A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN JAPAN

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A Short History of The Anarchist Movement in Japan

Edited by

Le Libertaire Group

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CONTENTS

Introduction by Seiichi Miura
Illustrations
Prologue
A historical Sketch by Shintaro Hagiwara 1
Chronology by Junji Sakairi 19
DOCUMENTS compiled and translated by Yoshiharu Hashimoto 31
Prelude 32
Jiyu Minken Undo 自由民権運動 33
Toyo Shyakai To 東洋社会党 39
A Chichibu Affair (1884) 秩父事件 41
Nakaenism ナカエニズム 46
Personality of Atsuke Nakae 48
San Suijin Keirin Mondo 三酔人経倫問答 中江兆民..... 51
(The discussion of Ideal politics by three drunkards)
The Anarchist of direct Action (直接行動のアナーキスト)..... 66
How I became a socialist? 余は如何にして社会主義者となりしか？ 75
Why I have changed my thought? 余の思想の変化 幸徳秋水
by Shyusui Kotoku 78
Taigyaku Jiken (A High Treason Affair) 大逆事件 86
Apologia of Kotoku 幸徳の弁明 91
(A letter from Prison by Kotoku)
Poems in Chinese characters by Kotoku 107
To my mother/ From Prison/ My sentiment at cell/
From Prison
Shideno Michikusa 死出の道草 菅野スガ
- A Diary of loitering on the way to death -
by Suga Kano 111
The Age of Winter (冬の時代) 127
I like a spirit by Sakae Ōsugi 僕は精神が好きだ 大杉 栄 . 132
The expansion of one's life by Sakae Ōsugi 生の拡充 . 133
It is a matter of no consequence by Sakae Ōsugi 136
Anarcho-Syndicalism (アナルコ・サンジカリズム) 137
A Socialized Idealism 社会的個人主義 by Sakae Ōsugi..... 140

日本に於ける最初のメーデー　近藤憲二
The First May day in Japan　by Kenji Kondō 142

An Age of Collaboration with communism コミンニズムとの協調
by Kenji Kondō 143

An open struggle against the Bolchevist ボルとの闘争
by Kenji Kondō 145

Sorengo no Ketsuretsu　総連合の決裂　水沼辰夫
- A split of the General Federation of Labour Unions -
by Tatsuo Mizunuma 146

A draft of rules of General Federation 自連の規約草案..... 149

Anarcho-Terrolism (アナルコ・テロリズム)
From his confession　by Daijiro Furuta 152

A Kosaka Incident 小阪事件　by Daijiro Furuta 153

Anarchism VS. Syndicalism
..... 157

Platform of the Jiyu Rengo Kai 自連綱領
..... 160

Rules of the Jiyu Rengo Kai　自連規約
..... 160

サンジカリスムの検討　八太舟三
An appraisal of Syndicalism　by Shyuzo Hatta 162

Of the class struggle and the daily struggle
階級闘争と日常闘争　久保　譲　by Yuzuru Kubo 166

The Women's Front　(婦人戦線)
.....

The facts of Anarchy 無政府の事実　by Noe Itō 172

The slogans of the Women's Front
..... 178

婦人戦線に立つ　高群逸枝
Standing on the Women's Front　by Itsue Takamure 178

Three Educators of Anarchism アナーキズム 三人の教師..... 187

浮浪漫語　辻　潤
The soliloquy of a bohemian　by Jun Tsuji 189

La Dynamique ダイナミック 石川三四郎by Sanshiro Ishikawa 194

Nihil ニヒル　by Sanshiro Ishikawa 196

Conservatism保守
by Sanshiro Ishikawa 198

革命断想　岩佐作太郎
Randam thougnts on revolution　by Sakutaro Iwasa 201

THE LAST STAGE OF THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT BEFORE THE WAR

The Village Youth Movement 農村青年運動
..... 207

What is to be done?何をすべきか?by Yasushi Suzuki 209

Museifu Kyosanto Jiken or the Incident of
Anarcho-Communist Party
..... 215

黒旗は破れた！
The Black flag came down!　by Izumi Maki 218

EPILOGUE
..... 224

INTRODUCTION

"A Short History of the Anarchist Movement in Japan' has been published much to my great rejoice. Authors are those who have firmly adhered to anarchism and are helping me in publishing Le Libertaire japonais for many years.

This short history has been written in English, which is completely different from our Japanese language, although we know ourselves that we cannot write it correctly. We dared to write this though our usage of English may sound funny for English speaking people, it is because English is an international language and we thought we might be able to let other nations know the reality of Japanese anarchist movement rightly and widely.

We have, in our history, an anarchist Shoeki ANDO two hundred years ago. But his theory did not bind up to practice and we can only know him and his thought through his literary works.

Since the Meiji Restoration (1868). the Japanese government who hoped to make the Japanese Empire one of modern states equal to those European and American countries, began to adopt European culture in the hope of grafting it upon her old traditional religion, the Shinto. The government was eager to import natural sciences and industrial technics but wanted to reject social sciences and religion, christianity. But religion, philosophy, sciences and technics are all a part of an European culture, they are not seperable and christianity and socialism came into Japan as univited customers. Naturally oppressions upon them were inevitable.

Anarchism, among social thoughts, appeared when Shusui Denjiro KOTOKU, one of Marxists at that time, was imprisoned in 1905. Kotoku carried a Kropotkin's book sent by Albert Johnson from U.S.A. with him and read through it and wrote a letter to Johnson from prison. Released from prison, Kotoku went over to U.S.A. and kept good company with American anarchists and he could fully understand anarchism and syndicalism when he came home in 1906. He was framed up into lese majesty by government and was killed together with eleven other comrades in 1910.

Sakae OSUGI inherited Kotoku and organized laborers into unions against rising Japanese capitalists. Government found another enemy in Osugi and he was killed in 1923.

Sanshiro ISHIKAWA, who was christian socialist when he fled to Europe after released from prison in 1913, became an anarchist when he learned about Elisée Reclus in Belgium. Paul Reclus, nephew of Elisée, kindly took care of him. Ishikawa was rather a thinker and historian than a militant. I am one of his pupils.

Anarchism in Japan is, as you see, an imported one together with sciences, technics and Christianity from Europe and America. It made us recognize that the miserable condition of people under the capitalists and the government should be overturned by people

themselves, while christianity revealed the sinful condition of soul. Once recognized that "Emancipation of laborers must be done by the hands of laborers", Japanese laborers roused themselves up to action and organized unions.

After Osugi was killed, Japanese communists backed by Soviet Russia, became influential. Under a slogan "Conquest and capture", they played all possible shrewd tricks to take hegemony over labor unions. Anarchists became inferior.

Time passes, now in Japan, communists and socialists have transformed labor unions to their electorates. A great part of Japanese thinkers are Marxists or pro-Marxists including a great part of professors of economics and history in universities. Accordingly, most of young men who are keen to social unevenness are apt to be Marxists.

Under these circumstances, our course is very difficult to go, but we are tenacious, as we know that the revolution by means of power capture is nothing but a myth. One may say that Lenin, Mao tse-tung and Khomeini revolutionized their countries, but in fact, Lenin and Mao accomplished state-capitalistic revolution and Khomeini, religious revolution. It is an alteration of powers or replacement from one power to another. True revolution is that of people, by people and from bosom of people. For this we go over craggy hill.

Augustin S. MIURA
May, 1979

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Chyomin Nakae and his book "San Suijin Keirin Mondo or The debate on Ideal Politics by Three Drunkards". (1887)

2. Kotoku's birth place, Nakamura, Tosa, Kotoku in his 12 years old.

3. Rodo Kumiai Kiseikai Tekko Kumiai Honbu, or Labour Union Preparatory Center, Iron Workers' Union at Tokyo in 1897.

4. Sen Katayama and his first Office for the Labour Movement, Kingslay House.

5. Founders of Social Democratic Party (1901) from left to right; Isō Abe, Kiyoshi Kawakami, Shyusui Kotoku, Naoe Kinoshita, Sen Katayama and Kojiro Nishikawa.

6. Heiminshya and chief staffs (1904) Heimin Shinbun, the 1st issue (1903 Nov. 5.).

7. Heimin Shya's Publications and a Wagon for delivery.

8. Members of Japan Socialist Party (1903)
   ·1st row from left to right; Chiyohiko Oka, Gizo Yamaguchi, Morikuni Yoshikawa, Shyusui Kotoku, Akira Fukao, Den Higuchi, Toshihiko Sakai.
   ·2nd row from left to right; Kenjiro Saito, Kōjiro Nishikawa, Sakae Ōsugi, Yosojiro Takeuchi, Ichiro Handa.

9. The Riot of Ashio Copper Mine (1907)
   A parlamentary activist, Shyozo Tanaka

10. Flags used for the Red Flag Affair (1908)
    Signes are Anarcho-Communism. Right; Yasuko Hori, or Ōsugi's first wife.

11. Kotoku and Suga Kanno (1909)
    Bottom, Chiyoko, or Kotoku's first wife.

12. The Court Aspect of High Treason Affair (1910)

13. The 12 executed of High Treason Affair from

top to bottom;
Heishiro Naruishi, Rikisaku Furukawa, Shyusui Kotoku,
Takeshi Okumiya, Seinosuke Ōishi, Tadao Niimura
Gudo Uchiyama, Unpei Morichika, Uichiro Niimi,
Uiita Matsuo, Takichi Miyashita, Suga Kanno.
Left, Kotoku's tomb.

14. The Second generation of activists
from left to right; Hitoshi Yamakawa,
Toshihiko Sakai, Kanson Arahata, Sake Ōsugi
(during the Red Flag Affair)

15. A Syndicalist,(Bakunin) drawn by the Anarchist
painter, Shizue Hayashi (1916).

16. The Rice Riot (1918)

17. Mr. O released from prison drawn by Shizue
Hayashi (1919), O is Ōsugi.

18. Activists; drawn by the Anarchist painter
Kei Mochizuki (1919)
from left to right; Sakutaro Iwasa, Unosuke
Kuzaka and Genjiro Muraki.

19. Two books written by Ōsugi and Noe Ito.

20. A portrait of a Poet, Jun Tsuji, drawn by
Shizue Hayashi (1932)

21. Noe Itō at her 17.

22. Ōsugi's Family.

23. The news paper reported the split of the
General League of Workers' Union.
Persons present; from left; Ōsugi, Yamakawa,
Sakai, Arahata (1922).
The left picture shows; Arrested Workers.

24. Ōsugi met with Bertland Russel 1912?

25. Ōsugi when he came back from France.

26. Kanto Earth quake; Ōsugi and Noe.
Left bottom, their coffins.

27. The Aspect of the Marshal Court, which prose-
cuted three gendarmes who massacred Ōsugi,
Noe and their nephew.

28. Anarcho-terrolists
a. Kyutaro Wada. b. Daijiro Furuta.
c. Tetsu Nakahama.

29. The trial of Guillotine Shya Group
from left to right; Yozaburo Niimura, Daijiro
Furuta, Keiji Kurachi, Kyutaro Wada (1925).

30. Woman libs, Sekiran Kai
from left to right; Kikue Yamakawa, Noe Ito,
Magara Sakai.

31. Kiyoko Iwano who adressed to the audience.
A member of Blue Stocking (Seito Shya) (1913)

32. Members of Women's Front
The 3rd from left of the 1st row is Raichyo
Hiratsuka.

33. Itsue Takamure, once a leader of Women's
Front (1957).

34. Demonstrators for universal suffrage (1919).

35. Some aspects of Nippon Senju's debate (1931).

36. Sakutaro Iwasa and his lithograph; "A Big
Tao breaks through the ancient and modern"

37. Sanshiro Ishikawa (1949) at Nagano.

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Prologue

---A Historical Sketch---

1. Origin of Ancient Imperial State of Japan

It is said that there was an age of primitive communism in common with other nations. The Mikado family who was one of patriarches in Yamato Province conquered other tribes and established a dynasty, it was some time in the middle of 4th century.

In 645 AD the Taika Reform was proclaimed to be a unified monarchy, the Mikado as absolute Emperor. The Mikado and his family nationalized the land and the peasant as his private property. Soon there emerged bureaucracy after the Chinese institution, and they decreed registers of population, new systems of taxes and levies. But due to severe taxation and labor duty, the people, especially, the inhabitants in the remote county revolved against the centralized government.

Meanwhile some local administrators appointed by the government, formed a clan in their dutiful lands and wanted to usurp the Mikado, further the Mikado's family splitted into several function and struggled each other. The strongest took the hegemomy to reign the country.

2. From Heian Period to Warlike Age

Heian (Peace and Tranquility) was the name of new capital where the Mikado moved from Nara (Yamato) in 784 AD. Private ownership of land prevailed. The process of accumulation of large tracts of land in private hands made possible the rise of local administrators with confidence in their own abilites. In 11th century, there were widespread disorders and rises of militancy. Taira clan came first to power in 1160. And the Mikado clan who defeated Taira clan completely opened the Shogunate at Kamakura in 1192. This was the first government of Samurai.

In 1274 and 1281, Mongol armada staged from both China and Korea invaded Kyushu. Japanese warriors fought well and providentially violent storms came to destroy the most of Mongol fleets twice relatively. (People calls these stoms the divine wind or Kamikaze.) The defence which had set up must have been strengthened further after the Mongol crisis, people became destitute. Peasants uprose here and there.

The Kamakura Shogunate was overthrown early in the 14th century by Mikado (Restoration of Imperial rule) but the Mikado family splitted into two (North and South) and Ashikaga Shogunate was established under the North dynasty.

The Ashikaga Shogunate was overthrown by Oda. And Toyotomi succeeded to Oda. Toyotomi invaded two times into Korea in 1592 and 1597, which resulted in vain.

3. Exclusion System

Soon after Toyotomi Hideyoshi's death, Tokugawa Ieyasu won a crushing victory over Toyotomi at Sekigahara in 1600. Ieyasu was appointed Shogun in 1603 and established his headquarters at Edo

(now Tokyo). He acquired one quarter of Japanese land as his territory, main cities and mining districts were under his direct management, and foreign trade was under his control.

Accompanying with the development of foreign trade, christian activity spread widely all over Japan, even several feudal lords converted into christianity. Gradually fears of christian subversion outweighed Ieyasu's desire for trade. In 1614 an edict ordered all missionaries to leave; all Japanese were to register as members of Buddhist sects. Foreign trade was limited to the Dutch and China at Nagasaki in 1641.

During the long years of Tokugawa shogunate, there were a caste system of Samurai (warrior), farmer, technician and merchant. Farmers were squeezed to death and hardly kept alive. They uprose frequently here and there. Tenno was nothing but a Shinto Priest Head.

4. Fall of Samurai Government

Long and peaceful dream under the Tokugawa Shogunate was startled by the coming of foreign forces who requested to open door for trade. Russia came in 1872 to Hokkaido. Great Britain who began to have colony in Asia came to several port of Japan. U.S. Commodore Perry came 1853 with four gunboats. The shogunate concluded unequal treaty with Britain, United States, the Duch, France and Russia which included the extraterritoriality. The treaties were unwelcome to Kyoto (the seat of Tenno) and the slogan of Sonno-Joi (Revere the Emperor! Drive out the barbarians!) was raised by anti-shogunate people.

The allied forces of U.S., Britain, Dutch and France attacked Shimonoseki and carried the fortress. Aware of the difference of military capacity, people had to give up the Joi. As the result of domestic conflicts, the last Shogun of Tokugawa resigned. This was the end of 676 years long samurai government from Minamoto to Tokugawa.

5. Formation and Fall of Militaristic Japan

Extreme nationalist empire of Japan was born in 1868 under the man-god Mikado. Japan made their best to adopt foreign culture to be wealthy nation with strong military. She stepped over the stage of industrial revolution by 1880s. The Japanese capitalism developed to have access to foreign markets with wars as her springboard. The first opportunity was Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5, the second was Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 and the third was the World War I of 1914-18 until the armed agression to the continent of China in 1931. But she rushed recklessly into the World War II to be defeated at the sacrifice of her laborers and farmers. The Japanese Empire thus made herself isolated from the world.

How was the anarchist movement under the harsh situation of this island Japan in the extreme Orient?

Chapter 1 Early Spring of Anarchy

I Shoeki Ando, A Forerunner of Anarchism

Nearly 550 A. D. Buddhism was introduced into Japan from China through Korea. Though all founders of religion never fail to be revolutionary, the religion would be corrupted by tying to political powers of the hour. Buddhism in Japan traced the same cource. At first it had the influence on many territories, but degenerated into secularism gradually. On the other hand, it was Shintoism that stood side by side with Buddhism. Shintoism was linked directly to the Mikado family, and aimed at a state religion. Moreover since the Mediaeval Ages it was Confucianism (a Chinese philosophy) which became the systematically authorized doctrine of the ruling classes. The moral teachings of Confucias and Mencius were utilized mainly as the standard of feudal morality. The thinkers in the Edo Era (1603--1867) who belonged to the above three schools could hardly absorbed the Western culture. It was Shoeki Ando who stood violently against these existing philosophies and preached the original and modern theory.

Ando, a medical practioner, was born in Hachinohe, a snowy countryside of the Northern parts of Japan in 1703. It was a century and a half before Proudohn, Bakunin and Marx had appeared in the world history. He denounced the feudal moral education and adovocated the agricultural communist anarchism. The essence of his teachings was "Shizen Shineido" (the True Management of Nature) published in 1753.

He asserted himself that all persons should engage in some productive labor. In 1840 Proudohn said in his 'What is Property?' that 'Property is Theft', but Ando said before Proudohn, 'the idle class who lives on the other people is nothing but a thieve'. And he said that all human beings are equal, all status or estate ought to be overthrown, and all armanents should be abolished for the realization of peace.

Indeed, Ando was a great pioneer. Herbert Norman published the monographies on Ando, written in English.

II Liberalistic Civil Rights' Movements

Since 1874 the Liberalistic Civil Rights' Movements took place briskly, claiming the establishment of the popularly elected Parliament, enactment of the Constitution, and the freedom of political movements. Many of them were the discontented elements of ex-samurai cast (the Japanese warrior cast during the Tokugawa Era), who could not get positions. Members of the Liberal Party of the ruined landlord and the middle stratum of the peasantry also participated in this movement. Such organizations as Shakkinto (the Debtor Party), Heimin-to (the Party of the Poor) or Kasakuto (the Tenant-farmer Party) also joined and the number increased greatly. They struggled for the payments of the yearly installment of their debt, the deferment of payment or the reduction of rental, the recovery of the pawned land, and the reduction of the military service. The authorities suppressed them furiously,

the legal movements could not be expected at last and the riots in arms broke out frequently.

Chapter II The Germinating Periods

I The Toyo Shakai-to, the First Anarchist Movement

In 1882, Tokichi Tarui rallied more than one hundred comrades in Kyushu, and formed the Toyo Shakai-to (the Oriental Socialist Party), which claimed the Oriental Nihilism of Lao-tse or Confucius against the Western nihilism. The Party was prohibited by the government. Next January the reconstruction was tried, but it was prohibited again. And Tarui was sentenced to imprisonment.

The Party's programm was, as cited later, much similiar to the theory of Max Stirner.

II The Commencement of Labor Movements and Farmer Movements

Japan, a backward capitalist nation, had to get overseas markets, acquisite foreign currencies to secure the imports of war supplies. Therefore workers were compelled to the extremely enforced labor under the low wage. As the feudal ideas prevailed and the oppressive policies were in common to the state, the labor movement was regarded as though a crime, and besides laborer's unawakened mind obstructed to organize the labor class into union. Unionization of printers in 1884, iron workers in 1887, and mechanicians in 1889, were set about, but all of them frustrated.

In 1885, Emori Ueki, who had been a distinguished theorist of the Liberalistic Civil Rights' Movement, took the lead of the movement, as he appealed the unity of the proletariat and the organization of labor union. In 1887, Soho Tokutomi, who started a monthly 'Kokumin no Tomo' (the Friends of Nation), introduced the labor movements and socialism in the advanced countries, and urged the workers to unite.

In 1892, Ryutaro Kojima, Yuzaburo Sakai, Sanshiro Ishikawa and others formed the Study Meeting of the Social Problems, discussed all night through about the principles of property equalization, anarchist movements, the May Day movements and so on.

In these days socialist or anarchist thought began to permeat into the laborer to unite.

On the other hand, the deflation policy and the bad harvest caused the farmers into furious and repeated riots. 1884 was the peak year in the Meiji Era (1867--1912) with 167 riots.

Among them the Chichibu Affair was the most famous farmers' riot and it was the only one worthy to mention to be the revolutionary movement. Thousands of farmers in Chichibu attacked the public offices and usurers, established the automomous government, and battled against the national troops, but were annihilated at last.

In addition there occured the Kabazan Affair which a number of Liberals armed with little bombs and swords entrenched

themselves in Kabazan, attempting to upset the government, and fighted in vain. In this Affair the bomb was thrown for the first time and execution by capital punishment was the first instance in the Japanese social movement.

The Nagoya Affair occured. In this Affair the Liberals, such as Kenshi Okumiya, attacked the public offices and millionairs, and destroyed the prisons in the hope of getting prisoners in their sides so as to upset the government, but they were attested. Okumiya who was sentenced to death penalty, was released later, but he was involved in the Kotoku Affair afterwards, and was executed in 1911.

Chapter III The Flowering Season

I Labor Movements before the World War I

Under the stimulus of the Haymarket in the USA the reactionary FAL was born, and later in opposition to AFL the militant IWW was born. Also in Japan the Yuai-kai (the Fraternal Society), which later was renamed the Sodomei (the General League of Japan Trade Unions, labor-capital reconciliation union), born as a byproduct of the Kotoku Affair, and in opposition to them anarchists formed revolutionary organizations. The most militants of them were printers and traffic workers. The printers struggled fiercely against capitalists backed by Osugi, Sakai, Yamakawa, Arahata and so on, they developed into the national federation of printer unions, and later became the parent body of the national federation of anarchist-influenced labor unions. The traffic workers fought remarkable struggles led by Endo and Nakanishi, so it became famous as the age of traffic worker strike.

From the War I to the Great Kanto Earthquake, in Japan there was a flowing season of democracy, and it is called as the Age of Taisho Democracy in Japanese history.

The World War I accelated the centralization or monopoly of capital, and the heavy industry flourished. But the poverty of workers' life went on increasingly in inverse ration to the prosperity of the bourgeoisie. Especially in the post-war panic after 1920, workers were exposed bitterly to the offensive by capitalists. It was natural that workers, whose legality of movements were not at all and who had to rise in action desperately, took up syndicalism as the only one way out of difficulties. This circumstance was merely confined to the anarchist unions. Workers' distrust and discontent against the existing system were resonant with syndicalism and its direct actionism. Bloody battles were repeated in many labor diaputes, factories were contolled by the strikers, the workers made an assault on the brains of management, and strikes occured very frequently and spread throughout the country.

After the Russo-Japanese War, the electric power came into general use as the driving forces, and took place of water wheels,

steam and petroleum engines, while the electrified small scale industries and household industries were absorbed into the wholesale merchant system, which developed into so great scale that their sale and financing capacities reached to the height. After the World War I, many of medium and small enterprises became the subcontracors for them. The other was driven out of the market in the course of concentration of the industries. But small business sprang up always one after another, shrinking in scale. The big enterprises which treated preferentially the regular employees made use of the cheaper temporary employees, outsiders or subcontractors. A number of job hunters who could not find the employment in big business rushed on the medium and small scale business by wandering from one to another.

Sometimes, there were cases that the primary contractor who had to reduce the price of goods into a pretty low, should subcontract with the second contractor with the rate lower than that of the first contractor, and the latter again subcontracted to the third one with further low rate. Postponing of the payment to the payment to the subcontractor was of no matter of importance for the capitalists. As a matter of fact, there exists the dual structure of industry in Japan, that is, there are the monopolistic enterprises on the one hand, and a lot of small scale factories on the other, then both of respective employees receive their payment with a difference of the ratio, so there is a gap between them.

Retrospectively, we must write down here the fact that the May Day demonstration was commended in Japan in 1920 by advocacy of anarchists, Miznuma, Hattori, and the others, who organized it fanancing by the royalty of 'Obliteration of Christ' by the late Kotoku which was written in prison. This first May Day was held on the 2nd May, 1920 (Sunday) in Tokyo. (May Day was forbidden in 1936). Under the influence of the successful first May Day, the Rodo Kumiai Domei-kai (the General League of Labor Unions) was established; typeprinters' unions, newspaper printers' union, teachers' unions, publishing workers' unions, navy arsenal workers' unions, traffic workers' unions, mechanicians' unions, spinning workers' unions, and the Fraternal Society.

The tendency towards collaboration was stimulated in the nation wide. Miners' unions formed the General Federation of All Nippon Miners' Union, and in Osaka, an industrial city, 16 groups formed the Kansai Federation of Labor Union.

During the course of time, the conflict between Anarchists and Bolsheviks became intensified gradually (as stated in a separate paragraph). On the May Day of next year the left and the right collied, and the Fraternal Society turned to be a traitor many times from this first breakup. In 1922 Yasaburo Shimonaka who was the founder of the teachers' union strove to promote the forming movement of the General Federation of Labor Unions. 50 unions, such as shipbuilding, engineering, electricity, watch, printing, traffic, spinning, navy arsenal and so on, participated in the movement. But at the end of September the inaugural rally was

splitted due to the treachery of the Fraternal Society and the oppression of authorities.

II The Intensification of Farmers' Movement

Already the Heimin Shinbun had taken many spaces for tenant-farmers' problem, reported their miserable conditon, and encouraged them. As the labor disputes intensified after the World War I, the struggles, demanding the reduction and the exemption of firm rents, increased. The number of tenant-farmers' disputes in 1917 was 85, influenced greatly by the Russian Revolution. In 1918 the selling price of rice rose furiously, cornered by merchants who had foreseen dispatching of the Japanese troops into Siberia. In July wives of fishermen in Toyama prefecture bursted out the street to demand for the reduction of rice price. In a few days this movement spread out to large or small cities and villages. Great riots of more than 700 thousand men broke out in national scale. The troops were dispatched to oppress the movement, and hundred of thousands of people were arrested. It was called the Rice Riot. These riots developed into the strikes of coal miners, ship yards, the Imperialist Policemen, warders and city officials (they were more revolutionary than nowadays!). Accompaning with the Rice Riots, coalition between farmers and laborers became closer, and struggles of farmers intensified more and more. The numbers of disputes of those days are as follows.

year	labor disputes	tenant-farmers' disputes
1918	417	250
1919	497	326
1920	282	408
1921	246	1,680
1922	250	1,578
1923	270	1,917

III Controversy between the Anarchists and the Bolsheviks

In August 1920, the Prepatory Organization of the Japan Socialist Union was formed, aiming at coalition of socialism and labor unions directly. The Organization issued 'Socialism' and canvassed nationlly with eagerness. It was formed in December, and nearly 3 thousand workers joined. It consisted of anarchists and bolsheviks mixedly. Constitution bodies which sent principal promoters were as follows. (Asterisks show the anarchist sides.)

*printers' union
*newspaper printers' union
*watchmakers' union
*the Hokufu-kai (the North Wind Society, leaded by Seitaro Watanabe)
*the Freemen's Federation (including Kazuo Kato)
Fraternal Association
miners' union
traffic workers' union
authors' union
the Labor Union Research Association
student organizations

The theoretical conflicts among them were so severe inside, and moreover the oppression of authorities was so violent that it was disorganized next May. Within the labor movements, as indicated in the above, there were conflicts between anarchist unions based on free federation of organizations and the General Federation aimed at centralizationist dictatorship. Many leaders of General Federation were socialistic democrats. The bolsheviks conspired with the staffs of the General Federation so as to smash up the anarchist organization and to establish their centralizational control. Therefore the movements in Taisho Era (1912--1926) had been attributed as the conflict between anarchist and bolshevik, or A-B-controversy.

The same tendency was also discerned in farmers' movements, and splits occurred frequently.

In 1922 the anarchist members splitted from the National Levellers' Association (Suihei-sha), which had been formed in March 1922, made up afresh the National Levellers' Federation for Emancipation in 1925. Laborers' organizations or theory groups of Koreans followed similiar fate. One of them, the Kokuto-kai (the Black Surge Group) which was formed by three hundred Koreans in 1919 splitted, and anarchist elements of them formed the Black Friends' Federation (later the Black Friends' Society).

IV At the Time of the Great Kanto Earthquake

On September 1st, 1923, the great earthquake at magnitude 8.2 took place in Kanto District. As it was near to noon time, every home used a fire for their lunch, fire broke out here and there in Kanto, and Tokyo was covered with a raging fire. Though the scale was inferior to the Great Tokyo Air Raid on March 3rd, 1945 during the World War II, great damages were brought about by this earthquake as follows.

Houses burnt down or destroyed	703,000
Men killed, wounded or lost	247,000

In the midst of terrible confusion caused by this earthquake, white terrors raged in succession.

(1) Made-up rumors of vicious nature by the authorities were set afloat here and there that the Korean were rising in riot, while ex-soldiers and vigilance corps rose against Koreans to kill them. On September 3rd the government framed up the plot to assassinate the Mikado and arrested Boku Retsu (Pak Yul) and his wife Fumiko Kaneko in order to justify pogrom of the Koreans. While Fumiko suicided by hanging herself, Boku was imprisoned for life, but was set free 24 years after.

(2) On September 5, nine of the Nankatsu Labor Union, including Kawai or Hirasawa, were killed with sabels of the Narashino Field Army at Kameido Police Office.

(3) On September 16, Sakai Osugi, his wife Noe Ito and his nephew Munekazu Tachibana were slaughted by military police captain, Amakasu and the others.

After that Japan turned to the right course gradually.

Incidentally the Elisee Reclus Library, which Sanshiro

Ishikawa brought to Japan from Belgium with a plan to set up a library in Tokyo, was burnt down during this earthquake.

Chapter IV The Decline Period

After the Great Kanto Earthquake, the government gave the people the Peace Regulations against the universal suffrage. In Japan the Parliament passed the bill of the universal suffrage, but, at the same time, labor bosses began to maneuver plainly workers into ballet boxes or offertory boxes for their own political intention. Uner these circumstances anarchists rallied unions nationally, attempting to reconstruct the free federation. While they confronted as a rule with parliamentalists, they had their own weakpoint of incessant internal trouble. In addition, some anarchists, maintaining 'eye for eye. tooth for tooth' sake policy became terrorists or backmailers contradicted to the public sentiment, and accordingly the people mistook the anarchist and alienated them. The May Day Demonstration was forbidden, and first of all, unions of military arsenals were dissolved. In 1937 the war between Japan and China broke out.

Till that time the representative examples of anarchist movements were as undermentioned.

(1) The National Free Federation Association of Labor Unions

The Association was formed by 42 unions from Hokkaido, Kanto, Kansai, and the others in May 1926. After the death of Osugi, who was an exellent leader of anarcho-syndicalism, this Association was the most active as the ralling body of anarchist labor unions. Roughly speaking, the unions in the Association covered following industries; printing, gas, spinning, rive-cleaning, chemical industry, machins, electricity, gum, free workers, tenant farmers, and fishermen.

In November 1927, the Second National Congress of the Association was held in Tokyo. The Osaka Amalgamate Labor Union, which had been expelled from the Kansai Branch of the Association on the charge of violation of Programm and rule, despatched three delegates. The Congress was in a tangle for two days, and it was adjourned till next year.

In March 1928 the Congress was held again, but the severe debate on a revision of programm was repeated. The anarcho-communist group stressed 'the federation principle', and the anarcho-syndicalist group stressed 'the class struggles and free federative organization'. The former depended on the solid theory of 'the negation of power', which refused the organization because any organization yield to some power.

At last the Association splitted. The syndicalist sect formed the Free Federation Conference of Nippon Labor Unions. Though competive, they were co-existent with each other, supporting jointly respective, and fighting commonly against Nazis or

Faschism. In accordance with the above split, the split among anarchist literary groups continued. In January 1934, both united. Rather late in the day, a flow of militarism was running with a rush, and the anarchist movements declined gradually.

(2) The Black Yough League

In December 1925 the Farmer and Labor Party held the inaugural congress in Tokyo. Anarchists, crying 'Down with political movements', thronged to the congress and distributed bills. The congress was forbidden on the very day by authorities. As the result of joint action, January 1926, 17 anarchist groups and volunteers from labor unions in Kanto formed the Black Youth League. The League held the inaugural congress and opened the speech meeting at the same time, but the authorities brought pressure upon them, they began a demonstration parade at Ginza, the center of Tokyo, hoisting up the black flags and singing revolutionary songs. The high spirited demonstrators began to smash showwindows of nearly 200 stores, and 7 of them were arrested and imprisoned.

The League published their organ 'The Black Youth', the monthly, but every numbers of which was suppressed. Branch organizations of the League were formed with nation wide. Before the World War II, this was the only one national league that was organized by anarchist groups. The League struggled together with the above Free Federation. Next movements were worthy to mention as international movements; oppositions against E. Malatesta's imprison, against Sacco and Vanzetti's death penalty, and against an aggression of Japanese imperialism into China. With the split among the Free Federation, the anarchist camps brought about their own ruin in thirties.

(3) The Village Youth Association

The aftermath of economic crisies after the World War I became aggravated. The unemployed lumpenproletariat overflowed. In villages the price of cocoon, which was the greatest sources of farmers' income, slumped extremely, the price of other products of them also dropped, farm rent was raised, silk-reeling industries which reduced or stopped operation one after another would not buy cocoons from farmers. This meant no more income for farmers, and farmers were likely to die of hunger. Pupils could not carry lunch with them to school. Girls sold themselves into gay quarters. The crisies were very hard from 1929. In these circumstances, in 1931, Akira Miyazaki, Yasuyuki Suzuki, and the others formed the Noson Seinen-sha (the Village Youth Association), whose object was the establishment of the village commune. They published newspaper and pamphlets one after another, made a propaganda for their ideas nationwidely. As a result, 350 members in various prefectures assembled in the Association, whose center was in Nagano Prefecture. Their movements didn't develop further. Miyazaki and the others, who became impatient, planned armed revolts, and became tangled with the affair of the Anarchist-Communist Party but in 1936 most of them were arrested and the League was annihilated.

(4) The Anarchist-Communist Party

In 1934, some 25 people, including Taimon Uemura, Toshio Futami, Hisao Aizawa and the others, formed the Museifu Kyosan-to (the Anarchist-Communist Party). Their theory was slightly similiar to the New Left after the World War II, and Kropotkin and Lenin were blended in the Party's principles. They fought among themselves and shot Junzo Shibahara (a member) to death on suspicion of a spy. One of them sold a fellow's wife to gay quaters. They attacked banks. While they could not make any important activity which was worthy to mention, about 400 members were arrested in the whole country and the organization was annihilated. Being caught by-blow of this affair, the printers' union, which was the oldest and the latest citadel of anarchist unions, was crushed, and literature groups of anarchist had to dissolve at last, too.

Chapter V Restart after the World War II

Although the World War II ended in our defeat, the Japanese people was given the freedom of assembly, association, speech and press and anarchist movements have been more stagnant then in the prewar times. Probablly the following several chronological items will be worthy to be mentioned.

1945

Two months after the defeat of the War, employees of Yomiuri Newspaper formed the Union and rose up for the production control struggle. At the end of the year, the dispute came to terms once, but next year they broke into the second dispute. A company union was formed, police opressed and company hired gangsters under these circumstances, they fought bitterly for 123 days till October, and were defeated at last. But through this struggle the Sanbetsu Kaigi (the National Congress of Industrial Labor) was born, and struggles for production control spread nationwidely.

1946

(i) In May the JAF (the Japan Anarchist Federation) was formed in Tokyo, two hundred and a half anarchists rallied. JAF published the Heimin Shinbun (the Commoner's Paper) as their organ. And groups among them began to publish' the Anarchist Congress, 'Anarchism' and 'Forum'. They held speech meetings or study meetings, and sold their publications on streets or in trains. Anarchist were foremost to appeal 'Abolish the military preparations over the world! Let Japan be a demilitarized, permanently neutral country!'. But masscommunications did not take notice of anarchists' cry, and their cry could not prevail any more.

In October 1950, JAF broke up into two, like the prewar days, one was the anarchist-communist sect and the other was the anarcho-syndicalist sect, and they were opposed to each other severely. In 1951 the former organized the Anarchist Club, whose main members were Sakutaro Iwasa, Tatsu Mizunuma, Kuninobu Watabiki, and

Shin Furukawa, and the latter JAF, whose main members were Sanshiro Ishikawa, Kondo Kenji, Taiji Yamaga, and Jo Kubo. In time this reconstructed JAF became so aged and weak that it dissolved itself in November 1968. The remaining days of the Club is now being kept by a few aged members.

(ii) The Osaka District Congress of Labor Union was parent of Congress of Japan Labor Union, which steered to the middle course rallying the neutral unions by having rejected both Congress of Industrial Labor Unions of Communist Party, the left wing, and the General Federation of Japan Trade Unions of Socialists, the right wing. The core of the Congress was grapsed by anarchists. Later it developed into the All Japan Labor Federation having forty thousands of membership. But the Congress became entangled in a plot to be absorbed into the Sohyo (the General Council of Japanese Trade Unions), and dissolved in July 1950. The present circumstances of labor movements is to be noted later.

1947

Anarchists formed farmers' cooperative, unions and successibly in each districts of Japan. Shortage of foods or houses, and difficulty to get a job were severe as before.

1948

Scores of anarchists such as Jo Kubo, Kichizo Henmi and Shintaro Hagiwara, formed the Anarcho-syndicalist Group which published 'the Labor Movement' as the Japanese section of AIT. But it could not last for a year. This year the Korean War broke out, and militant anarchists were purged. (It is called "the Red Purge".) Struggles for abolishing military bases became active in districts like Okinawa, Uchinada, Sunagawa, or Niijima.

1956

Trotskist, the New Left made their appearance by taking advantage of the critique of Stalin by the Soviet Communist Party and the Hungarian Workers Revolution. Through anarchists' activities had already been weaker than before by this time, it was reinforced by young elements. It was from this time on that the phrase 'the revival of anarchism' has been popular.

1966

Seiichi Miura started the study meeting named 'the Libertaire Group'. In December 1969 he published 'Le Libertaire', which continues to this day.

In this year several anarchist youth formed the Direct Action Committee for the Anti-Vietnam War, and attacked armories in Tokyo and Nagoya. This affair caused mass communications to investigate and announce the actual conditions of weapon industry. Also this affair became a remote cause to bring about attacks on the headquaters of Mitsui and Mitsubishi 'Zaibatsu' (Financial Clique).

Chapter VI 1970s

I About Labor Movement

After the defeat of the World War II, labor unions authorized by the occupation policy, were formed one after another. They were arranged industirally, but the smallest unions of them were industrial unions. Japanese labor movements have shown the fatal weakness in this fact. Coping with the revival of prewar Sodomei (General Federation of Japan Trade Unions, the socialistic reformist), National Federation of Industrial Labor Unions was formed mainly owing to Communist-affected unions was dissolved by the order of the General Headquarters at the time of the Korean War in 1950. In return the Socialist Party-influenced Sohyo (the General Council of Japanese Trade Unions) was born sponsored by the Occupation Army and the Ministry of Labor. As mentioned above, out of National Federation of Industrial Labor Unions which was dissolved prior to the formation of the General Council, the New National Federation of Industrial Labor Organizations which had been in existence, broke away, but its influence was limited. Confederation of Japan Labor Union bossed by leaders of the Democratic Socialist Party, 'the quasi-Liberal Democratic Party', namely the right socialist withdrew from the Nippon Socialist Party. Even though there existed among them a mass of laborer who had strived against the general trend of the cooperation line between capital and labor, but stream was hardly to be altered. The General Council, on the other hand, is commanded by the unions of the national railway, teachers and officials. They are called 'Oyakata Hinomaru' unions. ('Oyakata' means boss, and 'Hinomaru' is the national flag, meaning 'Unions for which boss will foot the bill'). They can fight without any fear of their employr's bankruptcy, because their bosses are the state. Their struggles are collusive, because they are component parts of state machinery. Besides these two national organizations, there is the Churitsu Roren (Liaison Council of Neutral Labor Unions in Japan), which is consisted of the labor unions of big business such as electricity or oil company, and the Roren acts a part of the International Confederation of Free Trade Union, mouthpiece of the U.S.A.

Under the circumstances, influenced by stugflation and the exchange rate in favor of the Yen, the number of bancruptcy continues to renew the record to be the highest in history.

In 1977, the number of bancruptcy, whose debt is more than ten million Yen, is 18,471, and total debts amount to be two billion and 978 hundred million Yen. The number of the unemployed exceeds one and half a million every month. Bancruptcy of enterprises and dismissal of emploees are going on even in big enterprises in shipbuilding, engineering, oil chemistry, textile and so on. The situations in minor enterprises are far more aggravated. The drastic struggles to sustain minimum standard of living are carrying out mainly in minor enterprises. Differences in scale and structure among industries are widening more and more.

As for activities by anarchist after the War II, a minority

union under the banned of syndicalism exceeded over Fujino Miya City. Several amalgamated unions beyond frames of individual enterprises are struggling in Tokyo and Osaka, but there is nothing worthy of mention.

Now autogestion by workers, which seems to be successful to a certain extent in Yugoslavia, is increasing interests among the people, but as far as I know, autogestion has been tried in plants and electric factories of the Mitsui Zaibatsu (financial clique) on a small scale. So it is the autogestion as a total for capitalists to motivate workers, and that it is greatly different from that of Yugoslavia. Mass communications report some unions entrusted in the management of bancrupted enterprises, are working to produce and sell autonomously. In a sense they may be called autogestion. But in reality, this would-be autogestion, restricted by many conditions, compelled to be a mere self-exploitation, because workers of these bancrupted enterprise can hardly make out enough for their living. Social welfare in Japan falls remarkably behind those of western advanced countries. The social composition of population has advanced in age, the level of school career of workers has become higher, and slight resources for old-aged pension will be exhausted in several years. These spotty structure of Japanese economy seems unknown to foreigners. Workers' struggles can't march forward, unless we do break through the decrease of class conciousness of workers in the controlled society followed with union egoism and views of casting workers' lot with enterprise completly, unless the unions were reorganized industrially. If so, we ought to hope that social unrest increases more and more until it is possible for the social reorganization.

II Environmental Pollution

After the periods of social reconstruction, technical innovation and high growth of the economy, Japan became the most terrible pollution country. Incurable Kawasaki athema or Yokkaichi athema continues to increase in heavy chemical industry zones like Kawasaki or Yokkaichi. Fishermen in Minamata who ate fish contaminated with organic mercury exhausted from nitrogen factories, suffered from Minamata Desease to die one after another. The name of 'Minamata' became famous in the world. In Toyama prefecture, cadmium exhausted from the Mitsui Metal Mining Company caused Itai-Itai desease. 'Itai' in Japanese means 'ouch' in English. In Hokkaido and Fuji, Paper Mills exhausted 'hedro' (sludge), which killed fish and shellfish in the coast, owing to this fishermen lost their jobs. These are only few examples of the great number of pollutions. Everywhere in Japan is full of such pollutions as air pollution, photochemical smog, and mercury pollution in the river. It was only several years ago that a few restritions by law were put in practice, and a part of people in polluted areas rose up in anti-pollution struggles. But many of local people tried to supress these movements against pollution, on the ground that their lives are sustained and their districts were

developped by those companies. Even workers in company unions disturbed such civil movements. We, anarchists, appealed to them, 'Workers, fight against the company charging them by their own pollution'. Conscious workers began to fight against pollution together with citizens.

III Atomic Power Plants

Nearly thirty atomic power plants in Japan operate now at Tokai, Tsuruga, Mihama, Ikata and so on, under the technical co-operation with General Electric and Westinghouse Electric,. The construction of atomic power plants have been planned successively as the specific remedy to get out depression after the oil shock and to stimulate business slump. Opposition movements against construction of the Hidaka Atomic Power Plant and the Nanao Power Station are spreading at present, and in Kise an enourmous sum of corruption to support the establishment of the plant was brought to light. While radioactivity is polluting air and water, the disposition system of wastes remains unsettled still. From of these facts the most severe environmental destruction is now going on. The Japanese people, the first victim of an atomic bomb in the world, strongly oppose both peaceful usage of atomic energy and atomic weapons. Naturally we must oppose against the construction of atomic power plant, which processes the by-product like atomic bombs.

IV Anti-War Movements

Anti-Vietnam War movements in Japan grew bitterly by followed with bombing North Vietnam by the U.S. army in 1960s. Moreover there was obstinate continuance of anti-war appeals against the U.S. army camps at Asaka, Iwakuni and so on day by day, relief activities for deserters out of U.S. army, and demonstrations to the U.S. Embassy and the U.S. army bases. These activities further extended to protest or boycott movements against insatiable companies which advanced into Vietnam for pursuation of profits by taking advnatage of the War. An accuser appeared even from within the Self Defence Force (the name of Japanese Army), and now he is at issue. The movement to abolish military preparations must be the common task of the world's anarchists in order to exterminate wars.

V Solidarity crosses over the frontiers

The opposition struggle against the construction of the New International Tokyo Airport has been known to the world through mass communication. Besides, there are many movements, which attracted public attention and supported widely, like the struggles of buraku-min against discrimination at Sayama. Labor movements are so corrupted that labor unions have been utilized as ballot boxes or offertory boxes of political parties, and our hope seems to be found in unorganized civil movements. Some workers are taking part in the civil movements, and some New Left students sections are participating in the movements as a means of deserting from their organization.

Revolutionary movements in Europe originated from workers, Chinese Revolution was caused by farmers. In Japan unorganized citizens will cause revolution. Solidarity movements are not limited alone domestically, but relief movements for deserted Koreans in Saghalin (Japanese territory before the War), and rescue movements for political prisoners in Formosa or Korea are continued persistently.

Additionally small scale communities like a Kibbutz of Israel are formed in various parts. Though ninety percent of them have been of postwar formation, the oldest one had been 'the New Village', which was formed after Tolstoy's ideas in 1918. All of the abovementioned community movements never lay stress on anarchism apparently but it is certain that they are acnarchistic.

The anarchist organization, after the break up of aged JAF, remains scattered minority groups in everywhere, each of them has published their organ or paper, holding their own study or speech meeting, and demonstrates. Since several years, some of them have appealed for organizing a national federation, and hold a conference, but, to my regret, the national federation has not been realized yet.

CHRONOLOGY

1753
Shoeki Ando, 'The True Management of Nature'.

1861
M. Bakunin escaped from Russia and stayed in Japan for about a month.

1883
Tokichi Tarui formed the Eastern Socialist Party.

1884
the Chichibu Affair, the Nagoya Affair.

1892
Sanshiro Ishikawa started the Study Meeting of Social Problems.
(A. Lavachol threw bombs everywhere in France.)

1897
Ryutaro Kojima started the Study Meeting of Social Problems.
Nearly one hundred of printers formed unions in Tokyo.
Shusui Kotoku and Kojiro Nishikawa started the Study Meeting of Socialism.
(the Touluose Congress of CGT)

1900
The Study Meeting of Socialism developped into the Institute of Socialists.
Naoe Kinoshita, Copper Poisoning Problems at Ashio.
(the first congress of the International Trade Union Congress was held under auspice of CGT.)

1901
Kotoku, 'The Monster of 20th Century; Imperialism'.
Sakutaro Iwasa went to U.S.A. and got acquainted with A. Berkman and E. Goldman.
Kiichi Kaneko went to U.S.A. and formed an anarchist body.

1902
Sentaro Kemuriyama, 'The Modern Anarchism'.
Kotoku, 'The master, Chomin'.
Shigeki Oka went U.S.A., and formed the San Francisco Sect of the Commoners' Collective. During the World War II he went to India and participated in anti-war movements joining the advertizing group of the UK army against Japan.
(CGT and the Brouce Federation incorporated in the Monperie Congress)

1903
Kotoku, Sakai, Ishikawa and others formed the Heimin-sha (Commoners' Collective), published 'Commoners'.
Newspaper' and started fervent anti-war movements.
Kotoku, 'The Quintessence of Socialism'.

1904
Kakuzo Nagaoka formed the Great Nippon Devoted Laborers' Union.
Kotoku announced 'A Letter to Russian Socialist Party' (in

English) in 'Commoners' Newspaper', no. 18. Socialist parties in European countries translated his article. The answer letter was appeared on 'Iskra', the organ of the Russian Social Democratic Party. This answer letter was appeared on 'Commoners' Newspaper', no. 37. August the International Congress of Socialist Party was held in Holland, and passed the resolution against the Russo-Japanese War. At this congress Sen Katayama, the Japanese delegate, and Plekhanov, the Russian Delegate, shaked hands, and both speeched.

