted to protest in the name of Liberty and hoped to be supported by the other members of Party all part of the country, but the executive of Party decided a dissolution of Party itself at the night

before uprising. Tashiro did not know it at all. He only replied to a prosecutor after failure of uprising that he was an arbitrator of troubles in land or money problems, and liked to beat the strong by helping the weak, then if the poor man came to ask a favour, he could not refuse it, thus he stood between the weak and the authority for 18 years affording 200 followers. His boasting talk of 200 followers should be somewhat reduced, yet antagonism to the authority can not be doubted. His tactic of uprising was also optimistic, for he imagined Chichibu insurrection would cause a disturbance among neighbouring peasants to take up their weapons, while he limited his targets to destroy usueries' houses, covetous land owners, the Munincipal Office and police stations. Liberty was to emancipate peasants out of their debts, directly being free from their difficulty. In this sense, the Poor Mens' League was a movement on Party line, yet its militant elements committed to socialism by saying that they wanted to expropriate the rich from property to bestow the poor, thus fortunes of the society should be levelled among the pwople. They put down their feelings with songs.

However you have no money
you need not be worried.

It comes soon through Liberal Party.

again;

Recollecting the past
the Independence of America
was proclaimed by peoples' banners.
Not for rain of blood at this moment
neither we can lay the foundations of Liberty.

The martial codes were a few yet severe. (1) One who robe money privately shall be killed. (2) One who rapes a woman shall be killed. (3) One who enjoys sake-banquet shall be killed. (4) One who destroys a house maliciously or injures a person without reason shall be killed. (5) One who betrays the order of the leader and do his own accord shall be killed. About one hundred or one hundred and thirty uprisers gathered together in a

garden of Muku shrine provided with Japanese katana (swords), hunting guns, spears, bamboo-spears, and Mushiro bata (banners made of rice straws) on 1st November of 1884. They called out participation of peasants on the way and excavated houses of usuries, pawn brokers. For their direct aim was to renounce half of peasant's debt by negotiation with lenders. When the usuries did not agree with their proposals, uprisers destroyed their houses and teared bond papers. Then if the owner left the house struk with fear, while papers were diappeared, they burnt the house away. In order to be spared such destruction, the usury should offer bond papers for nothing, besides funds and arms. The participant rose up 3000 people demanding food and weapon in neighbouring villages. When they entered into the village office, they destroyed official papers, and proposed three items of request. (1) One person shall be selected to participate in our uprising. (2) He shall be provided with weapon of any sort. (3) He shall be marked with a white cloth as a comrade. Thus the Poor Mens' League originated among mountains like many rivulets, collected their forces and dashed against the main town Ōmiya as a swift wind or torrents.

One 2nd November, official staffes, police men, usuries were thoroughly chased out of the town, the revolutionary center was established. The county of without government (無政府) was founded with a proclamation of the 1st year of Liberal Autonomy. An enouncement was issued in the name of revolutional forces. "This time having engaged in YONAOSHI, reshaping the society and reformation of politics, we have called many people together. We hope you will willingly supply our food and other commodities on our request. By the way we have no other intention to excavate or burn houses except those of usuries tormented the town's people with high profitting. However we burn the said houses, we promise here to prevent spreading fire for fellow men's houses. Each one shall be in his security. If a revolutionary caused any hurm or provocation, you

might immediately come to appeal to our revolutionary center and be satisfied." Considering the anouncement with their martial code, it proves that they wanted to build up an order at town in the light of their own idea.

The insurrection shocked Meiji government in Tokyo, which succeeded in the dissolution of Liberal Party by casting militants into prisons or induced them personal terrorism on provocation. It was impossible to imagine that the peasant was able to revolt against the state after the elapse of 17 years of Meiji Restoration. The hieracy of government from top to bottom consisted of the former loafers, SAMURAI of the lowest class in the feudral caste system and courtiers rose up from their poverty handed with samurais to the political world with an excuse of supporting the Mikado family, made a counterattack by using journalism to smear the character of revolutionaries. Linking fear and despise they cries out the mob was composed of gamblers, idlers, beggers and peasants seduced by some out cast members of Liberal Party. While they sent the Imperial Guards, the gendarmes and a troop of police provided with newly developed gun "MULATA JU". A disposition of Meiji government was strong in its military activities due to its centralized administration, affording many samurais of former days. After three days of occupation of Ōmiya town, the revolutionaries were surrounded by troops of government. This was caused by a lack of information and lost a chance of advancement at the side of uprisers. Eisuke Tashiro realized the surpport would not come from neighbouring prefectures as a dream of simultaneous uprising, furthermore a destruction of usuries was fulfilled its purpose, and he would not like to continue a war against a regular army. Thereby he divided some 500 yens among his comrades with persuation to disappear voluantarily trusting to Providence. The news of leaders' dissolution reached to the front advanced in the other district, and one comrade accused Tashiro's cowardice. Sporadic fightings were lasted for several days untill 9th of November. Some uprisers disappeared

among mountains, others lost their lives. The 1st year of Liberal Autonomy of the county without government was only left its traces on some documents. Tashiro and other comrades were arrested to be executed next year (1885). It took another two years in subjugating the county with the former chains.

Sources: CHCHIBU JIKEN; Koji Inowe, Chyuco Shinshyo, 1973

CHICHIBU KONMIN TO; Tatsukichi Nishino, Tōhō-shutsupan, 1973

JIYU TOSHI in 3 volumes; edited by Shigeki Tooyama and other, 1965, Iwanami Shoten

CHICHIBU KONMIN TO GUNZO; Magoroku Ide, Shin-jinbutsu Oorai Sha, 1973

Minor News

"TING LING" in English by Akiyama Yoko.

A chinese woman novelist Ting Ling has been rumoured that she went into the people as a farmer in the remort commune from the capital. Owing to this pamphlet we can grasp a glimps of the reason of her disappearance and sufference.

Contact to; Femintern Press c/o Takagi Sawako,
7-22-18 Nishishinjuku Shinjuku-ku
Tokyo, Japan

"ANARCHISM" in Japanese, a bimonthly.

Fujinomiya Bunken Senta (C.I.R.A in Japan) continues to issue her organ No. 5, having changed its name "Libero" into "Anarchism". The interesting article is the history of the Anarchist movement in Korea compiled by Hiroshi Ozeki.

Contact to; Nippon Anarchism Kenkyu Senter
251 Sugita Fujinomiya City
Shizuoka Prefect.

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