1905
'Commoners' Newspaper' was abolished.
In May the May Day Tea Party at the Commoners' Collective. This tea party is the first of the May Day demonstration.
Sanshiro Ishikawa, Naoe Kinoshita, Isoo Abe and others published 'The New Era'.
Kojiro Nishikawa, Koken Yamaguchi and others published 'The Light'.
November Kotoku went to USA, and communicated with IWW, which influenced on Kotoku, the above-mentioned.
Iwasa, Oka and others formed the Japanese Social Revolutionary Party in America, and published their organ 'Revolution'.
(June IWW was founded.)

1906
Citizen Rally against raising fee of metropolitan streetcars, 21 demonstrators including Sakae Osugi, Nishikawa, Yamaguchi were arrested. The firtst of anarchists' demonstrations.
Osugi and others inaugurated the Japan Esperantist Association.
Kesson Kutsumi, 'Anarchism', 'A Study of Kropotkin'.
Roka Tokutomi travelled in Parestina, and went to Russia to meet with Tolstoy. This travel intensified his anti-war sentiment.
(CGL was formed in Italy).
(CGT declared the Amien Charter).

1907
January, Kotoku and others republished 'Commoners' Newspaper', but disrupted because of oppression by the authorities in April.
The great conflict in Ashio Cooper Mine, the martial law was proclaimed, and about 300 persons were arrested.
Tatsuo Mizunuma and others formed the Oyu-kai (trade union of typesetters of europian letters). In June 'the Osaka Commoners' Newspaper' was published, in November removed to Tokyo, and the title was changed as 'the Daily Commoners' Newspaper'.
The Osaka Printers' Union was formed, and seven hundred workers participated in strike.
Unpei Morichika, 'Principles of Socialism', 'Pillage of Working Power', and 'The Lectures on Wages'.
'Revolution' was prohibited to sell and captured.
Iwasa distributed an open letter to the Mikado.

1908
June the Red Flag Affairs. September typesetters of europian letters in Yokohama gained a victory in strike, amalgamated with the above.
Moor (tr. by. Osugi), 'All people of the world originate from the same root'.

1909
Kotoku started 'the Commoners' Review' in March, 'Libertarian Idea' in June, but both was abolished by the authorities.
Kropotkin (tr. by. Kotoku), 'The Conquest of Bread'.
(The Week of Blood in Barcelona).

1910
The Kotoku Affair outbroke.
(CNT in Spain was formed.)
(USI in Italy was formed.)

1911
In January Kotoku and his 11 comrades were executed.
Kotoku, 'Treatise on Erasing Christ' (published while he was in prison).
Unpei Morichika, 'Reminiscences on my past thirtis'.
Protest movements against the framed-up Kotoku Affair in European, Australia and American countries.
January many socialists in overseas countries protested abainst Kotoku's execution.

1912
October Osugi and Arahata started 'The Modern Thought', and stopped in September 1914.
Sanshiro Ishikawa, 'The Philosopher, Carpenter'.

1913
January Osugi and others started meetings under the auspices of the Modern Thought Group, in July the Study Meeting of Syndicalism.
Ishikawa went to France, kept company with the Reclus intimately and came back to Japan in 1920.
(the Revolutionary Syndicalist Congress in London).

1914
In October Osugi and others started 'the Commoners' Newspaper' (till March 1915).
Kesson Kutsumi, 'The Free Thought'.
Osugi, 'Struggles for Life'.
Ch, Dawin (tr. by. Osugi), 'The Origin of Species'.
Seitaro Watanabe and Kanezo Usukura published 'A Faint Light' (till May 1915).
(June anarchists rose with arms in Italy.)
(August antimilitarists of the world held the Zinmerwald Congress.)

1915
October Osugi restarted 'The Modern Thought'.
Seitaro Watanabe and Unosuke Hisaita started the Study of Meeting of Anarchism.
Hisaita published 'Laborer Youth'.
The Oyu-kai almost stopped action in behalf of financial difficulties and increase of unemployment.
Eroshenko came to Japan.

1916
April Kenji Kondo and Kanson Arahata published 'Labor Union'.
October Mizunuma and his 50 comrades reconstructed the Oyu-kai under the name of Shinyu-kai, next year developped into 150 comrades.
Osugi, 'Social Individualism', 'The Philosophy of Labor Movement'.

1917
Osugi and Kyutaro Wada started the Symposium on Labor Problems.
The May Day meeting at Kesaya Yamazaki's home at Tokyo, in which 30 from all sects of socialists attended.
Kropotkin (tr. by Osugi), 'Mutual Aid'.
Kozrov came to Japan.

1918
Denjiro Takeda and others started the Study Meeting on Socialism at Osaka, and Kanichi Yasutani at Kobe.
Tetsuji Ishii, Tadatsugu Yoshida and others formed the Preparing League for Labor Union at Yokohama.
January the number of members of the Sinyu-kai increased to 500, and developped into Printers' Union, which reached to 1,000 in March, and published their organ paper. But the Union decreased at the time of the Rice Riot.
February Osugi, Wada and Hisaeda published 'Laborers' Newspaper', but most of them were prohivited to sell.
The Symposium on Labor Problems by Osugi and Wada, and the Study Meeting for Anarchism by Hisaeda developped into the Hokufu-kai (the North Wind Circle).
Noe Itoh, 'Glory of Beggars'.
Osugi and Itoh, 'Two Revolutionists'.

1919
February Shinyu-kay were reorganized by 200 members.
March 300 Koreans formed the Kokuto-kai (the Black Waves Society).
The controversy between anarchists and bolshevists was intensified bitterly, and anarchists formed the Federation of Black Friends.
April the Kansai Laborers' Confederation was formed, and 'The Kansai Laborers' was published.
Iwaide Kinjiro published 'the Nippon Laborers Newspaper'.
July maker-ups of 15 newspaper companies formed the Kakushin-kai.

July Yasaburo Shimonaka formed the Keimei-kai (teachers' union), and published 'The Keimei'.
Osugi, Sakai, Arahata, Yamakawa, Yoshikawa and Hattori started the speech meeting for labor problems, but was oppressed by the authorities.
August the Lecture Meeting at Commoners' University was helf for a week.
October the Shinyu-kai went on strike at various districts, but defeated. Osugi, wada, Kondo and others formed the Labor Movement Collective, and published the first 'Labor Movement' (June 1920).
December Furukawa brothers and Watabiki formed the Seishin-kai, which was formerly the Kakushin-kai.
Osugi, 'Prison Memoirs'.
(the Holland Congress of WRI).

1920

March the May Day conference was held, May the first of the May Day Demonstration.
May the Confederation of Labor Union was formed.
August Kazuo Kato formed the Freemen's Federation.
September the Seishin-kai began to conflict, but was defeated.
December the Nippon Socialists Federation was formed, having 3,000 members.
Kropotkin (tr. by Osugi), 'Memoirs of a Revolutionist'.
Kanichi Nakamura, 'A View on Life by a Worker'.
Eiichi Nobushima, 'Recent Labor Movement in Europe and America'.
Osugi, 'A Study of Kropotkin'.
Osugi attended the Commintern Socialist Congress.

1921

January controverse between anarchists and bolshevists came to more bitter. Osugi published the second 'Labor Movement' (till July).
April Heibei Takao and others published 'Laborers'.
May the Nippon Socialist Federation was dismissed.
December Osugi, Wada, Kondo and others published the third 'Labor Movement' (till July 1923).
This year the bitter syndicalistic conflicts at various districts were developped.
Osugi, 'Prank', 'Heart pursuiting for Justice'.
Movements relieving Russian starvation in Tokyo and Osaka.
Yasaburo Shimonaka and Eiichi Nobushima interrupted S. Gompers, the secretary of AFL, to visit to Japan in co-operation with Haywood, a member of LWW.
Ishikawa revisited to Europe with Yuriko Mochizuki. Elise Reclus presented his library to Ishikawa.

1922

Kozou Kawai, Keiji Kuraji, Yunoshin Tanake, Daijiro Furuta and others formed the Guillotine Group.
Yasaburo Shimonaka published 'Labor Weekly'.

February the Traffic Laborers Union at West was formed in each civil traffic company around the Osaka Civil Traffic.
May the Arrangement Committee for the General Confederation of the National Trade Union was forwarded, September the Inaugural Congress was held at Osaka, and at last anarchists and bolshevists broke up.
Sanshiro Ishikawa, 'A History of Western Socialist Movement'.
Osugi and Mochizuki, 'Testing Essay and Satire Cartoon'.
Osugi, 'The Russian Revolution from the View Point of Anarchist', 'A Failure of the Revolution', 'Compete Works of Noe Itoh'.
Hajime Yoshida and others attended the Congress of Collonized Races in Moskow. Following them, Kuma Mizunuma, Heibei Takao and others went to Russia. They engaged in anti-war movements in Chita. Afterwards they all except Mizunuma turned into bolshivists.
(the reconstructed congress of AIT was held in Berlin.)

1923

May printers (the Shinyu-kai), newspaper printers (the Shoshin-kai) and other printers developped into the Federation of Printers' Trade Union.
September the Boku Retsu (Pak Yul) Affair, the Kameido Affair and the Amakasu Affair. After then revengeful terrorism against the military authority, which massacred Osugi, happened frequently.
December Yamaga, Wada, Kondo and others published the fourth 'Labor Movement'.
Kei Mochizuki and others formed the Union for Villagers' Movement, and published 'Tenant'.
Konishi, Bizen, Oda and others published 'Black'.
Osugi, 'A Story of Escaping from Japan', and 'The Autobioraphy'.
January Osugi escaped from Japan so as to attend the International Anarchist Congress at Berlin. He made a speech at the My Day Rally in the suburbs of Paris, and then arrested to imprison into the La Sante Prison.
July he was deported from France and came to Japan.

1924

February the Nippon Febian Society was formed (dissolved in 1925).
April Tetsu Nakahama attacked the president of the Kanebo Company and was arrested.
September Kyutaro Wada attacked the General, Fukuda and was arrested. Tetsu Nakahama to relieve but Shoichi Yamada and Takeo Konishi who tried to attack the Osaka Prison in order to relieve Nakahama were arrested.
Kokichi Takahashi visited China and met with Pa Chin.

1925

Military actions to subjugate anarchists were practiced at Otaru High Commerceial School, and movement against military action arosed at university or high commercial school nationally.

1926

January the Black Youth Federation was formed, and published 'the Black Youth' (April to February 1931).

May the National Free Federation of Labor Union was formed, and published 'the Free Federation Newspaper' (June to February 1935).

Yamaga communicated with 'Nobera Laboralist' (an Esperantist Organ).

AIT appealed international anti-war movements to world's workers.

May the National Free Federation of Trade Union dispatched several delegates to the Pan-Pacific Workers Congress at Han Kuo as observer.

The Black Federation developped movements for none-intervention to China.

Deirai Akagawa escaped from the military troops to visit to China. He made an action there, but was arrested in 1927.

December the National Free Federation of Trade Union and the Black Federation protested to the Italian Ambassador against Malatesta's imprisonment and oppression to workers. Protest bills were delivered in the nation wide.

(coal miners strike developped into the national general strike in England).

1927

January Kondo, Iwasa and others published the fifth 'Labor Movement'.

Sakutaro Iwasa, 'Thus Answer Anarchists'.

Foundation of the National Labors' University at Shang Hai, Ishikawa, Yamaga and Iwasa lectured at the University.

Factory workers at Shang Hai appealed objection against the Nippon imperialist invasion into China, and in response to this appeal Japanese anarchists adovocated anti-militarism and anti-armanents.

July and August the Free National Confedration of Trade Union and the Black Youth held the objection speech meeting in Tokyo against Sacco and Vanzetti's execution, and demonstrated to the American Embassy.

1928

March the National Free Federation divided.

Kropotkin (tr. by Shuzo Hatta), 'Ethics. Its Origin and Evolution', Such anarchist litterary jounals as 'Contradiction', 'Black Flag', 'The Black Litterature', 'The Twentieth Century' and so on.

'Complete Works of the Great Thought in the World' were published.

1929

November Sanshiro Ishikawa published 'Dynamic', and started the Elisee Reclus Group (till October 1934).

Ishikawa, 'A History of Socialism in Japan'.

Shuzo Hatta, 'Fallacy of Theory of Class Strugle', and 'Lectures on Social Problems in Villages'.

Jo Kubo, Eizo Koike, Shuya Nochi, Kaku Arai, Sanshiro Ishikawa, Sakutaro Iwasa and others edited and translated 'Complete Works of Peter Kropotkin' (vols. 12).

Jaque Reclus, who was the second child of Paul Reclus and a professor of Nan Chin University, came to Japan.

The Black Youth acted to help Mestor Machkno.

1930

Michael Bakunin (tr. by Hatta), 'God and State'.

Sonoji Shiino met with Elisee Reclus.

Jaque Reclus revisited Japan.

(the garrison guards rosed against the government in Spain).

1931

April hunger strikes in Nippon Senju Company.

Strikers kept indoors. After then hunger strikes were popular as dispute tactics.

October Tei Uemura, Tomisaburo Ono and others formed the Federation of Emancipated Culture, and published 'Emancipated Culture'.

Ko Miyazaki and others formed the Villagers Collective.

Sakutaro Iwasa, 'Fragments of a Revolutionist'.

1932

The Exihibition about a History of Anarchist Movement was held in Tokyo.

Ishikawa, 'Anarchism as Social Esthetics'.

Katsukiyo Yamaguchi and others published 'In Pursuit of Emancipation'.

1933

Ishikawa went to China to be deep in study on a history of Oriental Culture.

1934

January the National Free Federation of Trade Union, which had broken up, united again.

Naoe Kinoshita, 'God, Man, and Liberty'.

1935

October most members of Tokyo Printers' Union, the Federation of Emancipated Culture and the Villagers' Collective were arrested and the three organizations collapsed.

Yamaga Taiji, 'The Gospel of Time'.

1936

August Tokyo Printers' Union was reconstructed by 250 persons.

(July the Spanish Revolution broke out).

1937

Yamaga was active in communication with CNT.

May Jo Kubo escaped from Japan to support the

Revolution, could not go into Spain, remained in France.
He came home after the War.

1938
Tokyo Printers' Union dissolved, and the National Free Federation of Trade Union disappeared..

1939
Publishing of Ishikawa, 'The 100 Lectures on a History of Oriental Culture' was begun (till 1944).
Yamaga, 'The Universal Language, Lao Tse'.

1945
October at dispute in the Yomiuri News Company, struggles for workers' self-management were widened.
November Yamaga, who had been in Formosa since 1939, formed the Formosa Freemen's Society.
May the Emancipation Youth Union was formed, became youth sect of the Japan Anarchist Federation next year.

1946
May JAF was formed.
October the Nippon Trade Union Conference was formed.
Yamaga, a secretary of the International Sect of JAF, published the Esperanto edition of 'Commoners' Newspaper'.

1950
May the Anarcho-Syndicalist Group was formed.
October the JAF dissolved.

1951
The Anarchist Club was formed, and the JAF was reorganized.

1956
(the Hungarial Workers Revolution).

1960
Yamaga and Daidoji attended the World Congress of WRI in India.

1966
Augustin S. Miura started the Le Libertaire Group.
October the Committee of Direct Action for Anti-Vietnam War attacked some munitions factory.

1968
November the JAF dissolved.
Masamichi Osawa and others attended the International Anarchist Congress in Carara.

1969
December A.S. Miura started the monthly 'Le Libertaire'.

1976
Toshikazu Eto attended the World Esperantist Congress in Sweden.

DOCUMENTS

EDITORIAL NOTE

The object of the following documents, I have compiled and translated from Japanese, are to let the readers understand what the Japanese anarchist thought, what they wanted to realize in the authoritative society, particularly with the emperor institution. It is true to say that they borrowed the idea of anarchism from Kropotkin, Bakunin and Proudhon, yet their sentiments of rebellion against the opressors and absurditis were the same with those of other parts of the world. I am confident that the deep thought and lofty ideals of anarchism are alpha and omega of a human beings so Japanese anarchist philosophy and activities may help a revival of anarchism and contribute to a progress of social development. There is neither West nor East of anarchism and only a divergence in accordance with customs, languages and nationality. It is also our work to alleviate such difference. Kropotkin said "a man may pass, but the thought remains." I believe it remains until it is realized in our precious earth.

Yoshiharu Hashimoto

18 June 1978

PRELUDE

In September of 1868 the Meiji Restoration was accomplished, the new Government was founded at Tokyo and proclaimed a lot of decree to modernize Japan. The people astonished at first to see the productes of industry from Europe. Then they cried out "Bunmei Kaika" or "Flowering Civilization", and adopted manners and customs such as to eat beef, to drink milk, contrary to a taboo of Buddhism. After five years (1872) the rail road from Tokyo to Yokohama was constructed, the first trains passed through the line with a hoistle, while the main avenue at Ginza was decorated with gas lampes. Communication methods like telegraph, post system were imported. Hair style was changed from Samurai Mage into Danpatsu (hair cut) as the Chinese did for his pigtail. But it is the most important that the productive method will change the consciousness of the people, so the upper structures, for example, political institution, culture, manners, will be necessarily transformed. This predict by Karl Marx may true when we see the Industiral Revolution in England and its aftermath. Though it was also a historical fact that the European nations in the late 19th century had invaded to the Far East with productes and weapons for coercing a free trade. Kotoku criticized such conditions in his book "Imperialism, or a monster of 20th Century" (1904). So in this case, the consciousness of Japanese people was changed at the first place to modernize productive means, social institutions and political system in order to defend her mother country by adopting the same method of the West. Another word, the consiousness of national unity driven by the policy of "Fukoku Kyohei" literally "a rich nation with a strong armament" determined the means of production in Meiji Era. Farthermore if we admit a predication of Marx true, we can not solve a problem why the Japanese people admired the emperor who remained in Kyoto for 300-years during Tokugawa's regime and they welcomed the Restoration by calling it "Goisshin", yet they kept a hold of feudalism. In this sense Chyomin Nakae was right to say that everything came from above, not did from below in our country. This pattern of acceptance, did not changed at all in post war's democracy.

After some ten years of the Restoration, various shades of Socialism were interoduced by the literate class. The greatest effort of a socialist had been to regain his human rights for happiness of the greatest number of people. Equality was firtst, Liberty next. So the socialist including the anarchist fighted for anti-war movement, woman's emancipation to destroy feudalism, a protestation against polution and universal suffrage. Indeed, the history of anarchist movement was and is to obtain everything from below.

JIYU MINKEN UNDO (Liberal Civic Rights Movement 1874-1884)

This movement is important in consideration of the following points;

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

When the senator Taisuke Itagaki (1835-1914) resigned his post and returned to his native place having been defeated in the decision to beat Korea*[1], he was welcomved heartly by his friends, colleagues and relatives. For he had been assigned to be a representative of his native country, Tosa. Soon he founded Aikoju Sha (an association of patriotic men) gathering the youth to instruct them law, practical knowledge and Europian culture. The affair stirred young men's imagination. Similar associations appeared one after another 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 characters by himself and carried it through the streets together with his followers. Then they broke in a meeting hall of the Itagaki's antagonist and declared usefulness of civic rights and Liberty to the audience.

The movement started thus 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 Risshi Sha literally an association of ambitious men which took 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 loyality to the emperor called him back several times to the post of high official of the government. He utilized 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 has a right to participate the state affaires as far as he is due tax payer. This idea was deduced from

the theory of natural rights of men (Tenpu Jinken Setsu), that is, "Heaven does not put a man above or below his fellow men". The first object of the movement was to force the government to open the parliament. Related to this problem, 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 their 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 Dawinism was imported at this period in order to emphasize "the fittest i.e. the stronger has the right of survival". Thereby even among the Minkenka (activists of Civic Rights Movement) said openly that a Rikisha man and a groom had no right in public affairs, because they were to earn their daily bread and had no spare time to study and engage in political activity. In this context a governmental official was straight in his statement after they had rejected several times in acceptance of the petitioners, they cried out sternly and said that the people hadno 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 tennant 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 jounalist 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 (Hinjin 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 fulfil his duty and contribute to the society. Moreover the people has the right of resistance to their state when the state compelled them to unreasonable subjugation. He also persuaded the necessity of unity of poors to protect their rights against the state. In his youth he had an experience of confinement for two months in a prison owing to his anti-regime opinion. After his release he wrote an article to the press which proclaimed that Liberty is worth while to procure even sheding 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 Europian 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 Rights Movement found out its supporters among land owners in the countries and manufacturers in urban districts. Refering 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 authorities liquidated him after his short imprisonment fearing a discovery of its secrecy. Itagaki received a call of sympathy from the Mikado. This year was also memoriable for the Oriental Socialist Party which emerged in Chikuzen Shimabara with the nature of anarchist organization.

In order to appease a demand for national assembly, the Meiji government sponsered and took a hold of Chihokan Kaigi, the meeting participated by several governers in districts for an excuse of postoponement 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 collaboration 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 authorities. 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 propergation 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 authorities, 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 spred into the high society. The authorities 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 Rights movement. The Party dissolved in 1884. Then the ideaologues 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.

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I want to add some comment on the movement. In the course of this movement Samurai clan lost its influence gradually over the people, but survived to compose the bureaucracy around the new government. Moreover its ethical sentiments continued through the Meiji Era. Newly raised bourgeorgie consisted of the land owners and the industrialists could grasp a chance to partake in the state affairs. The idea of civic rights spred among the people, stirred an ambition of the youth and taught how to form a spontaneous movement. While its disadvantage was however it became possible to doubt the Mikado hierachy ideologically, loyality of the Minkenkas was so strong that they contented to serve for the Mikado. For the Meiji Restoration was fait achevé and they thought it a normal state to restore sovereign power to the Mikado which was usurpered by Tokugawa Syogunate for 300 years. Then how they compromised between the patriarchial tradition and individualism represented by Tenpu Jin Ken Setsu (the theory of the innate right of man)? At first utilitarianism which meant to effect maximum happiness for the people was acknowledged as a supremer duty of the state. Emori Ueki advocated this attitude. In this stage each one found his satisfaction by imaging that he was connected to the state directly. The Restoration 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 a new society. While the state had 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 did due to the opium war or a colony like Indea. It was usually called nationalism, but such sentiments were shared with even the Minkenka like Nakae. The state machinary utilized every thing. It used 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 feudaral period) and meritorious retainers like Itagaki was introduced with an excuse to assist the Mikado family. The ideal of the political body at this period was a constitutional monarchism, that is, the Mikado and the people cooperated to reign the state. But this became soon an illusion. Firstly having persecuted the Minkenkas, a suppression of speech and press and deportation of notable militants of Civic Rights movement from Tokyo by Hoanjyorei (Public Security Law) in 1887, the government began to fix a final draft of constitution consulting with German scholars 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 had successibly to tower over individuals provided with the state law and police forces without obtaining an agreement from the people about the Constitution. On the other hand, if the qualification of the electorate was limitted to the person payable 100 yens for a direct tax, then the qualified class would be the land owner and the industrialist, the governmental function would be easily distorted for the benefit of the bourgeorgie. In truth the movement of uni-

versal suffrage had its orign in this insufficient institution. Furthermore rank and file of Japanese society at this period, there were 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 had became 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 was that charity and compassion of the Mikado was so high like the mountain and so wide like the sea, the Mikado regarded the people as his own children, on the other side, they were expected to respect the Mikado like their own father (this intrugue is always used in the despotic monarchism as you find an example in Czuarism in Russia) and there was a Mikado in the nation as well as a master at home, etc. Though the master of a family (Kachyo) lost a sense of partiarch, 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 were 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 rights movement started in pallarel with formation of the state as the body politic, and contributed to destroy feudral ideologies such as loyality to one's lord, the caste system, but the other demand for equality caused a fear to newly raised governing class, therby it was subjected to "divide and rule" policy of the Meiji government through its life of ten year's.

Kotoku 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 declared openly influences of this movement. It may be said that insufficiency of civic rights movement related to the demand of equality induced socialism by invoking new elements such as Christianism, Communism and Anarchism in novel social setting. Indeed, it handed down the Ethos of the popular movement with its tragical experiences to that of socialism in Japan.

Note

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

**2 ··Rules of Liberal Party*

1. *Our party ought to propergate Liberty, protect people's rights, promote their happiness and reform the society.*
2. *Our Party ought to serve for the establishment of good constitutional policy.*
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 declared 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 was enacted in 1882.

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

The governer Tsūyō Mishima boasted to say "as far as I reighn the prefecture, an incendary, 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' imprisonmen 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 rights 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 robery, incendary and riot etc.*

*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 recomended the people to review it with utilization in the real world.

TOYO SHAKAI TO (The Oriental Socialist Party)

In 1882 a timber dealer Tokichi Talui founded a party named Toyo Shakai To in Hizen Shimabara (Nagasaki prefecture in Kyushu island). It is said that he was stimulated with activities of the populist in Russia, i.e., the nihilist terrorized Alexander II in 1881. So the preamble of the party proclaimed that Nihilism (Kyomu-Shyugi) was not a monopoly of European civilization, he could find it in Taoism, Buddhism, which enabled the people do what they wanted to do in a revolution. Thus chinese nihilism had continued for 2000 years. He compared an origin of the Oriental nihilism with European one and said that the nihilist party would emerge in the reality because of oppression of the civilized people with authoritative barbarism, and it was caused from an error of the institution which would be proved that such party was few in free

country, but abundant in monarchical country. Therefore the Russian emperor was a sacrifice by himself, not by a nihilist. Meanwhile he took a survey of the tendency in Japan, and was shocked to see many sympasizers and the friends of Russian nihilist. Thus he appealed to the people with the similar mentality to form a party. Yet he added an enigmatic excuse in his speech, "it is clear the nihilist party is a trouble maker to the society, I agree with you and have the same hatred as yours to the nihilist. The next step is to contrive a mean to destroy it without waiting its full bloom. Our nihilist party is still in its bud, then it is better to cut off a cause (a seed) after having it cultivated as far as a bud grows, for there is no bud without a seed or a cause." He might have took a precaution with a tactic of the Taoist, not to impact the authority, nevertheless formation of his party shocked the whole country with its name of socialism and its rules.

A Draft of Party Rules

Article 1 Our party sets rules with fraternal speech and deed.

Article 2 Our principle is equality among us.

Article 3 Our party aims to promote maximum welfare for the people.

Article 4 To reform the old custom and heredity of the rich and the poor, we carry out the following items.
1. Natural products shall be hold in common
2. To found a cooperative company
3. To set cooperative breeding of the children
4. Scientific reproduction (which means to propergate a scientific birth control)

Article 5 To solidify our organization and propergate our principles, we endeavour;
1. self-teaching
2. public speech
3. circulation of the paper and the organ
4. speech tour

Article 6 Nomination of our party shall be Toyo Shakai To

Article 7 The atmosphere of Oriental civilization makes us to fuse and forge our party, neither your strength nor my leadership has founded it, Moisture of our brains evaporated by illumination of Oriental civilization has responded each other and being condensed to a column of cloud which have a rain drop of virture of Equality fall over the society.----
The prince whom I serve is nothing but Morality, yet Morality can not reign over, for my conscience is Morality itself.----

The party rules would be compiled by each member, not bestowed from above, and there was no director or chief appointed, merely a clerk or a caretaker honoured with a name of his representative district.

The party was participated with 3000 members under influences of Civic Rights movement, but its characteristic was unique with laying its foundation on Morality. Therefore a christian anarchist Sanshiro Ishikawa praised the party as the first society of Anarchism in his Nippon Shakaishyugi Shi (The history of Japanese Socialism written by Ishikawa and coedited with Kotoku, appeared on the news paper, Heimin Shinbun of 1907).
Ishikawa said that "they (Talui and his comrades) had not read writtings of Marx and Engels, neither Bakunin, nor Kropotokin. They did not know or consider thoroughly about the biggest motive of modern workers movement, the first factor of economic organization. Thereby it is impossible to compare their movement with those of socialism and anarchism, but it promoted a step forward to Japanese Socialist movement like Weitling and Fichte who took initiatives of German socialist movement as well as Saint Simon and Fourie in France." The Oriental Socialist Party was suppresed and ordered to disorganize after two months of its appearance. In 1887 Talui became a parliamentarian but could not find a chance to realize his ideal in the political field though he had hold his opinion about National Bank System.
Refering to a book of Sogoro Tanaka "Toyo Shakai To", Talui acquainted with the meaning of socialism by a missionary at Hongkong and confirmed its nature as Spencerian socialism to refute Ishikawa' opinion. But Talui had an honour to have organized a party with spontaniety of the people and showed his hope of agrarian collectivism.
Etymologically a Japanese "Shakai-suru" is a verb to indicate "to gather", "to come together", while "Shakai" is a noun coined after a word of "Society", and it is an incredible story that Shakai shugi and a Shakai shugisha (Socialism and a Socialist) had been a taboo and a leper in the Japanese society as far as 1945!

Generally Socialism in those days was regarded to destroy private property and equality, to break the rank in the society, therefore it was intorelable for the despotic regime.

A CHICHIBU AFFAIR (1884)

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

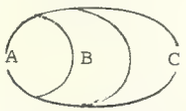
was chief work, silk raising, silk reeling and its fabrication were subsidary jobs for the farmer's wife from the Edo period. Then the State found out that silk would provide a tremendous income and contribute to modernization of the country. Within several years silk industry flourished in Chichibu, 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 states, furthermore government sponsered 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 Rights movement, represented by land owners and intellectuals nourished in Chinese classic literature, though they acquired some knowledge of Europian civilization. Their propaganda of Liberal Party was usually hold a meeting at a hall of the Buddist temple or a private home of the member. The open meeting was supervised by police men having a privilage to stop a public speech against the government. In a word, freedom of speech and publication were throughly suppresed by the authorities.

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 oppresive usuries, yet it enacted for convenience of land owners, pawn brokers. There was, for instance, KIRIGANE KASHI, which meant 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 Debters' 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 anually by 40 years, reduction of county tax and school expenditures. Ministary 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 insurection.
Another instructive point was that the official political party, i.e. Liberal Party did not concern, even surpress 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, in truth, several distric members including Tazoe participated, Kentaro Ooi, one of chief staffs 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, intelligentsia, 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 of 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 douted. His tactic of uprising was also optimistic, for he imagined Chichibu insurection would cause a disturbance among neigbouring peasants to take up their weapons, while he limitted 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 people. 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 privatelly 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 excabated houses of usueries, 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 weapons 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 a 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 like a swift wind or torrents.

On 2nd November, official staffes, police men, usuries were thoroughly chased out of the town, the revolutionary center was established. The county of without government was founded with a proclamation of the 1st year of Liberal Autonomy. An anouncement 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 prvent 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 suceeded 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 elaspe of 17 years of Meiji Restoration. The hieracy of government from top to bottom consisted of the former loafers, SAMURAIS 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 cried out the mob was composed of gamblers, idlers, beggars and peasants seduced by some out cast members of Liberal Party. While they sent the Imperial Guards, the gendarmes and troop of police provided with a 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 the 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 countries 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 accuse Tashiro' cowardice. Sporadic fightings were lasted for several days untill 9th of November. Some uprisers disappeared among mountains, others lost their lives. The lst 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.

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NAKAENISM - A Campaign for Enlightenment in Japan

Atsusuke Nakae was fundamentally a Rousseaunian added with ethical sensitivity of Confucianism. But Nakaenism (his theory was nominated thus by his disciple, Shusui Kôtoku, the first convinced anarchist) was typical in the respect of its atheism and scientific pragmatism. Here is cited his philosophical and political opinions extracted from his writings as follows.

> .... I say repeatedly that this limitless universe and everything have been naturally created by purifying the matter having another form and being transformed into everything rather than to be created one by one with a cause or a force. (to face to God)
>
> .... Soul is not immortal, flesh which is the body of soul compounding with several elements is immortal, however they are decomposed.
>
> That is, when Napoleon and Hôtaiko (who was a hero invaded in Korea) are dead, from elements composing their bodies, airy one is absorbed by a flying beast, while solid elements are solved with water under the ground and absorbed by a radish to be eaten by another man. But the elements do not perish at all, no matter how their locations may be changed. Thereby if a man dies, his 5 feet-body does decomposed, and scartered in pieces completely, while each element is immortal. Therefore when a man is dead, he can neither desire for the heaven, nor be afraid of the hell, and he cannot emerge again in this world by embodying a human form. The second generation of ours in this world is our children.
>
> God, whethere he is single or plural, does not exist from the beginning. In this world everything has neither beginning nor end, and which, I wonder, having some-form anyway before it shows as it is, has evolved and become the present features. Without interference with a dubious thing such as a god, the history of the world is constructed by separating and composing action of elements as if A transforms itself into B which follows C and continues such transformation limitlessly.
>
> (Zoku Ichinen Yuhan)

His political poinion was like Rousseau, i.e. he supported direct democracy, - He said "It is ideal that politics are discussed by the whole people. But when mechanism of the society becomes complex, the people should engage in their daily routine, so that

it is unavoidable to adopt parliamentarism. Though if it is limitless mandate, and a member of parliament betrays the electrorate, that is, the opinion of the mass, many people enjoy their political rights only in the nomination of voting rights, and they could not help to be a slave obeying the issues of the parliament from the term of election to next one. In this case, it is the same like a slave, whether the prople becomes a slave of the administrative official of the parliament. This cannot be tolerated by the people who treasures freedom above anything else .... if the MP are like as I have mentioned, the parliament does not represent the public opinion. On the contrary it becomes the meeting place of autocratic politicians and whole members of parliament are nothing but venomous serpents hutched in the pockets of the voters."

As a result, the people become "political soundsleepers" who do not concern politics or "the ethical innoncent criminal of pure heart yet violent activity" who is punished due to his direct action in defiance of the parliament. In another word, a voter who admits limitless mandate becomes an outsider of the political field, i.e. only the member of the parliament will be active while the voter passive, and thus voting rights become alike as if there is no such right. He concluded that "to entrust parliamentary right to an administrative official is the opinion of the autocratic politician, and when parliament monopolizes its right, it is according to the opinion of the man of limitless mandate, while parliamentary right is supervised by the people, it is the opinion of limit mandate. In short, the principle of limit mandate does properly conform to popularism". His ideal was direct democracy, but even if it could not help to adopt indirect democaracy, he advocated not only the superiority of legislative power to the administrative, and also the sovereignty of people to this legislative power.

His another interesting attitude related to this, though his thought could not surpass the fringe of parliamentalism, was a theme in similar to that of popular assembly. He offered a practical alternative as the following.

"Suppose, there is a voting district and 1,000 voters gather together, and provided with two or three meeting places for convenience of the district, and discuss about a political purport. In this meeting it is better to debate frankly among persons who have formerly engaged in various political party and renounced his factionalism, then to make this political meetings outside of ready-made political parties. If it does not carry out smoothly, however factions remain, anyway provide meeting places and discuss a political problem. In each meeting place, people express his opinion and listen to another man's opinion, then the discussion will be compared, debated, analyzed, congregated, added, cancelled, mended, described, erased, again described and erased. Thus after the lapse of 5

days, 10 days or a month, 20, 30, 40 or 50 refined programes will be surely brought out".

He believed that when such popular assembly were established, it would enable for the people to have a political power which stand up to the governmental administration as a logical result. Then Parliamentalism in Japan will be enraciné. He efforted to restore democracy for the people not to be imposed from above. (i.e. from the Meiji Government) by his satirical essays and polemics in his various editorials. But all was in vain. He was asserted to be a extremist in the political field and an excentric in his social life.

Recently his uniqueness is appreciated by several intellectuals. The case is somewhat similar to that of William Godwin in England. Though my intention to place him at the beginning of anarchist's history is that he was not only a unique philosopher of politics but, in fact, a spiritual father of Shusui Kotoku.

PERSONALITY OF ATSUSUKE (OR TOKUSUKE) NAKAE (1766-1901)

He had a pen name of Chiyomin which stood for a common man, a representative of millions people. He became a fonder of sake from his youth owing to the custom of his native place, Tosa, a southern part of Shikoku Island faced to the Pacific ocean, therefore his nature was a passionate, gay, optimistic, yet an idealist. He adhered to his mother and respected, on the other hand he loved to play with a cat for its ferocity and wickedness. In his adolescence he had a courage to borrow a fund of study from his senior. At the age of 24 (1871) he left for Paris to study law with the help of state grant. In those days the intellectual youth was dispatched for Europe and America to be disciplined in administrative institution, law, commerce etc., for behalf of modernization of Japan. He stayed in Lyons and visited London for a week. It might be possible he had witnessed Paris Commune, at least its results, but I can not find even an allusion of the event in his writtings. One reason of keeping his silence caused by the political climate of our country. For Koin Kido, a high official of government declared after a tour of Europe that "Japan is a country reigned by a Mikado more than a thousand years. She can not be a republic like France where political turmults reduce her national power. On the other hand, we must follow the example of Prussia achieved a unity of nation in favour of Fredrick the great, and her military institution shows its superiority to France". After returned from France (1874) he opened an institute of French language at his home, while being employed as a translator at the senate. During this period he translated "Social Contract" from

the original into Japanese which was circulated among the militants of Liveral Civic rights' movement. Having resigned his post owing to a collinsion of opinion with his senior, he was welcomed as a chief editor of Toyo Jiyu Shinbun founded by a nobility Kinmochi Saionji, who came from the family of Midado, and a friend of Nakae in his happy days of Paris. The government astonished to hear radical opinions of the press, then enraged about a young noble engaged in propergation of republicanism in the name of democracy. Soon having pettitioned to Mikado and obtained an Imperial order, the government forced Saionji to retire from the president of the press. The news paper ceased to issue and Nakae was out of his employment. He continued to teach French at the Institute ostensibly, but trained members of Liveral Party with his knowledge of European history and civilization. According to a spokesman of the Party, Nakae and his followers were regarded a section of the Party. He did not obtain a licence of regular membership, though cooperated with the executive of the Party, partly due to his human relation, for the leader of Liveral Civic rights Movement, Taisuke Itagaki, came from the same native place, Tosa, and the movement itself originated and flourished there. His knowledge in French and Chinese classics were tremendous, he coworked with the other in publication of a French-Japanese dictionary, then made a chinese version of 9 chapters of 1st part of Social Contract in 1882. He could easily cited phrases from Voltaire, Condorcet, Saint Pierre, Pascal. Denjiro Kotoku proved his master's knowledge of Chinese classics, as his usage of words in chinese style essays could be traced word by word into meanings of the original. Nakae did not participate in action of Liveral party. I can find out his short writtings in the history of Party. One was a petition for opening the parliament, the other a message to his comrade at the time of deportation from Tokyo due to Public Security Law in 1887. Some critic indicates a reason of inactivity of Nakae because of his role as a theorist. But this indication is doubtful, for he could always find a chance to satire weak points of the government in his jounalist activities and recommended democracy nuanced of republicanism. Rather his inactivity in a direct action should be attributed to quality of the Party. In truth, he criticized his comrades in his book San Suijin Keilin Mondo "A discussion of ideal politics by three drunkards" that they were inherited Samurai tradition and fond of an exercise of sword, horse riding, maneuver of lances. Furthermore republicanism was not accepted by the executive of Party, that is, the leader, Taisuke Itagaki was attracted by the double parliamentary system (upper and low) in England. He had acquainted with Victor Hugo in his tour in 1882, yet he was moved by Spencer type evolutionism, and supported political reformation by realization of the national assembly. Thus Nakae saw its political tendency clearly and adviced his diciple Kotoku to study English under the head master of French language! Yet Kotoku acquired French a little and could read novels of Anatol France to kill his time in confinement later.

He became a candidate for 1st national assembly in 1890. This general election was carried out after several years of preparations. Most representatives were selected from land owners, newly raised bourgeorgie, while the electorate was limitted due to tax payment. The Liveral Party succeeded in sending its members to Parliament. Nakae became a member of Parliament, but disappointed soon the debates and intrigues of a politician. He resigned his membership with an excuse of head disease owing to heavy drink of sake. He realized his republicanism or democracy was far from this parliamentary procedures. Then he wanted to earn much momey to propagate his ideal among the people. Nakae became a paper dealer in Hokkaido, a north island of Japan, went to and fro as an arbitrator of civic troubles. In Gunma Prefecture he worked in promotion to open a brothel with district members of Liveral Party. From a view point of Puritanism, his deed should be accused, in truth, a critic of the left wing to-day condemned him unplincipled or a radical of petit bourgeorgie. But he laughed at his opponents by excusing his own act as for satisfaction of sexual appetite of the country youth who could not get a marriage in lacking of fortune. As late as 1900 he entered in Kokumin Domei Kai (National League, its conservative nature was illustrated in the protection of national interests), this time Kotoku accused his master protruded in the organization of imperialists. Nakae replied that he wanted to fight back Russia (advancing southwards in those days, and that Russo-Japanese war was broken in 1904) and if we got a victory, it would be a chance for a Japanese to go abroad with a big ambition of founding an utopia besides in contribution to peace for the Far East, while were we beaten, its calamity would raise the people against the government or at any rate it would raise a moment for reformation of Japan.

Refering to a memoire of Kotoku who lived under the same roof of Nakae and often witnessed poverty, his master's books were sold to a second hand book shop and lacked daily bread except sake, yet the family life of Nakae with his wife and a male child, Ushikichi (later he worked for a Chinese Revolution) was not disaccord at all. Once the master asked his disciple to pawn his gold watch, but he found out merely its chain remained, then he laughed out by saying that it was better to deposit the chain in order to pair it with the watch. In 1898 he founded Kokumin To (National Party) by declaring not for a dog or a cat and an authoritative fool, every one, even a carpenter, a Rikisha man could get a membership on free charge. This advertisement stimulated the public, but no one came in participation.

His sense of reality surpassed the world of facts, he visioned a future, but did not forget time and place for its realization. On the other hand, his syllogism did not soar up high, however his dream roamed about in the realm of utopia, in this sense, he was a type of Chinese literary man, a realist. He supported evolution backed up historical meanings, yet his historicism lacked to effect

a dynamic action in a real world. For there was no sign to carry out his vision in future. Proletariat had not been grown up to understand him except intelligentsia like a Kotoku. He was a dualist in his thinking method, for instance, he defined several categories such as the element of philo-novelity and the element of philo-antiquity i.e. the person under 35 years of age is fond of novelity, while the older person clings to ancient manner or custom, then two kinds of democracy, democracy bestowed from above, democracy obtained by below. He also explained his world view by citing a phrase of Pascal "Center is everywhere, there is no periphery" as Proudhon loved to indicate his Anarchy.

He was tormented in his last days by developing a cancer of his throat and pronounced to live for half and a year. Then he wrote several essays entitled the term of living "Ichinen Yuhan (half and a year)" in 1901. The book hit a boom. In September of the same year he finished a second volume "Zoku Ichinen Yuhan". These two books were compiled and published by endeavour of Kotoku. On 13th December (1901) he died. His body was operated in accordance with a testament to serve for medical science. It is said that his brain was heavier than the ordinal one. Thus he returned to the earth as elements.

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SAN SUIJIN KEIRIN MONDO (The discussion of Ideal politics by three dunkards) by Atsusuke Nakae, published in 1887, an adaptation

The author treated the political idea in his days in a disguise of talk by three dundards. The reader may suppose it is not suitable putting a serious matter like a political article on the lips of drankards, but he took a precaution that his work would not have been banned under suppresion of speech and publication. In those days, any article treated about politics was published in underground edition, and to be sure, he was deported from Tokyo in the same year (1887) due to his activities as a Minkenka by Hoan Jyorei (the rules of Public Security). He removed to Osaka and became a chief editor of Shinonome Shinbun (the Journal of Daybreak) and strived for prevail of civic rights. Kotoku was also included in the banishment of 570 Minkenkas, whose experience taught him that the Meiji government was monopolized by several high officials in the name of Mikado, its power was arbitrarily

wielded over the militants of anti-regime by police forces, thus a future anarchist learned his antigoverment sentiment from the homeless and penyless condition.
The literary style of the book is like a "discour" of a French Roman of 18th century, but the phraseology is originated from Chinese classics, so it is rather difficult to grasp the real meanings of a word for word and fitted for reading aloud as a piece of fine composition.
Nakae maintained that there is no philosophy in Japan and a philosophy is a kind of decoration at Tokonoma, i.e., a decoration on the mantelpiece of the drawing room. Since Hegel any Westerner holds to an opinion of no philosophy in the Orient except the ethical conception. In another word, to treat a truth for a truth sake is only found in Greek philosophy which the European has inherited from the Greek. (see Edmund Hussel's Phenomenology and the crisis of philosophy). I know Thomism and Cartesian rationalism are in this contex. It is also true that we have no political theories like Hobbes and Jhon Lock, but Nakae's utopian story shows his rational faith grown up in the climate of the Orient.

"Nankai-sensei * has a taste of sake by nature, and he would like to discuss politics, too. But when he drinks one or two bottles, he feels pleasantly, while his consciousness floats in the air, his eyes glitter and his ears prick to a harmonious sound as if there were nothing to worry about. With more two or three bottles, his spirit rises to the highest, his inspiration comes out spontaneously and despite sitting in a room, his clairvoyance covers the whole world, then having ridden in the past and the future by each 1000 years instantly, he points out a course of the world and instructs how to do with the society. He thinks of himself, "I am a guiding wheel in the real world and the affair of human beings. While the so-called near sighted in politics is arbitrarily to use a compass, thereby he takes a ship dash on a rock or run ashore, thus he brings a calamity to him self as well as his fellow men." Though Nankai-sensei stays in this world, his mind climbs up the "Hakoya San" namely the mountain of UTOPIA, and roams about the country of NOWHERE, therefore his geography and history coincides with those of the reality merely in the spelling, not in entity. For in his geography, there are cold and warm countries in the climate, great and small ones, nations having civilized manner and barbarous one, on the other hand, in his history, there are peace and war, prosperity and downfall corresponded often to our geography and history. When he drinks another two or three bottles his ears rings, his eyes blind and he streches his arms and limbes so far as to fall unconsciousness. After two or three hours' deep slumber he becomes sober again, and there remains no trace of his speech and deed during his ivress (drunkenness), as if the possessed with a fox* has recovered to his consciousness. Indeed there

* Nankai Sensei: represent for his native place, Nankai means Southern Sea, while Sensei, a master.
* the possed with a fox: the possessed with a devil.

is always an acquaintance or a rumour monger who wants to hear the Sensei's curious political opinion, pays a visit to his home with a keg of sake and sakana*, then the guest toasts the host with several cup of sake and let him speak, by taking a caution of his heavy drunkenness, about the political affair. Sensei has reflected himself a little "before had I drunk heavily, I would put the important items down on sheets of paper, on another day I would pull them out, and add something, then compile them in a book form, which, indeed, would please me and my friends at the same time." Ai, Ai, he has responded so to himself.
The days have continued with misty rain, not for a chance to see the sun, which made Sensei feel gloomy. One day he has been already in a state of topsy with self service of sake, there two guests have visited him with a bottle of European brandy "KIN PU" namely "GOLDEN AX". Sensei has no acquaintanceship either of them, nor he know their name, but having seen the bottle of European brandy, his spirit becomes cheered up. One of the guests has weared the European costume from his head to foot, his eyes and nose are sharply shaped, his body is slim and behaviour is vigorous, while his speech is clear and defined, which seems that he (the guest) lives in the room of THEORY, perspirates the air of REASON and likes to go straight on the line of LOGIC by disdaining to follow a zigzag course of the reality, that is to say, he must be a philosopher. The other guest is tall, his arms are big, his face, pale and his eyes' sockets are deeply sunken. Judging from his Japanese costume with Kasurino kimono and Hakama (a pleated skirt) he is fond of a big adventure and fishing his fame with a bait of his own life, that is to say, he must be a man of Hero worship. After the formal greetings, they have toasted each other, Sensei calls the former, Yogaku-shinshi, a gentleman of European education and the latter, Goketsukun, "a man of Hero worship".

At first, Yogaku-shinshi states his opinion. He advocates European democracy, and expresses his doubt about wars among the nations based on three principles i.e. Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. He accuses such struggles caused from obtaining frivolous fames betraying morality, rules of economy and providing hundred millions of the regular army consummed their national incomes. He advices a course of a small country (alluded to Japan) that she ought to enter into the realm of Liberty and Fraternity having acquired morality and technology, then to become a country of philosopher by excavating the fortress, melting the canon, changing a battleship into a steamer and making a soldier to be a civilian, thus she will be an example for European nations which have not yet layed the foundations of democracy. This argument was directly opposed to the policy of the Meiji government, which had being promoted the national defence by the coast, and that the policy of the rich country with strong soldiers on a pretex of invasions by Western imperialism in the Orient. Yogaku-shinshi argues they

* sake and sakana: sake and a relief.

(the westerners) might have an original quality of civilization, however they can not follow it, and if we take it up and show the same foundations of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity with no armament and treat them with good will, they dare not invade us. For "however they want to kill the wind with a sharpest dager, the wind blows where it wants to go". He explains that the politician should be a disciple or a novice served for a god of Evolution and his duty is to open the road for the God. Because the God of Evolution does not care about the bush and the rock in his course, that is, He tramples on even the people who kill each other for the name of revolution. Yogaku-shinshi cites examples of the reigns of Charles the first and Louis XVI. In his view the evolution goes fast without a stopping, the evolution of art and learning which enlighten the people promotes a transformation of the institution. "Art, learning and the political theory are no less than the branch, leaves and fruits sproted from the same stock of knowledge". "Thus he defines three stages of political institution, i.e. Despotism, Constitutional monarchism and Democracy. He analysis the policical evolution with aboundant historical proofs and his comentes.

"There is no human being except the king and the aristocrat in the despotic country, and that the other million souls are nothing but automatons in deficiency of spirit. Whenever the people accumulate wealth with their toil and pain, the government exploits it without notice or deposit it as tax. It is robbery and there is no right of private property. ----------

In the constitutional monarchic coutry, there are a prince and five sorts of rank (it is a satir to the Meiji Government).
This is against the principle of Equality, but the prince knows the purport of Liberty, fixes a constitution and the national law to protect the rights of the people. There exists a little exploitation and the rank of nobility above the fellow men, therefore this institution is the half-reformed from a view of Evolution. --------
The constitutional monarchism is not so worse, but democracy is better. The constitutional monarchism is the spring which has frost and slight snow, while democracy is the summer without them. The former is like a wise man, the latter is a saint according to Chinese tradition while a Bosatsu (Bodhi-sattava) and a Nyorai (a Buddha) to Indian phraseology. The constitutional monarchism should be respected, but democracy is to be loved. The former is an inn for a traveler, you must leave it if you were not a lame or a weak, while the latter is your home which you certainly to feel at home after a long journey."

Then Yogaku-shinshi shows his vision of a democratic country;"Having established the institution of democracy, let each one have his dignity, excavate the fortress and disarm the armament to show no murderous motive, at the same time we do not accept the inter-

ference of the other countries. Let our country be a land of morality and learning in which existes a parliament in order not to split the brain of the country. And that allow the people have the rights of voting at the adult age regardless of the sex, the rich and the poverty except the idiot, the fool and the man of deficiency. From a governor to a village master they should be elected publicly not to flatter the administrator, while a lawyer and a judge should be also elected not to flatter the legislator. Let us found the school to educate the whole people without fee to make them a gentleman. Eliminating the death penality and the barbarous fetters by law and the protective tariff to break through the barrier of economic competation, let abolish the rules of speech, publication and assembly unless they do not corrupt the manner and invoke a tumult. Thus let the speaker have his freedom of tangue, the audience, his freedom of ears, the writer, his freedom of talent, the reader, his freedom of eyes (which means a freedom of reading any book) and the gatherers, a freedom of association. Such a thing is my platform.---"

Yogaku-shinshi proposes a plan of making a small country in Asia a laboratory for democracy, equality, morality and learning added with non-violence and non-resistance towards the foreign countries. For he believes that "a man should live with his own rights, not depending on the other----and making the whole people a kind of living morality for the future society."

(This opinion impacts us even now, for the Japanese constitution of the post war has proclaimed the similar doctorin, though it has been bestowed from the above or adviced by the occupation forces of U.S.A. in 1945. T.N.)

But Goketsu-kun (a man of Heroworship) has burst into laughter to hear non-violence and non-resistance. According to his knowledge of history, the civilized countries such as Sparta and Rome in the ancient, while England, France, Germany and Russia are, in the modern times, the countries of War.
"The war is a barometer of civilization.--the richest and the civilized have got usually a victory." and that the war is, for Goketsu-kun, a show to demonstrate his courage and a pasture for his fame. He does not analyses the nature of imperialism which is carried out by Kotoku in 1901 with his work "Imperialism, or a monster of 20th century" published at the same year of Nakae's death. On the contrary, he proposes to invade a big country in the neighbourhood (alluded to China) to leave a small country (Japan) or having handed her down to the minkenkas or the democrats. He wants to establish a country of despotic monarchy and accumulate the wealth to buy a fruit of civilization. Because "Rome can not be made in a day. Wealth and strength of England, France and Russia of today have been caused with many reasons and means. For instance, the wise king has reigned with benevolence, the good prime ministers have helped them in regulation of both foreign and do-

mestic affairs or the general has done a meritious achievement, or the scholar has anounced a perfect theory, the inventor has contrived a precious vessel, etc. While they have endeavoured to deposit the fruit in the peaceful time, and tried to conserve it in the war time. Then having it moistured with graceful rain and exposed it in the bright sun, once they have come to the open field from the alleys, the other time, they have entered in the slow current from the rapid one, then from right to left and vice versa, thus they have come to civilization with thousands and million pain and toil. How many years, months, knowledges, troubles, lives and materiales have been consummed? So if we want to participate in civilization to enjoy the fruit, there is no other method except to buy it with money. But the price of civilization is so high as a small country will be exhausted or compounded with the big country gradually.--"
Goketsu-kun's imperialism means to get money for purchase the fruit of civilization and that if a big country is weak in spite of her fertile land, it is better to make a use of it. The notion has been unhappily an analogous course of Japanese militarism since the Meiji era untill 1945. He analyzed a collinsion of civilization and its influence over the people.
"The inhabitants of the backward country should replace the former institution, culture, custom and sentiment. Thereby there comes out the element of philo-antiquity and that of philo-novelity, whose characters are indicated as follows;

The elements of philo-antiquity
(a conservative)

1. men who are above 30 years of age.
2. who regard every novel custom, manner, sentiment frivolous and feel a vomit to see or hear about a new mode of culture.
3. who estimate liberty as a capricious and heroic deed, while equality is an unfavourable thing to be chopped off with a hatchet.
4. who regard the law a strict learning and disdain economics a scholastic science.
5. who respect Danton and Robespierre. Marat and Saint Just might have been in this category around the Revolution.
6. who are not fond of any obstacle in the process of public affairs, etc.

The elements of philo-novelity
(a progressive)

1. men who are under 30 years of age.
2. who regard the ancient regime being corrupted with a bad smell, and seek for a new mode of culture without exhausion.
3. who estimate a theory, despise violence, promote industry and disarmament.
4. who affect for a theory of morality, law and economy, then

regard themselves the literate or the philosopher and respect Theier and Gradston.

6. who like to deliberate a plan not to be failed in their public affairs.

Goketsu-kun maintains an opinion that the elements of philo-antiquity become often a cancer of public affairs in the country, so that he would like to emigrate them in a new land to establish an utopian monarchy. (This design has been partly realized in Manchuria during 1930s in sacrificing of Chinese people, which has been contrary to a good intention of Nakae.)

Nankai-sensei has criticized each of them. He states that democracy of Yogaku-shinshi can not be realized without cooperation of the whole people, nor the policy of Goketsu kun can be effected without a despotic resolution of a prince or a minister. He has pointed out the common under current of each opinion has been inflicted with fear of imperialism of European states, but they have their own business, for instance, however the prince wants to invade a small country in the Far East, there is Parliament, and having not obtained a consent of the members of parliament, that is, an approval of the people, the prince can not enterprise an invasion. Furthermore he were lucky enough to get the consent, there would be also a public opinion over there raised by freedom of press, whereas it is difficult to cause a war against a foreign country with his own will. As for the God of Evolution, it is a name labelled on the course of history. He is affectionate, inconsistent and fond of debauchery, so you can not think that he is only favour for a progress and goodness. In Europe there are some countries to abolish death penality, which may be called his work, i.e. an evolution in Europe. But in Africa, there is a tribe of cannibalism which is also a kind of evolution. Therefore "if you declare that the god loves merely democracy, not for despotic monarchism, you are wrong. For do you think that there is no god of Evolution in Turkey and Persia? If you assert that the god prefers to cultivate a perfect virtue and has no taste in massacre, was there no god of Evolution when a general Kou had killed the war prisoners of Chyo dynasty by 400,000 in a ditch? The god prefers feudalism during the feudal period, the national isolation when the country has closed the door, and likes a foreign trade when the door is opened again----- (the imagery of this paragraph reminds me of "CANDIDE" of Voltaire who has accused Harmoney of Providence)

"But there is one thing that the god disdains, which we, especially the statemen ought to know. For when the stateman has misunderstood the object of hatred of the god, a calamity would be awful. An old literate like me has happenly written a book opposed to the will of the god of Evolution, such a book would not be sold out. If I had planed a treason, I would have been imprisoned for several years and executed. Though if the state man had enterprised

without knowing her intention, a thousand million people would be suffered. It is an awful thing! Then what does she hate for? It is that you may speak and do something without considering the proper time and place. My saying may be sounded a wrong. Whenever the stateman had established some institution without knowing the time and place, which brought a calamity to the million people, the scholar might point it out that it should have been so due to a cause of necessity. If it was due to a cause of necessity I agree, it is a work of the god of Evolution, not her repugnance.---then what is hatred for by the god? That is, you want to do which you should not do out of the time and place---" Nankai-sensei has joked with an addition that "in my view, the god of Evolution in Asia prefers the nobility than the common people-- but (he continued) the purpose of politics is to follow up the intention of the people and make them enjoy their happiness peacefully and keep interestes of welfare in accordance with their knowledge. If you establish the institution not follow the will of the people and against their knowledge, with what you make them enjoy happiness? ---the order of politic and the society is from despotism, constitutional monarchism and democracy respectively. If you enter into democracy from despotism abruptly, the brain of the people will be destroyed with an sudden change, for the image and thought of a king and the nobility have been submerged deeply in their consciousness. To be sure, a few people welcome the transformation as it follow up REASON, but the people are perprexed and raise a tumult---(Sensei has defined two sorts of Civic Liberty) Civic Liberty in England and France is the rights of restorative type, i.e. obtained from the below, while the other is the rights to be bestowed from the above. The quantity of restored rights can be determined with our own volition due to our own efforts. Meanwhile that of the bestowed rights can not be fixed with our own volition. Moreover it is against the order to change the bestowed rights into the restored one abruptly." In his view, the Japanese constitution of the Meiji era was the bestowed rights, so that he recommended the people to transform its nature as follows; "however the quantity of bestowed rights is small, its nature is not so differed to that of the obtained from the below, you must protect and keep it as well as cultivating it with the fertilizer of science and vitality of morality, then it will grows up gradually in accordance with advancement of the times and conditions of life until it will coordinate with the restored type rights. It is the principle of Evolution."

"Gentlemen! An idea is a seed and the brain is a field. When you appreciate the democratic idea, you may speak and write it to sow the seed in the brain of the people, which may sprout after 100 years in the nation. But now the bush and the flower of king and nobility have rooted deeply in the field, then is it not an error to expect the prosperity of democracy from a seed in your brain? Thereby the brain of the people is a store house of the past ideas, while an enterprise in the society is an issue of the past idea.

Therefore if you plan a new enterprise, you must sow the idea firstly in the brain of the people as a past idea. Because the enterprise is always to bring an effect in the present, but its idea has a root in the past.---Every achievement in the universe is no less than the effect of idea in the universe. The idea and the enterprise are mutually piled up and linked to draw a zigzag course, which is the so-called the universal history. The idea raises an enterprise and the enterprise produces an idea by vicissitudes, this is a course of the god of Evolution. He does not stay above the society, nor crouching or hiding under foot of the society, but he lives in the brain of the people. Thereby the god amalgamated (cooperated) with idea of the people makes a circular body. Gentlemen! Having respected an idea in your brain, if you have the people recognize it as a work of god of Evolution, it is as if you put a black dot on a canvas to make the spectators form a perfect arc. I think it is a kind of monopoly of idea, which the god does not appreciate, and the scholar should take necessary precautions. The times is a canvas, the idea is colour and enterprise is a drawing. We may say that the society of a generation is like a drawing. Gentlemen! If you want to draw a future picture on the present canvas with unprepared colour, it will be a work of the fool. But when you make exertions in colour of ideas, the flow of colour emerges spontaniously in the canvas of the society, then you draw a present enterprise on the present canvas with colour of past ideas, which will, to be sure, attract the eyes of the spectator and be a chief d'oeuvre superior than those of Rubens and Poussin.---"

To reply non-violence of Yogaku-shinshi and chauvinism of Goketsu-kun, Nankai-sensei cleared up his stand point.

Self-defence of Nankai-sensei

1. Expansion of armament ensues an equilibrium among the big nations.
2. The theory of world peace has no chance of its realization till now (which asserted Yogaku-shinshi' opinion about peace theory of Kant and Saint Pier but the more the nexus of morality prevails, the more violence losses its teritory, such a course is a progress. "Among four countries such as Prussia, France, England and Russia, if one of them were far stronger than the other three, she would violate with her caprice without regarding Universal law, but as it is now, there is equible among them, and that they are forced to keep the law, thus the small countries are spared to be annexed to the big country. Furthermore due to the complex of the state machinery and the will of mass of the people, it is impossible to enact a war unless considering the public opinion, the press and consensus of parliament, etc.
3. But despite such considerations, if the foreign country invades us, we defendes ourselves with a guerrilla war fare.

4. He held to the opinion against chauvinism and imperialism of Goketsu-kun. He said if there were a big country of impotence in our neighbourhood, we must make a relationship of brotherhood, and help each other in emergency. Moreover "the most of antagonism and hatred raise not from the substance but a false voice. Therefore when we investigates the reality, our doubt is usualy solved away, only a demagogy resultes in a crisis." Japan ought to negotiate with China with a good will to open a market, not to take up arms against her.
"The best foreign policy is to make a peace with any country, and as the last resort, we must take up a stratage of self-defence, yet we must strive to alleviate the expenditure and pains of the people with elimination of armament. Thus were we not contaminated with a disease of moribond, China would not have an antagonism towards us.--"

The last scene of the banquet was interrupted with a cockcrowing. The two guests took a leave. The host said "according to my calendar, you will find it out at your home that you have already passed here about three years!" Two guests smiled each other, and left his home. Within ten days, the book had been written. Meanwhile it was rumoured that Yogaku-shinshi went abroad to North America, and Goketsu-kun to Shanghai, but Nankai-sensei had remained to drink his sake every day.

This utopian story has personified three types of Japanese intelligentisia, i.e. Yogakushinshi (a gentleman of European education) is always alluded to Kotoku and Yuzabro Sakai, another disciple of Nakae, who helped his master in publishing a book "Rigakukogen" (the outline of philosophy) and also interoduced the meaning of May day, the tendency of Socialism in Europe, besides, he contributed a fund when Kotoku founded Heiminsha in 1903. Goketsu-kun stands for a Tairiku-ronin who wandered about Korea, Manchuria and China for his own fortune and fame, then embodyed in a nationalist while Nankai-sensei represents for a hermit of Chinese tradition. A political man, in a sense of Chinese tradition, is also a man of taste, who retires from the reality at the old age or a frustration of his political maneuver. I think, it is better to understand Nakae's fundermental thought with this Nakai-sensei believed in Taoism. This granted, it is easy to grasp his view of history. He admitted a progress, evolution and three stages of political transformation, yet it lacked dynamism which we can find in historical materialism. In another word, his nihilism does not emerge from the behind of the present, which passes to and corporated with the future with a name of necessity. Such an action is artificial, while Lao Tzu recommended "taking no action, having no desire and naturalness holding Tao." Of course as a modern enlighted thinker, Nakae was complex in his thought, but his ethical sensitivity was tranquil in Tao.

We can also discern a pattern of acceptance of European civiliza-

tion, which has brought repugnance and willingness among our people in a backward country of Far East. Japan has quested breathlessly for the fruit of civilization as far as to buy it with money. Yet scientific technology can not be attained without manual ability and practical knowledge of the people. Then it has been recommended to learn Jitsu gaku i.e. a practical knowledge of science and technology even from the government, which has resulted in a motto of WAKON YOSAI, namely to have a Japanese soul with a Western talent. In another sense, it proclaimed Japan has a special tradition, whose ethical and spiritual background can not be changed even with European civilization. Thus every products added with patentes and a technician, as occasion demands, including rail road, ship yards, textile factories, bank management, architecture, educational method and parliamental system had been imported. This process was admitted by Nankai-sensei theoretically as to buy the fruit of civilization. But now such naive attitude towards civilization can not be approved, for heavy industry including chemical productes cause pollution and environmental destruction, and yet there is always retardation to amend the environment, for the imported fruit is destinied to eat or processed for profit making without instructions, then Japan has now become a polluted country.

In spite of his great knowledge in democracy, Nankai-sensei remained as a constitutional monarchist in his political attitude in common with the author, Atsusuke Nakae. Really having been asked the meaning of socialism, he (Nakae) replied that he strived for Liberty, not for Socialism through his life. Though he was a revolt to the Hanbatsu Seifu (the government monopolized by lords and peers) and showed a great sympathy to the nihilists in Russia.

In my view, the qualification of a thinker is his ability of analysis, predication and identification to his contemporary world, and Nakae performed his role as a enlightened thinker. So we can find his intellectual maturity in this book. His rational faith and taste in Chinese classics were inherited by Kotoku.

THE ANARCHIST 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 intellectural 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 attornies had willingly provided for students who served as a servant, a secretary and a disciple and obtained a scholarship from their master. Its number seemed to boast the master's status in the society. And after apprenticeship, they made their debut in their master's social circle. So it might be said that it was a kind of hereditary custom of feudral hierachy.

In 1893 Shusui Kotoku entered in a "Jiŷu Shinbun Sha" literally "Liberal Press" with a recommendation of Nakae as a jounalist and left 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 memoire 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 as the anarchist. Its merits are his critical spirit, anti-authoritative activity and literal sense. Shusui Kotoku was one of the 1st grade literate especially in politics. He was also the 1st journalist who adopted and promoted a colloquial style in the news paper which were usually written in a mixed composition of Japanese and chinese phraseology. While demerits, he had started as a parliamentalist, Liberal-Civic 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, with what reason he converted into an anarchist. It is true that his conversion can be traced in its date and circumstance, and be explained as I depict soon enough in this story. But his subjective attitude toward anarchism is somewaht obscure. Beside this, his tragical death accused to be a criminal of "A high treason affair", one of greatest scandales of the Meiji Government, and first Martyrdom for the anarchists had added more pathetic spice to this anarchist than the others.

He changed his press office several times with the evolution of his 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", during those days he 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 introduced anarchism by dealing with it from ancient European thought to Prouhdon, Bakunin, Kropotkin and J. Most, yet some critic observed him an Individual anarchist withdrawing from an active life, i.e. it is said that according to his opinion, both anarchism & socialism are the remotest ideal, so that it is better to live outside of the actual world. In my observation Ketsuson Kusumi was influenced by F. Nietche & Stirner and prefered individual anarchism as an apogee of socialism.

On 8th October 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 of 1904 - 1905. In November of the same year, he issued a weekly paper titled "Heimin Shinbun (the paper for the common people)" with Sakai. This paper was first organ for the socialists, which attracted a lot of radical intellectuals, workers and contributed to the prevail of socialism, anarchism and marxism in Japan. A remarkable event which showed international solidiality 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, the 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 utomost".....
> .....We are not able to predict a victory or a defeat. But whatever its development might be, the war will result in hardship for the people, an increase of heavy tax and a 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 (a 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 nor forgotten the dogma of Christianism, but, indeed, due to an aggravation of economic competation 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 beadles 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 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 campaignes, 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 evolute into a new realm.

To tell the truth, the socialist assembly was suppressed by the authorities, but at the same time factionalism among the socialists appeared expricitly at this occassion and the christian socialists such as Sanshiro Ishikawa (whom I will refer to as a christian anarchist later on), Isoo Abe separated from the materialistic socialists like Kotoku and Sakai. The former published a monthly magazine "Shinkigen" (the New Era). On the other hand, in spite of ceasing of the Heimin Shinbun, the Heimin Sha remained for a while, so that Kotoku made an advantage of the monthly "Chokugen" (the Plain Talk), which was the organ for the consummer's union. Yet this magazine was prohibited in September and the Heimin Sha was also disperesed 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 of 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 a Chinese but a Hindhu of which religion was interoduced into China. Then he explained his conversion).....
> Indeed, I had gone (to Sugamo Prison) as a Marxcian Socialist and returned as a radical Anarchist. To propagate Anarchism in this country, however, it means the death or 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 of 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 confesion is declaired, 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 his 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 feudral 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 sponteniously 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 Prussian Social Democracy represented by Ferdianand

Lassalle. (According to R. Rocker in his Anarco-Sandycalism, Lassalle's activities directed toward welding the workers into a political party.) The tactics were 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 privilage 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 memorical day, August 4th, the great leader of anarchism, Michael Bakunin had grasped his golden opportunity to escape from Siberia and reached to the 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 plitical 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 businesses like transportation, supply for the army, banking, and so forth could not grow without 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 abyess 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 absorved into the authorized party) and an increase of properganda by 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 for a high school, a middle school and several primary schools 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. Bur in a transition of civilization from Confuciacism to European culture, it was needed to

transfuse new blood from the youth who would contibute to build up a new bureaucracy. Thus Japanese youth, graduated from the Imperial Universities in various disticts did nearly entered into the governmental services in every status. Even today Japanese intellectuals at the top level are apt to walk the same course. On the other hand, anti-authoritative militant do usualy 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 campaigne 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 nothern 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 a 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 indepence 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 occured. For even Lenine stayed in Paris during the time when the pernicious hand of Czarism had menanced 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 merge 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 Commrade: ..... 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 in the beginning of Russo-Japanese war and ceased with its peace treaty.

A socialist analysed its role, though he homaged its glory in the socialist movement, he complained that it was not yet the movement based on the proletariate, and could not surpass the sphere of radicalism and enlightenment of the interigentzia because of inmaturity 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 being welcomed with another anarchist Sakutaro 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. Frits, 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 of 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 Occean. He said that interests of both Japan & America would sooner or later crash in tradings of the Far East, and which would a trouble of feelings and result in a calamity. To prevent it, he warned that it should alleviate misunderstandings each othe by spreading socialism among the workers in both countries. But the Japanese Government did not grasp its meaning, far from it

earnestly pursued the trace of the anarchist and utillized the council at Barkley for his persecution. 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 to his audience with the title of "The current of revolutionary 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 was to carry out suffrage. 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, an alternation and abolition of some articles, without mentioning moral decay of the members. Such tacties 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 a 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 "Why I have changed my thought")

But it was his prearranged tactics. For Japan Socialist Party prepared a nation wide meeting for a campaign of universal suffrage by this time. So his revolutioary sandicalism impelled the socialists to commit either parliamentarism or a 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 Mr. Osugi is now under the trial of 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 Christianism 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 Chistianity in Japan was until now a history of horrible persecutions. The Japanese diplomats, howevere, 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 almot completed. I hope the daily will have a success. The Japanese Socialist Party consist, 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 inclied to take the tactics of Parliamentalism (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 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 revellions 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 nothing but a symbol of phallus. It is true that Christinity, especially protestantism imported from America in the Meiji Era 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 privilage class of Japan for her gesticultaion of Europeanized civilization towards Europe and America, if occassion 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 proletariate. Our party does decide the following rules under the present situations by conforming to our aims.

1. Our party awakens class conciousness of the workers and efforts their discipline and attain a unity.
2. Our party expresses a regret for the subjugation by the army towards the riot of Ashio copper miners and here confirms that it has been caused by serious failure of the Government.
3. Our party shows deep symapathy to various revolutionary activities over the world.
4. The following subjects are entrusted to a free decition for each member of the party.
   (A) To revise the peace law of police
   (B) A compaigne 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. Because the river was contamined with solution of sulfurious acid. Moreover, the case was famous for its indomitable leader, Shyozo Tanaka, and Kotoku wrote for him a draft of petition to the emperor with 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 parlismentary 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 propergated his direct action by citing the example of success of Ashio miners, that three days' strike shocked the previlage 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, indeed, issued several legislation for the workers, though it was nothing but the result of unity and pressure by convinced 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 occured due to a 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-Millitarists, General Strikers and even Terrorists.....

It seems that he again pressuposed 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 advocaters 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 Hiemin 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 plece 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 occured 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, Kanson 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 Kanno (wife of Arahata, later she became an illigal wife of Kotoku and induced him to a 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.

HOW I BECAME A SOCIALIST?

The Heiminshya (1903-1905) was operated mainly by two persons, that is, Kotoku and Sakai. According to Sakai's confession, Kotoku was an editor of the Heiminshinbun, in another word, the face toward the society, while he (Sakai) was a kitchen helper, in charge of financial problem. Flourishment of the press was during Russo-Japan War (1904-1905), because of its anti-war campaign. Further it obtained the support of young people with various shades of socialism throughout the country. Yet I can discern that a typical character was Protestantism, which denoted christian baptism was a gate on the road to European culture for the young in those days. So that before the propagnda by the deed was adopted, their policy of the movement was usually defined as "the Socialist's Evangelism."
The press set out a questionnaire to its subscribers in 1904 with the above mentioned title and obtained the following answers;

GUDO UCHIYAMA (1874-1911)

I am an evangelist of Buddhism, which teaches us that every common man has a property of Buddha, or lives under the law of Buddhism, there is neither highness nor lowness but equality, or every one is no less than His son etc. This is a golden saying for my faith, though I became a believer in socialism when I had found out the teaching of socialism compatible with that of Buddha.

Note; He was executed at the age of 37 as a criminal of High treason in 1911 with Kotoku and others. He was a priest of Zen Temple, Heirinji located at Hakone. He made a pamplet entitled Museifu Kyosan or Anarco-Communism in 1908 declaring a reason of poverty was exploitation by the capitalists. He said "there are many ticks sucking human blood, whose names are the emperor, the rich man and the land owner." The allusion of emperor offended the authorities.

SHUSUI KOTOKU (1871-1911)

Owing to my circumstances and reading (I became a socialist.) (I count) my circumstances as an admirer of the theory of Liberty

and Equality since my youth in Tosa, my native place, having a sympathy for my relatives and their miserable conditions after the Meiji Resotoration, I have felt inequality of my fate in lack of educational fund.
While of reading, (I am indebted to) the discourses of Mencius, the Revolutionary history in Europe, Sansuijin Keirin Mondo (A discourse of Ideal politics by three drunkards) by Chyomin Sensei, Social Problem, Prgress and Poverty by Henry George which instructed me to acquaint with enthusiastic democracy to have a deep interest in social problems, but (the most important was that I could declare myself a socialist) "A quintessence of Socialism" by Shaffle which I had read firstly about 6 or 7 years ago.

Note; ( ) is a translator's insertion.

TOSHIHIKO SAKAI (1870-1933)

At my rough youth, the first great thought that I had acquired was Confucianim. It followed Liberal Civic Right theory originated from Social Contract and French revolutionary history. The Imperial Diet was opened (1890) with a proclamation of the Constitution(1889); but neither notion of civic right, nor humanity and morality was realized. Thus Confucianim and French Englightement idea did not contribute at all (to our society).
My thought became confused with loyalism, Christianism, Dawinism and Utilitarianism, which sometimes harmonized, conflicted with each other (in my head), then led me into uneasiness. During my anxiety I listened to a slight novel sound of socialism, so that I stepped immediately towards it like a thirsty man for a spring. The first book I had read was "French and German Socialism" by Ilie. I got a knowledge of French revolution, that did not satisfy one's hope, and then socialism emerged forth. Here I found a streak of light. Under this light I examined my thought thoroughly. My confusion of thought was regulated with none of shade, darkness, entanglement, thus I attained a coherent idea. I believe my socialism is in its foundation consisted of civic right theory and Confucianism.

NAOE KINOSHITA (1869-1937)

In the beginning I learned law and believed it. But I had already some doubt of the dignity of law. Then I came accross a thought of God, which I had hitherto despised, and was satisfied. I became a geneous believer of brotherhood, yet theology did not explain a calamity of competative survival on the earth. Having

discovered a contradiction between heaven and earth, my mind could not be in rest. It was economy of socialism that enabled to comfort my restlessness. Aftermath whenever I opened the Bible, every question was dissolved in the personality of Christ and proved with his saying and deed, so I was astonished and satisfied. Therefore my faith is "Christianism". This is my reply to a questionnaire of how I became a socialist, with the present stand point and my future hope.

Note; He was a famous orator and a writer during Heiminsha movement. After the conspiracy incident of Kotoku, he left the camp of socialists and lived quietism.

ISŌ ABE (1865-1949)

At the age of 15, I entered in Doshishya College in Kyoto and became a Christian at 18. Since then I have been always inclined to a problem of the poor man's rescue. Even now I remember clearly that I had chose a theme of "Religion and Economy" as a graduate speech at Doshishya in 1884, which implied my declaration of a resolution that I wanted to save the society with a religion and economy. But I had no plain policy how to rescue the poor. After that I sought a method like a blind man for 7 or 8 years. In summer of 1892, during my solitary staying at a domitory of an American university, I had happenly read "A Society after 100 years, —Looking backward—" by Edward Bellamy. It was an inspiration to me. I felt the blind opening his eyes to look up the sky. Then I had continued to read several tens book of socialism at random. Thus my doubts had been dispelled and I made up my mind to do a salvation enterprise with socialism.

Note; He started his carrier of a Uniterian priest. Consulting with "Nihon Shyakai Shyugishi" written by Sanshiro Ishikawa (1903), as early as 1898, "Shyakai Shyugi Kenkyukai or Study Association of Socialism was raised among the Christians. They went on abroad to study Christianism, but having looked on the material side of the present society, they could not satisfy with a theology, they wanted to adopt to the material society with a spirit of a christian. At this moment, an evangelism of the socialist prevailed in Japan. And they came accross with the socialist progayanda and movement over there. Thus they felt a light in the darkness, they devoted entirely in research of socialism. Still a man like Tomoji Murai and Isō Abe became geneous socialists when they came back to Japan. And that Shyakai Shyugi Kenkyukai was founded by them." The members of the society included Sen Katayama and Shyusi Kotoku. Indeed the later started his carrier of a socialist from the society in November of 1898. But Abe retired from the movement after 1911, then appeared as a senior socialist in 1930s again.

This article appeared originally on Heimin Shinbun, No.16 dated 5 Feb., 1907. The air was filled with a dissension between the direct actionists and the advocators of parliamentalism, which partly caused by severe persecution of the Meiji Government.

WHY I HAVE CHANGED MY THOUGHT
- Of Universal Suffrage -*[1]

by Shyusui Kotoku

(1)

Let me confess frankly my thought. Related to a stratage and tactics of the Socialist movement, my thought has been changed a little since my imprisonment*[2] in the year before last, then being reviewed with a great deat at the occasion of my foreign tour*[3] of 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 disscused hotly this matter with Mr. Sakai*[4] a dozen times, and tried often to convey it to the other comrades. Furthermore a part of it has been appeared on the Hikari*[5], so there is a few comrade who know its development generally. But as far as now I can not find a proper organ and due to the difficulty of writing 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, that "universal suffrage and parliamentalism 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*[6], that is the reason why I have emphasized the effect of voting and efficiency of parliament. "If universal suffrage were 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 navie and simple idea.

When I consider the aspectes in detail, the so-called parliamen-

talism of to-day can not afford happiness for the mass people. From the beginning a member of parliament elected with an amalgam such as candidacy, militant and Sooshi activities, news paper scandales, intrigues, blackmail, an entertainment, buying votes and so on, can not be expected to have a serious conscience of the state and the people. However a proper person is chosen, he removes to a metropolis as a MP, "KYO wa KOKORO o utsusu" (a new abode makes one's conscience afresh), so a proverb says, then he is no longer a candidate, nor a representative of 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 limitted 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 the 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 explaine 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 (bourgeorgie) trampling upon the worker. According to P. Kropotkin in his "Wage System", the representative insitution has originated from a 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 bourgeortie, but also from the worker. In England 50 workers were elected in the last year. Yet you know, these workers having succeded to be the MP, lost the temper of worker, aquainted with the luxuary and delicious food, so that are they not severely criticized now? There are many clerks who serve to his shopkeeper, the attoney 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 compatinate only with his temporaly 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 a 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 in 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 popurality.

As far as the former Liberal Party*[7] 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 hold their forces, 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 feudral 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. Did not Mr. Milleran, a member of the French Socialist Party enter into the ministery 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 electroral 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 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 without 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 decides 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 feudral 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 have 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?*[8]

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 arises, 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 parliamentalism gains its forces, the more the revolutionary movement declines due to this reason. Among German Federations, in Saxony, Lubeck, and Humburg, the most flourished districts of socialism, the rights of election were subjected to hideous restriction, yet we have not been informed

with any resistance of the people, while they have beared it patiently. Mr. Bebel explained that it is natural to struggle at parliament as far as he could enjoy the electoral rights, and a direct action including a general strike should 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 consummed 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*[9] Social Democrats had not enducated any worker, but without doubt, they had striven for their work on one day ballot.

Of course the suffragist and the parliamentary politician demand a self conscience and the unity of worker. For however universal suffrage were carried out, they knew 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 elese 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 bourgeorgie. He ought to be satisfied with cloth and food. It may be an evagelic comement 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 consummed 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 many socialist parties in Europe have become tired of a meagle result of parliamental 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 "the conquest of bread"*[10], 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 discipline and the unity of the worker instead of cultivating parliamental 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 parliamentalism like this, I do not regard posession of electoral rights to be the worst, nor I am forcibly against reformation of the electoral 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 no more than that of a 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 universal suffrage, 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 competation of candicacy among our comrades to be worse, nor do I object to your activities of parliamentarism. Far from it, I feel a 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 competate a 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 workers more than a register of 1000 petitioners for universal suffrage, in order to achieve our purposes such as a 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! as 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.*[11]

Notes;

(1) 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 a demand of universal suffrage became an aim of socialist movement.

(2) He was imprisoned for 5 months due to an article "An appeal to school teachers" by Sanshiro Ishikawa, a christian anarchist and socialist.

(3) After his release he went abroad, visited his comrades in San Francisco and Seattle for 6 months.

(4) 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 the anarchist camp.

(5) The Hikari was edited by Kojiro Nishikawa and Koken Yamaguchi in 1905, a bemonthly 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 propergation of socialism. The magazine coexisted with another one Shinkigen (new epoch) edited by Ishikawa, Naoe Kinoshita and Isoo Abe.

(6) 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.

(7) Of Liberal Party, see "Jiyu Minken Undo".

(8) It alludes Ching-Japan war in 1894-1895.

(9) The reader may find a good explanation in B. Russell's book "German Scocial Democracy" riprinted by George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

(10) 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.

(11) Aftermath of this article and a 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 compromise faction led by Toshihiko Sakai, then continued their strifes

so that Sakai commented the event cinically in his article "Nihon Shakaishugi Undo ni okeru Museifushugi 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 up and whiped it towards the road to Communism". But this statement should be examined, for he boastly 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 it, 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 does.

TAIGYAKU JIKEN (A HIGH TREASON AFFAIR)

In Japan political terrolism is not a rare thing. Before the Restoration even a private revenge was honorable act for the Bushi clan. People applauded 47 Samurais who avenged themselves on a covetious high official for their lord after one year's hardships. Furthermore several insurrections were recorded against the Meiji Government for its rapid change of the society and unreasonable structure of hierarcy. But every time the government took a proper measure and utilized the occassion to increase its coercive power. Then why Kotoku's case shocked the people? Was there no example that the emperor was killed in the Japanese history? Of course there were some cases. Yet to explode the Mikado with a bomb was beyond the imagination of the people. Beside this, it was contrived by the socialists who would have been more cultivated in European thought than the common people.
According to the criminal law prior to the World War 2nd in Japan, it was condenmed to death or life imprisonment to contrive killing or injuring the Emperor or the Imperial family. This treatment was in accordance with inviolation of sovereignity. Whithout doubt, Kotoku knew it perfectly. I will explaine the truth of the plot and sketch out 4 main schemers in turn. Due to this conspiracy 24 anarchists and socialists were subjected to a trial and 12 among them were executed. It is said that the other 20 were not partaken in the plot except Takichi Miyashita, Tadao Nimura, Suga Kanno (a woman) and Rikisaku Furukawa.

Chief promoter, Takichi Miyashita was a machineman of a saw mill at Akeshina, Nagano Pref., 3 hour's train trip from Tokyo.
After his course of primary school he studied machinery himself and engaged in several shops. On January 1907 he acquainted with the daily Heimin Shinbun and on February he visited Kotoku. He explained to his prosecuter about his impression of socialism that the machiners were often subjected to injury or even death besides daily labouring, while the capitalists had been free from such dangers besides enjoying lixury, so he imagined it was due to injustice in this world. At first he consoled himself it caused by natural fate but after he red the said paper such injustice could be removed. Thereby it appealed him so much.
At 21st preliminary examination he confessed his resolution to hurm the Emperor. During 1907 he preached socialism to his fellow men and they agreed his opinion as far as concerning to governmental officials, but if his accussation was related to the Imperial family, they retained hereditary sentimentes and did not consent him at all. So he thought of the necessity to destroy the imperial family for the cause of socialism.

November 10th 1908, the Emperor was about to pass by train at Taifu Station, then he distributed pamphlets of Anarco-Communism and explained as before to the bystanders, but they did not listen to him at all. Moreover the peasants were congratulated this event without burthering a prohibition of working during the Emperor's passage. So he again considered that the countrymen had a superstition of the Imperial family. Therefore to carry out socialism it was necessary to make a bomb at first, and by throwing it to the High Majesty to presuade the people that he was a human being to bleed as well as we were.

From these experiences he schemed his plan. On June 1909 he procured 2 lb of sandarac through a friend under the pretext of using it for making steel from an iron ore. Then July or August he obtained 1 lb of chlorate of potash from a pharmacy. Again September, partaining by Niimura, he borrowed a muller for smashing sandarac from Niimura's friend. While he consulted his fellow marchine man, Yusuru Nitta (who was also condemed from this participation for 10 years) they made zinc coated 5 cans by approximately 2.38 in length x 1.19 in diameter. One of them was filled with explosives and pebbles and used for a test. Its explosive power was so amarzingly that Takichi was nearly blown down by a bomb blast. The test was succeeded, but its sound caused a fear for them. They fired 4 cans gradually in a boiler of the shop. Then he made two cans again basing on this experience.

November 31, 1909 he visited Heimin Sha and consulted practicability of a plan with Kotoku, Kan-no and Tadao Niimura. Further on New Year day, they had a kind of test of throwing with empty cans. But, this chance has been lost with much boasting talk. Really Kotoku was in hesitation due to his sickness and his denonciation of personal terrolism.

Though his followers continued and refined their plan more in details. For instance, in those days, according to a testimony by Niimura, they consulted together about their role, though a decision of first thrower of the bomb was postoponed because of their insistance. Tadao Niimura came from Nagano Pref. like Takich Miyashita. His conversion to socialism was caused to see misery of native folks due to Russo-Japanese War. So he acquainted with Kotoku and other socialists and studied various magazines issued by those comrades. His committment to the properganda by the deed was caused by suspention of his own magazine "Tohoku Hyron" (Review of Tohoku) and injustice of the police toward the red flag affair. Such events taught him that there was no other measure to protest the Government than restoring to physical power. For the government suppressed without mercy the socialist. Yet his participation in this crime induced his innocent elder brother Zenbei Niimura who had stood security for Takichi Miyashita in obtaining his job at the saw-mill and borrowing the muller for explosives into 8 year's imprisonment.

While Suga Kan-no who behaved like Sophy Perovskaya in the assassination of Alexander II. was a passionate woman. She and other comrades were pointed out by Kotoku that they wanted to carry out

their plan in every way in accordance with the book of Kindai Museifu Shugi i.e. Modern Anarchism by a professor, Kemuriyama. She lost her mother at 11 years old and grown up under gurdian-ship of the step-mother. At the age of 17, she got married with a merchant, but she could not satisfied with her circumstances and got divoced by making her father's illness a good excuse. At the age from 21 on she engaged in journalism but she confessed her educational back-ground was self-study except the primary course. When she moved to Heimin Sha, she helped the business by distributing the paper and pamphlets or perticipating in demonstration of the socialists. During this period she lived with Kanson Arahata and then she was kept in custody for the sake of her activities.

Truely the red flag affair mentioned above led her to take up an extreme action. Her indignation towards police linching acquainted her with inefficiency of mild campaign, rather she thought of revellion or assassination to stire consiousness of the people. She consulted with the other women comrades, but they usually abhorred, and were apt to withdraw from the actual movement with a bitter experience.

In such critical moment she met Takichi Miyashita at Heimin Sha. In replying to the prosecutor she declared that she had no malicious feeling to the Emperor in person, but at the present, the Emperor was anyway the head and fount of exploitation economically, various vices, politically and a superstition. Therefore she said of the nesessity to destroy the individual on such status. Furthermore she denied to have been the wife of Arahata, the socialist. But during the imprisonment of the latter owing to the red flag affair, she became intimated with Kotoku. By this time Kotoku divoced his wife for the reason that she would have been involved in his cause and such inconvenience would drag her brother-in-law, the judge, too. This excuse seems somewhat ridiculous, though even confirming the innocence of Kotoku's wife, she would be fairly accused to leave her husband in a state of physical weakness. On the other hand if Kotoku took an advantage of his divoce, the scandal of his love affair cost him so much. For their free-love caused a repulsion of the comrades. But a sensible man apoligized this affair that Suga Kan-no was left in the helpless state because of her tuberculosis and Kotoku and Kan-no assisted each other. The detail cannot be decided. A truth is that after the dissension from the friends of Scocial-Democrat Party he was inceasantly so chased by the authorities as he could not even earn his living with his pen, and he was eagerly to find an opportunity of propergating his opinion by deed. Some critic ascribed his commitment of the criminal consipacy to his advanced intestinal tuberculosis, but I refute this view point. He was too scholastic to do a crime. Under severe supervialance of police he was planning to write a treat on extermination of Christ and accepted to write a history of the age of civil wars at the request of a publisher. He was obscurely aware of a treason contrived by his followers and even meditated to obtain an information of how to make a bomb. But he did not committed.

May 25, 1910 Takichi Miyashita and Tadao Niimura were arrested by discovering 2 cans with explosive at the saw-mill, on 1st June, Kotoku was seized at Yugawara, a summer resort in the west, and 2 hours' trip by train from Tokyo. While Kan-no was only postoponed her detention for her publication to examine in this new crime. The authorities utilized this affair to the fullest in order to smash the socialist movement in its embryo. Other 22 innocent people were picked up at will over the whole country on a pretext of alight relation with Heimin Sha or Kotoku as an individual or even subscribing to the socialist pamphlets. Among them 3 buddhists and a doctor were included. On January 18th, 1911, 24 persons were condemned to death, but later half of them were really excuted. Related to this it is said that the Emperor decided by lot to show his mercy. Nototious attornies tried to appease their punishment worthy of the civilized country. But the politicians cooperated with prosecutors used a sylogism i.e. Anarco-Communism is a thought to admit a revolution by violence, and the revolution by violence resulted naturally in a terrolism, therefore the said Anarchism is a terrolism. Thus the direct action meaning of General Strike of the Workers was distorted to be a private assassin or a nihilists' terror deliverately by the Government and inspired the people with its horror. The truth has thoroughly been avered from the eyes of the people except some leak of its secret up to 1940s.
I extract here a letter of Unpei Morichika, who was deeply influenced by Kotoku and edited Ôsaka Heimin Shinbun in 1907 when the daily paper in Tokyo was suspended, to show innoncence of the accused in this political trial.

> .....Death penality! The decision was quite unexpected. You know the reason well, and be surprised. When I heared the sentence I was so taken aback that even a drop of tear did not fall. In fact, until that moment I imagined many things for the future in the expectation of my innocency, and indulged in beautiful dreams such as a hothouse, of which blue print for construction, a method of cultivation of strawberry, how to raise a fruit tree and grapes, what benifit would be bestowed to the peasants and how to prevail agricultural knowledge among the youth of villages. But those dreams vanished instantly with a sentence of death. I, as a criminal, shall be deprived of my life. But it is needless to argue about the decision. From the first I have believed my innocence. Therefore my death is not that of the martyr for the cause, but a death of a peasant who engaged in agricultural working after having retrired from social movement and was involved in a tragedy. It is somewhat regretable to die on the half way of the youth who has resolved to support his family and ease the mind of the parents .....

He was not an anarchist but a sympathizer-socialist. Though an evil hand of the state strangled the innocent mercilessly like

this instance at all times.
While Denjiro Kotoku apologized his conduct with his letter to the attornies in which he commented about anarchism vs terrorism, the nature of a revolution, the meaning of the direct action, policies of European states and Japan, Riot-Mob-Revellion and errors of hearings by the prosecuter. (See "A letter from Prison")
He insisted his direct action, but which was distorted to be a violent revolution and an act of violence. Then he commented a faulty written evidence by the prosecuters caused by a defect of legal system.
The decision was pronounced under severe guarding with 190 policemen and 56 gendarmes. After 6 days of the decision, execution of 12 prisoners was hurridly carried out.
It is said that the trial was designed to divert eyes of the people from an annexation of Korea to Japan in 1911.
Kotoku maintained his atheism inherited from Nakae to his last day and replied a prison chaplian that death is an inevitable result of the natural law and he could not believe joy and pain of his life in the other world. Again he said, for a materialist, death is like a stop of the pendulum which has swung to and fro up to that moment.
Thus a self-educated anarchist grown up in the atmosphere of French enlightenment sacrificed his life. He may be said a typical example to carry Rousseau's theory to its logical conclusions through a modified philosophy of Nakaenism in Japan.
Since then monarchic absolutism cooperated with militarism and Japanese spiritualism flourished, and persecution to the anarchists and socialists was increased day by day. So that it is usually called "the age of winter" among the intelligentsia.

Note: In post-war a survivor of the High Treason crime, Mr. Seima Sakamoto demanded a reexamination of the affair to Supreme Court, but it has been rejected with an excuse of insuffiency of new proof being worthy of to opening court on July 1967.

APOLOGIA OF KOTOKU

This translation is based on "Gokuchyu yori Boryoku Kakumei 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 of 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 of 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 authorites 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 1975 without obtaining a legal right of re-examination at court inspite of his appeal.

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 bētes 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.

A LETTER FROM PRISON

by Kotoku Shusui
at Tokyo Prison
December 18, 1910

To Isobe-sensei
Hanai-kun
Imamura-kun *

I.

I know all of you might have been persecuted with various means for our affair* as you have defenced of the traitors and the bandit, despite attending the court every day, spending your precious time and ignoring your own bussiness. When I take a consideration of your pains, damages, and troubles you have received from sur-

roundings, I have no word to express my regret. But I remember your sympathy bestowed to us and say a thousand thanks to you. In proceedings of the recent court, the saying of "Kotoku has provocated 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 whimscal 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 anrchist' 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 Chang 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 compulsion of the government 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. Kropotokin is a leader of the anarchists, and he might thought of him a rascal, but in truth, Kropotokin is a Russian prince, now an old man at his 69 years of age, at first having become a military man, then a 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 suspision 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 signatured with scholars of Britanica added with special notes of H. Spencer and Victor Hugo who were well known in Japan. Thus it is recognized the improtance of his post and a reputation as a scholar. On the other hand his persoality is so noble, his character, gentle and kind as he disdains any violence.

Again the late Elise Reclus, a French man who enjoyed the similar popurality like Kropotokin, 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 disdaining to eat meat and became a vegetarian. Indeed many anarchists in Europe are vegerarians. Then is it possible one who does not dare to kill a domestic animal feels a a pleasure of assassination?

Not only those scholars regarded to be the leader, but also the

workers of Anarchism, so far as I hve 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 assassign from the anarchists. But it does not mean the activist of Anarchism is without fail an assassign. Far from it, there are many assassigns originated not only from the anarchist, but also from the state socialist, the Republican, the Minkenka, the patriot, and the loyalist. Till now the assassign 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 adocators 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 over the world 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 tyrany of the rich, the miserable condition striken 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 governal officials have deviated from the right way of the state, or no other method to aleviate severe oppression for his movement, then he comits an assassination with his indignation. He is not inclined to take up an assasination as an aim and a mean from the beginning, but he is chased like a hare to such deed with his disposition and particular conditions. Accordingly when we consult with the history, the first step of violence is usually initiated by the governmental officials, the rich and the peer, while the militant and the worker would be provocated, 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 Alphonso, 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 occures a problem how to do the anarchist revolution, when you do not attack a sovereign with a bomb. The word of KAKUMEI has been coined after a chinese 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 suggestes a shift of sovereign or emperor, but our KAKUMEI is a 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 of feudalism, we can not allude such transformation as a revolution. On the other hand, ÔSEI ISHIN, the Restoration of Imperial Rule was a revolution in spite of the emperor institution. It does not mean whether the emperor or Satsuchyo (the leading political factions represented by Satsuma clan and Chyoshyu clan) took over the 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 intact or achieved by his hands, not through hands of the people. In another word, when we account for the revolution, it does not suggest that the sovereign A is replaced by the sovereign B, or a forceful individual or a group C takes out a political power from another person or a group D. On the contrary, it indicates a process of coming a new social organization followed by decay of the ancient regime at its apoge of decline and that it signifies a fullstop in the social evolution. Therefore, in its strict sense, the revolution occures spontaniously, neither individual, nor party can induce it. For example, none of a Kido, a Saigo or an Ookubo*initiated, but the feudral institution and class system founded at the beginning of Tokugawa Shogunate had become unable to accompany with the advancement of humanity and society during 300 years, manifested themselves a decay and a failure, so they were overthrown 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 20 years ealier 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 initiated a revolution. Indeed the genesis of a revolution 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 premediate 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 Oou 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 epock 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 become inevitable, after the feudral 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 a coming revolution is peaceful or warlike one.
Considering this evolution, we believe that after the decay of personal competation and private property institution, it follows a communistic one, 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 coerced.

Thus we can not predict under what conditions a revolution shall be realized and how it shall be achieved, but at any rate the participantes 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 old ages that it has not induced a few violence and the victim, but such collinsion has, in fact, provoked usually by the obstinage 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 funcy 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 revolutional movement, while there exists the movement which is to provoke a revolution and to cast a bomb.
The so-called revolutionary movement by the anarchist is not to induce a revolution immediately, nor it is a mutinous assult. 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 comming revolution. Thus publication of the news paper, the organ, writing and distribution of the books and leafletes, speech and meeting, all of them are utilized to explain a reason and a sequence of vicissitude of the tendency and the social evolution, thus cultivating 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 a capacity living in a commune either at the time or 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 provide a revolution.

It may be observed that the movement is useless, if the revolution had come spontaniously, but it is not true. Whenever the ancient regime 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 regime, 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 Empier 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 had prepared a new life, which induced a revolution instead of a catastrophe. Thus new France emerged forth. At the occasion of the revolution of Japanese Restoration, the preparation had been also provided before hand. That is a propergation 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 intiution that the Shyogunate by the Tokugawa family had become unfitted gradually with the life of Japanese people. Rather having perceived it directly, they prepared a revolution with conciousness or vague conciousness. At the downfall of Tokugawa family, they had already acquired sufficient knowledge and ideas not to be confused in the Restoration. Thus there was no collaspe, 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 lost 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 evolute 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 an innovation, 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 propergate new idea and new thought, in another word, a revolutionary movement is indispensable.

IV.

I was surprized to hear that a direct action was understood to be a synonium with a violent revolution and throwing a bomb under my examination both at prosecutor's office and preliminary court of inquiry. Chyokusetsu-kōdo is a Japanese equivalent to a Direct Action in English, which indicates generally a term used by the workers' movement in Europe. It is not a proper term of the anarchist, for the workers of the trade union consist of an anarchist, a socialist and a patriot. While the meaning is that the worker ought to do himself in virtue of promotion of his own advantage, as a whole, for the sake of the trade union, he must strive for his own with out relying on a slow moving of Parliament, nor indirect action with the interference of a parliamentarian,

but a direct action by the worker himself, that is,without choosing a representative, he wants merely to go forward. Now I explain it in practice. In stead of asking for Parliament to make a law of factory which improves the facilitaties or to regulate the worker negotiates directly with the owner, and if the latter had refused a negotiation, the former would push on a general strike, and for that reason, a direct action indicates often a general strike.

Another example. There is a disputant advocating expropriation of food from the rich man when the hungry workers lay on the street due to unusual economic crisis and panic. Then expropriation is also another method of a direct action.
Furthermore one holds to an opinion that it is better the trade union maneuvers every thing without waiting for a resolution nor a decree from Parliament at the time of revolution. This is also one of direct actions.

However one is favour of the theory of direct action, it can not be concluded that he supports everything not subjected to parliamentary procedures, neither it can be confused with a riot, a murder, robbery and even a fraud, as they do not go through Parliament. Partliamentes in Europe and America are almost all corrupted everywhere. It is true there is a few good ones, but they can not do anything with their opinion of minority. Therefore not depending on Parliament the worker wants to do it directly, and that is the theory of the trade union, i.e. a direct action does not suggest to do anything at any cost.

No matter how having dismissed the notion of parliamentalism and advocated a direct action, one militant restricts his activities to make a reduction of farm rent under the umbrella organization of Tenant Farmer's League. While the other worker wants it in favour of a general strike, thus the direct action is carried out with a different aim and method according to the person concerned and his conditions. Indeed, it is absurd to add one great accusation to our affair with understanding of direct action as a violent revolution and convincing us the direct actionistes.

V.

To take aside a truth and a motive of the affair for a while, as I have mentioned above, the anarchist does not approve of violence, nor anarchism is evangelism for violence. In Europe there is also a misunderstanding about it. To be sure, they culuminate and slunder it maliciously, but it is a rare case that they have persecuted the anarchist barbarously, having deprived and outraged all of his civic right, even his liberty of livelihood as it is done in Japan and Russia. In the civilized countries of Europe, the news paper and the leaflet are freely issued, while the meet-

ings take place without suppression. In France, there are 7 or 8 kinds of the anarchist weekly, on the other hand, in England, a country of monarchism and an allied with Japan, the organs in English, Russian and Jewish language are published. Furthermore P. Kropotkin stays in London and puts out his works freely, in fact, a book entitled "A calamity in Russia" has been issued last year by the Research Committee for the Russian Affair of British Parliament. Such a book as "the Conquest of Bread", which I have made a Japanese version, has been translated into English, German, Russian, Italian, and Spanish from the French original. Then it is estimated highly as a chiefs d'oeuvre, and it is only Japan and Russia among the civilized countries which have barbarously banned it.

Really there is a country proposed a suppression of anarchism as a danger with alliance, and I have heared a rumour of connection to Japan, but such proposal has been usually offered by Germany, Italy and Spain, whose intention is to persecute the anarchist at first then if any one revolts a little with indignation, they will take a measure of suppression immediately on the pretext of violence. Thus a suppressive treaty has often been proposed with the allied countries, but there is no chance of its enactment, for it is impossible to outrage freedom of one's thought, even though the world is so corrupted as it disguises in the skin of civilization. Particurally I want to mention it here that England, the allied country with Japan is against such proposal at any occassion.

VI.

I imagine the word of "Boryoku Kakumei" namely a violent revolution this time, has been invented with an arbitrary definition that a revolution can be invorked or performed at any time whenever you have acquired with a great arms and forces, or having judged from the oriental thought which shows a revolution as the replacement of sovereignity, and that all is a violent revolution such as a riot and a mutiny advocated by a revolutionary. But as I have mentioned before, you might understand the real sense of revolution, and it must be strictly distinguished between a riot and a revolution. I have not used a word of violent revolution as far as I have talked with Ôishi* and Matsuo (I wonder the mere opinion would be regarded a plan or a plot from a legal point of view, for I am not a lawyer) but so it has been contrived almost always by the prosecutor and the preliminary judge.

I have heared that Oishi stated "I have acquainted with Paris Commune from Kotoku." In truth, I might have cited an example from Paris Commune. Yet it is well known for a scholar of French culture like you, Isobe-sensei, that a tumult of Paris Commune was caused in 1871 after the French and Prussian war, and that the workers insurrected, occupied Paris city, controlled munincipal

government at their will for a moment, when the air was filled with panic striken due to humiliation of the peace treaty and hardness of livelihood. Even at that moment, the Government was at Versailles, not turned over, but the people established only a commune at Paris for a while, then it can not be alluded a revolution like those of 1795 and 1848, so the former is usually called "INSAREKSHON" that is, an insurrection, or a riot and a tumult.
At a public court Oishi stated, too, about the French Revolution, but I think, it was of this Paris Commune. He might have misunderstood the Commune like a revolution or made a slip of his tangue about it.*
Any way, the purport of my talk was that it was done so and so at Paris Commune, while we could not do so much but we wanted to clothe the poor folk warmly and to feed them enough even for a short period, yet I had no intention to carry it out immediately, only imagined that if the economic crisis and depression of to-day continued for three and five years, then the hungry people lay on the streets, it would be needed to rescue them even though committing such tumult.

As for this point you may grasp the meaning of my statement when you examine not only the last record but also through the first one.
For instance, around the hard times during Tenmei and Tenppo, it was inevitable and a self defence of the people to expropriate the goods from the rich as well as a terrorist revolted against political oppression. Then it is impossible to culcurate deeply the interestes whether the means are served for a future revolution. I believe, it does not serve for a revolution to raise a disturbance in a peaceful land without any cause, for which induces a vain sacrifice with destruction of property and lives of human beings. But when tyrany of the rich and the government come to the zenith, and the people are chased to the verge of ruin, it is profitabel for a future revolution to help them. Furthermore such deed can not be acheived with consulting to one's advantage, on the contrary, he raises beside himself with his emotion and pushed by circumstances.

It was a case of Chyusai Oshio that the rich made a corner in rice under covering of famine, the price of rich raised highly and thus the rich massacred the poor indirectly. It was impossible for the honest man to look on with indifference. According to a historian, the riot of Oshio damaged the dignity of Tokugawa government and accelerated the atmosphere of a revolution, but we are not sure that he had thought of it, neither we can affirm he had intended to invoke a nation wide revolution.*

Having judged from continious examinations, many defendates seems transfered to a public trial with an accusation that all of them "associated with Kotoku in a violent revolution". I have also been examined many a time with such word like the violent revolu-

tion under Preliminary Court, and I have endeavoured to make the word correct with difference between a revolution and a riot. They have declared the definition being nothing, but I think many defendantes have now been suffered from the very definition. As far as I understand, both the prosecutor and the judge of preliminary examination have spelled by talk "a violent revolution" and coined a hard phrase such as "a death defying person" then accused severely with a syrogism like "the revolution of Anarchism acknowledges elimination of the emperor's family. The plot of Kotoku is to carry out a revolution with violence. Therefore the associates with it are, to be sure, to commit a high treason."*

Thus I feel very sorry for them that my daily talk about the direct action and the revolutionary movement have involved them in the affair.

VII.

We, the anarchist, regard the tribunal and the law may not judge a human beings fairly, but I feel its truth and a danger when I have experienced it personally.
As for me, I am willingly resigned to my fates, so I do not like to chatter about it, but related to the advantage of the defendants, I want to suggest something.

Firstly the record made by the prosecutor can not be trusted. I have met the examination of the prosecutor several ten times, and being made to hear it two or three times at first, then I have been deprived of a chance to make a record at my presence, without mentioning to hear it. Subsequently I am instructed that the prosecutor has written the record so and so, and I have found it out "my own statement", in another word, the words which the prosecutor used with his imagination have been regarded my statement. I think the case is similar for many defendantes. But which the preliminary judge will be impressed with, the record of prosecutor or the statement of defendantes? It is indeed a dangerous thing. Moreover the method of examination of the prosecutor is usually to make a trap, or coerce a debate, therefore if you have no ability to look through a trick and argue with the prosecutor, the statement is made easily with his instructions. I can cite each proof about it, but now I do not enter into the detail. Yet having reminded of my personal experiences, I think the condition is worse for the youth who came from the country.* When I have heared the statement by Yoshio Ishimaki that he had listened "the plan of Miyashita from Gudo", as I had acquainted with it, I understood it a trap intended to seduce Gudo Uchiyama in this affair, for the manufacture of a bomb by Miyashita had been of late after the meeting of Gudo and Ishimaki, thereby such conversation had not existed. When the fact is so plain as this, it is easily cleared up, but any one can be traped with more skillful trick. For if

one is suggested that a person says so and so, he may think, it might have been, true, then the statement is shaped definitely from a dubious story and reversely it becomes a fetter for the fellow defendant. Thus I believe the record of the prosecutor is no less than falsification and misrepresentation besides a far-fetched interpretation, though I can not make it out without reading.

I have trusted in fairness and a caution of the preliminary judge. In spite of the other preliminary judges, the judge, Mr. Ushio examined my case, at least, seemed to investigate with fairness and a caution, which has satisfied myself. But however the judge is fair and cautious, it is impossible to make a perfect record under the present institution. Firstly the record is not made with short-hand, but the judge puts it down in a style of question and answer with his own understanding based on hearing of the defendant's statement, then some sentences are inserted and the other omitted. However the preliminary judge graspes real state of the defendant due to oral pleadings, the third person (the judge of a public trial) concludes from the mere words, then the latter's explanation will be differed largely from the former. Secondly it is difficulty to correct the record. The clerk makes us to hear the record, yet when our brains are tired of a long examination, we hardly try not to miss a word in a rapid reading, and it is impossible to discern whether it is right or wrong instantly. While thinking it over, the reading voice goes forward so far as we can not make it out the head or the tail. Thus if there are several or ten several wrongs it is only one to be corrected. Were he an illiterate, he could not find a proper word, then he seems not to argue the statement however it is distorted on a pretext of the same effect in phrasology. Even myself I could not follow every word with correction and left them as they were. Thirdly we regard the preliminary examination lightly as if the preparation for a public trial. We do not think each word and each sentence of oral pleadings shall be defined legally, and leave it till the trial beings. But this is our misunderstanding. Now it seems there is no other important record than that of preliminary examination, but many defendantes have missed a chance due to inexperiences of public trial. Thus it follows that the preliminary record has been compiled with carelessness. As for me I am accustomed a little to the language, and have the record correct comparatively, yet because of tiredness, I have left it to correct till the public trial. I think the defendantes did the same. The defect of the oral pleadings and the record are caused by not only a defect of institution, but also our inexperiences, so I dare not amended or proposed to indicate an error of my case. Yet I hope when you deal with those pitiable defendantes, please consider this point.

The above mentioned is the purport of my statement as your reference. My brain is tired with continuous trial these days, so I can not shape my thought systematically. Besides, my finger becomes frozen because of no heating in the cell, and I have lost my

pen holder thrice during my writing, and that I am afraid it is troublesome to grasp the meaning of my bad composition and penmanship. I ask you for your pardon.

If you consider there is something to be serviceable, please transfer this statement to the judge or the prosecutor.

In the afternoon, 18 Dec., 1910
at Tokyo Prison
by Denjiro Kotoku*

Notes:

Isobe-sensei, Hanai-kun, Imanura-kun---- All of them were the defence attorneys for Kotoku's affair. Sensei is a suffix for 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, fighted each other until Ieyasu Tokugawa established the Shyogunate at Edo (now Tokyo) in 1603 which continued as far as the Meigi Restoration in 1868.

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

Ookubo and Saigo---- They were representative meritorious retainers of the Meiji goverrment. 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 ethics was fairly inherited by the revolutionaries in those days.

Shyogitai---- In May 15 1868 the former retainers of Tokugawa shyogun rose in revolt because of discontent that the Edo castle was seized by the Kangun, i.e. Satsu-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

turbulant years before the Restoration, i.e. from 1864 to 1867, while the Kansei (1789-1800) were comparatively peaceful except an insurection of Aiinu which was oppresed 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 was, 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---- Kotoku's opinion is not true, a lot of Koreans even in those days had shed their blood for her independence, rather the Japanese government interfered the affair of Korea with an excuse of menance by the Ching dynasty. So ironically Kotoku's affair was treated the day before of an annexation of Korea to Japan in 1910 to divert the eyes of Japanese people.

Dr. Oishi and a talk about Paris Commune----- His real name was Seinosuke Oishi (1867-1999), born in Shingu, Wakayama Pref.. At his 18 years he got a baptism, entered in Doshisha English school. In 1890 he went to the U.S.A. to study medical science under difficulty. He got a certificate of medical doctor at Oregon university in 1895. Since then he worked in the field of medicine, while he changed his thought from Christianism to Socialism and sympathized with Anarchism because of friendship to Kotoku through Heimin Shinbun, but continued to live among the christians and bestowed a benevolence to the low class of people with his medical services. During August of 1908, Kotoku stayed at his home in route to Tokyo from Tosa, his native place, due to a notice of an arrest of his comrades in Akahata Affair. Doctor Oishi took a medical consultation of Kotoku, then held a meeting with him and his associates.

On 19 Dec. of the same year Oishi visited Heimin Sha, there Kotoku told him about Paris Commune. The content was merely a boasting one like "if I (Kotoku) had about 50 comrades, I would excavate ware houses of rice and a big department store to distribute rice and goods among the poor folk, then destroy the register office to nullify the existence of property and go to the double bridge of the palace (to appeal the emperor)". Note here his extreme intention was to appeal not to kill the emperor! Oish said nothing only reflecting Kotoku' illness and his poverty. But the talk was distorted into a joint conspiracy. Moreover one of ring conspirators, Tadao Niimura lived at Oish hospital as a pharmacist for 4 months. On 6 August 1909 Niimura bought 1 pound of hydro chloric natorium for the material of a bomb in the name of Oishi and sent it to Takichi Miyashita. Thus Oiishi was involved in the affair and executed at his age 45.
His connection to Kotoku was a sympathizer of anarchism and

contributed a fund and essays occassionally to Heimin Sha. His wellknown essay was a treat "On destruction of the Family", in which he advocated polygamy yet his own an honest monogamy, but due to this essay issued on "Jiyu Shiso", Free thought edited by Kotoku and Kanno during 1909 after desertion of the comrades because of their free love, both of them were charged by 70 yens relatively, the magazine was banned with No.2. Inability to pay the charge, Kanno was kept in custody, then the affair was discovered.

(Source; Oishi Seinosuke by Itoya Toshio 1971, Kakumei Densetsu, by Kiyoshi Jinzai)

The condition is worse for the youth came from the country----- The mass arrest for the affair was taken place in line of connection with Kotoku and subscribers of Heimin Shinbun from Wakayama Pref., Okayama Pref., Kumamoto Pref., and so on. Therefore many innocentes were detained not knowing what to do.

Gudo Uchiyama (1874-1911) ----- He was a convinced anarchist and a buddhist. His treat titled Museifu Kyosan, a literal version of Anarco Communism by Kroptkin dealt with clearing a cause of misery for the peasant. He insisted terrorism to the emperor family but no practical plan at all, yet he was executed due to his daily talk.

A case of Oshio Chyusai (1793-1841)----- As a disciple of Wan Yu Min, a Chinese Philosophical school, he maintained a theory and one's deed should be coincident. He was an officer of law at Osaka. During the famine period of Tenpo (1830-1841) he distributed his money among the urban poor folk, which he acquired by selling his books. In 1837 he revolted against muninicipal government at Osaka, destroyed the profit making merchant houses by fire, but his insurrection was surpressed after two days. His real intention is said to fortify Tokugawa feudal system, though the folk believed in his as a Yonaoshi Daimyojin, a god of reshaping the society.

(Source; Heihachiro Oshio by Ryoichi Okamoto, Sogenshya edition 1975)

A syllogism by the prosecutors----- A surprised coincident indications by Kotoku and Kanno about a syllogism utilized with authorities shows that the affair was almost all a framed one.

Fairness and caution of the judges----- It is said that the defendantes were previously decided to subject to execution as a warning to other, so the judges pretended to hear every pleadings from them, but it was not fairness when we think of the decision.

Denjiro Kotoku----- It was his real name, while Shusui was a pen name bestowed by Chyomin Nakae, which indicated as cool as

Autumn water or as sharp as a Japanese Katana, i.e. a sword. Indeed his satir was sharp like the point of a sword.
Suga Kanono had a pen name Yugetsu, which stood for a gloomy moon. It is said that Osugi prefered his pen name Shusui later, but found out his predecessor's so he gave it up and continued his real name Sakae Osgi through his life.

POEMS IN CHINESE CHARACTERS

From his youth Kotoku nurished himself in Chinese classics, particurally interested in poems of T'ang dynasty. His favorite authors were Li Po and Tu Fu. He made more than 147 poems after the style of Chinese poets.

A RED FLAG

The Emperor Han proclaimed a war with rage,
And dispatched his six divisions to the boundaries.
Beacon fires were made every year,
The young folk was recruited to the last soldier,
The old peasant died poor,
The children wailed over hunger.

It is a long time since public welfare has declined,
The bandit walks the street with a masterful air,
No one does check the progress of the times.

A student of Confucianism serves for his country with pen.
So he has drafted a plan to save it with tears.
Alas! A woe unto the innocent has come since the ancient time.
Yet a patriot does not preach for his own life.

The draft has invoked an anger of the authorities,
And the author has been put in a Kanshya,
Which rolled away to the north of a city.

Coldness of the jail situated in the north of a city is to cut the skin.
The clothes become like a stone, food is, too.
It is impossible to endure for a delicate constitution.
Soon the stomach and bowls are destroyed,
He groans with a dose of medicine.

In such condition the prisoner must depend on a lofty spirit,
Which is fortunatelly defiant and trimphant.
At a loss there appeares a road, or it is
Transformed with a zenith of times.
He does not complaint at all.

Then is there no warm day, nor joy of the created?
However a stone wall has the height of 10 feet,
There the spring breeze is blowing in,

There blossoms fall, a butterfly flitters,
A cuckoo sings as in the green mountains,
A rainy day is suitable for reading, a cool
Moon in the Midnight for making a poem,
Which eliminate the boundary between matter and self,
Thus he passes away his days of imprisonment.

When he counts his term, it is already 150 days.
He is out of servitude as well as off sick.
He looks like a ghost with skin and bones,
And it is funny he can smile at the gate.

Oh! You may bind his body and hands,
But you can not bind an animetion of millenious desire in chains.

By nature, a spirit moves in darkness,
A heart of human being is encouraged with it.
The critical moment is not so far,
A day of revolution can be expected.

Do you not see the black clouds gathered
Over Winter Palace in the dusk,
Then the Crown will be cut off and crushed in a dripping blood?

Do you not see
In the days of tyranny of Iron Chancellor,
The common people will hoist
A red flag over their heads?

Note; The poem appeared on Chyokugen (1905), the organ of the socialists after banning of Heimin Shinbun (the weekly). Kotoku was chained at Sugamo Prison for 150 days added with a penalty of 50 yens because of his anti-war campaign. So the poem allude's Russo-Japan War, the condition of the society, an approach of Russian revolution. Especially an image of crown crashing and dripping in blood shocked the authorities. A frame-up of conspiracy can be asserted with this poem. Kanshya is a police van. Iron Chancellor stands for Herr Von Bismarck (1815-1898), for he once wrote a biography of Ferdinand Lassalle (1825-1864).

20 LINES DEDICATED TO MR. JOHNSON OR AN AMERICAN COMRADE

Among the workers there is a man of virtue, whose name is Johnson.
In his sixties he had left from the noisy world,
Enjoys his honest poerty with an extince of interests.
Reads many books, having stepped into the ancient route, inquired to politics.
Though he was born in the West, not received a baptism of Christ,

But recites the teachings of Lao Tsu and be pleased with self-renunciation of Buddha.

However being separated by three thousand Li
Exchanged our greetings many times.
Neither chance to see, but our warm feelings could be communicated.
When he welcomed me at the pier, he rushed to me with pleasure
Like a relative, we called each other on day and night.

All of a sudden, the calamity disturbed our rejoicings,
Flame and fire roasted heaven and earth.
Prosperity seemed a day dream, ruinous ash darkened the sun.
It became hard to live and what village could I stay in?
Went to the north mountains, a monky laughed at me,
Went to the east, the waves rolled up.
Indeed the world became critical in strifes and annexations.

Our separation would be forever, I grieved it in secrecy.
Life is like a fanciful dream and the former rejoicings are now erased without any trace.
Sadly I stood at dinner table, said a prayer for his health.
We are tied in universal brotherhood, so do not lament for a separation.
An initiator knows perfectly that the universe has one dimension.

Note; He depicted the poem in his diary during his jurney in U.S.A. 1906. He met a comrade, Johnson, in San Francisco and there he had an experience of earthquake, which instructed him how the people assisted each other. Thus he got a notion of mutual aid in reality.

TO MY MOTHER

Though a dove coos for brightness,
The wood darkens in the twillight.

When she has heared a drop of rain,
Her spirit has sunken in melanchory.

Wind and rain, wind and rain
pass through my native place.

A septurgenarian woman sobs
Leaning on the gate.

Note; In a letter dated 10 November 1910 to his mother, Kotoku dedicated a poem to lessen her sorrow. Wind and rain means a chinese phrase of crisis.

FROM PRISON

For thirty years I have passed in reading books,
To-day I spend in vain supporting my sick body.

Through the high stone wall, I glimps a healthy bird flying
Through the iron window the cold wind blows in
I pity for a hungry fly.

My solitary life seems like staying at a temple in mountains,
Squatting in Zen fashion I wonder whether I am not a monk,
But pleased to find human feelings everywhere,
For me, even a jailer has become a friend of mine.

Note; In a letter dated 10 December 1910 to his wife Chiyoko from Ichigaya Prison, Kotoku depicted his sentiments. Squatting in Zen fashion, in another word, to sit on folded legs is a kind of punishment for humilation of a prisoner.

MY SENTIMENTS AT CELL

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

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,
Glory and Misery are dust in the air.

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

Note; 11 November 1910, he expressed his feelings in a poem delivered to his comrade Toshihiko Sakai.

FROM PRISON

Cease a debate for trivial merit or demerit
Spirits remain for a thousand years.

We have emerged and go away like this in the world,
Even a prisoner has learned to respect a life of common people.

Note; The poem is dated 18 January 1911, that Kotoku received a death sentence with other 24 comrades because of his conspiracy.

SHIDENO MICHIKUSA

- A Diary of Loitering on the Way to Death -

by Suga Kanno

The execution of Suga Kanno (1881-1911) was taken place on 25th January 1911. After 40 years her private diary which she had depicted since her death sentence in her cell (exactly from 18th to 24th Jan.) was found out. This translation is based on the arrangement by Kiyoshi Jinzai, who has compiled and edited "The Taigyaku Jiken Soshyo Kiroku" i.e. The Judical Record of High Treason Affair. The translator apologizes that owing to a colloquial style of Kanno, for she had wanted once to be an authoress and entered in the journalist circle, some sentences are difficult to be translated, especially several WAKA, a short poem written in 31 Japanese characters.
Even now her nature is somewhat distorted into a vamp or an imitator of a Russian woman revolutionary or a shallow woman having no idea but prefering a famous revolutionary like Kotoku instead of Kanson Arahata, an unknown youth in those days during his confinement, etc. But we must not forget that she was a first woman revolutionary sacrified her life in the name of Anarchism and at the same time a politically conscious woman in the Meiji Era.
Suga was lucky to have found out her identity of a revolutionary on the verge of her death.

On 18th January 1911, Cloudy.

I have percepted to be sentenced by death penalty, yet I have worried about my comrades day and night how many of them could be rescued, although my body has been carried away in a Kansha before noon.
I have seen police men wearing sabers on route of metropolis covered with soft beams of sun light through the window, which made me an anticipation of the result to-day. I have been anxious for opening court with burning patience.

The time has come. I have been escorted up to the ground floor, the 1st floor, then again to the gound floor, the Supreme Court.
Without mentioning the route, even in the court, guarding has been reinforced two times comparing to that of a public trial court. Furthermore attoneys, journalists and the attendantes were so crammed that the wide court seemed to be filled with the audience. I have felt a slight dizziness as I have had a rush of blood to the head

because of difficulty of breathing due to comming up and down, then suffocating with a stuffy court. Having calmed myself for a while, I have seen my comrade-defendantes, but they have showed their anxiety on their brows and kept silence, even being afraid to smile each other.

(Her WAKA, a poem was inserted here, yet erased afterward.

A sacrifice at 25 years of age
is placed before a herd of lion
showing claws and fangs.)

After a while, the judges have appeared from the right door in front of us. Death or life, the fate of 26 prisoners has been suspended before our eyes. They might have felt a thrill.

The clerk had read the names of defendant as usual, the chief judge, Mr. Tsuru opened his mouth with two or three instructions, then having moistured his throat with water from a cup, he read a long decision by postponning the main sentence.*
During his reading and my listening, I have felt a surge of anxiety spreading out in my heart, for, the distortion connected to the article 73rd has become intolerable, though I have been patient enough by praying even if a comrade would be lightened with his penalty. But alas! it has been all up with us. Besides 11 years of imprisonment of Niita and 8 years of Zenbei Niimura, the rest 24 comrades have been subjected to death sentence! To tell the truth, I had once imagined a decision what would have been, yet the examinations of previous trial were favourably carried on, which convinced me with a string of hope that the trial would have been put on fairly in comparison, but when I have heared the sentence, I felt the blood in my body caught a flame instantly with disappointment and indignation, while my weak flesh trembled. Oh! my poor friends and comrades! The most of them have been unhappily entangled into a scheme contrived by 5 or 6 persons.* Merely with our acquaintanceship they have been forced to be a martyr. As they have been the anarchists, so they must be cast into an abyss of death.
Oh! my poor friends and comrades! It was not merely I to be surprized, but also attoneys, jailers, even police men who had attended at the public trial on 16th January should have been astonished and understood the truth of the affair with this barbrous decision. A common feeling has spred on the faces of the audience, which cristalized into a cold smile of indignation on lips of the defendantes. They could not express neither word, nor voice. Oh! the supreme court! Fair decision! The Japanese Government! the civilized country in the Far East! Do it your savage, do your illigal massacre! You have already done in The Akahata Jiken (the Red Flag affair), so this barbarous decision is not unreasonable?
Remember my comrades and you, comrades over the world!
I wanted to comfort my comrades with a word. But I could not find

a proper word because of my rage, so I muttered only "an astonishing illegal trial". Then I have been put on an AMIGASA* all of sudden. Contrary to a shift of enterance, I was escorted to go out at first. I stood out. My friends and comrades whom I would have no chance to see each other hereinafter. Friends, who would go up to the gallows together. There might be friends who had a bitter feeling to us. Yet anyway they are my friends and comrade-defendantes attended at court together. Farewell, 25 persons!
25 sacrifices, farewell!
"I say SAYONARA all of you." Hardly I exclaimed.
"Yes, good-bye!"
"Good-bye!"
A deep voice chased up after my back. When I stepped out (5 or 6 steps--erased) the court, I heared "BANZAI". It might be that a passionate activist exclaimed "Anarchist Party forever!"*

As I went up first stone step, a voice of "KANNO-san" called me back. After a while, having arrived at Karikan*, my blood calmed gradually. I felt a slight shame of my rage. "That's barbarous trial!" It was nothing to be amarzed. Consulting with previous experiences, the decision was a matter of course. As there was such barbarous and savage authority, so we had become to contrive a conspiracy. However the procedures of examination were perfectly well, it was my fault to rescue my comrades by clinging to a mercy of authority, which I had denied already, even for a while. I was very sorry for my comrades with no word to apologize, but it was their fates from a view of the other side, too. As they were declaring themselves the MUSEIF SHYUGISHA, the Anarchists at ordinary times, they could find a reason of their sacrifice not worthless, or to comfort themselves, (so-- erased) it was better for them to resign--- I felt--- (yet I'm a weak human being-- erased) sorry--- very sorry (I was exasperated -- erased)

A KANSHYA arrived. I went out of the dark Karikan. They a face with blood shot eyes appeared from a small window of the front room of Karikan, Kyuhei Takeda called me "Sayonara!", I repeated "Sayonara!" and "Sayonara" was heared somewhere. With this small word we exchanged our thousand and million sentiments.

The Kansha rolled on toward Ichigaya receiving the light of evening sun slantingly, which I would never walk the streets of metropolis more.

****

Poems;

At last the day came,
On which I have received
A black arrow of Fates
Struck to my forehead.

****

Whether a long or short string of Fates,
I have pulled with my slender fingers
reaches at last to the end.

****

On 19th, January, Cloudy.

Last night I slept well, perhapes for my anxiety, I was angry about the illigal trial, and felt perfectly fine to-day in spite of the bad weather.
Asked the jailor to hand down several keepsakes such as a Haori made of Monhabutae* to Ma-bo*, a Hitoe made of Meisen to Yasko Hori*, Kuronanako scalf and a Awase made of Mosurin to Morikuni Yoshikawa*. While to three defence attoneys, Isobe, Hanai and Imamura, I wrote post cards each. Informed to them that I was surprized with such astonishing fair trial and noticed my keepsakes to Messers Sakai, Hori, and Yoshikawa relatively.
Received 5 copies of magazine from Kotoku, 3 from Mr. Yoshikawa with a thing sent in to a prisoner. Made an entry of the event of yesterday*, then exchanged a conversation with a guardman and passed a day. So I could not read even a page of magazine.
In the evening a buddhist chaplain Numanami visited my cell and told me that the comrade Mineo showed no anxiety by declaring a faith of a salvation through the benevolence of Amida Buddha since he had received his death sentence. And he recommended me to have a comfort from the religion. I replied I had no more mean to be satisfied as I was. I felt a slight irony (as a convinced anarchist-erased) to get tranquility by clinging to an Amida in a sudden when the anarchist, who was usually to deny authority, faced to his death. But considering his talk as a religionist and a chaplain, I admitted Mr. Numanami, while I had a resolution and my own comfort, too.

We are nothing but to have struck on a rock unfortunatelly, having rode in the tide of the world thought as a forerunner. Yet it is a step which one must sacrify himself. A new course is opened on the ruin of wreched ships. Thus we can reach to the other shore of Ideal. Christianity has become a world religion with million sacrifices since the appearance of Saint Nazarene. Then I think these sacrifices count for nothing.
What I declared at the last public examination remains always in my mind. Our sacrifices will not be worthless, I believe in there is something. Therefore I think that I can come up to the gallows with a dignity of my precious death and a beautiful comfort of my sacrifice for our cause, and I can die peacefully without anxiety, nor agony.

At night the director of Instruction Institute, Mr. Tanaka visited. I felt pleased to hear calmness of my comrades contrary to his

expectation. (this man did not advice me to have a comfort.---erased) and told me an anecdote of a death sentenced prisoner. I have consulted with him to make a laying coffin for me, for I do not like to let my coffin dig up by a patriot and cut my cadver in pieces, and hoped to have a clean death dress on such emergency. (If my hope is impossible I will ask for someone else or my acquaintance in the society--erased)
Mr. Tanaka gave me a leaflet "After rejoice" while Mr. Numanami let me have two leafletes "Tani Shyo" and "The outline of benevolence of a faith".

On 20th January, Snow.

During the night, the snow fell on the twigs of pine trees, the bare branches of Japanese cypresses, and covered the world in silver. We have had twice or thrice of snow since the new year's day, though it has been melted away with a thin layer. But the snow of to-day, it seems (a heavy snow, for it is emerged forth countlessly from the deepth of that ghastly pale cloud --erased) not to stop for a long time. It snows by one Shyaku (about 33 cm), two Shyaku, fall, fall the snow flakes! Lay and lay the snow flakes, cover Tokyo, this Sodom with snow like burying her in ashe, let her be a layer of the earth!

What are they thinking about, my male defendantes confined opposite to that of the wall? What are their sentiments to see the snow through 3 Jaku (1 m) iron window?
(The snow! it remindes me of many things--erased)
(the snow at a villa which I had seen with my deceased mother. The snow at Arima where I had played together with my father and step mother, the snow at Sumiyoshi where I had spent a day talking with my elder brother and a sister--erased)
(the snow at Arima, the snow at Hakone, the snow at Sumiyoshi, the snow at Arashiyama, the snow at Aogiyahama, the snow at Kashiwagi, the snow at Sugamo, the snow at Sendagaya, then the snow at Kamakura and Yugawara--erased)
(In this snow of my memory, many loves and friendes were buried as they were together with departed ones, and when I see it falling diligently, a kind of emortion with amusement and sorrow, which can not be depicted with a simile, has surged up my heart silently with association of my memories of the past years, and convinced me to see the same heaven with my different sentiments. --erased)
The snow! It remindes me of many things. When I gazes at its graceful figure intently through the iron window, there appeares an association of memories of the past years which I have looked up the same sky with my different sentiments, and a kind of emortion surges up in my mind silently.
In my memory of the snow, various figures such as sorrowful and pleasant events, the beloved yet departed ones, my love and friends

have been weaved by woof, while gladness and sorrow by warp with bright pink color, no with crimson, with light blue and gray as they were--erased)
I have longed for them, but it is useless. They have galoped into the past already. My situation which I can not predict tomorrow does not allow me to enjoy my memories, however I have a leisure time, it is precious to me. I must read, write and think for the present, so my mind is stirred awufully. I wonder how I am so excited. Is it a reason why many books are accumulated before my presence? Is it that I can not see a person to do for me? Or no testament to my younger brother? They say I have passed busily by doing something as usual, yet my work does not advance at all. Well, I decide I will leave it as far as I can do, (there is nothing to worry about if it is left as it is.--erased)
I received a post card from Sakai-san three days ago. He said; "I have seen your letter dated 4th. I hope you will write your prison diary (plainly--erased) courageously as possible as you can do it. It is wonderful thing that you have continued to learn English. They say there is a duty when you live a day. It is our fates to die even tomorrow, but I study German or French little by little with my whim. I think it is better to learn any language than to kill time with a hobby of Japanese GO. If I were to live as far as my 60 year, it will be merely 16 years in future, while I am not sure, yours will be some ten days or several monthes. But comparing both yours and mine to those of length and (largeness--erased) of the universe, they are for an instant. Yet is it not a wonderful thing to exchange with this nonsence?"
Yes, he is nonchalant. I have started to learn English consulting with a dictionary since Sept., last year and irritated to master it a little. But I have not advanced to my expectation. Now I am on one third of 5th Reader (as I have no experience of systematic study--erased). It is natural that I can not catch up a learned man, however I have studied myself in hardship (of my miserable past--erased) as far as I can read a magazine with much difficulty. Above all I have usually tortured myself with a lack of linguistic knowledge. So I have determined to learn it twice or thrice, but because of an accident such as illness and anything else, I have been interrupted untill to-day.
One thing is due to my lack of fortitude to overcome the accident with courage, the other is caused with my worse circumstances. Therefore this time I have resolved to learn English from 3rd Reader with an aim to read an easy story till my execution since the middle of September, but there is left a few day-- I am not sure about the fixed day--then it is regretable that I will not become proficient in English (at any rate--erased)
As for my diary, I will put down everything despite a suggestion of Sakai-san, rejecting any false and vanity, and depict a naked Suga-ko Kanno.
(Selected TANKA, short poems from my previous diary--erased)

In the limitless time and space,
Why the smallest beings
Struggle each other?

****

Born in the smallest country,
sacrified my life,
to the smallest hope.

****

I know an abyss
of an thousand deepth,
Yet I stride on
without reflection.

****

In the amid of burned out ash,
there remains a thin smoke
of my abashed love.
(an allusion to Kotoku)

****

Am I a strong revolutionary child
Or a weeping one?
I reflect it myself.

****

You need not worry about a seed
fallen in the field,
Wait till Spring time
With a favourable East wind.

****

I have seen a pale face twice
through three holes of AMIGASA,
in going and coming of court.
(an allusion to Kotoku)

****

My eyes asked for a pardon,
but they were icy
like the Northern Sea.

****

I remember the day

buried my 22nd year,
And wept by cutting off
a string of violin.

****

I smile at my unfinished life,
Thinking of my last day.

****

In the evening, received a card from Sakai-san, letters from Tameko-san, Yoshikawa-san and Mr. Komataro Kotoku. Wanted to reply, but stopped with irresolution.

When I read my diary again, I have found it incoherent, speaking nonsense, I want to stop it wholly?

On 21st January, Fine.

The morning sun brightened the snow on the branches of pine trees like a picture of Okyo Maruyama*, which was beyond my description. Heared that the first order was a vicarious writting of a graduation thesis for a high school girl client when Sakai-san founded the Baibun-sha. It showed an aspect of current society and funny yet shameful one. Tameko-san was said to attend at a maternity school. I was impressed with her courage to study osterics at her 40s and at the same time it was a wonderful thing that Sakai-san let his wife have her independence and self support despite his personal inconvenience. It was an event which any one else could not imitate him.
(he is a scholar of Feminism, so it is not unexpected--erased)
Kotoku's mother (as it is said--erased) was dead after only 10 days in her bed with pneuomonia from maralial fever. She would have met me when she visited Kotoku in November, but (it is also said--erased) for the sake of her modesty towards Chiyo-san, went home without notice to me.
(To-day--erased) Though Kotoku and I had broken off our relations, we had once called each "mother and daughter" then why she (Kotoku's mother) dared not visit me while she had been often up in Tokyo? I felt her cruelty and complained it. But heared from Komataro-san yesterday and Tameko-san informed me.
"At that occassion (she) was nervous and talked about you many things to me. Then having wrapped an album, photoes of yours, her own and so on with a Furoshiki* carefully, she went home. etc."
A letter of Takeo-san, a niece of Kotoku said,
"My ground mother in her living often talked about the aunt who was so kind and generous. The other day my ground mother had come up Tokyo, but she was unable to call on you in great haste and regreted to miss a chance of seeing you--)

I was sorry for her as I had a complain towards her, (for her gentle nature impressed me so much--erased) Had broken off relations with Kotoku, she was still a beloved person (so I regarded her precious to me--erased) It was a short period that we had been a mother and a daughter, then parted each other forever. Yet she encouraged me with her letter and parcels for a prisoner, it is no less than a dream when I think of the past.
Oh! Life is a dream, time is a tomb. Every one is enterring gradually into the earth. One who wept for the departed has being buried in his turn.

Wrote post cards to Matsuda-san, a letter to Takeo-san. Took a bath in spite of feeling cold and head ache. Bath is a pleasure of prisoner's life. Meetings, receiving letters and a bath, a solitary woman as I am, there is few to receive a visit and a letter, so it is delightful more than any thing else to have a bath by every five day.

A warm sun beam inserted slantingly from the blue sky through the iron window. When I sat behind the desk at easy after bath, relieved from trouble and worry. Then felt how happy I was to dissolve myself into a permanent sleep!

From Yoshikawa-san I heared; "The same day of the same month of the last year was my reliesed one from prison, so it is a commemoration of one year to-day. Among three comrades reliesed, Mr. Higuchi has now succeeded in his business, while I am hardly maintained to survive as usual, and Mr. Oka has returned to his old nest suffering with cold and hunger."

With what charge Oka-san was kept in castody? Which is better to be a successor or a failer? Mr. Eiji Morioka cast himself into a well with his insanity in Dairen of Manchuria after his emmigration. Mr. so and so left our cause fearing persecution of the government and tried to be in a sefty zone. Oh! the fates is qurious, weak is a human mind. Let the deserter go where he want, and a departed be buried. A new bud will sprout from decay of the big tree. Spring of the world thought -- we, the forruners of radical ideas, need not look back the past of autumn and winter. The future, only for the future, we must rush to a light of hope. The authorities seems earnestly to keep eye on our comrades in the outside world. Considering from the barbarous decision this time, the government should take a coerceive mean by utilizing our affair.
Persecute, yes, persecute! Don't you know a rule of revolt against oppression? Persecute with a thousand resolution!

Old thought versus New thought,
Imperialism versus Anarchism

Try behemently to brock out the Sumida river
with a wooden plate of Kamaboko!*

Being asked by the chaplain Numanami, how I was going on, replied nothing to be changed at all. He said my tranquility rest on a belief. But in accordance with a degree of commitment, each one would regret somehow, while I participated from the beginning, I would have a proper resolution. It flattered me so much in comparison with an advice to have a religious calmness. (I prefer such homage--erased) Well, there would be some defendantes who regret themselves. As the affair was a big event, so its penalty was also the most severest in history (the extreme penalty has been enacted--erased) It is better to say that this affair was not a joint conspiracy by Museifu Shyugisha, the anarchists, but one contrived by the prosecutor attoneys. The content of Article 73rd seemes foolish enough in its true reality, and a contradiction between the outward appearance and the real quality is, for example, a Karuyaki Senbei, i.e. a rice cake or a third rate novel. Except a conspiracy by 5 persons such as Kotoku, Miyashita, Niimura, Furukawa and I, the prosecutors gathered all of smoky talks under the so-called preparation of a joint conspiracy of Kotoku and connected them forcefully to the affair.

This affair is a conspiracy by Museifu Shyugishas, the anarchists, Mr. so and so, or a friend of the anarchist, therefore the said person should have participated in the conspiracy. They started a mass arrest based on such erronious and illegal syllogism, compitated their fame and meritoriousness each other, then as the last resort they took the means like fraudlence, cheating menance and its extremity they subjected us to Utsutsuzeme, a toture of the past age. (a toture by inquiry both in waking and sleeping continiuously--T.N.) Then they entangled even a layman who acquired a new culture or complained against the Establishment in the affair by extruding from his daily talk as if the content meant a conspiracy.
Even if I admitted such boasting talk a conspiracy. They could not connect it to Article 73rd, merely a penalty of riot if it was possible. But the prosecutor attoneys and the judges of pre-examinations trapped the defendantes by inquiries made as though they were the anarchists in order to link them to Article 73rd, and picked up a conclusion that the ideal--yes, the mere ideal--of the anarchist is absolute Freedom & Equality, so it is natural to refute the emperor's family, and then with this pretended, nay, enforced conclusion, they made their own reports connected even the innocent to the affair in the outside of theory and ideal. Whenever I thought of it, I felt an anger. The naked facts were discovered in court proceeding, nevertheless, such illegal and barbarous decision was announced. I could not help but to grind my teeth with indigantion.
Oh! poor judges, you were forced to decide such sentence contrary to your conscience however you knew it illegal and barbarous in order to secure your status. Pitiable judges and the slaves of the government! I pity you rather than to rage. You, reflected in our eyes, are men of miserable, while we have no bondage and

interference though we are chained and configned in jail. You are not worthwhile to be a human being (a pitiable beast--erased) A slavery life for a hundred year has a worth to live?

At 4 p.m. I was escorted to a meeting room. 4 visitors were Sakai-san,a couple of Osugi and Yoshikawa-san. I was previously instructed by a jailor not to mention of my impression about the trial. It might be a precaution from the government fearing a leakage of the truth and to procure outrage from out-comrades. At the public trial for Akahata affair, I stood in a row with Sakai-san, Osugi-san at No.3 court of appeal, then four years elasped, but they appeared fine with no change at all. They told me one phrase following my words. I tried to avoid eyes filled with tears and forced to smile and talk, but at the last time of shake hand, especially holding the hands of Yaskosan, I burst out in tears. I could not take off mine from those of Yasuko-san. Oh, my beloved friends and comrades!
"Unexpected decision?" I said.
"(you--erased) I want Kotoku and you shall be sacrified." replied Sakai-san in a gloomy voice, not talked much but with deep emortion.

Heared that Kanson was staying at Akiyoshi inn in Boshiyu Yoshikawa. This Akiyoshi inn was one which I had stayed for a couple of month. In those days my divoced husband Kanson had visited me abruptly from Osaka and we got reconciled again there. We took a walk up a hill and down a beach together. Then with Kanzo Abe staying at inn, we climbed Nokogiri Mountain, having eated oranges at bonfire, roasted a head of stone buddha which we had picked up somewhere. We were so mischievous in those days. At that Akiyoshi inn Kanson is staying. The room should be that same one. He might be sitting at the back of small desk in front of the paper sliding door at the south side of corridor, and then reading or writting with a bad habit of nipping his nail with his teeth. Kanson called me Nee-chiyan like my younger sister and I called him Atsu-bo. However we lived together, we were not like a couple but a sister and a brother. So a reason of our separation caused from unsatisfaction of married life, though we have still the past affection like a sister and a brother. Even to-day my sentiment to him has not changed at all.

During my stay at Yugawara last year, he had sent me a post card filled with abuses, then I knew he came there with a pistol in his bosom after I had been up Tokyo, furthermore I heared at prosecutor' office that he had dispatched a challenge to a duel to Kotoku, I wept for him in my heart. "Inscrutable are the ways of Heaven". As he was separated from me, he can now study or play in security. If he were not divoced from me, he might not be spared from cruches of fates to go up gallows.

I heartly pray his health for his abundant future and ask for his prudence.

Wrote a letter to a couple of Osugi, and post cards to Messers Sakai and Yoshikawa.

On 22nd January, Fine.

The last might I felt an irritation since I had been here. My nerve (sensitive--erased) was stimulated with a scene like the last meeting. On 2nd June of the last year I had known a discovery of our affair. Since then I have tried to keep my mind in calm, but it is pity to be disturbed with even one night. How foolish I am? I hate myself. What will it be with my weakness? But I reflect it myself. It is the nature of a human being. The typical nature of the Oriental great man is said to show no sign of anger, gladness, larmentation and happiness, but from a view of the other side, it is a false and vain. A man may overcome his anger and gladness, but it is impossible for the ordinary man, a vessel of sentimentes, to be insensible without hollowness and vanity, unless he were an idiot or a saint. I am a little woman and passionate, yes extremely passionate one. I despise falsehood, vanity and contre-nature. I weep, laugh, be pleased and roath. I am content in my innocence. I will not be bothered with the estimation by the other man, and finish my life without deceiving myself.
Though I felt fine to-day. The sentiment of the last night was buried with the night, and I wonder how I felt so and so at that occassion. I was so pleased as my body was lighten when I heared that my comrades behaved in determination of a Shyugisha (an idealist). From the stand of responsibility, I only worried about them. Well it is a hard thing to endure absurdity because of a slight relation with the crime. But I am deeply impressed with their appearance that they are content to sacrify themselves for (the comfort of--erased) our cause. They are the anarchists as one expected. Yes, our comrades, I am proud of them as a Shyugisha. I feel no regret. A black cloud linggered on my mind has been cleared up like to-day's weather.

Wrote three letters to Sakutaro Koizumi*, Tokijiro Kato*, Tamemasa Nagai and the post cards to Tatsunosuke Okano, Yachiyo Watanabe. In the evening received the letters from a defence attorney Hiraide and Sakai-san. Mr. Hiraide* said:
"I could predict the content of the sentence as far as it was read aloud by ten lines. Until that moment I had a hope to save five or six defendantes with a benevolent treat by the authorities as an attoney might expected, but it resulted in nil. I had endeavoured to encourage my two defendantes through trial under hardship. There is no argument against the application of the law. We must depend on criticism of the following generation towards the decision. I think it is useless to comfort you, yet one who has no resolution is forced to resign, that has so attracted my mind as I can not do anything since 18th January."

Oh! even the defence attoney has a sympathy, then is it absurd that I have a worry for my comrades from a stand of responsibility?

Wrote a reply to Hiraide-san under a dark electric bulb.

On 23rd January, Fine.

At 2 A.M. every night I let exchange a Yutampo (a kind of warm vessel filled with hot water. T.N.) to warm my blancket, so I woke up around that time. Until I fell in slumber again, it became a habit to ponder on for one or two hours. Last night I woke up as usual and indulged in my fancy. I thought of the meeting with Sakai-san the day before yesterday, the comrade-defendantes, a tomb of my younger sister-- her tomb is in the temple of Shoshyu-ji in front of Ginsekai. What that disagreable monk would reply when Sakai-san or Tameko-san handed down a charge of scavengery of the tomb for me? As we have no superstition that the dead turns into his tomb with a benevolence of chanting strates, I have neglected to offer a present to the temple, then I have often met a repugnance from the monk. So I have gradually ceased to visit there, and instead of offering incenses to the tomb filled with white bones, I have served her favorite food in front of my sister's portrait. (Well, it is also foolish enough when I reflect it, but I have done so to appease my conscience owing to a custom---erased) Even this seems foolish enough, for I can not understand that a spirit gets a pleasure with offerings and inceness since the cadvre of a dead have become a smoke and decomposed into atomes, but I have done it because of a custom to appease my conscience.
But I must now offer a charge of scavengery to the temple, for my younger brother in the U.S.A. will be disappointed in some future, if he can not find his sister's tomb as a forlorn grave is exterminated. Last night I thought of my death and its aftermath. When my breath expired and became a cadavre, it would be nothing to worry about, but I have often witnessed the dead being pushed to sit in a coffin with cracking legs, which incurred me a repugnance, so I declared my hope to get a lay type coffin to Kinase, a jailor when he attended at the meeting of the day before yesterday. It would be prepared soon. As for my Kimono, I wanted it to be clean enough when my grave was dug out and exposed in order to impress neatness. But now I do not care about it. It is natural to have a home wear whatever it is torn or smared. Another hope was to have a bath in the morning of my execution. I asked for a director, Iksaka to have a bath in the morning of my execution. But I declined it this morning. To tell the truth, I want to rest at the side of my sister's tomb. No, I do not care about a tomb, I would be burned and the ash be blown off or cast into the open sea of Shinagawa, never mind, yet according to the general rule, it is not the way of life, so I would be buried at the side of my

beloved sister to leave a token. As I have mentioned it before, I do not like that temple, (the monk--erased) then I have decided to let myself bury in a grave yard for the condemned criminals at Zoshigaya with the least trouble. I declared this hope when Sakai-san and Tameko-san proposed me that they would do as I wanted. This morning I wrote post cards to Baibunshya and the attoney, Hiraide. I asked for a favour to Baibun-shya that any one inclined to go that temple, would make a Sotaba (a wooden tablet with holy scriptures set up by a grave. T.N.) for me.

Association with a tomb imagery, it has reminded me of the prosecutor attoney, Taketomi. I have acquainted with him since the Akahata Affair 2 years ago, and had a hatred for each other. In those days, I had proposed to correct a sentence in the oral preadings, we crashed each other and separated angrilly. Then the next year, I mean, the year before last year, in summer when I got a charge of imprisonment due to our organ "Jiyu Shiso" literally Free Thought due to volition of the press code, I was tortured with treacherous trickes and got severe accusation from him. Again I was examined by this prosecutor after discovery of the affair, but decided to say nothing, besides, to take him to hell with me whenever I could find a chance, thus it was by a muderous conception. But when I listened his personal affairs and sympathized with his old mother and his study under difficulties, I lost my muderous intention, so I told him my sentiments gradually. After several days, the prosecutor said; "It is interesting that you will not confess the affair to me. I am not to hear it from you, too. But will you tell me your personal history? Is it not funny to tell one's story to the most hatred opponent? I do like to depict it." I thought at first he would revenge to me, but reflected that any way my personal affairs would be distorted and every details be excentric. On the other hand, I lived through the miserable conditions by means of my sturbon unwillingness and was lucky enough not to fall into a prostitute or a woman weaver. Such story can not extrude a sympathy from any one else unless he is a man of heart and blood interested in social problem. Thus I had kept silence for a long time till now, yet if he had written it in its extreme evil, it would be also amusing, thereby I told my novel like history without reservetion to him.

Except to mention the affair, this prosecutor seemed a bright and ordinary man having no malice. A shade of shevere prosecutor disappeared during my personal history and showed his interest. "Yes, the whole is quite romantic." I could see his astonished face even now. He continued "you and I have some prefixed deep relation, so if you are executed--- if you are dead earlier than I, I will pray for you in front of your tomb with incenses." His countenance was beamed with not only compliment, but also his sincereity, so I convinced that the prosecutor would pray for a criminal. I told this episode to an acquaintance, who laughed and replied that it would be a fanciful to hold a tail of the coat

like a dramatic action, when the prosecutor would come to my tomb etc..
If I could be a ghost or a spook, I should menance many persons such as the judges of supreme court, and it would be fun to see their astonishment.

I have seen a strange dream this morning. I walked along a river side on an alley among the fields with two or three strangers. When I looked up suddenly the sky, there stood a sun and a moon side by side in the distance of about 3 Jake (approximately 1 meter) which floated clearly in the blue heaven. Then the sun was eclipsed by one third with similar color like the moon, while the latter was just 10 days after her appearance. I told my company that it was an ohmen for the country to see the sun and the moon at once, there I woke up.
I used to see a dream through the whole night owing to my worse nerve, though it was first time to dream of the sun and the moon. The eclipsed ones, what do they anticipate my wish?

These days, when I woke up, it reminded me of how I lived on! Then it is a dream like to see my living. (When I have depicted my diary as far as now, Mr. Tanaka, Director of Instruction entered in--erased) Director Tanaka told me that more than half number of fellow defendantes were released. It might be their imprisonment becoming a life long for the execution. It is natural for the barbarous decision, and I feel a pleasure. They might be the innocentes having a slight connection with us. I can imagine their gladness however they were condemned once illogically and barbarously, their relief would be beyond their expectation. Well, once they condemned us severely, then they would reduce our legal terms solemenly by name of emperor to impress His grace and authority to the people both in the domestic and foreign countries. Any way it is thankful to see (lives of--erased) our comrades rescued. To tell my wish, the whole comrades except 3 or 4 persons including me shall be released, and for that purpose I will be willingly burned at the stake or accept a torture of boild tin water poured in my back cut open with pleasure.

Mr. Tanaka told me his experience that he captured a criminal, who was condemned to death, though the criminal was released on way of his execution. This story seemed to me of some interest comparing to my present situation. I wonder his skilled talk with the proper words to one without interfering the latter's thought.

Received cards and letters from Ma-san Sakai (Ma-bo a daughter of Sakai), Sakutaro Koizumi, Sukematsu Minami, Sukeo Kayama and Tomiyama. The card painted with a flower and grass from Ma-san said: "You said, you would give me something, thank you. - bye-bye -" She wrote it with pencil. (What a lovely--erased) I can see her lovely white face with big eyes. What a lovely child she is!
Koizumi-san apologized to write me his last farewell and added a

poem in chinese characters to Shyusui:

When I was drunken at Takeshiba-kan
to pass the last day of the year;

"In front of a Sake cask,
there were the beauties to wait upon,
but after drunkenness, I sought my friend in vain.
This evening the prisoner has been
confirmed in a cell,
where can his dreamy spirit
pass the last day of the year?"

For you I have written only one phrase such as "A pitiable crazy but talented woman of our age--" and failed to compose it, etc.

He is a man whom we have troubled for these 3 years. Having read his letter repeatedly, my heart is swelled up with emortion. Pray you may live your natural life for a hundred year!
Under a distant and dark electric bulb, I have written my diary by moving a frozen pen slightly. It is not so easy to write. A voice of "Go to bed." has passed already. It is blowing out of the window with lonliness. To-night I must go to bed now.

On 24th January, Fine.

Wrote to Sakai-san, Masuda and Ma-bo.
Asked Sakai-san to send a souvenier to my younger brother in America. Received the record of the decision with 146 sheets of paper, which I want to send to the comrades in America, too.
Yoshikawa-san gave me a book titled "Suiko Do Kenso". Having read the record which distorted the truth to have made a mountain out of a molehill, I felt a repugnance. I dare not to write to-day.
Came a post card from Yoshikawa. In the evening I wrote to 4 attoneys, Isobe, Hanai, Imamura, and Hiraide, then letters and cards to Yoshikawa, Minami, Kayama, Tomiyama and others.

(The diary is abruptly stopped
here due to her execution.)

THE AGE OF WINTER

Two or three years after the execution of Kotoku and other 11 anarchists and socialists (1911) are usually called "THE AGE OF WINTER ", which denotes a depression of the socialist movement. At the side of Establishment, the emperor donnated one million and 50 thousand yens to the Welfare association (Saisei Kai) to alleviate dissatisfaction of the poor folk and issued a declaration of the factory law regulating 8-working hours. Outwardly an annexation of Korea was decreed and confirmed a treaty to export the weapon to Chin dynasty in order to suppress a revolt of Chinese revolutionaries during the 1911 Revolution. But the dynasty was overthrown, Republic founded, then the Japanese Military clan, which differed to those of China, for they were gathered around the emperor and his family, supported the Chinese War lords in the North of the continent. Its origin was embeded in army, of which leader was Aritomo Yamagata (he was assumed to have hold an initiative in treatment of Kotoku). So the military clan backuped by the industrialists ventured on an undertaking of invasion into the Chinese continent as well as committment to domestic politics. Of course the decree for the soldiers had strictly prohibited their intervention in politics. A tactic is so differed to a strategy as politics is. In parallel with rising of military class, democracy took its stand with a shift of socialism, while the great depression in economy prevailed over the world. The European powers were on the verge of the 1st World War, U.S.A. proclaimed her isolation and the Russian empire was menanced with an approach of the Revolution. In this context of world history, the anarchists in Japan had lost a mean to propergate their idea, not mention of an organization.

According to the documents of Kehokyoku or Police Guard of 1920s, Kotoku handed a testerment with a gift of sword to Ōsugi, which said he (Ōsugi) should inherit and continue the movement. This story is dubious, in truth, the sword was handed down by Ōsugi's father, who was an military official and abhored his son to have become a Shyugishya (a socialist), and that he recommended him to do Harakiri with it, not smaring his family's honour. Ōsugi did not betray an expectance of Kotoku when we see his short-life activities. He wrote a poem to commemorate his predecessors.

It is March
in the spring time.
I am left alone
not being strungled,
and dance amid cherry blossoms.

As for an episode of the sword he pawned it to set out the 2nd Kindai Shiso in 1916. (refer to Yasuko Hori's Ōsugi to Wakarerumade i.e. until the time of our divoce.)

Sakae Ōsugi (1885-1923) was born as a son of a sub-lieutenant, Azuma Ōsugi at Marugame, Shikoku island, then moved to Tokyo soon. At his 14-year, he entered in a military school (1899), disliked a discipline, got some knowledge of French language there, and retired from it (1901), in truth, he was expelled because of his anti military activities, then reentered Tokyo Foreign Language Institute to learn French further. He visited the Heimin Sha during 1903, started his carrier of an activist by contributing articles to the organ, Heimin Shinbun. He got a marriage with Yasuko Horri, a relative of Toshihiko Sakai, earned his living with teaching Esperanto (1906). While the Affair of High Treason, he was kept in a custody at Sugamo, because of a Red Flag incident, so he was spared from the execution. Released there he participated in Baibun Shya founded by Sakai, whose aim was to earn money for the socialists and provide a base of the movement. But Ōsugi was soon intolerable of no action, he talked with Kanson Arahata and set out an organ titled "Kindai Shisō" or Modern Thought in 1912.

His main activities were;

i Anti-Militarism as far as 1910
ii Anti-intellectualism 1914-1915
(He scorned his own literal working as an intellectual masterbation and despised an intellectural who was apt to put himself on the workers and their movement.)
iii Free marriage 1916
iv Anarco-Syndicalism 1913-1923
v Anti-Bolchevism campaign after 1920 to his death 1923

He founded a research group of Syndicalism in 1913 and interoduced European movement. As he was influenced with vitalism of Bergson, (he was one of first interoducers of Bergsonism in the literate circle 1917) and workes of George Sorel, he intended to take a stand of anarco-syndicalism in the field of worker's movement. In those days there were several tendencies of trade union movement, for example Yuai Kai (Friendship Association) led by Bunji Suzuki, Febian type trade union, of which leader was Isō Abe, a christian socialist etc. But Ōsugi did his efforts to prevail the idea of anarco-sandicalism with a thesis of "a sheet of blank paper" which previously advocated by A.I.T. He proclaimed that a worker should write his demand and hope on a sheet of blank paper, then request it to his boss, and thus he could take over his autonomy. Added with his despise of intellectualism, the thesis appealed to the ordinary workers so much, besides he tried even in his writting with every day language to talk them directly. Further a revolutionary atmosphere was spread over the islands. The workers, literate men and women who could not satisfy with Minpon Shyugi, a kind of democracy with a nuance of Kan-Min Kyoji (A cooperative

regine with the authorities and the people) advocated by Sakuzo Yoshino, accepted his opinion and approved his actions. Yet he was personally traced with every step under supervision of police. So he was compelled to suspend his organ Kindai Shisō in 1914. Further he took up another monthly Heimin Shinbun, but it was also banned besides 4 numbers. During this desperate situation he fell in love with a woman journalist Ichiko Kamichika (1888-) at first, then Noe Ito (1895-1923), the wife of Jun Tsuji (1884-1944) who enjoyed the honour of a translator of "Ego and its Own" by Max Stirner (1920). According to his love theory, he implied by assuming that;

> I have several friends who do not
> complain and show no bitterness against me,
> however I have treated them. So each of
> us must behave with freedom, not
> interfere in another one's activities of the Cause.
> (Yūrei o mita Hanashi)

His reasonable persuation did not bring in a good result, particularly to a woman's passion. Ichiko Kamichika cut his neck with a dagger while he was asleep at a hotel Hikage jaya (Nov. 7 1916), his wife Yasuko Hori demanded a divoce, while Noe Ito obtained a title of victory in love. His free love was échecked outwardly, yet his inner life became expanded with a comrade, Noe, who was the mother of 5 children in later. A coworker of the 1st Kindai Shisō, Kanson Arahata, the former husband of Suga Kanno and became fortified his stand of Marxism in this period criticized Ōsugi;

> He did not understand an error of his knowledge. Anyway his ideal-love failed him in the reality. Without reforming the objective conditions which rule our life and thought in the modern society, there is neither freedom of personality, nor emancipation. It is an obious fact that there is no free love unless the present condition of life has been left as it is.
> (Kanson Jiden Vol.1)

Sakai commented with a favour;

> I feel a sympathy for Ōsugi as I think of his frustration in the movement, and this incident has been caused from his abundant vitality.

In 1919 the first world war ceased and impacted the society with economic hardship. Rice riots covered everywhere, workers strikes raised. Ōsugi founded " Rōdo Undoshya" in Tokyo and issued an organ "Rōdo Shinbun" or the Worker's paper with Kyutaro Wada and Unosuke Hiraita in May of this year. Though his love affair invoked a reprimand from his former friends and turning their back from the movement, some comrades cooperated with a new couple. In 1919 he participated in the group of Hokufukai literally the

North Wind, of which initiator was Seitaro Watanabe (1873-1918), a christian, then an anarchist after Kotoku incident, and took place a meeting regurally for study of anarco-sandicalism, then reformed the group into Tokyo Rodo Domeikai or the Tokyo Workers' League, the Organ, Rodo Undo that is, the Worker's Movement was publisheed (1919). Coworkers were Kenji Kondo (1895-1969) who wrote "A memoire of an anarchist (1969)", Genjiro Muraki (1890-1925) who supported Ōsugi until his death, Unosuke Hisaita (1877-1922) who got a respect from his comrades because of his unsophisticated nature and freezed to death in Amagi mountains during a sketch trip, Kyutaro Wada (1893-1928) and Noe Ito (1895-1923). In 1920 he attended to the meetings at Shanghai for the socialist in Far East by means of smuggling, as he had accepted an invitation of the Comintern. He returned with a disillusionment of the soviet revolution, then concentrated his attention to interoduce the betrayal of Bolchevik. Yet he designed at first a cooperation of the anarchist and the bolchevist. This procedure was a modesty to his senior Sakai and comrades such as Arahata and Yamakawa. He particiated in the founding of Nihon Shyakai Shugi Domei or the League of Japan Socialism 1920 which was an amalgam of the anarchist, the socialist and the bolshevik. He set out the 2nd Rodo Undo and began to depict an autobiography (1921). The debate between the anarchist and the bolshevist raised to take up a policy of either free federation or centralism in the initiative of the Worker's movement. It led to a split of Rodo Kumiai Domeikai, or League of Workers' Union, the biggest trade union in those days. While Sakai, Yamakawa and Arahata founded the 1st Japan Communist Party in 1921. It is a qurious coincident with a setting of C.C.P. (Chinese Communist Party). Ōsugi departed from the country with a plan of attending the International Anarchist Conference at Berlin, which was at the last not taken place. En route he stayed at Paris and stood on a platform of the open meeting. Having been consigned at La Sante Prison and handed over the Japanese authorities, he wrote his experiences, in his Nippon Dashyutsu Ki, "The Exodus from Japan" (1923). He stressed his attention to Nestor Mavno and the mavnovich movement, then interoduced views of Alexander Berkman & Emma Goldman about the Russian Revolution.
On 1st September 1923, a big earthquake attacked the Tokyo district. The authorities utilized the calamity at the fullest in suppression of various shades of the socialists and the Koreans. For the latter had an arrogance to a Japanese since an annextion of their mother country. Ōsugi, his common-law wife Noe Ito and a nephew, Sōichi Tachibana, at his 11 year were escorted to the centre of Gendarme at Tokyo. It is reported that they were strangled there and cast into a well. Thus an anti-military activist was assassined ironically by three soldiers like Gustav Landauer on May 2 1919, in Munich. (see Prophet of Community by Eugene Lunn 1973)

Strictly speaking, it is true that Ōsugi is not a deep thinker of Anarchism, but it is also wrong to assign him an anarchist of the

imported idea of anarco-sandicalism. His efforts covered the sphere of individualism (he denoted it a socialized individualism not nihilism like that of a stirnerian), modern literature and scientific enlightment. Still more he enjoyed the popularity with his intelligence and life style among the workers. Once he declared;

> *When I see an anarchist like a Kropotkin, I feel a respect, but no affection toward him. It is somewhat difficult to approach him. Rather I have a sympathy for a geneous anarchist who will be a rebel even in an anarchist society, who may pass his daily life with looseness not exactitude. So that I can't help smile whenever I think of a life way of our father, Michel Bakunin.*

I LIKE A SPIRIT

by Sakae Ōsugi (1918)

I like a spirit. But I feel a repugnance
when it is theorized.
Under process of theorizing, it is often transformed
into a harmony with social reality, a slavish compromise,
and a falsehood.

It is a rare thing that a thought is as it is.
Still, it is few of action emerged from a spirit directly.

In this sense, I like Minpon Shyugi and
Jindo Shuugi (Humanitarianism) advocated ambigously by those of literary circle.
But when they are asserted by those of law or politics,
I am disgusted with them.
I abhor socialism, even anarchism induces me to uneasiness.

I like at the most a blind action of a human being or an expression of spirit.

Let freedom be for an idea,
Let freedom be for an action,
Still, let freedom be for a motive!

Notes; Minpon Shyugi...advocated and declared by Sakuzo Yoshino (1878-1933). Its purport is there are dual meaning of democracy, one is an explanation of where the sovereignity is, the other is related to a method of how to use it. He emphasized the latter by nominating it Minpon Shyugi, which would support to obtain the right of universal suffrage in those days. Osugi attacked its ambiguity and a distortion from democracy as Yoshino has exchanged an aim to a mean.

Jindo Shyugi (Humanitarianism)...A faction of literal field advocated by Shirakaba Ha (the white barch group). The members were Saneatsu Mushyakoji who promoted a new village movement (1918), a kind of free commun demanded, a development of self, which is even now flourished in a small scale, and a writer like Naoya Shiga. All of them were indebted their thought to a senior writer, Takeo Arishima (1878-1923), who had an occassion to meet P. Kropotkin at London, while Ibsen, Emerson and Whitman influenced him to shape his humanitarianism. He emancipated his former tenantes with a land in Hokkaido (1922).

This event impacted the society, but his personal life seemed a tragic one by his suicide with a woman (1923).

THE EXPANSION OF ONE'S LIFE

- declared in 1913 -

Of my article titled "A fact of subjugation", I declared that "it is a fundamental fact that the human being has been subjugated for some million or thousand years..." and concluded "without a distinct understanding of the fact, we can not grasp the meaning of the society etc." Then I applied this thesis to art that "if a literary man had not depicted the fact of subjugation and a revolt against it, his works would be a diversion or a fun. It might be a resignation which would tempt us to forget the heavy reality impacted us with daily routin, or an element of systematized falsehood". Further I argued "A static beauty kept us in a trance is not concerned us at all. We are longing for an ecstasy as well as emerged from dynamic beauty. Literature that we demand will be a creative one consisted of both hatred and revolt."
I would like to amplify and clear up my thesis with a link of above three points.

* * *

Life, an expansion of our life is doubtlessly a root of modern thought. It is alpha and omega of modern philosophy. Then what is life and what is an expansion? I will begin to explain it.

Life has both broad and narrow senses. When I take up narrow one, i.e. the meaning of individual life, whose essence is no more than an ego. And an ego is, after all, a might subjected to the rule of dynamics. Might should splout an act, for the presence of might is a synonium of act. Therefore it is impossible to avoid an action of might.

There is nothing for action but might. It is a unique aspect of might. Consequently it is an inevitable logique of life that indicates us to act, or to expand it. Because an act is to expand a being in the space.
Then the expansion of our life should accompany with its fullness, rather its fullness incites an expansion. So they are one and the same thing.

Thereby it is our duty to expand our life and leaves none the less an effective act which satisfies a tenacious demand of life.
Moreover the inevitable logique of life orders us to eliminate and destroy every obstacle hindering the expansion of our life. If we

do not obey, the order, our life, i.e. , ego will stagnate, be decomposed and crumbled away.

The expansion of our life has its fundamental nature. A man has struggled and utilized the surrounding to expand his life since the primitive age. Even among the barbarous folks, they conflicted and took an advantage of each other for mutual expansion. Thus these strifes and utilization hed the human being to astray in the flash of undeveloped knowledge.

Besides, they became an obstacle for the expansion of life. That is, an a result of erronious method of strifes and utilization, there emerged two poles, those of the oppresser and the oppressed. Then the expansion of life for the oppressed has been nearly stopped. They have almost all lost their egos. They have become a slave and a machine obeying to the order of the oppressor. One who has been stopped his life and development of self should be corrupted and decomposed. It is the same of the oppressor. Corruption and decomposition of the oppressed will affect their master, too. There is a vice of slave as well as that of master. Where there is servility, there is master's vanity. In a word, the slave destroys his life negatively, while his master, positively. It is one and the same to hinder the expansion of life as a human being. Still more mutual struggles and utilization made a man handicapped exceedingly to strive and utilize his sourroundings.
Whenever two decayed poles of life have come in the vicinity of destruction, there is an invasion or a revolution. So the comparatively healthy middle class takes up an inititative in the name of salvation for the oppressed or asks their hands in a revolt. Or taking an advantage of the middle class, the oppressed revels with despaire. Yet in its natural progress, it turns out that the middle class has become their new master. Summing up the human history, it is after all a repetation of such course and effect. Though this repetition has some progressive nature. Humanity does not know to go back the primitivity with neither master nor slave. She does not know a return to her primitive age of freedom with her self-consciousness, nor the great meaning of historical repetition.

For a long time humanity has remained with a master and a slave, so she could not imagine what a society is where is neither master, nor slave. She is also incapable to think of a supreme mean of the expansion of life with autonomy eliminated authority above a man. They prefered merely a master. They changed a name of their master. But they did not dare to go in at the fundamental fact of conquest with a hatchet. It is a great error of a human history. We now stop such repetation of the history. These thousand and million years' pilgrimage have taught us such foolish repetation. In order to cease it, we ought do the last yet the greatest repetation for the true expansion of one's life and that of humanity.

The fact of conquest in the modern society comes nearly to its zenith. The conqueror, the middle class and the conquered are unbeable of this fact at the same time. The class of conqueror has become suffered with its extreme and abnormal expansion, while the conquered is in agony with oppression. Then the middle class is attacked with above tow anxieties, which is a main source of modern distress.

Hence it is necessary to have a hatred for a fact of conquest in order to live one's life. The hatred must bear a revolt, then a demand for a new life, whose demand brings forth autonomy of ego not presided by authority and a free life. Sure enough, as I have thought it, such sentiment, idea and will have resulted in among the minolity, especially among a few oppressed. As an only effective act for satisfying our deep vindictive desire, it is appeared like a revolt against the fact of conquest in the first place. It is then appeared a destuction against everything which disturbs the expansion of one's life. Indeed, I discern the highest beauty in the expansion of one's life, so in both revolt and destruction, I observe the highest beauty of today's life. Consequently the fact of conquest has reached to its zenith, as concordance is no longer beautiful. Beauty is only in discordance. Concordance is a lie. Truth is only in discordance.
Now, the expansion of one's life is possible to realize in a revolt by enjoying limitless beauty. It is a revolt which creates a new life, even a new society.
In my own life, I enjoy a limitless beauty in such revolt. And the meaning of the so-called art for deed that I have advocated is, after all, in it. Deed is a direct action of one's life.

Furthermore a deed of modern man who received scientific enlightment is not, what you call "an affair of madness", neither thoughtless act, nor physical one. But it is an action enacted from an observation and meditation for a long time, and that it is one that you have pondered on its effectiveness. It is a deed that you can have an image of affair, the background before and after even under the process. You can have a contemplation with a deed, a contemplation with ecstasy, and an ecstasy with passion. Then this passion evokes another deed. There you can discern no more subjectivity and objectivity, which will be combined in one and all. This is my Nirvana and art as a revolutionary.

Furthermore as long as I stay in this state, my consciousness to the fact of conquest becomes distinct with all my heart. It is a time that I have set up my ego and life positively. Whenever I have an experience of the state, my consciousness and ego becomes positive with distinction. Joy of life overflows.

Fullness of my life is, at the same time, an expansion of my life. Then it is also an expansion of human life. I discern an activity of human life in my own action. Moreover, it is not I alone who

engage in such effective life action. There is few people conscienced his own and a relation between a self and its surroundings have stepped boldly in this field. Besides a blind man, no one can look over that they are building up a future society.

I can not understand why the recent literature in Japan which proclaimes to stand on a fact, does not refer to the fundamental fact of the society, that is, the conquest which arrived at its zenis. Why do they not mention the foundation of sorrow of modern life? With a step further, why do they not depict a fact of revolt against it, this new life, and creation of a new society? Why there is no appearance of literature based on a positive knowledge of society, and a creative one of drastic beauty of hatred and revolt.

I demand with my life a literature of such tendency. I demand - also science and philosophy in this direction.

IT IS A MATTER OF NO CONSEQUENCE.

— a criticism of the Soviet Russia —

— declared in 1922 —

Is it to recognize the Soviet Russia? Yes, it may be a matter whether the Japanese government would recognize her or not. But it is a trivial one for me. Is it not a story of contradiction and good for nothing that the government of Soviet Russia, that is, new states of proletariate has appealed an agreement from the capitalist nations? At the beginning who did get a rupture of diplomatic relations? It was non the less the government of Lenin's soviet which brought down the Czar's empire, then Kelensky's democratic government that failed to pay her debts. It is fair to say-that the Soviet Russia predicated the other European countries would insurrect at once like herself. But the process did not go as she expected, so she pretended to go back to the state capitalist and beseached an acquaintanceship with a confession that she would pay some debt with a paper and get a current money, without do it, she could not rebuild capitalism. It is said enough as I can not understand it. Therefore she is often alluded to be capitulated to capitalism however she stands on her dignity.
Well, you know that a shameful treaty, some Rits.....treaty between Russia and Germany.
It has been suggested that she might bow her head many times, borrow much money by writing many papers, but there would be a revolution in each country in near future, then she would play false with her former friends. She does not ashamed of such declaration.

You can not see a retrogression of Russia to a state capitalism. What? Do you say that capitalism has not been ripened yet in Russia as she is to realize communism? Don't argue such nonsens of historical materialism! Oh! You say something still? A retrogressive step before a jump? It is an objection for objection's sake. You must see a foot stand of Soviet Russia, that is, conditions of the worker and the peasant in Russia. Do you not see how they live under N.E.P. then the worker and the peasant in communist regime disdain Lenin and his followers by declaring them the traitors to the revolution, and demanding another one? What? Is he a mad man who claims it? Foolish enough! Is there any country where a real revolutionary has not been called a crazy by the authorities? While the Soviet Russia swindles with historical materialism and quibbles, then before ripeness of capitalism and one step forward after two steps backward, such madmen would destroy the Government, and begin a revolution anew. Is it not the necessity of historical materialism, too?

Having been astonished with a Bolschevik revolution, bothered with a block-out and armed interfere, then discovered its real aspect, the capitalist states may shake hands with the new capitalist Soviet at once. They may take a bond nad bend a capital again with a profitable job. They are all of a gang. They will do it ruthlessly. Still more they would like to fight against a true revolution together as well as helping the new capitalist state. It is a matter of no cnsequence for me. Because I have another business which I ought to do for myself.

ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM

Syndicalism or Industrial democracy has another history. As early as 1880s some liberal intellectuals interoduced the worker's union, producer and consumer's association with an example of Rochdale. Their efforts in this field brought in a result of the credit bank system, and even now consumers' associations have being flourished, while the produceres' cooperation is only found in agricaltural sphere. However the name of "Co-op" is attached to some industrial enterprises, they are merely related to financial affairs.
As the first place, the capitalist were busy to model the Western factory organization. They employed women and children in cotton spinning mill, so that the working conditions were as miserable as those of early 19th century at Lancashire. Moreover big factories such as ordinance and dockyards were usually built by the government, then handed down to the private enterprise with a profit, thereby the employees were expected to work in conformity with the state policy. They were instructed with elitism, but had no sympathy to a fellow worker. Besides this, a feudral sentiment to respect one's senior, and obey willingly to the order of his master, as he sits merely on higher status inherited from the predicessor prevented him to work with spontaniety. Further a common worker out of the big enterprise took a life style of easy going such as "a skillful craft man does not afford his daily wages so far as tomorrow." or "Rice and a sun god follow me everywhere as I move from a working place to another." etc. The intelligensia of Meiji period ought to have taught them how to reserve their wages for emergency and usefulness of worker's unity in negotiation with their bosses. According to Nippon Shyakai Shyugi Shi, litteraly the History of Socialism in Japan by Sanshiro Ishikawa, he recorded the first labour union of Rikisha man at Tokyo and that of carpenter & plasterer in 1892. He added to say that Shins-Japanese War (1894-1895) and Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) implied to assume the working stage of socialist movement. He interoduced several unionization such as Rodokumiai Kisei Kai or the Preparatory association of labour union (1897), Tetsuko Kumiai, or the Labour Union of iron & steel machinery (1897), Nippon Tesudo Kyoseikai or the Reforming Association of Rail Rord Workers (1898), the Printers Union with some hundred printers at Fukagawa Printing Company in 1898, as the company fired 7 workers with black list, so the printers carried out a strike, Dainihon Rodo Kyokai or the Dainihon Labour Association. The leading figures in labour movement were Sen Katayama, a christian socialist then died as a communist, Fusataro Takano and Teiichi Sakuma, whose idea was trade unionism. There appeared a kind of reformism, which stood for Shihon-Rodō Chyowa Ron, ie. a harmonious thesis between capital and labour. It urged that "in another word, it is an economical principle to advance the economic development, the worker and the capitalist must unite with harmony and aid each other. But the activists of socialist fraction have an

erronious notion against this. For they assert that the capitalist is good for nothing, so having overthrown the capitalist, they want the capital being in the possession of the state..." Ishikawa interoduced Sen Katayama's criticism against it as "it is needed a harmony of capital and labour. But having seen the to-day's condition, we can not assert a harmony between the capitalist and the worker. It is far from the harmony, in another word, it is a relation between the lord and his subject, nay, it is a master and a slave...in order to get a true harmony we must arise the worker...so it is needed a union, a general strike, too." Ishikawa commented "it is a big advancement that the worker's movement has become a work of the workers themselves and out of the hands of a politician. Nevertheless it is merely one step of advancement. The worker should raise his own political movement promoted from pure economical movement. So that were there the socialist movement by the worker, that would be the true emancipation for the worker...etc."

Direct actionism declared by Kotoku in his article "Why I have changed my thought." is a theoritical apoge of labour movement of this period. Morikuni Yoshikawa, an activist and an archivist of the socialist movement since the Heiminshya wrote "Keigyaku Seiso Shi" or "A History of the traitors" that Kotoku was influenced with Ashio riot in 1907. The incided was started from dissatisfaction of copper miners at Ashio Copper Mine run by Furukawa Zaibatsu (the financial group). The Heiminsha reported the riot in its organ Heimin Shinbun. The authorities smared the nature of incident and campaigned as "the riot of socialists". Yoshikawa commented "it is true, among 4000 miners, our members were about 2000, so the miners were under the influence of socialism. But Furukawa Zaibatsu thrusted responsibility of the incident to the socialist in order to conceal their outrage. Low wages, coercive sale of goods with bad quality to the miner, outrage of executives, common occurance of bribery (a miner should offer a bribe to an official for a good working position. Translator' note), thus it was nothing but an explosion of accumulated discontent of the miners..."
Kotoku utilized the incident as a proof of his direct actionism that "The riot is wrong. But we must realize the effect of three day's movement comparing to a voice at parliament for 20 years. I do not say you must perform a strike immediately. A revolution does not come within a day. For the purpose, we must raise a concience of the worker and disciple the unity. Whenever the unity is accomplished, universal suffrage will be offered by the capitalist without objection. Well, parliamentalism has been a tool of the capitalist to overthrow absolutism of the nobility and at the same time, a tool of exploitation of the working class. Then they need not to rely on such tool as we intend to overthrow the capitalist.....the direct action of the worker does not need a leader. Because we do not follow the leader, but push him. Further, the worker is not required to go the Diet. He must take

over the land as he required. Take money as he need it. He may take anything as far as his right demands it...." But his direct actionism was destroyed with a frame up of High Treason incident. Even now some marxists have criticized him that however Kotoku agitated direct actionism, there was no working class to realize his intention, therefore it was no less than a castle in the air. This view has been advocated by Sakai, Arahata and others.
We can discern syndicalism of the Meiji Era with three types; ie. Ro-Shi Kyochyo (the harmony of capital and labour) advocated by trade unionism imported from the West, Direct Actionism advocated by Kotoku, then the class struggle of the marxists.
Since 1913 anarco-syndicalism had been propergated by the effort of anarchists. An advocator was, of course, Sakae Ōsugi.

A SOCIALIZED IDEALISM

by Sakae Ōsugi
declared in 1920

I

An anarchist, in particular, Kropotkin often said that a worker ought to have an idea of a society in future, which he intendes to build up. Without grasping this notion, the worker will be an instrument of a revolution, never a master of it.
In truth, as far as now, the worker has been used like instrumnent to have destroyed the ancient regime in every revolution, and has no share in construction of a new society. Indeed, they have destructed the most of them, but left the rest to other's hands, so that the so-called new society will be others', like the former one, as if they have no consience at all. It is not true they have no defined idea of a new social organization. On the contrary, it might be that they had no cenception of autonomous mind to do his own business persistently.
Suppose, however the worker had no notion of a new social organization, if he could participate in destruction of the old society as well as a construction of new one, he would be a master of the revolution.
Suppose the worker had an idea, but it was a product by the other's knowledge, he could not be a true master of the revolution. In this case if he had an idea, he might be depend on the other's construction. Therefore when the worker wants to be a true master of the revolution, in another word, to construct a new society for his own, he should cultivate autonomy that first of all an emancipation of the worker is his own work. I would like demonstrate it by having an acknowledgement of the so-called "a defined idea of the new social organization" of P. Kropotkin.

II

You may complain that "it is not understandable what idea or ideal we must possess whenever you may suggest to have a notion or an ideal of a new social organization". But there are many samples in front of the worker. They are one of Anarchism, and that of Social Democratism, then Syndicalism and Guild Socialism. However the worker does not know which is better to choose at the present time. For each of them has a plausible reason. So that the worker does not understand, in truth, which is the best. Furthermore he has to consider an advance of his own life before having examined an idea or an ideal in comparison with the samples. While he is engaged in his urgent business, he has gradually conceived his position in relation of between a capitalist and a worker, then the government and the capitalist relatively. Even he has realized a fundamental defect of the present social institution. Further he woke up a free spirit, which is stronger than above mentioned points during his efforts of reforming the labour conditions. It is a fact that I have seen among the workers, and he has tried to link a free spirit with the social knowledge that he has obtained, before having accepted the social idea or ideal as they are presented in front of him. The worker has been preparing his own product under a stimulus of various samples in stead of procuring one.

What is life? It has been a proper theme in the history of philosophy. And the so-called great philosophers have offered various answers. But life does not be prepared beforehand, nor a book already printed. Far from it, it is a book of blank papers, on which each one puts down a word one by one. A man must survive, that is a life. Then what is a labour movement? It is the same and all. Labour is a life problem for a worker. He must put down a word after word, a phrase after phrase in a large book of blank papers, entitled "Labour Problem".

An idea or an ideal is a big power or a light as it is. But such power or light will decrease when it is left from the reality where it is cultivated. That is to say, to keep its real strength, it has to be free from a word and a phrase you have written one after another.

It is all the same with an idea or an ideal of a future society that the worker undertakes a construction. The idea or the ideal of a future society by Anarchism, Social democratism and syndicalism may imply a power or a light constructed by the Western or American Worker's. It is better for them to advance under their power or light. Yet there is a considerable distance between the reality and that of a Japanese worker has constructed as far as now.

There is no other mean but they ought to promote the reality in conforming with their temperament and surroundings, while we seek our proper idea or ideal.

Then we can make it our motto that we act like a believer, and think as a skeptic.

THE FIRST MAY DAY IN JAPAN

by Kenji Kondō (1895-1969)

Kondō came from Tanba in Hyogo Prefecture, entered in Waseda University and during his university life, he met a book of Ōsugi "A Struggle of Life", which impacted and conversed him an anarchist (1914). Then he visited Ōsugi, became a militant by having assisted to issue Rodo Undo. He edited the complete Works of Sakae Osugi with 10 volumes (1926), wrote his memoir (1965). His wife, Magara Kondo has been a daughter of Sakai and warmly noted as Ma-bo by Suga Kanno in her diary. Magara promoted Sekiran Kai or the Red Tide group (1921) to get a right of voting for a woman.

It was Yuzabro Sakai who had interoduced May Day in Japan. He contributed articles "Of The Socialist Party's exercise on May 1st" to a magazine of Kokumin no Tomo (A friend of the Nation) in 1890, and another one was "Of May 1st and a strike by the general Election League" in 1891. Among the socialists there had been a meeting of May Day since the period of Heimin Shya, but it was none the less a small indoor meeting. The 1st May Day taken place with the mass scale of worker unions was that of 1920. In those days, the May Day was generally not popular, but the workers of printer's union "Shinyu Kai" and those of news paper's union "Seishin Kai" raised a voice to have a May festival. Then one of initiators, Tatsuo Mizunuma appealed it to the other unions such as Shinyu Kai, which was in later called Rōdō Sōdōmei or the General Labour League, and resulted in to hold a preparatory meeting at a restaurant Matsumoto Tei, Kanda in Tokyo. It was succeeded owing to the support of socialists. On the other hand, its fund was managed with a royality of Kotoku's book, i.e. Kiristo Masatsu Ron or "An Extermination of Christ", thus according to a Chinese phrasology, "the dead Kotoku drived a mass of worker to May Day!"

1st May Day in Japan was held by Yuai Kai (Friendship Association), Shinyu Kai, Seishin Kai, Taishin Kai (the printer's union of a book seller, Hakubun Kan), Keimei Shya (the Teacher's union), Koishikawa Rodo Kai (the worker's union of ordnance factory), Jiyu Rodo Kai (the Association of daily labourers), Kokin Kai (the worker's union of Navy), Mippon Rodo Kumiai, Hon Ro Kai (the Association of general labourers), Nippon Kikai Ko Kumiai (the union of Machinery men in Japan), Zenkoku Kofu Kumiai (the Union of miners), Koyukai, Kozan Rodo Domei Kai, and Kotsu Rodo Kumiai (the worker's union of Transportation), the total was 15 unions and associations added with many socialist groups. It took place on 2nd May of 1920, because the day was a sunday. The participantes were 5000 persons, and us, the members of Rodo Undo Shya with black banners gathered together at Ueno Park. The special number of Rodo Undo explaining a history of May Day were distributed on the

spot to arise the spirit of adherents. Bunji Suzuki, the leader of Yuai Kai presided over the meeting, though the preparation and proceeding were carried out by both Shinyu Kai and Seishin Kai. Besides that, this 1st May Day promoted a ripe for forming a collaboration of unions arround Kanto District. On 8th May, it was discussed to have a permanent federative organization at an occassion of reporting the financial balance of May Day. Then on 16 of the month, Rodo Kumiai Domeikai or League of labour unions was associated. The members of the League were, at the first place, Kotsu Rodo Kumiai, Shinyu Kai, Seishin Kai, Taishin Kai, Yuai Kai, KeimeiKai, Hon Ro Kai and Kojin Kai. It followed with a setting of a federative organization in Kansai District, too, then Yuai Kai's Osaka federative association, Osaka Printer's reformative Friend Association, Osaka Cloth-sewing Union, Osaka Brush Worker's Union, Kojō Kai (the Advancing group), Kansai Steel Forging Worker's union, Electric Worker's Union, Osaka Longshoreman-Association established Kansai Rodo Kumian Rengo Kai, literally the Federative Association of Kansai Labour Unions.

I will point out another 2-3 aspects related to a cultural movement in those days. Kokuyo Kai or the Black Brightedness was founded with an aim of art revolution. Kei Mochizuki (-1976) presided over the 1st Show at Ushigome, Tsukudo Hachiman in spring of the same year (1920). The participants of the demonstration were such artists, S. Hayashi, Kei Mochizuki, the socialists, Toshihiko Sakai, Sakae Osugi, Kakō Ōba, Shyungetsu Ikuta with their scrolls and pictures of rebel sentiments. The second Show was opened at Hoshi Pharmacy Co., in Kyobashi, Tokyo on November of the same year. While on 30 Octover Sanshiro Ishikawa came home after 8 years, as he had been on abroad since Kotoku's incident. He stayed at the family of Elise Reculus, the eminent anarchist in France. Further another group in Osaka, that I would like to mention, was Krohata Kai or the Black Banner group, founded by Kyutaro Wada, a member of Rodo Undo Shya, Osaka Blanch, which became a forerunner of the black movement in Kansai District. On the other hand, in Tokyo, Kazuo Kato set a group of Jiyu Jin or the Libertarian League and issued an organ "Jiyu Jin" or "An Libertarian."

AN AGE OF COLLABORATION WITH COMMUNISM (BOLCHEVISM)

The Russian Revolution started in 1917, after 3 years, that is to say, in 1920, during the preparation of founding Nippon Shyakai Shyugi Domei (The League of Japan Socialists), a Korean comrade reported in secrecy on August that it would be held a conference of Kyokuto Shyakai Shyugisha (the socialists in Far East) at Shanghai on Octover and persuaded us to attend it. In the first place, he had a contact with Toshihiko Sakai and Hitoshi Yamakawa who were gradually fortified their stand of Marxism in those days, but they refused an attendance, then a recommendation was passed to Osugi. While he smuggled in Shanghai willingly as he had a

hope to contact with Chinese comrades for a long time. The conference was a gathering of representatives from China, Korea, Japan and Russia, but in truth, a hostage was a Russian who wanted to have an initiative of the movement in Far East. So that Osugi refused a proposal and offered merely to set up a committee for information exchange. It was an only result, yet it became to open a route for international movement of the socialists. Having come home, he undertook to re-issue of the Rodo Undo in 1920, and the organ was set off as a weekly. The cooperators were Ichiro Takeuchi, Kaneo Terada, Eizo Kondo (a bolchevist), Masamichi Takazu, Fusako Kuzumi besides Kyutaro Wada, Kenji Kondo, Kanichi Nakamura, and Unosuke Hisaita, those were 4 members of the former Rodo Undo. Ōsugi wrote the editorial of the weekly.

> Now Japan is menanced to be separated from Siberia, Korea and China. It is impossible to look over the fact, but to prepare whenever a chance of raising comes. To this purpose we set up the weekly, Rodo Undo.

In those days the anti-revolutionaries such as the Urangel in Europe and the Semiyonov in Siberia were declined, then the Russian Revolution became comparatively set in steady, while in China, the Kantong government sprouted for a new China, and domestically the Japanese radicals raised with a new hope to the advancement of labour movement. The weekly reflected this situation. But the paper put on the articles such as "A study of Bolchevism" by Eizo Kondo and "Down the Soviet Government". Thus it mirrored two tendencies of Anarchism and Bolchevism, then increased their stress each other. But generally speaking, it was an age of collaboration between the anarchist and the bolchevist like the Nippon Shyakai Shyugi Domei. After the dispersion of the Domei, and the arrestation of Eizo Kondo at Shimonoseki en route of coming from Shaghai on errand of Ōsugi, there appeared a gulf of antagonism among us, further Kondo was kept in custody due to the 2nd May Day' incident, the Rodo Undo was abruptly ceased to put forth. (Though it was a weekly, in truth, it was set out twice in a month.)

Still more, some communists smiled bitterly added with anarchists against such collaboration. They were Genjiro Muraki, Sukeo Miyajima, Hajime Yoshida, Heibei Takao who engaged in the organ "Rodo Shya" or "the Labourer" which continued 4 numbers until 1910. Because of the dispersion of the Domei and out of issue of the Rodo Undo, the collaboration was disrupted, yet the anarchists did not forsake a hope for the Russian popular movement. They expected and believed in that the Russian people would carry out the emancipation of the true soviet, so that the adeherents at the national conference of Far East on November of 1921 were the anarchists comparably more than the communist. At the 1st time, they were Hajime Yoshida, Kyuichiro Wada (members of Rodo Shya, the Press of Labour), Eiichi Kitamura, Shinjiro Kobayashi (Seishin Kai, the Printer's Union), Heibei Takao (the Rodo Shya, the Labour Press), Kohei Watanabe, Totaro Shiragane, Sentaro Kitawura, Koji Hidejima (the Seishin Kai), Kuma Mizunuma (Iron Machinery Worker'

Union, a younger brother of Tatsuo Mizunuma). All of them were the anarchists or anarco-syndicalist, who stepped into the Russian land to see the reality of Russia rather to attend at the conference.

Thus the anarchist was not indifferent to have a contact with Russia, on the contrary, it was the anarchists who did their best in this field. Having seen a fact that the communist injoyed a tyrany and trampled on the worker and the peasant, they cried out for a true emancipation. Then the socialist movement in Japan was splitted into two campes, which have dushed towards each object with increasing a mutual antagonism.

AN OPEN STRUGGLE AGAINST THE BOLCHEVIST

As I have mentioned of two campes above, the bolchevists such as Eizo Kondo, Masamichi Takazu, Genwa Nakasone founded a secret society named "Giyomin Kyosanto" or "Communist Party of Morning Light", further Hitoshi Yamakawa, Teruaki Tadokoro, Shigeki Ueda published a magazin "Zenei, or Vanguard" and a pamplet of Tuesday Association in 1921, which propergated bolchevism, while Sakae Osugi, Kyutaro Wada, Kenji Kondo, Noe Ito started the 3rd Rodo Undo on November of the same year. Gennosuke Yazaki, Kagekatsu Ozawa set off the organ "Kaku Jin or A Revolutionary" in Kōfu, and Daijiro Furuta, a member of Student Organization of Waseda University, Shin Nagashima established "Kosakunin Shya" or the group for farmer tenants, then the activists of Shinyukai and Seishinkai promoted strongfully a labour movement with an idea of federation. As I have pointed out before, the anarchist was not against the Russian Revolution from the beginning. It was the first social revolution to have overthrown the capitalist institution. The workers of all part of the world were encouraged with the event, and influenced them tremendously. It was an indisputable fact. So the anarchist welcomed and supported it with a great hope. But lately it showed how a revolution should not be performed with the development of Bolchevism. They fortified centralism with a pleasant word of Proletarian dictatorship, while, in truth, cratched the worker and the peasant with an iron nail, in other words, iron discipline, so the anarchist was behemently against them by demanding a true revolution. From a view of anarchism, Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman and Alexander Shapillo exposed the tyrany of bolcheviks by having contributed their auticles to various organs and papers throughout the world, for they had witnessed the reality of the Revolution in Russia, and the Rodo Undo reported their Japanese various, such as "the Societ Government and Anarchism", "the Russian Government and the peasant", "Labour conditions in Soviet Russia" and appealed to our workers and peasants, then accussed the bolchevist added with the interoduction of the philosophy of Bakunin and Kropotkin. Thus we concentrated our efforts on the prevail of anarchism. Osugi said in an auticle by replying to a question "Why I have not supported the revolution

in progress."

A criticism to the Wolchevik Government? I have been modest for a long time. It is not I alone, but also the most of anarchists over the world have been resserving their attitude towards it. Nevertheless there is a few who has stood willingly on a line of collaboration with the communist. All most of Russian anarchist did so, while the anarchist in the other countries followed them, as they did not understand the reality in Russia.

Another reason is that you may disdain to be called an anti-revolutionary, and they have watched the Revolution with a sympathy. Then the reality has been cleared up one after another. Even the Soviet Government, i.e. the government of the worker and the peasant has become an anti-revolutionary element. Every one do support the Russian Revolution with pleasure, but who is dare to help such Volchevik of Government!

Notes; Above three articles are based on Kenji Kondo's "Nippon Anakism Undo Shi" or "History of Japan Anarchism Movement as I have seen it", published Mugi Shya, Tokyo, 1969.

SORENGO no Ketsuretsu

- A Split of the General Federation of Labour' Unions -

by Tatsuo Mizunuma

After the 1st May day (1920) Rodo Kumiai Domei Kai literally the League of Labour unions was constructed in Tokyo district, and syndicalism was advocated by a lot of workers. In particular, the printer's union, Shinyukai and news paper worker's union, Seishinkai were in the direction of anarco-syndicalism, so they were usually called Osugi's fractions. Generally the worker's concience, that is to say, "the trade unionism should be a movement of autonomy by the workers" was acknowledged everywhere. A coalition and a split were repeated until 1922, then there appeared a proposal to build up a nation wide general federation of labour unions, which brought in a confrontation between the right wing centralization (the General League) and free federation, anarco-syndicalism. Of course, the bolchevist supported centralism, so that, it is always nominated as "Ana-Bol Ronso", i.e. a struggle between the anarchist and the bolchevist. Osugi attacked the right with some articles such as "a struggle against centralism" "Kumiai Teikoku Shyugi, or Imperialism of the Trade Union", while Hitoshi Yamakawa, exposed his thesis as "A change of direction for the proletariate's movement", in which he denied the socialist movement since Kotoku and urged that "the miority of vanguard should go into the mass of people with a purified notion of Marxism, in another word, the mass shall be drived in order to build up a pro-

letarian state, but if we are aloof over the people and in a distance of the people's will, it is impossible to lead them. Therefore in accordance with real demand, we must go tinto the people!" This Yamakawa was once a comrade of Osugi during the period of Heiminshya Movement, then became a co-worker with Sakai and participated in the founding of Japan Communit Party in 1921 with Kanson Arahata. Naturally the anarchist Sakutaro Iwasa replied sheverly that "they (the bolchevists) want to lead the proletariate, because they have understood that it is impossible to satisfy their desires of reign and power as we can see the state of labour movement of to-day. Then Yamakawa-kun wrote "A Change of Direction", i.e. he does not go into the people, but approach to the mass by changing a direction. Indeed, they do not become a class of vanguard, but a master and a leader of the people". (An error of the communist, 1923)

The following is an essay written by Tatsuo Mizunuma (1892-1965), who contrived and organized the 1st May day in Japan, related to "Sorengo no Ketsuretsu to Sono Zengo, or Before and after math of a Split of the General Federation in 1922".

A MOVEMENT OF FREE FEDERATION

A preparatory draft of the General Federation had been confirmed with several meetings, but we could not predict its prosperity. Some members of the League (the right wing trade unionism) intended to hold an initiative of the labour movement with a support of the bolchevik and its idea by making use of the League, so that as if they forgot their first declaration, that is, "We will be comprised of unions with various tendencies thereby we would like to start from a district labour league at Tokyo, etc." Contrally they showed an ambition to build up "the General Federation" as a central Organization and wanted to preside over labour unions throughout the country. On the other hand, some concious members of Shinyu Kai & Seishin Kai published a leaflet of "An appeat to the militant activists of labour movement over the country, related to a federation of the labour unions" and abused centralism:

> .....if a labourer had not overcome a capitalist spirit which sacrify a fellow man for his own profit, or a spirit to regin with power, it would be insufficient however he could overthrow the capitalist institution as if a shift of regime from Tokugawa, to that of Satsuma-Choshu clans. If the planners of shaping a federation of Unions over the country had an egoistic mind or wanted to prevent it for his own sake, we must expell, at the first place, such capitalist covered with a skin of labourer.
>
> .....The federative organization will be divided into two types, i.e. a centralized coalition which subject all member unions to a spreme organ, and free federation, under which each union delegates a representative to discuss a common problem. Then if the to-day labour union is organized with spontaniety, it

> will be impossible to have a centralized coalition. However a few ambitious men and those of other intentions have wanted to utilize the organization. Further a formality might be a centralization, though the staffs of present labour unions have no real power, so that they can not do anything. Still they have insisted to do, they would request the army, the police or even power of money. The members who have demanded such coalition are the shameless people to reign the fellow with power as well as the capitalist with money. The trade unions in Soviet Russia has been corrupted with bureaucracy as the bolchevist recognized it, and in spite of registering membership coercively there is a tendency of alienation from the union which indicates us that a coalition is nothing but a contravention to a spirit of labour emancipation movement. We denounce firmly such organization. Then what kind of organization we want to have? In the first step, when labour unions being separated at the present moment because of various job and industry, they must be federated out of necessity. It is natural that they will begin to draw fellow men with the same industry in a district, and that it will be a strong federative unit. Then such units with the same industry are integrated into a district federation. On the other hand, the common industrial unions will federate with other unions through the country. Thus the former and the latter come together, they will build up a national federation of labour unions over the country, and that they will solve a common problem with coworking, while a particular one, they will do it with their own will and poer. It is such free federative union that we want to have. It is necessary more than all that we make up a bud of future society in our own organization

We disbibuted the leaflet of above purport to the unions and requested a consent and an approval from the General League. Furthermore on 9th September, we held a preparatory meeting with Kumiai Domei (the League of Union), Kikai Rengo (the Machinery Federation) and Osaka Rengo (the Federation of Osaka Machinery Union), then decide as follows:

- We will avoid our egoistic sentiment and endeavour to build up "the General Federation".
- But we must insist and fight against the opinion which enables a few staffs to assume the leadership and make "the General Federation" to be a centralized Organization.
- The Machinery Federation advocates that "when more than two unions of the same industry or occupation in a district want to participate in, it ought to organize a federation." Yet if the thesis will hinder "the General Federation", they will reserve as far as putting an insertion of "as a rule" into the Rule, etc..

(In the preparatory meeting with members of the General League, they have come to a confirmation that the grand meeting will be

held in Osaka, the date is fixed on 30 September, from 9:AM. A delegate is selected from a union composing the member less than 200, two delegates less than 500 members, three delegates less than 1000 members and one delegate will be added by each 1000 members. Further an eminent activist of Osaka Dockyard Worker's Union, Suehiro Nishio (later he became a chief of Democratic Socialist Party in post war Japan) offered a proposal that "a member has no qualification unless he acknowledges two objects as maintaining & reforming of labour conditions, and reshaping the society in addition with realizing these objects by means of a struggle." Contrary against it, Tatsuo Mizunuma, an anrchist and a member of Kumiai Domei replied "at the present, the members who want a participation are either to maintain and reform the labour conditions or the mild unions in lack of struggle. While the General Federation has intended to comprise either of them, then it it better to eliminate a word of "struggle". This debate indicates us ironically that a right wing activist is sometimes more radical than an anarchist, and the importance of how to form an organization in stead of how to impact the society with a unity of workers. Translator' Notes.)

A DRAFT OF RULES OF GENERAL FEDERATION

Article 1 The federation is called NIPPON RODOKUMIAI RENGO or the Federation of Japan Labour Unions and the center is set up in Tokyo.

Article 2 The Federation is consisted of occupational and industrial unions having more than 50 members, of which objects are to maintain & reform the labour conditions and to reshape the society. But it will be a rule to form a districtive and a national federation whenever one of the same industry or more than two unions of the same occupation want to partake in the Federation.

Article 3 The Federation shall not violate the right of autonomy of each union.

Article 4 The Federation has three objects.
1. The expansion of common will of labour unions.
2. To promote labour unionization among the workers.
3. International linkage of labour unions.

Article 5 The Federation has three functions.
a. General meeting
b. Board
c. District Board.

a. The general meeting is carried out by the delegates once in every year whenever the Board acknowledges it. A delegate is selected by more than 50 members up to 200 members, two delegates by more than 200 members up to 500 members, three delegates by more than 500 members up to 1000 members, and add with one delegate by each 1000 members.

b. The function of the Board is to perform a decision by the general meeting and do the work as occassion demand. The member of Board will be composed of delegates' from each union.

c. The District Board will be taken place when the district members want to do.

Article 6 A regular director of the Board will be selected with mutual election and let him charge on the daily business.

Article 7. 8 Of accounting.

Article 9 In accordance with an agreement by more than two third members of the Board, it is possible to approve a membership, a withdrawal or a temporary membership until the next general meeting.

Article 10 A member union can be withdrawn from the Federation at any time.

Article 11 The general meeting will approve or expell a member by more than two third of voters.

The Memorial day for labour union movement in Japan has come, that is, 30th September 1922. The delegates, the members of unions and others, more than 1000 militants have marched in files to the city hall of Tennoji from the Office of League of Unions.....

The attitude of the General League had been subversive and narrows. Before the meeting, a trouble was raised for a seat of audience. The League insisted that "except the delegate, the audience should be on the first floor". While we, the members of Union League advocated that "the staffs of Union attended with the qualification of advicer should present by the side of the delegates.", but we were forced to consent with a menance of shelving by the League. After the calling and the examine of qualification, we entered in discussion of the rules. Article 1st was approved unanimously, but artice 2nd caused a hot debate related to the acquirement of membership as Mizunuma proposed a review that an union could participate in the Federation whose aim was only "to maintain and improve the labour conditions". Further contrary to the former thesis that "but it will be a rule to form a district or a nation wide federation whenever more than two unions of the same occupation or the same industry want to participate in the Federation", a delegate of the General League offered an alternative that "when more than two unions of the same occupation or the same industry want to participate in, they ought to form a national federation with an aim of coalition". (Mr. Hirai's proposal) Another delegate Yoshiaki Nakamura was for it and added by saying "the Labour Union should advance in parallel with capitalism and in order to demonstrate its power, it should be a centralized organization, thereby the union should be allied." The members of General League applaused his address. Then Shinjiro Uno was against it and approved the proposal by Mizunuma. The General League offered another alternative by a personal name of Shinichi Yokota as "when more than two uions of the same industry or the same occupation want to participate in, they must form a districtive or national

federation in the prespective of coalition." which added with an address by Takada that "all of us are against centralization, but coalition might not be centralism." The General League advocated Yokoishi proposal by confirming both Hirai's and Yokoishi's and declared they were against all other alternative, thus the conference was suspended for a while. The difference between Mizunuma's proposal and that of Yokoishi was only an insertion of phrase that "in the perspective of coalition", but it went on a dead rock, which related to a choice of the director of the board. The Union League suspected a secession and proposed a compromise that "both proposals with opposition would be withdrawn for a while, and discuss a plan which would be appreciated with accordance for proceeding, etc." But it was refuted by the General League with their excitment and uphevel. Thus the members of Kumiai Domei (the Union League) confirmed each other that "We will support Mizunuma's as pssible as we can do, if it is secesseded, though it is not our volition, and there is no other mean, we must cling to a hope notwithstanding a secession and persuade the General League with reflection.
At the reopening of meeting there were an approval address and disapproval one relatively. Many delegates cried out "Chair man!" and approached toward the platform with excitment. The members of General League replied with many abuses. In a sudden the police interfered in and ordered dispersion. The audience was arrested one after another. They accused "violation of police" and demanded a reason of the outrage. The meeting was disruppted by the authorities. The Kumiai Domei (the League of Unions) proposed to continue the conference and if it was impossible, they wanted to negotiate a conclusion. Further they issued "An appeal to the workers over the country" with a purport of Free Federation.
While a chairman represented from the General League did not contact us, nevertheless they declared "a split". Thus Rodo Kumiai Zenkoku Teki So Rengo, or the General Federation of Labour Unions throughout the country came to nil.

Notes: Another interesting episode of the secession, which Nakahama Tetsu, a representative member of Guillotin group reported in his organ "Kuro Pan" or the Black Bread that some young ones contrived a plan to murder Ōsugi at this occassion, as he was a leading boss behind the League of Unions. In truth, Ōsugi wanted to form a free federation of labour movement calling up the right wing activists as well as the bolshevik. But his hope was smashed in embrio. From then on the anarchist's efforts in labour movement are deprived of an extension and contracted gradually.

ANARCHO-TERROLISM

During Kanto Daishinsai or the great earthquake, which attacked Tokyo district on 1st September 1923, caused the death of 901,802. At the same time, many socialists besides Sakae Ōsugi and his wife Noe Ito were murdered in the disguise of uphebels. Then Fumiko Kaneko, an avowed woman anarchist at her 22 and her Korean husband, Pack Yul were kept in custody, who were framed up later to a conspiracy. The anarchist movement lost its intiators and the young militants were led to astray. Daisuke Nanba (1899-1923) raded the prince Hirohito at Torano-mon with a pistol deviced in cane on 27 December 1923, failed and received a death sentence. In next year 1924, Kyutaro Wada (1893-1928) an anarco-syndicalist, Genjiro Muraki (1890-1924), both were co-workers of Ōsugi, watched a chance to kill a general Fukuda, who was a commander in chief of the seize at the time of the earthquake and they tought he was in charge of Ōsugi's assassination, so they wanted to take revenge for the murder. Wada-Kyu, this Kyutaro Wada nicknamed, was skillful of making poem "HAIKU", and he attacked the general Fukuda by surprise on 1st September 1924, but because of a blank shot, which injured slightly his opponent, he was soon arrested and sentenced a death penality with trial.
On the other hand, one of young activist's groups, Kosakunin Shya or the group for tenant farmers, later professed themselves "Guillotine Shya" of which leaders were Tetsu Nakahama, Daijiro Furuta (1900-1925) and Kozo Kawai (1899-1942) tried to rebuild an anarchist front at Ōsaka. Yet they were impatient to get the fund, so that they were trapped in gangsterism. Furuta apologized his deed in his confession of "Shi no Zange" a book titled "a confession of the dying" which hit a boom with his naviet and agony of life.

FROM HIS CONFESSION

"Alas! the metropolice has become a ruin, now." Thus I had read a newspaper with pictures in my dreamy sentiment. Without knowing the pictures, the earthquake seemed to me a lie. They might deceive us together. But those horrible pictures convinced me its truth. Walking along the pier, I had seen a lot of people fishing with a rod and line. They did not bothered with the earthquake, nor calamity at all. I wondered at them, then looked on the gloomy side of our enterprise (movement), which would have impacted them. I reflected myself that the earthquake caused by nature, while a revolution would be carried out with efforts of human beings. The nature can not overthrow the human society, but a man can revolutionize it.
The society of human beings is like an elephant. The earthquake is rain from heaven, which do not moist her belly. The work which we are intended to do is insertion of a small needle into her body.

The work is as small as its scar. But rot begins from the scar until the elephant will be decomposed at last. I comforted myself with the thought of no belly in such case....

(Adapted from Shikeishyu no Omoide, reprinted by Kokushyoku Sensen Shya 1971, that is, A memoir of condemned criminal.)

A KOSAKA INCIDENT (1923)

by Daijiro Furuta

It was three or four years ago, at the show of Kokuyokai (the Black Brightness group composed of the artists) I had seen a hanging scroll by Sakae Ōsugi, which declared with words; One who submits a petition does not get anything, a blackmailer, a little, but an extorter will be given everything. I could not make head or tail of it. But I felt it funny. In those days I liked an excentric phrase. Later I saw it often in various leaflets and understood the origin which came from a German Maxim or so, then gradually I had been accustomed with a life of Shyugishya (activist). Having entered in practical life, I implied the aphorism to raising a fund for our cause. The last phrase i.e. "the extorter gets everything" attracted exceedingly my attention. Extortion of the fund for our movement! Our fund should be raised like that, I wispered it in my mind. For our movement should eliminate a compromise with the enemy as little as possible, while it demands us a big money. With these two reasons, I conceived that the fund should raise from expropriation.

My idea got encouraged by the knowledge of inner affairs of the Russian Nihilist. Their sucessful actions were supported with abundant fund. How did they raise the money? Contributions and donnations were few. A big money was accumulated by the members who ran a risk. There were a young man absconded with the money as a bank clerk, a wife seized upon the inheritance of "a rich husband after having murdered him", a bandit raided the bank in the dusk or a burglar attacked an official cash van by a surprise, etc. Owing to such sacrifices, a big fund was collected at the center and that enabled the nihilist party to have done a world shaking event.

It is a thankless task to raise a fund. Every body wants to do an eminent work and avoids a dirty one. It may be easy to find a man who falls on street by throwing a bomb. But one who dies willingly in the disgrace of robbery or a killer is difficult to recruit. If I wish to be a devoted activist, I should be contented with bad reputation. I made up my mind to carry out robbery in some day. After having got a notion of Russian Nihilist activities, I was tormented with a thought of cowardice that I would not like to die with a thankless task. As a last resort, I could find no other

mean to raise a fund except robbery.

I resolved it in my mind, but another problem remained. I must solve it plainly. The last problem was whether we should kill a man who would bother our action in order to achieve our purpose? I did not hestate it at all. I concluded that a disturber should be liquified at once. It is true to murder a man is a horrible and sorrowful thing. But when you chop wood, chips will be scattered, and that a small sacrifice will be unavoidable for a great purpose. "Let a big love live, a small love shall be sacrificed."

He explained one of his driving forces to cause the Kosaka Incident was to appease a discord among his comrades. Most of them were under 30-year. Daijiro was at his 25 years of age. He said "our group was in sorrowful conditions on the verge of secession. There were tediousness, disappointment and despair. I came down to Ōsaka for clearing away such sad atmosphere. It was indeed a critical moment for our group's destiny...." His comrade Tetsu Nakahama believed that "it is needful a martyr from our group. We have a role for each one properly. Therefore a little man must undertake his thankless task." Daijiro commented that it denoted three or four comrades enough being remained, while tha other should sacrify themselves with pleasure for the cause. But the open declaration induced a discordance among them that who would be appointed to remain for a big purpose, etc. They concented anyway to get a big money to cut away such blind alley. Four members including Daijiro practiced robbery by attacking two bank clerks on their way in carrying of a cash trank. Daijiro concealed a dagger in his bosom to menance an opponent. But in emergency of strife "my dagger in my right hand stabbed a clerk through his waist." At last they robbed only 75 yens and ran away. Soon after all of them were arrested. Daijiro and Nakahama were executed on charges of burglary and murder in 1925. Daijiro depicted the sentiment of a terrolist in his confession. "I said I had lost an interest in the world, but it was not true. Why I disdained pleasure, because I had a great interest in everything. With my exceeded interest I wanted it to be deepened and tast its last dregs. For that reason I demanded a perfect society where a man is more faithful and amiable each other. If were there faithfulness and love, nor smaring thing arround them, pleasure of our life would be more deepened without fail...)

It is easy to condemn them however they had a pure heart like Rabachol or Vanyan, they devieted from the cause by confounding end with mean. But we must remember the thesis that end does not justify mean, is procured from bitter experience like above mentioned example. Further I have to point out another peculiar aspect of life style of the anarchist activist in those days. That is to say, to live with "Ryaku" was popular among them, which stood for an extortion or a black mailer. Etymologically "Ryaku" was snatched from Kotoju's version of "Conquest of The Bread" or "Pan no Ryaku shyu", and that young activists utilized it for

their own convenience, not work in the sweat of their brows, but talk a fanciful revolution with drinking sake except some sporadic support for strikers. Yet it is also true that whenever they wanted to earn their living, the authorities interfered on their ways and forced their employers to fire them with informations as they were under police's supervision, etc. There is an episode that even Ōsugi had obtained 300 yens from chief of the Metropolitan Police as the latter deprived him the right of subsistance with persecution, and consummed two third of them in publication of his organ.

Notes; Torano Mon Incident---On 27 December 1923, Daisuke Nanba (1899-1924) fired a bullet from his pistol-cane to the Prince Regent, Hirohito at Torano Mon. He was the third son of Sakunoshin Nanba, a land owner and a member of Parliament. His father resigned his membership immediately after the incident. He was an excentric as he was surpressed by his father. He revolted against him with a testament that "...curse to parents! I am an unfilial son, but it is my duty to cast hatredness to the authority of parents. As I heared that you would not have your meal (because of public opinion, his father closed the door and only take a meal in a day...T.N.), but I do not weep for you, why am I so stubborn?.....Despotism and covetousness, which are my foremost enemies. My revel came from despotism, covetousness bore my socialism. As far as a convention forced me subjugation, you were in safety. But when that ugly "Virtue" was broken with a stroke of knowledge, that tame sheep transformed into a man, or a convinced revel. You may complain that "I have done for him as possible as I can do. But he returned it with such disgrace....etc." As a man of society, you may be a gentleman with virtue and moderation, but in my eyes of the judge, you have no honour other than the greatest hipocracy..." He avowed that "I am an anarchist and a syndicalist, but I admit centralization (centralism) until the proletaliate takes over power." His antagonism to the emperor family was caused from unfairness of treatment of Kotoku and other 24 comrades. He declared "in the past, hundred thousand proletarians were dead in the battle with an order of the emperor, or the state. Even now such menance is over us as far as the emperor institution continues...is it not horrible thing?" He admitted that "Terrolism is far advanced than socialism. It is far advanced than socialism. It is the foremost avanguard, which is also a monster to silence the coward and ambiguous socialism.." He was executed on 15 November 1924. It is reported his last words were "Foreever Japanese proletaliate, Japan Communist Party, Russian Socialist Soviet Republic and Communist International," etc.

Pak Yul's Incident (Pak Retsu's Jiken)...
The Koreans were usually the nationalists after annexation of her mother country to Japan (1911). But some of them appreciated socialism and fraternal sentiment with the anarchists in

Japan. Pak founded an association of "Futeishya" meant "Rebellous Association" and the organ, "The revellous Korean" but in later changed its title into "The bold Korean", because Japanese phonetic sound of Futei and Futoi are slipped out of our attention, while its colloquial meaning indicates the same thing. He cooperated with some Japanese and issued "The contemporary Society". During this period he intimated with a Japanese woman anarchist, Fumiko Kaneko (1901-1926), who declared the convertion to anarchism, because of her conditions and reading,(refer to her book "What has forced me to do so"). They were arrested at the time of earthquake (1923) and prosecuted for violation on the social security law, then framed up to lèse majesté, condemned to death, in later arreviated to a penal servitude for life. Fumiko was in indignation and committed suicide at Tochigi Prison.

The guillotine Shya Incident...The members of guillotine Shya (Group) were sentenced due to their explosive bomb trials, burgary and murder-revenge on Ōsugi as follows.

- *Daijiro Furuta (26) executed on 15 October 1925.*
- *Tetsu Nakahama executed on 15 April 1926.*
- *Kyutaro Wada, Kozo Kawai, Jiro Konishi were a life long servitude.*
- *Gentaro Uchida, Eikichi Shigeno, Yoshio Ogawa were sentenced with 14-year's imprisonment.*
- *Keiji Kurachi, Kiichi Naka were for 12 years.*
- *Koiichi Ito, Katsumi Ueno were for 3 years.*

Sources: Nippon Museifu Shugi Undo Shi published by Kokushyoku Sensen Shya, 1970.
Nanba Daisuke Taigyaku Jiken published by Kokushyoku Sensen Shya, 1972.
Kuro Pan edited by Tetsu Nakahama.

ANARCHISM VS. SYNDICASISM

It was in 1925 that the law of universal suffrage passed through the Diet. But it was accompanied with another important draft, i.e. the Maintenance of the Public Order Act. The former made the working class to have voting for their representative, the latter prohibited them even a gathering, not to mention propaganda by deed. An anarcosyndicalist, Hitomi Enishi explained in his autobiography (Enishi Hitomi Jiden, -A carrier through the labour movement-) that "these two laws, the former seemed a carot for the worker but nil for us, while the latter, a stick, became a weapon of the enemy to damage the social movement, which you can discern in our history thereafter...." He witnessed the universal suffrage brought in a dissention among the militants of labour movement. First of all, the General League of unions splitted into three factions, that is to say, the conservative unions maintaining cooperation with capital and labour, the unions of neutrality, which advocated a blank paper policy, in another word, it said "the trade unionism should be independent from any ideology, policy and political party. Therefore the union stands for a clean slate in choice of any mean" (declared by Kikai Rodo Kumiai Kai, or the Machinery Labour Union.) These two attitudes showed in the course of times their social democratic unionism, for they supported parliamentalism and approved I.L.O. (the International Congress of I.L.O. invited the Japanese delegates with admittance of the government in February 1924.). The third one was a faction of bolshevik. They fortified gradually their stand to smuggle a cell system in factories regardless of persecution by the authorities.

On the other hand, the unions of free federation had disassociated from the General League after the split of anarchist and bolshevik's debate, became gathered together by increasing their standpoint of anarchism. According to Enishi, he explained that "for instance, the core of the Machinery Unions were the Machinery men's Union, Motoshiba Labour Union, Nippon Rogi Kai, the Ordinance Workers' Union, the Navy Workers' Union etc. The Machinery Men's Union opposed to parliamentary action and attendance at I.L.O. Congress to the last and dissented from the League of Machinery Unions, then purified its ideology of anarchism by having emphasized its fighting attitude. In latter it cowaorked with Kanto Electric Machinery Worker's Union, Gunsei Labour Union, the Tokyo Confectionery Workers' Union, the Automobil Workers' Union and made up the League of Kanto Labour Unions." His indication of naming union shows us the variety of industry in his days and instructes us the development of modern industry in Japan.

In advance with the labour movement, there appeared the other phenomenon of anarchist activities. They appraised the effect and limitness of private terrolism, Ryaku, or the life style of black-

mail, tried to solidate with the syndicalist. They are usually nominated as "the ideologist association." The members of such association were, in fact, the unemployed youth, literal men and women, the youth unsettled in urban life, etc. They founded Kokushyoku Seinen Renmei, litteraly the League of Black Youth in 1926. Their organ "the Black Youth" declared "We believe that the method of revolution in Japan will be a collective activity based on the labour movement. By consulting with the past history, having examined the present and predicted the effect, we have considered terrolism by the minority would have been a fiasco. At the sametime, we can not be patient enough with a detour of revolution, which will be realized with the conscience of the whole people. The road to eliminate exploitation and rule, to take over freedom, equality and richness is that the labour union (the union of free federation) will perform subjectively in revolution of Japan. Our belief is not at all dogmatic. If such federative labour union, village, factory and city commune appeared, the revolutionary movement in Japan will be achieved." "Now, it is not a time of destruction. We can see how many of boasting talkes of the so-called terrolist and the revolutionary arround us. But a revolution comes from factory, mine, village and street. We must think with courage and act with precaution."

Thus the elements of Black Youth went in the labour unions or became the organizer in order to achieve the anarchist revolution throughout the country. It is said that they supported and interfered a number of strikes, such as Keisei Tram Way strike, Hitachi Kameari Electric factory's strike, and Hamamatsu Music Instrument Company's strike and so on. An example of their direct action is recorded by Akira Miyazaki as follows. (It was a case of Hitachi Kameari Factory's strike. The beginning of dispute was unionization of employees with support of the federative union.)

"At the first step, the members of Black League (Koku Ren) distributed leaflets several times among the main office and factories of Hitachi to menance the capitalist. But we realized the inefficiency of such a propabanda by deed and that it was needs to carry out some other action. One night of september 1926, about 20 members of Black League attached the mansion of Kuwabara, the president of Hitachi. After having distributed the leaflets, we rushed into the ante-room, the drawing room, smashed a battle of volatil oil and ignited it with a match. Having seen flaming up a fire, we returned...." Two days after this incendiarism, he was arrested and sentenced for 5 years.

On 25 May 1926, four local federations (Kanto, Kansai, Chyugoku and Hiroshima) composed of 23 unions added with two others from Hokkaido took place the meetings by four hundred delegates. They adopted a platform and built up a national organization named Zenkoku Rodo Kumiai Jiyu Rengo Kai or the National Free Federation of Labour Unions. The active union was Tokyo Insatsu Kumiai or the Tokyo Printers' Union. Typical aspects of the movement were that it was managed by the workers themselves, antipaphy towards an intellectual, a strong hold against bolshevism, and international

solidarity with the overseas movement. The organ of the Federation was issued at first Jiyu Ren Go (the Free Federation 1926-1928) then changed its name the Jiyu Rengo Shinbun, or the organ of Free Federation 1928-1935, lasted for 10 years as a monthly paper numbered up to 98. It dealt mainly with domestic labour affairs, support of unionization for the worker in various industry, while as for foreign incidents, it campaigned the rescure of Sacco-Vanzetti (1927), reported the death of Errico Malatesta (1932), Nestor Makhno (1934) and the Spanish War (1934) etc. Because of their attitude opposed to Japanese militalism, which undertook an invasion into Manchuria (1931) and the continent, they were severly persecuted, yet some members of the Free Federation were convinced anarchists, who became gradually strengthened to take the initiative of the Federation. Enishi pointed out this situation as there were members of Koku Ren or the Black Youth League, so that their membership was like A.F.I. to C.N.T. in Spain of 1930s. This happy accompanyment did not last for a long. At the second session of Free Federation of 1927, a member of Tokyo Printers' Union proposed a review of the platform. He insisted replacement of the class struggle with free federation as their basic confirmation. (see the platform of Free Federation) Outwardly it seemed nothing to be changed, but, in fact, it was intended to expell a syndicalist with a nuance of bolshevism by purifying the anarchist doctrin. They relied principally on Kropotkin's local production & consumption system in opposition to division of work and Marxian surplus value. As it would have produced another reigning class over the worker, they refuted the class struggle. The other members made up Nippon Rodokumiai Jiyu Rengo Kyogi Kai (1929), or the Japan Free Federative Council of Labour Unions, advocated the class struggle as their daily struggle in the perspective of the anarchist revolution. Their organ was Kokushyoku Ro-No Shinbun or the Black Worker-Peasant paper, then changed its title "The Worker's paper". Their well known dispute was the support of strike of Nippon Senju, or the factory of coloring carpet, a member of Kanto Publisher Worker's Union, Hiroshi Chiba climbed up a chimney and stayed there for 15 days. His hunger strike was applaused by AIT in Amsterdam. On the other hand, the hot quarrel between the pure anarchists (so the members of Free Federation were accused by the comrades of Federative Council) and the anarco-syndicalists, (the members of Federative Council) continued and escalated up to personal abuses each other. Even an appeal by A. Suthy (1930 February) and a pamphlet titled "Syndicalism no Hanashi" or "Talk on Syndicalism" by Sanshiro Ishikawa did not appease their antagonism. Kenji Kondo, a coworker of Ōsugi and a survival of Rodo Undo Sha's movement regreted this situation in camparison with the former ana-bol debate and confessed it an inner strife among the anarchists'front. Another critic, Ryuji Komatsu argued it cynically "As there was no space of the syndicalist movement for the anarchist at that occassion, they refused class struggle beforehand and thus they got a license free from the labour movement." (Refer to Nippon Anarchism Undo Shi 1973) They reconcilled again with

vicissitudes in 1934, but the time had already passed over them. Jingoism enforced the labour mevement to coworking with the war time structure. Both activists of the Free Federation and the Free Federative Council were dispersed throughout the country. And now we can trace their hot argument merely on records.

PLATFORM OF THE JIYU RENGO KAI

1. We set in our emancipation movement of the worker and the tenant farmer with the class struggle.
2. We exclude political action and insist on economic activities.
3. We proclaim Free Federation in accordance with separate industrial organization and forsake centralism.
4. We contradict to the invasion by imperialism and declare International Unity of the Worker.

(the drafter, Eiichi Nobushima and declared in 1926 accompanied with the Esperanto Version)

DEVIZO

Ni vidas Klasbatalon kiel la bazo de liveriganta movads de laboristoj kaj farmistoj.
Ni opinias ekonomian movadon eksklusive de ĉüij politikaj Movadoj.
Ni proklamas liberan federalismon lau industria klasifiko, kaj foratakas centralizismon.
Ni kontrauas imperialisman invadon, kaj delkaras internacian unuiĝon.

ZENKOKU RODOKUMIAI ĴIYU RENGO KAI

RULES OF THE JIYU RENGO KAI

1. Our federal association nominates Zen Koku Rodo Kumian Jiyu Rengo Kai or the National Free Federation of Labour Unions, and consists of labour unions & unions of tenant farmer of all district.
2. The membership is admitted with approval of our rules, but in case of admission, it is needful a recommendation of the organization concerned and approval of member union.
3. The member union has autonomy of its activity and management unless it does not conflict to the rules. However the member union does act contrary to the rules, first of all, we issue

a warning, then expell the union when it does not obey.

4. The member union shall pay ¥10 sen par head to the Federation as a fee. Once payed fee will not be returned. Further if the fee does not send to the Federation without any reason for 3 months, we regard the union as its dismissal. Extra fee will be collected on a special occassion.
5. Our Federation undertakes the following business;
   - To issue the organ by every month and other publication occassionally.
   - Properganda by deed based on rules.
   - Interconnection among member unions.
   - To hold the general meeting.
6. The general meeting will take place once a year. Decision right is afforded for each union, but the absent union will be regarded as abstention of voting. Though it is possible to pass a letter of trust by making clearly its standpoint to every subject.
7. The decision of the meeting is confirmed with over half members, but a minor union does not be expected to follow the majority, so far as it does not conflict to the platform or the rules. But in such case the opinion of each union will be openly declared.
8. Whenever the opinion is divided among the member unions concerning to the attitude of Federation, the minority is expected to offer its opinion to the general meeting as far as the rules concede and demand a discussive voting towards it.
9. When the demand were supported over one third of member unions, it ought to have taken place a temporary meeting.
10. The general meeting decides appraisal of organization, rules and other important items. The decision does not changed unless it would make another decision by next meeting.
11. To realize the decision of the meeting, each member union represents several men of liaison, who will be the delegates of each member union and manage the business of the Federation in cadre of rules. And in case of emergency, they can deal with it by consultation, but they are also to get an approval by reporting it to the next secession.
12. The draft proposed to the general meeting should be sent to each member union before a month of its opening. In case of emergency, it is out of this consideration.
13. Accounting will be reported by every month.
14. The office of Zenkoku Rodo Kumiai Jiyu Rengo Kai is founded at Tokyo.

The following articles are adopted to show their hot debates related to the class struggle. Syuzo Hatta was an ideologue of Free Federation and Yuzuru Kubo was regarded a sympathizer of the Federative Council.

AN APPRAISAL OF SYNDICALISM

by Shyuzo Hatta
declared in 1927

There are three types of Trade Unionism, one has an object to maintain a profit for the worker, the other is organized as an agency of the bolshevik, but the third is the syndicalist's union which fights against capitalism face to face. Then the syndicalist's union has become gradually divided into two, one is an union to advance the worker, the other approaches to communism. So that we must appraise whether it is corruption of syndicalism or a substantial defect of syndicalism itself. Whenever a principle or a doctrine is corrupted, it is not only fault of an ideologist or a person concerned, but also due to its substantial defect of an ism, therefore that ism has no more inspiration to attract a man. This is the reason to imply us examining syndicalism and other two or three principles.

1. Historical Meaning of Syndicalism (A)

To appraise syndicalism, we must see two aspects. One is its historical meaning and the other, theoritical one. What is the historical meaning of syndicalism? What sense that syndicalism has afforded for the labour movement? The world labour movement has orginated in England. And that England has been a laboratory of trade unionism throughout the world. That is to say, it seems that the experiment carried out in England is again experienced in the other parts of the world. Because I am confident that the experiment of labour movement in England has tested three types of failure and being decayed. So the labour movement of the world has repeated the same types of fiasco and fallen into a deep slumber.

Political revolution of England started in 1642 and accomplished it in 1868, that is, it was 100 years before the French Revolution. Thereby it is needless to point out that her industrial revolution and a trend of unionization had been the first of all in the world. Well, what the advanced labour movement has experienced? I say three types of failure. 1st is obtaining suffrage, 2nd is economic activity and 3rd, churchism. The history of labour movement in England shows that they had fighted to obtain suffrage from 1825 to 1832, but it came to nil. If they could get universal suffrage, it would be failed, too. Then under the banner of "economic activity" from 1832 to 1835, they walked the same road of syndicalism however they cried out falsehood of voting. That militant movement had been persecuted with the regining class, though they could not overcome with merely economic activity. So that Churchism raised in 1838 for another 20 years. Churchism advocated political power for the worker, yet in stead of suffrage, it added with an illegal movement of secret society and it failed, too. Because there were two factions, one was for violent revolution and the other promoted gradual advancement of morality. It was

decomposed from inner struggles.
After the experience for 30 years from 1825 to 1855, the labour movement in England has become gentle reformism, and even now it is impossible to get rid of it. Still more the labour mevement of the world has nothing but repeatation of failure which I have indicated above three types.
Marx inherited the Churchist's movement; but soon he revised it a political activity with reformism, which impacted syndicalism as reaction, further at the opportunity of the World War 1st, having syndicalism decayed, it raised Bolshevism. On the other hand, Bolshevism has been successed among the extremist and the moderatist in Soviet Government, which led to raise political mevement everywhere, then invoked again syndicalism as reaction. I believe three modes of labour movement are also three types of failure. However such failures are repeated for a hundred year, the people will not be emancipated at all. The true emancipation of people should rely on the other unique movement differed completely to three types. The reason why P. Kropotkin suggested a new road to advancement is, indeed, in this point.

2. Historical Meaning of Syndicalism (B)
In this paragraph, he insisted that syndicalism had a story of its failure, M Bakuhnin was not a simple syndicalist, for he was a man of many sides, so it is impossible to assert him a syndicalist in reference with the 1st International Movement. Having cited a warrant by Malatesta to the syndicalist, expallusion of anarchism from the Amian Congress, he argued that there was no one who admitted anarchism being very much the same as syndicalism. Further the tendency of syndicalism had been changed since the 1st World War, and anarchism did not cooperate with syndicalism any more. For example, the NAVAT anarchist in Russia had adopted a tactic of syndicalism, but at the meeting of September, 1920, they separated from the syndicalist. He concluded the historical meaning of syndicalism was "economical activities opposed to political activities", which told us a fiasco by instances of both French syndicalism and English one in 1832.

3. Theoritical Meaning of Syndicalism (A)
As we have seen above, syndicalism is neither theory, nor idea, but a tendency of labour movements, still more it can not be thoughtless as far as the labour movement is a conscienced one of human beings. In short, syndicalism has no systimatic thought, but it is also intolerable with thoughtlessness, which indicates its weak point and rupture. In another word, as syndicalism is by no means of its proper thought, so it has another one at the background. Then what is there? I convince them both anarchism and marxism. In this sense, syndicalism is an amphibious animal. By examining this point, we can understand it is based on the class struggle with a declaration of the Amian Congress and the tendency since 1902. As you know that the class struggle has originated from modern capitalism. The working class raised in the production

method is against the capitalist class in respect of contradiction of profit, and that this new raising workers' class has acquired a class conscience and started a struggle between two classes, while the workers' class fights with a tacitic of unity and expects the complete emancipation of the workers' class by a final battle with the capitalist. In this case, it has a theory of Marx at the background.....
Secondly syndicalism has adopted "creative violence" of the minority (I allude it revolutionary syndicalism). According to their saying, the true emancipation of the worker is realized by creative dynamics with a few convinced militant, who has inspired the majority.
Thirdly syndicalism has adopted industrial factors raised historically in capitalism, and wanted to controll the new social organization by means of division of work. Of course it emphasizes a research of local demand, but it adopts division of work as an economic organization and constructs a society of producers. In this sense, it has the theory of Marx's economy and that of the socialist in general.
As I have considered above, syndicalism has its basic thought by adopting most of all Marxism and that added with creative violence of the minority from anarchism.

4. Theoritical Meaning of Syndicalism (B)
In this paragraph, he analysed the class struggle and interoduced three definitions of proletaliate, i.e. those of Charles Holl, Louis Blan and Marx, then he confirmed the current class struggle meant nothing but that of Marx. He investigated why it became reformism, he concluded that "in spite of enthusiasm of syndicalism and abundance of its activists, it becomes gradually falling into reformism and can not keep cooperation with anarchism, because syndicalism is intolerable with thoughtlessness, and has two thought of contradiction (i.e. marxism and anarchism). While the class struggle requires the majority and does not agree with violence of the minority, therefore by forcing coherence, enthusiasm of the minority to syndicalism will declin and fall into reformism, too.

5. Ideal and Danger of Syndicalism to the Future Society - a conclusion -
Syndicalism advocates division of work as a productive organization in the future society. It is without doubt that any production is carried out by division in the society. But the so-called division of work does not mean a separated work. Its typical characteristics are, in the first place, mechanization of labour, secondly a man engaging in one production has no responsibility, understanding and interest towards the other industry, thirdly it is needful a synthetic organ presided over the divided works. I will explain in brief these three points. Division of work does not show any responsibility, understanding and interest towards the other industry, so a synthesis is carried out by a group of

persons who do not engage in the work. Power will be emerged from that group without fail. Contrary to this, in the commun organization of Kropotkin, the synthetic production is performed with a small scale of autonomy, so that the people are able to have responsibility, understanding and interest directly towards the other industry however they are undertaking one production system, indeed, there is no synthetic organ as they can synthesize the work on process and that there is no place of power. Moreover production becomes basic in the society of division of work, and the persons who work in the important industry acquire power over the synthetic organ comparing to the worker of less important industry, then there is the possibility of generating a class. Added this, division of work does not imply "man produces for himself with his own hands", so production and consumption do not cohere at all. That is, we can not hope true freedom where there is no freedom of production and consumption. Still, syndicalism has a plan of building up a sosiety emerged from the trade union after it has taken over the productive organ by means of general strike with class struggle of labour union, as a method of leading to the future society. But it is a self evident truth that power will be generated from even pure economic society whenever it is built up. The society of anarchy can not be expected unless it is Kropotokin's commune with inner syntheis, not depending on division of work.

In short, I have appraised syndicatism from my view point, and that I hope the present labour union will advance with a method and a spirit of anarchism, never inducing mere syndicalism, bolshevism, nor reformism.

Notes: The article is based on "Shiryo; Noson Seinen Sha Undoshi, or the History of Village Youth Movement in 1930s" Edited by Noson Seinen Sha Undo Shi Kankō Kai, 1972.

- *Shyuzo Hatta (1886-1934) born in Tsu-city in Kansai district, became a christian after having changed several occupations such as a news boy, a crew, a mail man etc. Entered in Meiji Gakuin and associated with Toyohiko Kagawa, a famous social worker of christianity, and Kazuo Kato, an anarchist writer. He was dispelled from church because of his anarchist activities in 1923, then became an ideologue of Zenkoku Rodo Kumiai Jiyu Rengo Kai, or the National Free Federation of Labour Unions. His main works are Nōsōmmondai Kōza or "A Course of Village Problem", and "Falacy of the Class Struggle". His translations are "Ethics - its orgin and development" by Kropotkin, "God and State" by Bakunin, etc.*

OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE DAILY STRUGGLE

by Yuzuru Kubo
Declared in Kokushyoku Undo, 1928

It is no wonder the anarchist promotes the class struggle and the daily struggle, for there is no reason to prevent such properganda by deed. It may be a few intolerant ideologist such as a part of Japanese anarchists who accuse the class struggle to be the amalgamation of Marxism. But a tactic of class struggle does not be monopoly of a marxist. We know that there is a lot of dogmatic and superficial idealists who confound class struggle of Marx with ours whenever it is indicated.

Equality of the society denotes presence of the class. And capitalism divides two classes such as the oppressor and the oppressed, the exploiter and the exploited. There we can face to the confrontation of classes and strife among them. Presence of class bears a class struggle. Where is a fact of class struggle, there is also our movement. Indeed, the problems are an aim and a method of struggle. Then we can see two main tendencies such as struggle based on authoritarian Marxism and that of Free Federation. According to Marxian class struggle, the proletariat will take a status of the capitalist by usurping political power with political struggle. Its object is political power, still more, it means monopoly of a party, thereby they leads the proletariat to take over political power for liberation of the worker. That is, marxian class struggle is not to cease a strife or contradiction of classes, but replacement of a position of the opposed. Nominally it is the dictatorship of proletariat, though in fact, they do not concern themselves with an intention of fellow worker for emancipation, despite being busy in possession of numerical strength. There the idea of free federation and spontaniety, which are the very important factors for building up the new society, are killed. Therefore we stand behemently in the opposition against them.

Our class struggle is based on principles of non private property and anti authoritarianism, to cease class confrontation, in short, to build up a new society where there is neither exploiter nor exploited, neither master, nor slave and revived with spontaniety and mutual free consentment in its completeness. After all, our class struggle is to achieve radical transformation of economic and political institution by means of the worker's organization under the ideal of free federation. Their struggle is to replace the class status, but ours is ceasing of class antagonism.

Because of aggravation of class struggle, you may condemn us the marxist, then the labour unions of free federation in the past was all most all a revolutional platform of class struggle, so you ought to blame them, the marxist, too. There is some one who excuses the class struggle that it denies by eliminating contradiction of classes. But it is nonsensical logic under the pretense

of not using the words of class struggle. It seems also to proclaim the cease of struggle against the master and the capitalist. Consequently to whom you are challenging a fight? You need not coin a new word differed to that of a bolshevik for the sake of logic. There are a number of borrowed tactics from the syndicalist and the anarchist in marxian strategy. If it is so, you, the narrow minded people, remind me of a fable of the dog having a fish in its mouth and barked at its mirrored face, then lost the bait, as you accuse indiscriminately us by using merely the same phrasology of bolshevik. Both free federation and class struggle denote a problem of the aim and the mean. The former means the word of social ideality, the latter is that of action. Whenever you confound them, you will bring forth a wrong guess and a divergence.

It is all the same to point out the daily struggle. As soon as it is indicated, you may hastily take it a struggle to raise wage or reforming conditions, and instruct us that yours will be to destroy the foundation of capitalism with a self evident explanation, which I assure you, confoundation of both effect and mean.

It is possible to argue the anarchist movement separated into economic and political phases. The movement related to economic field deals with the struggle to obtain daily bread for the worker. A desire to obtain better bread as well as conquering bread has been, in fact, the source of modern socialism. If the worker were deprived of desire for the good of tomorrow, there would not have been the emancipation movement. Anarchism has generated from the fact of worker's struggle. Excluding this fact, there is no other anarchism. As we have seen above, it has far important meaning than to despise the worker's economic struggle like mere reformism. We do not neglect the truth that there is a distance between raising wage, reforming conditions and the ideal society. Nevertheless it is our part to go step by step against the foundation of capitalism. I need not to point out that raising wage and reforming conditions for the worker are not aims at all for us. On the contrary, they are nothing but a mean or an excuse, yet with such excuse we ought raise a direct action and cultivate a bud of anarchism through daily struggle, which, I believe, will be the preparation of revolution. Since the first International, the tactic of anarchist has been placed on this point, and we have a firm belief not deviated from its course. It is also the reason that many anarchists have supported the idea of general strike which they obtained from the experiences of daily struggle in France. And that the marxist has laughed at it, whilst the Japanese anarchist-ideologist seems to approve unconsciously the marxian doctrin.

We, the anarchist, must work in labour unions of free federation as elements, though we do not be satisfied ourselves with simple economic daily struggle alone, or regard it the unique movement. There we can find the role of anarchist.

Besides the above mentioned economic struggle, there is also the political struggle. Besides economic oppression by the capitalist,

there is also political tyrany. That is to say, the struggle against the tight bondage of daily life. We ought to lead a direct struggle from revolting movements of the people against all political institution such as an oppressive measure and heavy tax for the benefit of the capitalist. There we let them be aware of anti-authoritarianism. We should snatch every chance out of economic and political struggles and prevail the anarchist thought, which is the preparatory movement and the grounds of our argument for daily struggle. We need not to add a word that our aim is radical destruction of the capitalist system, thereby we must consider what measure we will take, and polish our tactics. It is what we want to say. However you are boasting to destroy the foundation of organization, can you do it with a few anarchist? No, you can't. So it is needs to utilize what measure for destruction, which will come to into question. Without measure in proper to the aim, it is nothing but a fancy. Leaving everything to chance and persuading with "do it yourself" have nothing to bring us. We urge to snatch every chance and to utilize any moment of social phenomenon for shaking the foundation of the society. We have explained the struggle to the mouth piece and faciful persons who have misunderstood a temporary violence like the anarchist deed, which I am sure, come into nothing. That is to say, the daily struggle is a ceaseless struggle.

Notes: Yuzuru Kubo (1903-1961) born as the second son of the large restaurant "Yagura" at Ōsaka city. In 1923 he founded "Koku Shya", then "Kansai Black Banner League" as an anarco-syndicalist. In 1928 he engaged in editing of Kropotkin's Works. Went the exil in France (1937), it is said that he had lost a chance to work with Spanish comrades during the war. He lived Ōsaka in 1950, made up a group of anarco-syndicalist, issued the organ "The Labour Movement."

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The woman's suffrage right in Japan was bestowed from above in 1945. But before that time there was a long way of struggles by the feminist for the emancipation of women. According to womanly virtues inherited from the Chinese tradition "a woman as a child should subject to her parents, obey to her husband in marriage, then be guided by her children in her old age, etc." Or a buhddist's proverb says "a woman has no abode in the three-fold world," which indicates us that a woman is a desire-driven being. During 300 years of the Shyogunate a woman had not been recognized as an independent personality. She was usually treated like a piece of furniture or a child bearing machine to keep the family honour. Of course there were several talented women in our history, but they were nil from a view of the social status. It is interesting to cite an illustrative example. The civil law did not permit a divorce from the woman's side, while a husband could divorce his wife at will under the pretext of her long illness, childless, smearing her husband honour, even back-bitter to the family of which a woman had married until 1945. So that there had been a lot of tragedy such as the double suicide, Megataki Uchi (according to the convention of Samurai clan, the husband should revenge on a lover of his wife) and dishonouring of an elloped daughter. But in truth without the support of women, the peasant could not perform his daily routine, and a retail dealer used his wife's help, too. Then we may say that there was a kind of exploitation for women to keep the men's world. As far as the freedom of women is secluded, that of men will be also narrowed. A defect of the anarchist view related to women's emancipation is that he is apt to repeat the old song of the 1st International like this; the emancipation of women is the work of women themselves. Thereby the worker has built up the trade union, and the woman will make her own union, too, by excluding the anarchist cooperation as before.

Anyway during modernization of the Meiji era, Japanese intellectuals imported the self conscience from the West and instructed it to their wives and daughters, but innately the traditional teaching of "Ryosai-Kenbo", i.e. a good wife and a wise mother had been rooted deeply in women's consciousness. It was the Heiminsha Movement that they taught the freedom of women, woman's suffrage and economical independence. Kotoku declared at the meetings of "Socialism for women" that "I think the low status of women has principally caused from the war.....barburousness of men's minds which were caused from the war subjected and oppressed women, thus the woman became a slave of the man". He added the woman would suffer from a calamity of the war, so she should be a socialist to prevent it. Roughly speaking, the intiators of socialism of the Heiminsha Movement taught women from a view of the man,

however Sakai instructed that the freedom of women could not be achieved unless there was no equality of economy, and Sanshiro Ishikawa preached a free love of puritanism. Yet from that atmosphere Suga Kanno appeared as a revolutionary and followed with a breed of feminist since 1911, the year of her execution.

Akiko Hiratsuka (1886-1971) founded a woman's group and issued a magazine of "Seitō" (1911) taking after the name of "Blue Stockings" in England. She proclaimed in the first number of "Seitō" that;

> In the beginning, a woman was, indeed, the sun,
> A true human being. Now she is the moon.
> She lives by depending on the other,
> Or like a pale faced morbid moon
> Illuminated with other light.
> We must take over our hidden sun,
> "Discover our hidden sun or lying geneous!"
> That is our incessant crying in us,
> A desire which we can not appease or deny,
> And an unique personal instinct composed of
> A variety of instictes....

She added that "a new woman does not be content with a woman's life of ignorance, slavery and a lump of flesh because of man's egotism. A new woman wants to destroy the obsolet morality and law for the convenience of the man." Thus the members of "Seitō" tried to marry several times and interoduced the thought and literature of the West. "Nora" of "the Doll's House" by Henrick Ibsen was already known, and a word of "a new woman" was coined after the dramatic heroin. Naturally the public accusation against "Seitō" increased with its popurality: "A new woman drinks five colored wine" or "They visit a brothel to sneer at their fellow women." etc. When Noe Ito succeeded the publication of Seitō (1915) from Hiratsuka, the group was on the verge of disassociation. At first Noe contributed her poem to the magazine (1912) and accepted. She came up to Tokyo from her native place, Fukuoka and helped the editorial work occassionally. Akiko Hiratsuka attracted with literal talent of Noe and handed over editor ship to her. She explained her stand at that occassion that "I want to eliminate the rule of Seitō. From now on, the Seitō adopts no rule, nor direction, nor doctrine, nor ideology. One who wants to have idiology or unsatisfied in lack of rule may creat it herself. I would like to offer the magazine to all women with neither ideology, nor rule. But I refuse a contribution from a man. However if he wrote an important essay for women, I would put it on, yet the magazine is for the woman only as before. You may use it as a tool for your carrier, and contribute your impression. It has no other meaning but your utilization at your service...." She fighted against public prejudice on woman and gradually fortified the anarchist stand with deepning her intimacy with Ōsugi. It is difficult to describe her second marriage with Ōsugi like an

ellopment or an official marriage with a divorce from her husband, Jun Tsuji. But she chose her lot with her own will and became an avowed anarchist woman from 1916. The Seitō ceased its issue and the group was dissolved at once. Jun Tsuji criticized his former wife, "she is obstinate, a crying baby, resentiful, jealous, loose, deprived of economic calculation and untamed. — Noe is such a woman. But I love Noe-san even now." This eminent intellectual, Jun Tsuji passed his life in vagabondage until 1944 and their first born male child Makoto Tsuji grew up an essayst with sympathy for anarchism.
It was elapsed another 14 years when an anarco feminist group emerged. The Fujin Sensen or the Women's front was composed of 10 woman libs in those days (1931). The leader was Itsue Takamure (1894-1964), a poetess who had a début with a poem;

You sit on the Deluge,
God, Jehovah.
I sit on both sun and moon,
A Poetess, Itsue.

The appearance of "the Women's Front" was stimulated from the debate between the anarchist and the bolchevik. Natsuko Jyo, a member of the Front explained "I say it roughly that the theory of revolution by the marxist and the bolchevik is a prose style, while that of the anarchist is to oppose it with a lofty dream and a poetic spirit, and at the same time, it is the debate for the emancipation of proletariat.... The circle of "Fujin Sensen" (the Women's Front) issued a magazine of the same title and the members were Yuriko Mochizuki, Masae Matsumoto, Sue Sumii, Reiko Ifukube, Kiyoko Shiraichi, Fusako Miyayama, Sadako Yarita, Akiko Yagi, Shizuko Kamiya and Shizuka Jyō who were all arround of Itsue Takamure...our mutual understanding was <the absolute freedom of each member is estimated and the association is the free federation of individuals.>" Itsue Takamure declared "A new feminism" sepparated from "the vindication of woman's right" by Mary Worstoncraft and the so-called feminism advocated by Helen Key. "For, both opinion and movement such as woman's right and feminism were the inevital road of individual conscience, but they did not succeed in the reality except the partil gain of woman's suffrage, reformism of the marriage law and welfare of muternity. ...even at the third stage of new feminism, women believe in merely marxism and have no opinion of her own. So that there is needed the fourth stage. Our new feminism eliminates the institution of marriage and authoritative education....We do not deal the status or the right for women as our problems. The more radical problem is to revolt against the absurdity of reproduction and its instinctive pains. The sexual desire of the woman is not the same thing of the man. The woman's is a will of reproduction, while that of the man is "sexual appetite." In the relationship of both sex it should put a woman in the place of freedom. Nevertheless the man oppresses the nature, named a woman due to his sexuality and

private property. It is, indeed, to deny the nature and contradict evolution. Therefore the nature suffers with a woman and insists us to solve the woman's problems. Whereby a woman should have a duty to the last and not succumb to any great learning or thought either. Any reformism without finishing the whole course does not revive the women's problems. Marxism has no object, therefore it transforms itself with the course of economic affairs and dreams of a convenient society for women. But the woman has an object. Unless the society did not come to satisfy her object, the woman's problems would remain, too.... Anarchism has the ideal society where is neither master, oppression, order, subjection, authority nor dictatorship, and asserted to be an illusion without content. But differed to marxism, it has a power to embrace all social phenomena, especially those of future. For it stands on a basis of human consideration...." She made an assault on economism of the marxist, urbanization, and the marriage institution, while advocated a free commun of villages', muternity and unauthoritative education. For she was once a school mistress and acquainted with worthlessness of coercive education. In latter she secluded herself with learning to write the Joseino Rekishi "the History of Women", and the women's front dissolved in 1936 after half and a year. The movement was inherited from "Seitō" directly by receiving the cooperation of Akiko Hiratsuka after a suspension of the sudden death of Noe Itō (1911). Yet in those days, they (woman activists) got the unfabourable estimation from the anarchist (men) comrades as a petit bourgeors-daughter's opinion! On the other hand, Masae Matsumoto insisted to destroy patriarchism of Prouhdon and Kropotkin related to their views on the women.

THE FACTS OF ANARCHY

by Noe Ito
declared in Rōdo Undo in 1921

We have often heared the abuse that the ideal of anarchist communism is a fancy not to be realized. All of them cling to a superstition as autonomy has no realization without support of the central government. Especially some socialists who have more clear head than the average intellectual snear at "a dream" of anarchism. Nevertheless I have found it is not a dream but some facts realized in autonomy of villages inherited from our ancestors. In some remote districts where there is no would-be "culture", I have discovered a simple mutual aid needed by every body and a social life of mutual agreement. It is completely differed to "the administration" under the central government, and that it must be the mutual aid organization generated from the necessity, and continued in parallel with the official administration since the time when there was no "administrative organ".

Now, I want to depict the facts which I have seen personally at my native village and some thought I have collected from my impressions.
I do not dare to assert them the universal facts throughout our country, as I am poorly informed, but I rely on my belief of trustworthy, for these facts have no particularity of localism. They are needful for every countryman of inconvenience who is placed in whatever locality and conditions. And then our precious ideal which we are longing for the life of human beings is firmly weaved into them.
My native village is in the distance of 3 ris (about 3.72 miles) from Fukuoka City in Kyushu island. It is the village along side of the country road from Fukuoka and a castle town, Karatsu. The village section of my father's home had a port when there was no transportation via road. But now there is no trace of prosperity of the past and it has become like a ghost village with poor inhabitants lived by half commerce and half agriculture. The section is popurally called "Matsubara", and consisted of about 60 - 70 houses which situated along side of the main road through the village. These 60 - 70 houses are divided into small 6 associations, and that these 6 associations will federate themselves as occassion demandes. That is, the village section is composed with the federation of 6 associations. Yet this federation is usually disassociated. Truly and directly needed for the countryman is, as usual, "the association". The association is consisted of 12 to 13 or 14 to 15 houses divided from the both end of the village, which has been left as it is since the past time. It is also disassociated like the federation if it is not needed. There is no portfolio-rule, nor official. The spirit of association is "to assist each other for inconvenience" inherited from their ancestors. The member of association has no work in peaceful period. But when something happens at a house, the work of association operates itself. As the number of house is a few and each house is side by side, so if any house has some emergency, it will soon prevail throughout the village. Then every countrymen rush to the house by leaving their own work undone. Or they hold a meetings immediately if it is needed. Their meeting place is at the gate of some house, the porch by standing, at the side of field where his fellow man is working or the drawing room of some member whenever the members gather together, they talk over a matter. In such case of consultation, there is no one to look on with folded arms. All of them say his own thought and information with frankness. When one admits the other's opinion, he seems to clear his reason why. The people who hestate to speak themselves at the official meetings do declare somewhat at the consultation. There is no fearful atmosphere to be a coward with his own opinion by considering of the other. In fact, there is no discrimination whether he is a village master or a daily labourer. The village master has no special business less than the daily labourer is not deprived of his work as a member. There is neither haughtiness nor humility. In accordance with provencial conventions,

they respect the elder and the status of a family, which do not hinder the consultation at all.
Who does conclude the consultation? They do it together. On the whole, it is practical or based on clear facts, still more, if all of them had offered their knowing and opinions, the conclusion would be spontaniously made up. For example, if there is a quarrel among a family, and the members of association come together to let them reconcile, there would be different views of the members towards the family, and it would often be so complex as to discern a truth. In that case, they come together to consult earnestly for many evenings. Having consulted with many thoughts and synthesized them, they endeavour to settle the quarrel not so devieated from the standard. However if any one argue with unconvincing reason, or push it unreasonably, they will put a question to him as far as they can understand it, and that if they find it not understandable, nor right way, they will accuse him openly.
When a sick person takes his bed in a house, the news will be reported to the association. The members rush to the house. Some will get a doctor, other will report it to the relatives of the invalid, then they go on errand or nurse him kindly. In turn, they watch him all night by two or three members for several days, even it will last for a week or 10 days, if the sick person is lying in the worse condition. When a man is dead, they report it to his relatives however they live in the distance of 10 ris (24 miles). The funeral services such as errand, to dig a grave, to carry on a cofin, adornment for the ceremony, preparing meals for many guests are wholey performed by members of the association.
In case of childbirth, women of the association come together. They do all cares as far as the mother will raise again. All the rest, whatever it is needed any help, the association will take a charge without complain. Of course there will be two or three families which do not get a favour from the members. In case of helping such family, they will speak ill of the family, even complain, though they never do neglect their helping work, for they discriminate their work of the association from their personal antipathy.

There is scarce of business in the association, but when they manage money, they do accounting at the spot on each occassion. Sometimes, the members enjoy a convivial meeting. It is taken place at a home to have a dinner together with contribution of rice and fee, which are arranged beforehand. Once in a year, this party lasts continuously from 2 to 3 or 4 to 5 days. In such case, it seems troublesome to deal with the aftermath, but in fact it is carried out smoothly. When the collected sum of money became shortage, they would compensate it themselves. While it is left some money, they consume it on the spot or a member will take it on deposit until it is needed again.
When sake drinkers tasted sake with abundance, it would often

imply them to pay the cost more than their prearranged money. In such case, the drunkard would propose the compensation as they were sorry for the members who had not drunk at all. But the offer would not be admitted. For sake drinkers did not have many dishes, while non drinkers served themselves with favourite one, so it would be all right to compensate the shortage per head.
The cost of funeral, the invalid, childbirth, and marriage supported by the association is, at first, credited with the name of association. After that they keep accounts carefully together. They examine it with enthusiasm and having verified it, they will report the accounts to the family concerned. Thus the work of association is completely carried out. It is all the same whenever anything has occured, the clerk ship is performed by members together. If anywork lasts for a long, a row of shift is previously arranged at the first meeting, so there is no inconvenience. Responsibility of each member to the association is not coercible or unwillingness. He does perform his role with his sift or the prearranged matter so as to follow his conscience, not to bother the other member's hands. Non of order, nor supervision is needed.
The works such as watching fire, to scavage the court of shrine and its festival are consulted and taken place by 6 associations of the village section. In this case, two or three members become the delegates. As soon as the consultation is settled, the purport will be announced. When it is unsettled, they will pick up the other members' opinions, then associate themselves again. After the satisfactory settlement and in undertaking the work, the cadre of association is eliminated, then the federation will be built up with disassociation. The unit of federation is not the association, but each home.
Suppose a patrol for fire is settled with a row of shift. It is useless to perform it with each association, and that the consultation implies them to assume the performance by all members of the village section. Soon the delegates arrange the time and its duration. How many home will unite to do it or time they will patrol the street? Will they start from wether north side or south side, then from the west end or the east end of the village? Thus the patrol arrangement will be settled. When it is prefixed to start from the west end of north side by three homes and three times every night, it is some one from those three homes who patrol for fire with beating a drum or HIYOSHIGI (a kind of castanet made of wood, but clap two rods with two hands like cymbals) in the first night. The next day he will hand over the drum, hiyoshigi and a paper lantern to the other delegate from those three homes. Thus they do undertake their work in turn according to the prearrangement.
It is always troublesome to collect the sum for mending the shrine. So they deposit some money beforehand. Everyday they circulate a box with a note book in which 3 sens or 5 sens (a small money) are donnated by each home and put down his family name on it. It will be continued to get the sum of mending from neighbour to neighbour.

Suppose the children are facing a trouble because of the bad road to school. Their mothers complain it. Then with a proposal, some one will repair the road within one or two days. When a member do it, the other members repair the road close by their houses, for they declare that the road is in common and it is a shameful thing to look on the other's labour. They level the whole road. Indeed, everything is carried smoothly like this. The association undertakes all most all thing, but when cooperation is needed, the village section becomes unified with dissolving 6 associations. As far as we have seen the function of association and its autonomy, we wonder what does the village office deal with? Till that point, autonomy and administration are separated. The eager members interested in the consultation of association or domestic affairs, do not pay any attention who is a candidate for the village official or what is going on the village council. The most of them allude the role of village office with such business as taxation, registration, recruiting and school management.
The police station and a police man have seemed useless for the sake of the association. A quarrel among the inhabitants and an arrogance of families are most of all settled down by the association. Even a thief whether he is a native or a stranger is treated in secrecy, not informing to the police station. Recently there was an incident. A couple of certain family did steal something. The victim got an inevitable proof added with his previous knowing. The victimized family summoned the couple and scolded them. For both the robbed and the thieves belong to the same association, so the other members have assembled, too. Before that time, they had watched the couple secretly, so they have accused the theft. As the couple have apologized with sincerety, the host (the victim) has consented to a permission and settled the incident with an anouncement that they will expell the couple from the assembly if they commit the crime again. When I describe their thought roughly, it will be that "the theft is without doubt a bad thing, yet what will be then as we send them to prison? Of course they have their children and relatives, too. We must consider their sorrow and trouble. Moreover they know their shamefulness as they have apologized themselves before the assembly. As far as they want to live in the village section, they will not do a crime with fearing of expulsion. And all of us will be cautious enough not making them to steal, for we know their bad habit beforehand. Thus they will be saved from it."
In fact, the couple reserve themselves from a commitment, while the inhabitants do not suggest barely anything to remind them of their previous error. It is nuanced with fellow feelings of the country man. This story is without fail heared by all inhabitants, but the police man does not receive any report of it. However one is intimate with him, no one breakout the news which induce a punishment on the other. If there is a chatterer, the inhabitants will make strict precautions. I believe that it is effected from disciplins of a spirit of true autonomy to keep peace of the village against an official who is apt to induce the other into

unhappiness since the old age. To be left alone is leading to the last resort of punishment of association, that is, expulsion from the native place. When one is out of a certain association, he is not able to participate in another. So that "out of the assembly" is unusual. The news prevail soon throughout the village. When one receives the imperative punishment, no one dare to associate with him. After all, he must leave the native place. So they think of the importance of this punishment as they do not put it down on the other unless his commitment is intolerable. As far as I know, I have not heard of the grand punishment bestowed to a family. Thereby it is provided for certain condition so as to increase its effectivity.
In truth, it is impossible to live out of the association in the country. Whenever you get guaranties from it, you will not be in trouble however you have no money at all, or with a dead person. It is easy to manage the present and you have no worry of aftermath, because the association will undertake the trouble for you. It is the absolute necessity to get the support of association. Especially a poor man is to need its help, for poverty has more inconvenience than that of richness. From top to bottom of such inconvenience will be somewhat managed by hands of association. Until now I have not been able to understand the attachment of the country men to their trivial lives of the village. A man of once resolute to leave the village, is often to come back. I wonder even young folks who had come up to the city and learned commerce like a merchant returned to the village and adhered to inactive and poor country life. But having investigated the function of association, I have understood the reason of it. It is intolerable for them of an egoistic urban life who are accustomed to the village life. However there is no hope of success besides poverty, it is far comfortable and warm to support each other under the protection of the association.

Notes; Noe Itō (1895-1923) born at Fukuoka in Kyushu Island. She came up Tokyo in 1909 and entered in Tokyo Ueno Kojyo, there she met an English teacher Jūn Tsuji (1884-1944) who had Japanese versions of "An Opium Eater" by De Quincy, the workes of Lonbrozo and M. Stirner, then she married with him. In 1913, she became the chief editor of "Seito" and prevailed her idea of feminism, further acquainted with "Kindai Shiso" (the Modern Thought) by Ōsugi and Arahata. She issued the translation of "A Tragedy of Women's Emancipation" by Emma Goldman added with several essaies (1913). In 1916 she got a marriage with Ōsugi and helped to publish the organ, Rōdō Undo (the Labour Movement". Some comrades criticized her as a loose woman and haughtiness with taking an advantage of her husband's fame. While Ōsugi was teased to have washed the diapers of their baby for Noe. But in truth, their union was fairly well and their comradeship lasted until their massacre.

Sources: ·Ito Noē Zenshyu (the complete works of Noē Ito in two

volumes, published by Gakugei Shyoin, 1977.
·Taishyo Shiso Shyu (the anthology of ideas during the Taishyo Era (1911-1926) in 2 vols. and vol II published by Chikuma Shyobo, 1977.

THE SLOGANS OF THE WOMEN'S FRONT

declared in the Organ Fujin Sensen, March 1930

1. We hope for the autonomous society
   by excluding authoritarianism.
   Deny an Authoritarian!
2. Our real tactics are to expose and liquify
   daily facts of male despotism
   and lead the common woman to
   the social consciousness.
   Liquify the Male!
3. We are conscious of our duty to offer new idea and new problem from a stand point of the female in order to build up New Culture and New Society.
   Revive the Female!

STANDING ON THE WOMEN'S FRONT

by Itsue Takamure
declared in "Fujin Sensen", March]930

The Woman's Conscious History in Japan started from "Seito Movement". As every one knows, it depended on "self-consciousness", and after a variety of affairs, it is now that we are raising an epoch making movement based on "social consciousness" of women. Or, to put it another way, our mevement will be the second page of woman's consciousness, so that the strong conscience and the grand expectation induce us often into deep emotion. We have a long way before us, how many thing we are to achieve, that we can not predict, but it is our only volition to go before the bullets or in the wilderness of frozen land.
Whenever a worker finds himself a worker and a peasant is conscious of himself a peasant, they discover the confrontation to authoritarianism. There they seek for "autonomy", that is, their earnest desire to revive the autonomous society in its new form which they had experiences by excluding the authoritative society before the history would be emerged. The awakening of autonomy is the greatest that obtained by human beings in the modern time. For a long, the authoritarian society and its pyramid type political organization have been inevitably founded on commercialism, the division of work and private property. It is of necessity

that such things have began at last to be decomposed due to ripeness of development of consummer's movement and that of producer's, followed with cooperation of both the peasant and the worker because of advancement of machinery. Furthermore, it is a natural phenomenon that a bud of new social organization will sprout on either consciousness or a form among the decomposition. In another word, the former authoritarian organization has being decomposed, at the same time, the autonomous one is arising. It is needless to say the former has accompanied with authoritarian consciousness, the latter with spontaniety. Thus we have come to understanding that the social consciousness is true when it accompanies with autonomy.

Having excluded authoritarianism, we are the first instance of women arising with true social consciousness. Thus we are now in high spirits with social consciousness, and set the women's front against the various old conventions. As I have pointed out above that the peasant and the worker have obtained the negative conscience against the authoritative society with their self consciousness, so a woman is conscious of herself, she feels the antagonism against the authoritative society.

The first vice of the authoritative society towards a woman is to regard worthlessness of special factors of the woman (such as menses, conception, childbirth and child care). In that society, they regard the special factors as private affairs and then they estimate each one with public affairs. Therefore, socialization of maternity hospital and nursery will aleviate special burden of the woman. Yet there are still menses, conception and childbirth, which leave out the woman in comparatively the low position forever in the authoritative society, where they estimate each one's worth with public affairs. It is a great loss to be a woman in the authoritarian society. I cite one or two examples; the capitalist has often replied to equality of wage with saying that "we can't regard a female worker on equality with a male in the efficiency, for a woman has special defects such as menses and conception". Recently in Soviet Russia there is a voice demanding "Give a woman the same duty as a man", and the application to military services, the State replied to her that "it is okay but in return, a woman is required to eliminate the defects of menses, conception and childbirth." As the authoritative society estimates each one with public services, it is a kind of congenital deformity or loss for the woman's private burden. Because of that deformity, her public services are restricted in space and time (the fixed term used for menses, conception, childbirth and child care denotes a falling off for a while. This falling off is periodically for a woman only.) then she is without doubt placed below the male position as for efficiency. This is a reason why the female status is always below in the authoritative society.

The discriminative conscience between public services and private affairs is, indeed, the special conscience of authoritative society. It is said "A Samurai uses a tooth pick however he does not have a meal", which shows endurance through pride, but it indicates

us also to despise a private factor of eating. Another instance, being swayed by "personal feelings" has been an infamy for a man, and that this personal feelings imply mainly a love to a woman or a child. On the other hand, a woman is always burdened with personal feelings or deformity, and however she can deny the part of her personal feelings, that is, a love to her husband or her child, she can not neglect another private affairs such as her specific physiological burdens. Thus in the society where they estimate each one with public services by regarding it worthwhile and despising private affairs, a woman is usually emerging from obscurity up to some level, so a true conscienced woman will find out there the discrimination and the naked vice of authoritarianism. (But among the Marxists, the discrimination of former public and private affairs are kept without violation, still, according to their feminist view point, they estimate the woman's status with public life as before, which expose them that they are nevertheless the appostles of the authoritarian society.)

What is public affairs? It is labour to profit for the ruling class, while private affairs stand for a life of appetite and sexuality of an individual. From a view of the ruler, an individual has appetite and sexuality, which do not make advantage for him (lowering of efficiency) and it reduces the rate of service to live the nonproductive material & spiritual life. Thereby it is estimated the public affairs, while despised the private one in the authoritative society.

On the other side, we do not think that the social life and the private one are separated or contradicted in the autonomous society. Furthermore the social labour or social cooperation is performed in order to realize freedom of individual life (that is to say, freedom of existence, reproduction and freedom of instictive mutual aid.) There appeares the private life being a master. It is an obious fact by consulting with the ancient antonomous society discovered by Morgan & Maurel that a woman could enjoy freely her life in the society (in spite of that society contained immatures and impurities.)

The second contradiction between the authoritative society and a woman is generated from her instictive motherhood. As it is often said that "20th century is the century for a woman and a child.", the conscience of woman is always that of instictive muternity which accompanies with the conscience of freedom and right of the children.

In fact, when muternity is suppressed, the children are oppressed, too. Child birth has only been welcomed as the increase of slave, then the birth control has been restricted with this view. However it is instantly released when the birth control has an advantage of increasing a good slave by excluding bad one. At the first step, the newly born child has been regarded slavishly, he will be separated without mercy from his mother whom the nature has selected as a suitable nurse due to the abnormal society based on the authoritative organization. It is the ideal of that

society. See it. The ideal of authoritative society is wholly realized among the ruling class, but all most of children of the ruling class are separated from muternity and fed by nurses differed to motherhood. Still more, this abnormal ideal has been socialized by the ambitious persons since Plato, but even the Bolshevik is also undertaking it. (Whenever the society is revived from abnormality, all will take its proper place. That is, "a child is nursed by her mother" is without doubt the normal condition. In this case, the society does not regard nursery as the private affairs of muternity, but only a substitute and support her generously.) While the present society restricts the child birth with self interest, transforms nursery, then tramples on the children with education. Education of the authoritative society is no less than a method of keeping the ruling class, therefore materials of education are distorted and fabricated to hinder the growth and the spirit of inquiry of the children. (On the contrary, all thought, theory and principles are presented before the children in the autonomous society. So they can understand the process of evolution and discriminate between rationality and absurdity.) Thus the authoritative society imposes a number of vices upon the children.

When a woman has conscience of her self, or awakened her motherhood, what she ought to do in the first place? She will naturally cast her glove to the authoritative society. Then awakening of motherhood will be a protest, a struggle and a trimph against authoritarianism. There the former "raised hen" will be faded away, and a strong lioness with innate muternity appear by showing "revived motherhood against authoritarianism!) The age denoting a synonium of weakness and tenderness to motherhood should be withered away. Now it must be courageous and strong.

You may grasp the meaning of self conscience of the woman, which enables her to fight against the authoritative society and to look foward the autonomous one. There she will go by one step with social consciousness. Then how her social conscience will proeed or what method she will take up? Since the modern times we have doubted "politics" and looked for "autonomy" in our consciousness. Further we have payed great attentions and begun to study the themes such as how the political society appeared, or how the autonomous one will come. Their investigations are various, yet it is an undeniable fact that the human beings have negated "the political society" and seeked for "autonomy". What is the saying that this common fact appeared in the conscience of human beings? I say, "Conscience" is a prophecy. That is, it predicts the political society has been withered away and the autonomous society will come, for the conscience is, to be sure, the product of unseen social conditions. So that it reflects true social conditions as soon as possible, however we can not see them exactly. It is here that the reason why the conscience is a prophecy. We can clearly fortell that the future society will be necessarily one of autonomy. Then how will it be realized?

The former centralized organization founded on private property,

commercial economy, the division of work is nothing but repeatation of autocracy and democracy. From autocracy such as papacy and king of Sumer and Egypt, it had been transformed into democracy of Greece and Rome, then despotism of Alexander, Roman Pope, again it has become the modern democracy, but typical aspect of the latter is to have integrated the low class and the female. Nevertheless this democracy is, after all, no more true democracy than the ancient one. It is no less than ruling politics in disguise of democracy. That is to day, autocracy is the naked ruler's politics, while democracy is a simple falsehood. There I would like to point out that true democracy is politics by the people, in short, it is autonomy of the people.

What is the autonomous organization? According to Morgan, for a long time before history, autonomy of the human society was composed of free communes and their federation. This institution had non of army, police, king, peer, neither tribunal, nor prison despite its innocency and simplicity. Indeed, there was non of poor or slave in this commune society. At the sametime, it is indicated with investigation of Maurell, and Kropotkin pointed out many examples in his "Mutual Aid". As we have seen above, there are two contradictory organizations, i.e. political organization and autonomous one, then they raise relatively. The foundations of political organization are private property, the division of work and commercial economy, though their decomposition makes to sprout a new bud of autonomy. Moreover, our conscience reflects it, thus negation of politics and expectance of autonomy of the modern times have appeared.

The political society (the authoritative one) is an autocratic society where a few executives have their seats on the top of pyramid, while they are always concerned with "mass convocation" to hold their own power, thus despite their power struggle is inceasantly among them, they beat the drum of "political movement" in order to make the mass not desparing of political organization. It has been so until now. But to-day social and economic institution have been decomposed from its foundations, they have begun to doubt the effect of political movement.

For many centuries the people had no doubt of their social organization. Through the feudral society of small collectives and the modern one of centralization of such collectives, they have believed in the only political organization, i.e. centralization. And that they have thought their freedom of life is impossible without "taking over political power". Thus the people of generations had often repeated a mere change of rulers by forsaking the old one under autocracy. The people expected "better politics" from new rulers, though this repeatation was in vain. Both old and new are no less than rulers and exploiters. While under democracy, the people had a dream to get freedom only by means of the suffrage movement. They got it with their blood, however a hunter, a peasant and the low class people took it over by raising the movement under Roman democracy, it did not last for long with victory. It was again deprived at the next chance. In spite of

such repeatation, they were not able to get free from the notion that they would be liberated by the political movement. Really this political movement was "the unique popular movement for the people".
On the other place, soon after we have desired the autonomous society in our conscience, there generated qurious and yet peculiar new popular movements differed to the political one, such as "Trade Unionism" and "Consumer's Unionism". The ignorant proletariate had bore both of them, and though they were spontaneous movements with poor ability, but grown up flourishingly during one or two century. It is said Trade Unionism has a power of destruction. Both of them in cooperation contribute to decompose "commerce", which has been a special product of the political society since the history, and has a prospect of "an autonomous society of self sufficiency". But we acknowledge it a synthetic type of new construction of the autonomous society when the peasant will adopt it. For the peasant is naturally rooted in the locality. So that a free commune started from there and its federative movement will destroy with its growth the last "commercial economy" in the society since the history. In short, commercial economy is an illusive by-product depending on the producer's class.
All autonomous movement is to negate such parasite. There is no other horrible word than autonomy for a parasite. All the same, one must recognize its "rightenousness". It is generally admitted that "autonomy" is more righteous than "authoritarianism" in the modern times. Thereby, they offered "a transition" to divert the conscience of the people. For example, a scholar of bourgeorgy uses a philosophical idea of sophism or materialism, and a pseudo-socialist advocates a ruinous industrial evolutionism, which instruct us that they are instinctively fearing autonomy of the people. (For the parasites will be thrown off then.) Further these sophist and evolutionist have adopted their "political actions" for centuries with persuation that "you may get your liberation only through political power". However, the people have arisen with "autonomous movements" such as trade unionism, consumer's unionism and peasant unionization by having already forsaken "the former plitical movement". Thus unionization movements have taken each part of destruction or construction relatively, though they are leading to the federative society of autonomous communes and engaging in various local strifes. Indeed, these unionization movements show a variety of aspects of the great popular movement in the modern times, but the obsolet political power movement has become a hindrance on its road. For instance, whenever power politics clinged to trade unionism, the union would be splitted, the dispute has become dull and thus the influence of the worker become belittled. Even in sporadic disputes, the ambition of a political party or a corrupt executive of a labour union affect them, thus the disputes will be distorted and weakened. (The rotten executive is not a product of personal vice, all of them are necessarily produced from the political organization. That is the real structure of the organization as a million soldiers

die for the honour of a general, i.e. a million of the people are trampled on by the minority.)
The affair is all the same with the peasant movement. As you know, the peasant in Aomori and Niigata districts raised a voice against politics. Now they are often aleviated or agitated by the politician, (for zeal of politician is his personal concern and fame.) but it will not last for a long. It is the same for the consumer's movement. Bergic consumer's unions became importent of their movement owing to interference of the proletarian political party. In our country, the ready made parties and proletarian parties have utilized the consumer's movement for their political and economical stool, and thus the movement became dissented and trampled on in its sprouts. It is said that the Rochdale movement in England has grown up so large as it is now because of its non commitment to politics, but it is also feared that their attitudes are "mere neutrality" in stead of "negation" of politics, so that it will follow the fiasco of Bergic consumer's movement, or to be decomposed as a commissioned corrupt union. The political movement is always contradicted to all "autonomous movement" and it has the instinct to hinder the latter's development. Now we must see it clearly and promote our autonomous movement by forsaking the political one. For our new society will be inevitablly appeared through free and great advancement of the movement. Indeed, it is our struggle and method in the convinced perspective that our common fort is the new society which will flourish with the autonomous movement, while our common target is to build up the federative society of autonomous communes, and that we must fight personally or collectively in all sorts of battle field. We are now dispersed in all field with a differed condition. Therefore we have a single tactic and the ability in accordance with our each condition. So we are convinced that each of us ought to go her own way. As a result, it is the best method for us to construct a new society.
Thus we are intending to perform our roles of enlightenment of the thought and cultural construction (for our society from the stand of "a woman" or "the movement of Ideal Literature".) Cultural construction —— We must deal it with some words. For our comrades regard it a non revolutionary work. What is cultural construction? Summing it up, it is a road to discover or to invent something new. We must go side by side with many scientific or philosophical discoveries and inventions. We ought to understand usefulness of such discoveries and inventions which have contributed so much for our construction of the society. The Industiral Revolution of 19th century was originated from Renaissance (it is also indicated as Scientific Renaissance or Revival of Learning) of 15th, 16th century. They had nourished their adventurous and investigative minds in those liberal and flourishing literal periods. And that they had advanced in various fields like a discovery of a new continent or an invention from science and mechanics, which led them to the Industrial Revolution. Thus the modern society was constructed with a symphony of new literature, new theory, then

with discoveries and inventions of a new continent and new machineries added with development and synthesis of political & economical innate contradictions of human life. However the flourishing and investigating tunes of march had only been played in an age or conditions where the adventurous and curious minds for creation were supported or advocate. We can not expect any great discovery or invention from the rigid, narrow and formal atmosphere, where a word of culture, nay, even a word of "creation" is feared whether it is right or not. We must take a leap over such entangled, importunate and decadant phenomenon, for we know clearly that the aristocratic literature before the French Revolution was formalism and skillful in fussy criticism, so we make an assertion as they are not our concern at all. Our inevitable attitudes are to study, investigate and creat freely for construction of new culture.

As far as I have depicted, we are not gathered together like a mere women's association. That is, we have stood up as a courageous wing of the whole social movement in its all meaning.

It is a long way, our walk is slow. Barbarous persecutions will soon fall on us. On the other hand, unsteady economy will often menance us, too. But our movement — which we have ignited — will be that of the whole world and all human beings. It will be necessarily wild fire to burn everything towards the inevitable trimph.

Notes; Itsue Takamure (1894-1964) born in Kumamoto, Kyushyu Island like Noe Ito *called herself "a woman of the fire land". She was a daughter of a school master in the remote country. Itsue analized of her anarchist temperament as below, "Raichyo (the pen name of Akiko Hiratsuka, the leader of Seitō movement) found a talent of Itsue at the conner of Tokyo and recognized as her follower, but a difference between Raichyo and Itsue is that the former was a daughter of a high official and the latter was that of an ignorant school master. Thereby Raichyo and Kikue (Kikue Yamakawa (1890-) the wife of Hitoshi Yamakawa, once she stood on the stand of Marxism and Itsue recognized her a polemic opponent) learned the life of urbanization and western culture, but Itsue learned a lot of thing from her surroundings such as the tenant farmer's life, the mountains, swampes, and the field. She had a tendency of anarchism from her early age, because she knew the work of "the Review of Kumamoto" of which members were executed at the occassion of Kotoku's High Treason Affair, and all of them were in the direction of anarchism like Kotoku. She did not understand anarchism so far as that point. Nor she knew Kropotkin, Bakunin, Prouhdon, even Reclus. After the cease of "the Women's Front" (1931) she began to learn anarchism including the theory of Marx-Leninism". She explained it so with a style of the third person singular!*

Recently Itsue Takamure has received the popurality of woman libs, but her anarchist view has fairly been erased from her

complete works edited by her husband Kenzo Hashimoto.

Sources;

- *Fujim Sensen ni tatsu (Standing on the Women's Front) in Two booklets adopted by Jyosei shi Kenkukai, 1973.*
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THREE EDUCATORS OF ANARCHISM

From 1925 to 1935, it was the last stage of Japanese left wing movements befor the 2nd World War. In the West, it is defined to be the period of "MODERNISM", which indicates "Like Romantism, it originated with historical neatness about the beginning of a century, in a period of deep intellectual reappraisal and social and intellectual change, and has come increasingly to dominate the sensibility, aesthetics,.....Like Romantism, it is a revolutionary movement, capitalizing on a vast intellectual readjustment and radical dissatisfaction with the artistic past - a movement that is international in character and marked by a flow of major ideas, forms and values that spread from country to country and developed into the main line of the western traditon." Japan did not be spared from the tide of Modernism movement of the West. Urbanization, industrial innovation, raising a new woman "filled with the modern spirit", a demand for democracy of the people were signs of the period. Indeed, Ōsugi was called a "modernist", and that popular words such as "Mo-ga", "Mo-bo" stood for a modern girl and a modern boy relatively in our society. Yet it denoted epicurism of the "lost generation" in the urban area, rural communities were exploited and depressed throughout the country. In the framework of political, social, cultural fields, we can discern the following topics;

- Expansionism of the militarist
- Enactment of the Maintenance of the Public Order Act. (1925)
- A Witch hunting (the Mass arrest of communist, anarchists, socialists and liberalists)
- Mass conversion from Socialism
- Raising of the emperor-centered ideology.
- Domestic preparation for the total war.

The military action by the Gunbatsu was occured with an explosion of a bridge at the South Manchuria Railway (1931). Their ambition was to occupy Manchuria and Mongolia and insisted the rights to the Chinese Goverrment, then established the Manchu-ko (1932). A side story tells us that one of bosses controlled politics behind the establishment of Manchuria was a ex-lieutenant, Masahiko Amakasu, who massacred a couple of Ōsugi and their nephew, 11 year-male child (1923), and this Amakasu committed suicide in 1945 with a news of Japan surrender. They made propaganda for "to defend one's life line in the north", which meant the rationalization of Japanese invation to the north part of China. Domestically the mass arrest of the communist was carried out over the country. The number was 1600 persons, while 484 were prosecuted. The incident was called the affair of 3·15 (March 15th 1928). I will cite the anarchist's examples in the Village Youth Movement and the incident of Anarco-Communist latter, but I would like to point out a problem of conversion here. Japan is a secluded country composed of 4 main islands with water.

Nationality, language, manners, even religion (Buddhism, Shingtoism) are on the whole coherent. So that in the peaceful period, it is tolerated towards a political, ideal heterogeneous element. But in emergency, for instance, to defend her mother country from invation of foreign one (which is usually to end in an illusion or a fallacy) raises a witch hunting. They (the Establishment) does not choose their sacrifices at random. But they had done it for christians (1610s) under the name of KIRISHITAN ARATAME or the Enquiry to a Christian, in truth, it was to exterminate a christian from all part of the country, and for anarchists, as we have seen them before, the case of Kotoku in 1910, and that of Ōsugi in 1922. Men and Women who had refined their sense and sensibility in western culture, regardless of their ideologies like anarchism, communism, socialism and liberalism, were prosecuted in this period for the great cause of Kokutai Meichyo or the National Prestige. Japan is usually to revive her national vitality "in faith of blood and earth" of the primitive, like Edmund Burk declared it in his "Reflections on the Revolution in France". And that the emperor is symbolized to be a center of the faith. Even a conflict to take over power among the nationalists, that is, a coup d'état which induced to shoot a prime minister, Inugai by young military group (the affair of 5·15, or 15th May 1932) was caused with competition of the hegamony in this context. The anarchist messages were outwardly narrowed, to a point, nothingness, and the arrested ideologists were forced to convert from their faith of Socialism, as Kanichi Nakamura indicated in his article of "Stirner and the idea-climate of Japan" (1970) "The tragedy of Tenkō (Conversion) at Shyowa period was the modern edition of Enquiry to the Christian under the Tokugawa Regime. There had been none of so miserable fact as Fumi-E in the history of Japan. It was examined whether one was a christian or not by forcing him to tread upon the image of Christ. For the christian, his matter of life or death was suspended with an action to do it or not. There was no choice but all or nothing, in another word, he would meet decomposition of his flesh by refusing it, or sale his soul to a devil by treading upon the image. It was a road of inevitability, or a tragedy provided for no issue. It seems to me that it is a problem rooted deeply into human beings in the spiritual world of the possessed, as M. Stirner indicated".
Three educators of anarchism, Jun Tsugi, a dadaist and a bohemian was fabourable among literal artists, poets, people in the lowest social stratum, and Sanshiro Ishikawa, who started his social activity as a christian socialist & anarchist was accepted by the urban intellectuals, while Sakutaro Iwasa, started his carrier as an anarchist in San Francisco (1910s) was followed by printers of Seishin-kai & Shinyukai. They endeavoured in each battle field to propergate their anarchism, though one of them refused it openly and homaged nihilism.

Source: ·Modernism 1890-1930 edited by MALCOLM BRADBURY and JAMES McFARLANE, Pelican Books 1976.

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THE SOLILOQUY OF A BOHEMIAN

by Jun Tsuji
declared in 1921

I am first of all an idler and tired of doing. I dream always an idle life. So I have hardly had any experience to express myself (by means of words) with my own will till now. Truely I feel with acuteness that I am a man of misfit to the present world. However I have a desire to express myself, it will not be accepted under the social system at the moment. In short, the world in which I am living have no freedom of speach. When I ponder it on, I feel a repugnance. And that I have no further passion to speak, so I keep my silence under oppression. What an awkward society it is where we are not able to speak without reservation! Recently they have not mentioned it, but a little before they have often talked of "Kiken Shisō" or the dangerous thought in popular. I can not grasp its meaning even now, and recognize of my foolishness.
Sometimes I ponder to let pulling out of my nationality. That is to say, I would like to be a man of nowhere. I want to live without authority besides myself and be free from any responsibility. It may be an egoistic idea. To fulify such idea I must be a begger or a vagabond. But they say that even a beggar belongs to his group and quarrel over their sphere of interests. Then there is no other mean but to remove into a desert island. There I will be dead by hunger with a natural course of my idleness. Thereby my own life is a half-way, not thorough going. When I reflect it, I am so loose as I can not understand the worth of thoroughness. In truth, my life way is sodden and loose and a good for nothing. If a fellow like me were born in the Soviet Russia under the present regime, he would be liquified before long. Whenever I ponder it on, I feel a revival of myself and thank for kindness of the present society. And then it instructs me that I must be patient enough, though I can not speak out anything.
It is no wonder when we walk aimlessly, we become assimilitated with surroundings like the wind, water and weeds so as to be anihilited even our existence. When my existence becomes unsteady, the world and the society have already being thrown away before that time. Then I think of "the ecstacy of a bohemian". Yet I can not discern such feeling at that occassion, it is nothing but to imagine and revive the feeling at the time of writting. Whenever I want to put it down, I am already a bonded prisoner. At least I write it with such subconsciousness.

Whereby I feel a remorse of uselessness since I have written or talked so much. I suggest it that my soul is not favourable for writting. Nevertheless I have done it, and I am sure I will repeat it again and again.
The stimulus of bohemianism is excited from uneasiness of statics. All the same, its uneasiness seems too horrible to me, because I am neither able to sit for long nor being an automation. While fancy and illusion have occupied my brains or being swayed in sensual pleasure, I do forget it. Whether I am deprived of or lost them, I can not but move to somewhere with acute irritation and an ennui (boredom). If a mirage or a cinema had appeared in front of me, I would be saved for a moment, but the thing does not go fortunately.
My vagabondage is widely differed to a sight seeing trip with money and leisure. I am only satisfied with a pell mell change. So my wandering is the best to walk a strange land or the amid of a big city. When I roam about an unknown block or street, I will be afresh revived. I take a rest in tiredness and serve myself with being hungry. You can not taste the ecstacy of idleness unless you leave everything to chance. In another word, as a chinese poem says;

There floats like a cloud
passing with a shadow over a valley.
Yet my mind is as bright as
the moon light.
Oats are enough to keep my life.

Without attaining such a stage, I will be nil. Further the Buddhist says "I am a free man amid the thousand univers" or "the bottomless abyse annexes limitlessness."
There is a phrase of "living like a drunkard and dying like a dreamer". I like it so much. I would like to be a lotus eater at every moment. Or again it says "to float aimlessly, a zeal has no abode". It is a good saying for a bohemian like me. "Living like a drunkard and dying like a dreamer" is pleasant for an idler like me. But in truth, it is hard thing to live through. If we can live like a drunkard with a life, there will be no use for wine or opium. If we die like a dreamer, there will be no agony of fearing death. According to a poem of Baudelaire, he says "Il faut être toujours ivre. Tout êst là; C'est l'unique question". (You must be always a drundard. Everything lies there. It is also an unique question.) When I met this stanza, I thought of him a lotus eater. And he made such a poem with agony as he could not live through it. How happy he is if he would be a drunkard at least with the other sex, wine or anything else, though he could not be so with his daily routine or his own business! There is a lot of healthy people arround me who is a drunkard of the social movement. I envy such an activist with inevitable circumstances. Still more, I envy a believer of Ōmoto Kyo*. (Ōmoto Kyo is a folk's religion. T.N.)
"Living like a drunkard and dying like a dreamer" is utilized with contempt to put an adjective on an idler like me. It is an

atonym to "serving for his country", "contributing to the society" "raising with a love for humanity", and "living a meaningful life" etc.
At least I have not come to this world with my own will, which I have pondered it on many times, but it is an irresistable fact. Neither it was owing to the will of my parents. The parents might crave for a child, though they did not wish to have an idler like me. There is nothing to worry about, if it is solved with the resignation in accordance with Karma of Buddhism. It is too hard to resign for an idiot like me. Whenever I have emerged into this world, I am coerced to have a variety of promises, conventions and forced to live among them. Before my volition and judgement have grown up to a confirmation, I must live the other's life at his will. Then my parents demand gratitude from me by saying "for whom did you grow up?" Even the State regards me as my benefactor to have bestowed education and knowledge. I know it is true that a good for nothing like me with a delicate constitution has been alive for the sake of others, but I have not asked a favour to do so with my own accord. To put it in another way, all of them contributed to have made me as I am now. So I regard it too much of a good thing and none of your business. Further whose work is it to convince me that "Living like a drunkard and dying like a dreamer"? When I reflect it, I can make neither head nor tail of it.
Again, I have come to a conclusion that there is no place for my peaceful living. First of all, I have nothing to nominate my possession. With some excuse, I possess my soul and body, though I have inherited them from my parents, and that I can not resist against the owner ship from my parents. Having considered the support of the nature and human hands besides me, I am quite a penniless and not sure to resist decently against the proprietary rights from the other. Whenever I have thought of my miserable existence, I feel to be disheartened. I can enjoy freely the air and a beam of light of the sun without complain, but besides these, there is nothing of my possession. The land on which I am walking belongs to the other. None the less the house sheltered from the rain and the dew is possessed by the other. My knowledge is borrowed from the other as well as my clothes is made by the other. In short, my existence is kept with difficulty amid the benevolence of the nature and the others. But am I happy by accepting such a grace from surroundings? Why I am not happy at all? Because everything come from the other, not being obtained by my own demand. Why the land belongs to the other and not mine? Why the other possess the house and not I? How many degree of a difference is there between a have and a have-not like me? Why has the other his proprietary rights and not I? When I ponder vaguely such a thing, I feel unspeakable apprehension, and which convinces me irresistably that there is no place for my peaceful living. Some one instructed me the reason of my uneasiness that I had no money. When I asked him how could I get it? He replied I had to earn it. But how much money one can earn with

his hands? Why is it needful his work to get money? What is, after all, labour? As I ponder it on, my brains become confused, so I postpone it in the course of times. Then I wander about without aim—during my walking or working, I feel relieved a little, attracted by the surroundings and forget everything for a while. When I walk calmly in the wide field alone with blue sky, the sun, the white cloud, mountains, the forest, the wood, grasses, trees and water, such phenomena turn into my possession and I will be self-composed with tranquility. In short, I have mentioned it above that I would be assimiliated with the phenomena so far as I can not discern each other, and then would I have an illusion to possess everything?
Lately I have sensed to some degree the true reality of happiness which I have seeked for till now. What is it? Is it to realize the truth, or to live with freedom? Is it to live with art? Or being satisfied materially with a vast fortune? To acquire a tremendous knowledge? Shall I get a fame with a novel, or work in sacrifice to the social movement? Very well, if I had fulfilled these desires relatively and lived them, I would feel appropriate to a sense of happiness, but my true happiness would not be obtained even with a bundle of these things. What is it, then? It is a complete love of a woman. If I could bestow my love to her completely, I would live with happiness however I could not satisfy even one of these desires. When I revealed it so, my friend replied that it would be an extravagant demand at the best. I request that luxuary. If I could possess it, I would be a happy man at once. Unless it is not fulfilled I will not be content with the other desire. I would like to wander about without aim but to seek for the fair sex.
Having reflected thus myself, I feel acutely that I am a man deprived of possession. I have none of fame, status, property, knowledge, physical strength, handsome features, nor ability. Even so, I were young, but I have reached to the age of forty. Despite I demand a love of young fair sex (even its completness) —well, I know it may be impossible or an unreasonable discourse. As far as I could find such a woman, I would wander about with ups and downs of my life, agony and writhing in pains, until my hair become white, my face with wrinkles and fall away in flesh. It may be that I would have died on the road of the strange land before long to grimpse a part of the fair sex. If I try and fail, that is the end of it. I can not catch up a life of the after world.
If I could find such a woman, I believe that I would endure to live happily under whatever cruel treatment of the so-called capitalism or merciless oppression of statism by the socialist. Or I would lack a sense of it with the abundance of our love, even I had no leisure time to think of it. Unless it is not solved, I will not be satisfied with the true happiness, however they have added a number of utopias in this world. I will not be content with a love of 30% to 40%, 50%, 60%, 70%, even more 80% to 90%. When I reflect it myself, I know what a covetous man I

am beyond my own means! After all, it will not come to the world forever! I request an impossible demand whimsically, which will torture me in turn, so that I can not excuse my stand however I am accussed to be an unhappy paranoia. Rather would I be happy, if I were a true mad man to imagine that the woman of the whole world bestow her love one and all to me! With mere imagination like this, I think I have approached to some degree to paranoia. When I had mastered it, I could love the whole human beings throughout the world. Still more I am willingly to do any work without complain. However the other possess everything, I do not envy him at all. For my life is to love a woman and be loved by her all along. That is a core of my life consciousness, alpha & omega, God, Buddha, Heaven and art, nay, it is everything for me. In short, my life is no less than that of despaire with agony. It is at the most my deformed desire that I stick to sake, to long for music, to intimate with a prostitute and to be a dilettante of knowledge. After all, such a thing does not satisfy my desire. I do not want to be desperate, but I would like to walk on and on through the darkness with an absurd burden of my desire. Then I would be dead, as I have mentioned before, of exhaution. What an egoistic, yet a miserable life it is! Though I am confident with my belief that as far as my adherence to the desire, my strength to live will emerge from it. Such a funcy is my unique illusion. Everything besides it will bring forth but an extravagant disillusion to me. I do not care whether everything is nil. Only I want to do is to cling to this disillusionment. Sneer at me to be an erotomania as you like! My selfishness is burning horribly with a chimera, while it is alive by eating it. I would like to make it up a terrific volcano which have thrown out lava incessantly to the empty sky as it has been glowed white with my feeding to the chimera.
My composition has turned from "the ecstacy of a bohemian" to "the ecstacy of an erotomania". In addition, I have written out the previously indicated sheets. I think it is a favourable tendency that I have had a desire to depict myself. I will comment a variety of themes with my unique view. It is so much for the soliloquy of a bohemian now.

Notes; Jun Tsuji (1884-1944). He was born at the down town in Tokyo, refined with culture of the Edo period, skillful in a witticism. Since the separation of his wife, Noe Ito (1916), he supported his or her two male children with the work of translation and playing SHAKUHACHI or an instrument like a clarinet (but it is made of bamboo), and wandred about the whole country, being received fabourably among his followers. He acquainted M. Stirner with a brief interoduction by Sakae Ōsugi on "the Modern Thought" (1912), after three years, he started to translate "Ego and its own" and published the Japanese version in a book form (1921) entitled JIGA KYO or "the Sutra of Ego". He kept his faith of vagabondage through

his life until his death by starvation in 1944. His opinion of anarchism was; "Stirner is usually admitted as an egoistic anarchist or a philosophical anarchist, and that he acknowledged himself an egoist on each page of his books, but not avowed an anarchist. Neither he advocated any ism. So that if there were any doctrine of his own, it would have been a doctrineless doctrine. His supreme order (if it were) was only that "you shall be you of your own" or "You must live your own". He did not tell us that "as I preach you so and so truth, you must follow my truth and shall live as I have instructed it to you." From a view of Stirner, every one followed any principle or doctrine, then served himself for it as his supreme truth, however he may be a socialist (for example, Marx) or an anarchist (for example, Kropotkin) is no less than an idealist that is to say, the so-called possessed."

Sources;·Taishyo Shiso shyu II 1978.
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La Dynamique

by Sanshiro Ishikawa
Declared on 1st November 1929

Now, it is an age of dynamics. Whenever constructing and operating the smallest machine, we need a good knowledge and exercise of dynamics in the first place. Moreover each one has to realize reformation of the society and emancipation of the humankind with knowledge of synthetic social dynamics. Without grasping this point you can not put in practice the teachings of ancient sages. As the modern science has developed in the various fields, we have come to consider even our lives and activities with dynamics. It is also the reason why there are social dynamics, psychodynamics and astrodynamics. The idea that every thing is controlled with an absolut will has been disappeared, and then a life is asserted to grow up spontaniously. Furthermore its vitality should develop plurally with various forms and progress both in space and time.
Our life seems to go as quick as a flash of lightning, but it is an aspect of its objectivity, which flows ceaselessly, not of the reality. Life has a hope and satisfaction in the progress of its spontanious realization.
"A human being has no duty, but might. Might expresses its own in the presence." "I love a man, not only an individual but also each human being.....Love is a nature for me and so I love it to please myself." Max Stirner saw a man with dynamics. But he did

not understand the way how to realize and expand his mighty own, nor felt satisfaction of his love. He could not see a rule of might and its solidarity, even if he had perceived them.
On the other hand, Elise Reclus said "Happiness has a root in the consciousness that a man goes forward to a fixed aim. So we must understand and realize our origin, our presence, our aim in the future and our permanent ideal. Then accepting the consciousness in conformity with the earth and humanity, we have to arrange the conditions in which a human being, an animal and a plant can live according to each way. Thus we ought to cultivate our garden, that is, the surface of earth and regulate the surrounding land, the sea and the atmosphere". His attitude was called a synthetic dynamics.
I agree that happiness is not in a land of ideal. Contrary it is in our progressive life and efforts for our ideal. Such is a dynamic teaching of happiness. Our deep emortion, happiness, and glory are not merely in a concepted ideal, but in the development of active "Idee force" i.e. to experience and live the ideal.
Our idee force creates new forms spontaniously and accelerates a universal synthetic drama, for it is perpetually transformed with the cosmos. In our social reforming enterprise, an aspect of the synthetic drama, we must hold a driving force by acknowledging the synthetic might which promote it. The so-called Marxist faction seems to advocate it, but they have unfortunately lost a spirit of freedom, the first aim of social reformation, with passes of time. Then they have replaced it with metaphysical dogma, i.e. dialectial materialism.
Might is not justice. But justice without might is worthless like a scarecrow. Justice will have a might. That is our enterprise.
A Stirnerian, a lover of human being should hold social forces in order to realize his love at the first place. Love of humanity does not indicate a great enjoyment of tears. We must express and expand our real ideal as an Idee force, spontaneously.
Rise a Dharma! Even Jesus Christ had a time of experience to sharpen his sword!
A bicycle can stand while cycling. It goes upset by stopping. An airplane falls down when its propeller ceases to rotate. Life is an activity. Differed to a bycycle and an airplane, Life is to express and develop itself. But considering activity, both life and machine have a thing in common. When its activity has stopped, a life is to die like an upset of bicycle and a fall of airplan. It is doubtless that an act is a typical property of life, while the problem is how to act. There is a need of dynamics. However the ideal is lofty, it is impossible to realize the ideal without dynamics. In spite of teachings and sacrifice of a saint, a sage, even gods and buddhas, there is no favourable progress. I think it is due to a lack of dynamics.
Of course there was a dynamics of salvation by gods and buddhas, but theirs were intuitive experiences with no universality like a science. A new road of salvation should be dynamics which everyone can possess.

The first principle of dynamics is economy of might. A machine is appeared owing to this economy of might. In the human society, it is an organization. We must realize the teachings of ancient sages with new dynamics, machinery and organization.
(Remarks: Dharma, a chinese sage is traditionally said that he mediated for nine years to the wall for attaining his Nirvana.)

Nihil

declared on 1st February 1930

Anyway a word of human being is in vain. Anyway an act of human being is in vain. A chinese sage said, he could predict in a dream, so life is gasping after an illusion. When you grasp a right hand, your left hand will be empty. Indicate the top, then you look over the bottom. One who moulds a statue will not put a soul in it. One who puts a soul in will mould a distorted statue. A poem does not generalize, while science is merely to kill emortion. In the name of freedom, a revolution is usually in the possession of authority, while religion in the name of sacredness will satisfy a philistine with his avarice. Not waiting an explanation of Aldous Huxly, a survival struggle is won, by a philistin as having beaten the puredown. In this sense, a public opinion is always created by the vulgar. "Beauty in the universe is acknowledged by a vulgar, so goodness is known by a rascal".
"Vain, all is vain, all labour that every one do have nothing to bring forth. All living thing do their labour and I have no word to explain....One has eyes which do not satisfy to see, and ears which do not satisfy to hear....Therefore I say, as a man has more wisdom, he will be more anger, and he who has accumulated knowledge will be a melancholic." Thus an ancient evangelist larmented. When a man has a conciousness, he concepts at once ignorance in his mind. The ancestors who ate a fruit of knowledge were banished from the garden of Eden. So a humankind has been in exile. The first enterprise for the exile should be to go home. Then is it not true that a word or an opinion of the wanderer is always irresponsible and come to nil? Is it not true that a revolutionary movement and enlightenment promoted by an irresponsible and a homeless revolutionist will turn out to rule with a demagogy, an ambition and covetousness?
Our social reform will be a self-reform at the same time. Two years age, the French anarchists adopted an Cerelean program, which declared that the anarchist should be a revolutionist as well as an educator, and in the annotation they also commented that "We believe the more an individual is enlightened, the more the social revolution will go ahead to the realization of anarchism. Furthermore we, the anarchists, do not wait for such

revolution, but will do our best to create a perfect individual with exercising our efforts toward the surrounding, etc." Yet what do they indicate a whole individual in the perfect surroundings? When we have been banished from a mother country, is there any perfection for us who predicts in a dream? Whatever a empty word and a vain action show the coutward beauty, and heroic goodness, it is nothing at all. The truth is that an ancient evangelist declared, "I have seen an achievement of elaborateness and various labours, but it is the result of enmity by the people. It is also vain as we try to catch a wind."
Well, as consciousness is the beginning of ignorance, a word becomes an element of the falsefood. There is no other inconvenience like a word. It is no more than a lie and that it is ignorance itself. If there is no word, there will be neither fraud, nor misunderstanding nor debate. It is also true that "the more a man has knowledge, the more he has anger, and he who has accumulated knowledge will be a melancholic." He might be misled by a word. Already we have stumbled on selfishness and covetousness of the people in this country, still we might be tangled in a trouble of meaningless words. It is a reason of hard revolution which we are facing to. Therefore if we want to emancipate ourselves, it is the first work to be free from the bondage of word. We must face to a neked fact by casting away a word. Then we can find a true mother country as we have left from a dreamy country of honey words. There we can find a Stirnerian's "its own". Creative nothing will appear itself. Thus we can affirm that everything is nihil.
Even taking aside such a philosophy, humanity, the state and the society seem nothing but a flash of lightening or an empty dream like our longing for eternity. A geographer has predicted the earth will be covered with a flood. Another scholar has urged that there will be a glacial age again and the earth will be covered with ice. Then the other scholar has explained there will be a drought and we have no drop of water etc. I can not decide which predication is right, but they are in common that there will be a destruction of humankind on the earth. When we have come to know a destiny of the state, the society and humanity and there is a time of extermination of all living thing in the universe, is it not an ugly struggle for existence of the modern man, however we know that a dream?
They say it is a struggle for survival! What is to live? Is it to destroy your stomach with an illusion of appetite or to course your life by running after a phantom of lust? Or do you say it is to drive sons of the people to the abyss with the empty phrase of human emancipation? NIHIL.....

Conservatism

declared on 1st April 1930

I am a conservative. As I hold fast to what I have thought good, so I might be a conservative. When I want to reform life and the society, it is my hope that I would like to recover a truth and humanity which have been bewildered, covered and distorted by selfishness. In another word, I want to hold fast to a truth and humanity in its reality. One comes to think of it that conservatism is not only a nature of human being, but also a nature of living thing and natural thing. Spring, summer, autumn and winter, flowers of four seasons, vendure of pine and bamboo hold their colors and forms without changing. The earth rotates by 24 hours and goes around the sun in every 365 days for ten thousand or some million years, that is monotonous conservatism. It is also a slow progress. But comparing to the vicissitude of an impatient and frivolous human world, I can not help but thinking of its eternity and sublimity. Whenever I think of sublimity and eternity of heaven and earth, the universal vicissitude is also a great drama.
Rune Kanton has come to a conclution that a rule of life is not a progress but a conservation, which has been acknowledged as a classic of experiment of protoplasm. While Henry Phable has observed a geneous ability of every natural thing is not a result of progress, but natural gifts, whose theory has not been explored though many different views are prevailed.
It is clearly explained conservatism of all living thing, that of an animal and a plant have their species. The same stock puts forth the same blossom every year. Rape comes into rape-blossoms when you sow the seeds. A passage of a dog in the corner of the garden is usually determined. It is an achievement of conservatism of the beast which has made a passage in a virgin forest.
An ancient sage proclaimed "Habit is a second nature". If a human being lacked conservatism, a habit could not be a second nature.
However another sage said "Life flows". Why there are the transformation in the universe and the vicissitudes of life? It is because that the reality of life moves in order to hold and expand the nature. When a thing moves, it accompanies with an illusion. As you watch a rain drop, you may declaire it heavy rain, while using fine lines, you may draw a scene of rain. And it is an art of illusion by utilizing our optical hallucination. It is also a result of illusion that a shooting star goes accross the sky with a fire-tail. "A lover sees a pockmark like a dimple". "A thousand miles are not less than a mile for a lover" etc. indicate a human illusion. But a man becomes impatient in seeking for such illusion, and thus it brings in a drama and the vicissitudes to the human society.
We can discern two kinds of action emerged from the same form of

conservatism. That is to say, the conservation of life-reality and the conservation of illusion. You can see them even in a revolutionary movement. Our freedom should be a demand of life. Where there is no freedom of life-reality, nor our freedom. Freedom for expansion of life is obtained by equitive bread and education for all the people. Nevertheless every revolution is carried out in the name of freedom, there is emerged authority and soon resulted in a rank and file due to an illusion. It is like that vitality of the body shows an appetite, though it is satisfied with dainty food or contaminated food because of an illusion of the stomach. According to the prevailed revolutionary arguments, it is enough merely to satisfy the appetite regardless of food and its quality. But I think it is controlled by an illusion of stomach. An aim does not discern a mean, so you may declaire it. Yet it is a foolish prescription that you do not think of your stomach which will be disordered and come to death. Personal conservatism will be a stubborn perseverance with a misguide. On the other hand, conservatism in the society will be despotic oppression with a misguide. Still more repentance will cure an individual, while a reform or a revolution will cure the society. Thereby despotic oppression is no less than an illusion to hold a rule of life, and an adherence to keep a thought or an institute which has already lost its "raison d'être". If our life had a nature progressive transformation, there would be no perseverance, no tyrany, no oppression, therefore neither repentance, nor revolt, even a revolution would not be needed. Because, when life transforms side by side with time, there is no adherence and conservation, then tyrany and oppression of those illusion will disappear, too.

After all, a rule of life is conservation, and whose activity accompanies with an illusion, so there are a drama, a war and a revolution in our society. Then a war in the name of justice is apt to be plunder, a revolution for the sake of freedom will turn out authority. That is a phenomenon resulted in ignorance, a misguide and an illusion accompanied by a rule of life. Anarchism is to recover a rule of life by eliminating social institutes founded on such ignorance and illusion. In another word, it is enable us to gain freedom of life by eliminating all adherence, cutting off all bondage. But is it not a tragic story that the nature of life should transmigrate in order to conserve its ingenious state? Life demanded conservatism will be bestowed to a transmigration. After having eliminated ignorance and a misguide. We must face to a lonely conclution of life. Anarchism does not bring a man to a simple happiness or place him in a cheap ideal. We adhere to life yet life does transmigrate. Having liquidated everything, there remains nothing.

Source: Adopted from "La Dynamique", The private papers of Sanshiro Ishikawa issued from November 1929 to Octover 1934. A reprint edition of Kokushyoku Sensen Shya, 1974.

Notes; Sanshiro Ishikawa (1876-1956). Born in Saitama Prefecture, entered Tokyo Hō Gakuin (the Law school) 1901. Became a journalist at Yorozuchyoho Sha, followed after Kotaku and Sakai advocated anti-militarism during the Heimin Sha movement as a christian socialist. After dissolution of the Heimin Sha, he founded with Naoe Kinoshita the Organ "Shinkigen" or "the New Era", then participated in the daily Heimin Shinbun (the Paper for the common people) 1907. During High Treasen Affair of Kotoku, he was kept at Sugamo prison and wrote "Seiyō Shyakai Undō Shi" or "the Socialists' Movement in Europe", then 1st March 1913, he left from Japan and wandered about the West. Especially he stayed at France for 6 years, then Belgium, Africa, the surburs of London for 6 months relatively. Wrote his experiences in his "Ichi Jiyujin no Hōrōki" or "the Papers written by A Free Bohemian" which we discern his witness of the 1st World War in France and Belgium. He stayed at the home of Paul Reclus and learned farming, acquainted with Edward Carpenter in London, thus he acquired the knowledge of Democracy followed Carpenter's life way, that is, "an open air life and manual work." In truth, after he came back (1920) he advocated the principle of DOMIN Seikatsu, a traversity of DOMIN KRASHI or Democracy, and insited "a village commune" to the peasant, while anarcho syndicalism towards the worker in urban areas. He practized to plow a patch of soil and raised cabages, potatoes, grapes. He published the organ "La Dynamique" (1929-1931) cooperated with young comrades, Yuriko Mochizuki and Tokio Furukawa, contributed his essaies widely to the anarchists' papers and journalists' pressees. But members of Jiyu Rengo (the Free Federation) denounced him and mocked his leaflet "Sanjikalism no Hanashi" or "A talk on Syndicalism", while being accepted by members of Jikyo Ha (Free Federative Council). In 1927 he was invited and went to Chin Wen National Labour Colledge, founded by chinese anarchists and socialists as a lecturer with Sakutaro Iwasa, but Chinese authorities forced them to bow the picture of San Itsu Sen, then resigned his position and wandered about here and there of Chinese continent. Since 1933, he engaged in the research of Oriental Culture, resulted in his work "100 lectures on History of Oriental Culture (1939-1944)". In the post-war political and social climate, he became an advisor of Japan Anarchist League, wrote "Museifu Shyugi Sengen" or "A declaration of Anarchism", in which he persisted his opinion for the emperor institution, thus he was again denounced by young anarchists in those days. There are two sorts of his complete works published by Seido Sya, this edition composed of 8 volumes (1978-), while another, 10 wolumes by Koku Shyoku Sensen Sha (1977-).

Sources: ·*Anarchism, Chikuma Shyobo edited by Michio Matsuda, 1975.*
·*Ishikawa Sanshiro Senshyu, vol. 7. Koku Shyoku Sensen Sha, 1977.*
·*La Dynamiques (1929-1931) Reprinted edition by Kokushyo-*

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- *Museifu Shyugi Sengen Hoka vol. 4, edited by Masamichi Ōsawa, Seido Shay, 1978.*
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RANDAM THOUGHTS ON REVOLUTION

— Sweep away an authoritative idea —

Declared by Sakutaro Iwasa

When I had met Shysusi Kōtoku firstly at San Francisco, he declared that he woul reply without hestation to a Japanese as he was an anarchist, but to a foreigner, he could not avow himself an anarchist, but a socialist. Then I asked him his reason why, he added "anyway, socialism (authoritative) will come first, and that anarchism will be realized next. It seems socialism has the reality, though anarchism has none of it." I replied "what's a foolish! It does not mean realization of socialism at all, however a socialist had power or the socialist party obtained the status of authority. Liberty and equality do not be consistent with authoritarianism. There is no other thing but anarchism which is to realize socialism." There was another guest, so we did not argue it further, and I had lost a chance to discuss the problem with Kotoku-kun.

I think, nevertheless Kotoku grasped the thought of anarchism, he could not get rid of authoritarianism because of his nature and refinement. Thereby he might be needed of authority to reform the society or depend on law and authority to reshape it. But at the present, men of anarchy do not think that socialism will come first, then the world of anarchism will be realized. However there is a lot of people to think so, as believers in Marx and Lenin have propergated authoritarianism.

The purport of anarchy is to build and organize a new society directly not relying on law or power of authority, rather excluding or negating of them, but with spontaniety of the people or cooperation due to free consensus. Still, the typical characteristics of anarchy are that building and organizing of the new society are merely negation and destruction of the old one, and thus there is no particularity of an enterprise of negation, nor destruction. So that anarchism is said to be the economic movement, not that of politics. While a socialist or an authoritarianist organize authority at the first place, then declare it. Further he establishes a law. Therefore he confirms many things such as to negate, to destroy, to build and to organize on law or on the paper. In another way, he makes a blue print. Thus he undertakes the work of negation, desctuction, organization and

construction based on the blue print. After all, the movement by the authoritarian is that of politics, his aim is at the best to take over political power, yet his public promise will end in an empty pledge. The difference between anarchism and authoritative socialism will be clearly explained with the factes of French Revolution.

Before the great Revolution, French peasants were hungry for the land. They thought that they could manage well for their living children and aged hungry parents, if they had obtained the land to plow. On the other hand, there were many fertile soils belonged to the lord and the priest as their game preserve and pleasure ground before them. It is the human nature of have-nots that they wished to plow those lands, for they could not look over hunger of their beloved. They were needful the land to cultivate, and hungry for it. At last they could gain the game preserve and the pleasure ground, and that they could have a good harvest of wheat and potatoes. That is the conquest of bread.

The point which we must pay a great attention is that the peasants did not require the law for expropriation the lord from a estate. Neither they did not borrow the power of the government. Regardless of such a measure, or whithout being bothered, they did perform it with their spontaniety, mutual consensus and free cooperation. The thing which they were needed was the land, neither law, nor declaration. Such as law and declaration do not bear a grain of wheat, nor a bag of potatoes. They demanded wheat and required for potatoes.

But the above indication was occured mainly in East France, not West France. The people of West France relied on authority of the government, and then waited for the law and declaration. The revolutionary government of West France was forced by the people to proclaim a law of expropriation of the land from the load, But it was realized after two or three years' discussion and hestation. Thus the people of West France possessed the land on law or paper. Yet ephemerally the revolutionay government declined, while a reactionary one was established, then the law of expropriation was abolished, too. The people of West France had only a dream of land proprietor on law or paper, but in reality, they could not possess even a piece of land, and that it was returned to the former owners.

Whereas it was East France where the people expropriated the lord from an estate with their spontaniety, regardless to the law, there they cropped a field with wheat and thus geopraphical features were wholly deformed. Still more, a land book and a bill of land were thrown into the fire. The reactionary government was too late for remedy. Even now it is said that the prosperity of France is depended on East France.

When we apply anarchism and authoritarianism to the behaviour of the people of both East and West France, it is easily understood that the people of East France were anarchistic, while those of West France were authoritative. And that you can get which is suitable for emancipation of the human beings.

In truth, it is the bread for a starved, not a declaration of the law. The persons who adhered to a law or a declaration are not anxious about their bread, for it might be their bread by demanding a law or a declaration. It is the work of the people pro government. Indeed, it is not the mind of a revolutionary, but the demand of anti-revolutionary authoritarianist who desires to rule, to exploite and to plunder.
It is the bread for have-nots and the land for a not-possessed. The clothes and the shelter are for a needed person. The necessity of a revolution is to provide a needed thing for a needed person. And that it is the work of a needed person himself to obtain a needed thing directly with spontaniety, not being bestowed from above, nor waiting for a solution by the other, for in the latter case, he can not only obtained the thing needed, but also loss it forever. The people of France killed the Revolution as they relied on the bourgeois government, while in Russia, the Bolshevik government crashed to death of the Revolution, too. Thus they postoponed to solve the important problem of bread the other day or asked its solution for the other nations.
Well, the political institution is, in its nature, to express the economic structure of the core of society. Therefore the political organization does not change at all by a whim of politicians. Of course its name can be changed. It is possible that the world of the Romanov dynasty of yesterday has been replaced by to-day's Soviet Republic. But the organization does not be affected with changing its name. Merely the political institution has been reformed to adapt for the economic structure, so that it is always an expression of the economic structure as well as its confirmation and its support. If the political institution of some country had gone forward despite of the economic structure on the road of evolution, it would have been a mere form not to be realized. For example, however "the Declaration of the Rights of Man" in the French Revolution had performed a splendid role, it has remained as a simple fact or data in the history. Furthermore the beautiful words like Liberty, Equality and Fraternity have been a merely lie or a dream carved on the wall of the temple or the prison, unless they had not been realized in the economic structure. On the other hand, if the political institution of some country were backward or forward to the change of economic structure, it would be immediately reformed or abolished in subjection to the established economic structure.
Therefore I would like to denote that if the economic structure were transformed to realize true liberty and equality, for further detail, when each one gets his needs and works with his ability, and then lives friendly with mutual support, the political institution regardless of the Romanov dynasty or the Soviet Republic will be withered away. Namely it will be Anarchy. As there is no ruler, nor exploitation, the authoritative political institution can not exist either. There the work of government will be nil. But if there remains the wage system of typical bourgeois economy, it will imply to assert a return of bourgeois ruling,

however the dignity of human rights, liberty and equality have been declared, or even it is homaged with a title of the socialist country.

Once I had visited a village named Fukuma in Fukuoka prefecture on my return from Okinawa. The whole land of the village belonged to a certain land owner. Because of continious bad crops for several years, they could not pay the land tax with rice. While the land owner demanded it so severely as to take up the land unless they did not pay the yearly tax. The soil is the peasant's life. It is the end for him to take it up. Thereby they appealed to the owner, but the latter brought a matter to trial for his interest. The land owner had a powerful supporter like tribunal, but the peasant had no other mean only depending on himself. Then they divided themselves into three groups in the village. The first group consisted of strong youth stood on the defensive never being deprived of the land and their few valuables. The second group undertook the work of plowing and cropping, while the rest of weak constitution engaged in the variety of labour. In short, they worked in accordance with their abilities and got their needs, and thus they supported each other friendly.
When I had arrived at the village, they served me with good dishes of sardines and radishes. As I had no time to stay longer, I could not see the result of a dispute. Despite their victory or defeat, I am absolutely convinced that such a movement does not emerge from hackneyed bookish knowledge or the brains of any scholar, but spontaniety and a last resort of the tennant farmers, which will lead to a free commune and appear to be a communistic entity.
I think that the last contrivance of the oppressed and the exploited is, as I have depicted of a poor village, usually coming to spontaniety, cooperation with free consensus and mutual aid, and then we may cite many examples throughout all ages and countries. That is , indeed, the inevitable of human society to go back to the conclusion.
When I anticipate of the future revolution, the last contrivance of the oppressed and the exploited not only in a poor village or a district, but also in a nation or the world will be the same as I have mentioned above. However there will be a difference among the scales, rather the reality comes near at hand. Thereupon you must not overthrow the authority with another one. It is necessary to do it with our spontaniety, free contrivance, free consensus, cooperation and a spirit of mutual aid, for it must be achieved with Tao (virtue) throughout the ancent and the modern.

- Adopted from Jiyu Rengō Shinbun, August 1st, September 1st numbers, 1930 -

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Notes; Sakutaro Iwasa (1879-1967) Born at Tanage, Chiba Prefecture, a son of the middle class land owner. In 1898, he graduated from Tokyo Hō Gakuin (the Law school). Went abroad to

U. S. A. (1901) for Sen Katayama had founded an office for an immigrant presentation, so Iwasa stayed at San Francisco, there he acquainted with activities of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. It is said that he became an impotent when he heared the news of Kotoku's execution, then wrote an appeal of revenge to the authorities (1910). Returned to home (1914), since then he was always under supervision of the police and deprived of a chance to work. He constructed a cottage at his native place like an exile, and did not cease his activities of anarchism. He participated in the foundation of "Nippon Shyakai Shyugi Domei" or "the League of Japanese socialists" (1920), became the chief editor of the Organ "Socialism". In 1927, he was invited by chinese anarchists and socialists as a lecturer of the National Labour College, acquainted with famous Chinese anarchists like Chyan Jie and Li Shi Shō. Returned in 1929, and became an eminent ideologue of Jiren Ha (the Free Fedira-tion group) and Koku Ren Ha (the Black Youth League). He made a Japanese version of "the Conquest of Bread", which was favourably accepted by pritting workers of Seishin Kai, advo-cated the stand of ainti-class struggle, as he declared that "Reactionary activities of the Socialist Party are always car-ried out in the name of people, but, in truth, they do it, despite of their consciousniess or no consciousness, for their power and the establishment of their own to exploit the people. As it is a reactionary movement, they want to utilize the power of mass workers composed of a class and rely on their power. Therefore in a country where the industry, the enter-prise and the factory are in a small scale, the movement will not grow up. For, in such country, the workers composed of a class is not only a few, but also they have no ability to form a class as they belong to a variety of industry, enterprise and factory, and that they are classed into one and the same. They have no power to establish a class among workers. No more than that, they are, sometimes, to struggle each other (for their contraversial interests). Thereby they are not able to grow up a big power. It is why the English Labour Party has obtained their regime, while the Japanese Socialist Party does not, and the Red Reactionary Party in Russia are hurridly gathering the workers to let them compose a class, now. The important point to consider is that the worker does not make a class, though he belongs to a union. The labour union is founded on consciousness of the class by workers, but one who belongs to the union does not make the class. For example, there is the Tokyo Printers' Union. The Workers of each news paper office make themselves a class in the office, but to make the class of the whole union, unless the relationship of each office should be reformed to some degree of comformity, the workers will not be said to make themselves the class. Much less it can not be asserted that they form the class because they are only workers, however they are scattered dis-orderly." He accused behemently lust for power of advocators

of the class struggle. Then he denounced the intellectuals as they are apt to betray the common worker with their knowledge and learning. While he praised the minority of anarchists who are longing for the emancipation of themselves, Liberty and Equality of human beings. He criticized activists sheverly that "Recently I often hear from our friends that "the movement of Japanese anarchists does not flourished so much." or "When Ōsugi was alive, it was prosperious, but..." I say, it is a complain of the blind. In those days, we could not understand the movement of anarchy. Merely some activists with a vague notion to work gathered together. But now they went on with their own business. That is, they returned to their own place in the society. To tell the truth, they were bourgeois like a business man. They came as they wanted to enjoy a business. They did not bother at all with a problem of emancipation. Still they did not have even a slight notion of themselves. They desired covetiously of the flourishment of cause. They wrote a fine prose, made a boasting speech, added with partic-ipation in demonstration and strikes. But where are they now?" (refer to Kaihoni taisuru Anarchist no Yakuwari, or the Role of anarchists related to the Emanciaption, declared in 1930). During the war period, it is said that he wrote an article entitled "Kōkka Ron Taikō" or "Principles of Statism", in which he advocated the emperor institution, for Japanese emperors are differed to kings and popes in the West, as they have no privalage to rule the people, only sympathize with them for their sorrow and joy. Thus he eulogized the nationalistic mind against European culture. According to his view, the most of Japanese intellectuals are superficial for their know-ledge, not considering the particurality of Japan and her own history. He was often mentioned as a leader of Junsei Musifu Shugi (Pure anarchism) like Shyuzo Hatta. Became a chairman of Japan Anarchists' League in 1946. Founded "the Japan Anarchists' Club" in 1951.

Sources:
- "Museifu Shyugishya wa Kōkotaeru" or "Thus an anarchist replys to you" by Sakutaro Iwasa (1927).
- "Kakumei Danso" or "Randam Thoughts on Revolution" by Sakutaro Iwasa 1931.
- "Kōkka Ron Tai Kō" or "Principles of Statism" by Sakuta-ro Iwasa.
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THE LAST STAGE OF THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT BEFORE THE WAR

THE VILLAGE YOUTH MOVEMENT

According to Keiho Kyo Ku Shiryo (the Police Guard Records), it is said that "in 1935 while we had examined the capture of an activist of Museifu Kyosanto Jiken or the incident of Anarco Communist Party, he confessed that there was another group of anarchist revolutionaries in Nagano Prefecture and urged the existence of a secret society named the Village Youth Association which promoted to a society of anarco communism by means of autonomous and regional federation system from February 1931 to September 1932. And that the sympathizers of the association (including mere readers of the organ) were 319 persons over the country. The Depertment of Interior issued an order of arrest as it had realized the worse influences...." The records instruct us that the authorities grasped the meaning, the structure, personneles, activities of the Village Youth movement after dissolution of the association by 3 years latter, with an happenning of another incident of Anarco Communist Party, and the law was applied retroactively to the activists as they had merely contrived a sham insurrectionism.

The social settings of those days were hard, the financial panic prevailed due to decay of the gold standard system, for instance, from January to May of 1927, 37 banks closed their doors and the government was forced to order moratorium for three weeks, but 28 banks went bankrupt, which resulted in a cartel (a federation of the same industry) of big businesses such as the spinning industry, the silk thread, rayon, paper, cement and coal, while medium and small traders and manufacturers were panic striken with bankruptcy. Rationalization of big industry forced the worker with dismissal and pushed the minor enterpriser and the peasant with high price of the product and productive facilities. The social movement became radicalized. Whereupon appeared, another ideology called No Hon Shyugi or Agriculturism, that is "agriculture is the foundation of the sate". One of advocators, Seikei Gondō declared that "There have been two tendencies of ruling, i.e. autonomy by the inhabitants and the king (the emperor) restricts his sovereignity to effect the influence of courtesies, the second is to rule by the king who reigns the people and do every thing for them. The former is called autonomy, while the latter bureaucracy or statism." He insisted the Oriental tradition of virtuous ruling compounded with Japanese primitivity. He added in his treat of Selt-Rescue of the village (1932) that "In the critical situation of the present movement, the villages are specially suffered with hardship. But the village is the foundation of the state and the root of manners.

Population of the peasant occupies more than half of the whole, while the most part of the land are utilized by their hands, materials of industry, goods of commerce, without mentioning of food, are produced by them..." We can discern his ethical sentiments there, but his navie ideology had easily been amalgamed with Japanese fascism in those days, which traced the same foot print of Kanmin Kyoji (co-ceperative reigne by emperor and people). This Gondō influenced such anarchists like Sanshiro Ishikawa and Sakutaro Iwasa with autonomism of the inhabitants, especially the village commun movement.

On the other hand, young anarchists, Akira Miyazaki and Yasuyuki Suzuki founded the Village Youth Association at Mejiro Bunka Mura on 12 February 1931 with the other comrades, Junji Hoshino, Aki Yagi (a woman) and issued "An Appeal to the Peasant" (June 1931), which declared that "the emancipation of villages is the work of peasants themselves" and that "rice should not be changed into money, the cultivator is better to eat it, and make everything by himself to destroy the monetary system...for without reformation of economic system, there will be no social reformation, and it is impossible to change the society through political institution. Thereby there is only one menthod to change the society, i.e. to reform the economic system in the core of the society, which we call "the economic deed," and then it does not denote the would-be trade unionism." The writer, Akira Miyazaki emphasized three items of the economic deed; 1. Self sufficency 2. Realization of common production and consumption 3. Realization of Mutual Aid (based on customs and manners of the village). The appeal was accepted favourably by young peasants in Nagano Prefecture, for they were depressed with a fall in the price of rice and cocoon, while numbers of tenant dispute increased up to 67 (1930) 75 (1931) 73 (1932) relatively. The activists of the Village Youth Movement linked successfuly their intentions with the other Musan Undo (the proletarian movement) but they held on opinion that the anarchist revolution would have a network of organization, for that purpose, the unit organization should be rooted in locality. Destruction for the sake of destruction initiated by Bakunin was a fallacy, for it did not predict construction after destruction. While construction for the sake of destruction advocated by Kropotkin was to rely on syndicalism, and expected the general strike, as it had included a pyramid type soviet, Lenin took it over with a fraud phrase of "all power to a free Soviet" and failed completely. Then "what is to be done?" They exclaimed their aim and the plan of their deed in the treat of the same title which you can see latter. We discern there their repugnance to the anarchist at urban area, sterile of anarchist debates on pure anarchism vs syndicalism, then insurrectionism. Indeed, they seemed to do the same thing, in this point, with those of Marxist communit and even fascist militarist. Akira Miyazaki wrote a leaflet entitled "Wagakuni ni okeru Kakumei no Kankō ni tsuite" or "A Treat of Realization of the Revolution in Japan", in which he urged an insurrection from a village, a district, a region to the

whole country prevailed like a fire in the wildness and recommended to attack the rail way, the tribunal, the office of administration, the station of gendarme, barracks, the police station banks, the generating station etc. He delivered 70 copies to his comrades in secrecy (November 1931) and some of them was seized by the authorities, then utilized for a mass arrests. This Miyazaki was one of extremists of the Leage of Black Youth and raided the president of Hitachi Mfg., so, it was not amazing event that he had contrived such a scheme, but it was also regrettable to injure the Village Youth Movement. As a whole, the movement was rooted among the local activists, but one of leaders, Yasuyuki Suzuki declared abruptly the announcement of disorganization in 1932, denoted that "1. the anarchist movement has flourised more than the expectation of Village Youth Association. 2. The anarchist movement at villages should be synthetic one, not restricted in a village, but connect to the cause at the urban area, then advance toward a free federation. 3. Thus we have achieved our first purpose of linkage and the federation of village to some degree, we want to disrupt our organization for the demand of synthetic movement. 4. Because if we continued, it would invoke a prejudice to our cause as only estimated the village commune without basing on the synthetic movement. 5. In our present situation, each activist should be deeply rooted in his position and then endeavour to let the synthetic movement go forward under equivalance of each one's power. This is the reason that we have disorganized the association of Village Youth". Suzuki alluded there was a factional antagonism and finnancial difficulty to publish the organ "the Village Youth" added with an arrest of some members. Any way the main body of the Village Youth Movement was dissolved at that moment, then after 3 years, the ex-members, more than 300 persons were prosecuted as "it was an illegal secret association having a fixed platform."

WHAT IS TO BE DONE? by Yasushi Suzuki

declared in July 1931

Preface: Now the village is in the sheer depths. We have no word to confront with this fact. The real problems have impended over us. What is to be done for us?

1. Linkage with the People

Suffering of the village has gradually increased. Our comrades everywhere discuss the attitude and practicability of their action as they have acutely impressed with a menance of the reality. Because, the former village movement has often separated into the idea and the reality, which induced us to a repugnance of the village folk, while our movement has become secluded into a sect or an association, and that we have only looked over the affair

of the village like a fire on the other side of a river. There we have lost the stand of popular movement and are at a loss. Then we ought to solve the problem radically and as soon as possible by eliminating the empty investigation of theory added with theory.

2. Our Attitude

We have been apt to think that whenever a riot is occured, we insurect ourselves in the turmoil, lead it to the anarchist revolution by fighting at the front of the riot. But it is nothing less than a fallacy of heroism for our convenience. What is a cause of a riot? It is only caused from an impulsive explosion of accumulated discontent and dissatisfaction due to an impass of daily life. It is not enough of such destuction. The solution does not come except thorough destruction of social institution. We ought not to be diverted from the reality because of its beilliant deeds at the turmoil. All revolution of the past such as French, Russian, German and even the recent Spanish revolution have not become the anarchist revolution at last. The reason is that such revolution has been a riot of impetus, not conscious one. In another word, it has not been constructive destruction, but destruction for the sake of destruction and sentimentalism having no definite social idealization. So we are afraid that there will be nationalistic anti revolution or red anti revolution (Communist Party) by usurping the chance of popular riot at the present moment in our country.

Thus far our actition will be an important moment to predict a success or a fiasco of the revolution in some future. But when we reflect it, we are disheartened to see there are many theoriticians or "Sonzai teki ANAKIST" (being an anarchist) who declare themselves to propergate of revolutionary idea, yet exist as they are, not doing anything else, so we condemn them, however such an anarchist is in each village, it is nothing to come from his existence. Our insistence is the whole village movement, which is the subject of our deed and linkage with the folk, then we want to act together under the black banner. So that our attitude is that of the village youth to start for practical emancipation.

3. Preparation of the Whole Village Movement

Denounce every movement coming from above! And that it is also to end the failure of high brow enlightenment. We insist the whole village popular movement stirred and supported by the inhabitants.

a) From Passivity to Activity

As far as now we have considered so much, we have reasoned so and so or practized everything in our brains not in reality. Or having feared the police, being proud of ourselves (for example, we condemn the youth association as it is reactionary), there is no action, nor we can solve any problem. We do not go by a step, as we think it is not enough to do it personally. That is passivity, and shrinking into oneself. That is absolutely a prohibited thing for us, a hindrance of emancipation. Down defeatism! We must go steady, and do it at one's risk! It is the first step of the emancipation movement.

b) Aim at the Youth Association
In order to work as the driving force of the village, or to raise a practical movement of the whole village, we must increase the number of our comrades. It is hard thing, too. But it will be done if we want the real emancipation and burn with the ardor to do some thing. Then we call a friend or acquaint with him as a comrade, and participate in the village youth association not refuting it like a reactionary one. Thus we discern what is going on in the association and expose the problem with discrimination as far as we induce them to join us in our cause. It is our present concern to let the youth association on our side.
4. Liaison
It is often happened that we do not know each other as we live in a different district though it is situated in the same region. Still more there is no liaison with a comrade in the other village. No one does think of a solid contact with comrades over a whole region, a prefecture, or Kanto, Tokai, Kansai, Tōhoku, Chyubu, Shinano districts. We believe the stagnation of our cause due to lack of contact or isolation has become the root of evil. But what is to be done? How shall we contact each other? We must contrive the more convenient method. Together with achievement of contact network, if we can take up the same stand with comrades of a village, a district, a prefecture or an area, we are convinced to expect a great advance of our cause.
5. Legality or Illegality
The more we explore radically, the more we are in danger. Our deeds shall not be a fire cracker, nor commit a foolish action which induces us a useless sacrifice because of our imprudence. As we are usually in a narrow village, so each deed attractes an attention of village inhabitants. We must behave as we are a stranger each other, that is, an open activist — he is a member of the Free League for the districtive peasant — might be snatched away from the front for persecution or imprisonment, then another comrade should reshape the organization and continue the cause, then the latter must behave like a stranger towards the former, at least from a view of the village inhabitants, however there is a solid comradeship between two of them. If their relation were exposed, they will be arressted at once. When the time comes to conflict with the authorities, it is impossible for the open activist to fight on our side. Then the shadow comrade consciously living in a village will do according to our previous arrangement. We must not forget to appoint the position beforehand in promotion of the village movement.
6. Attitude towards the Daily Problems
It is needless to say that we are "a person on his legs" as a peasant. Though our attitudes towards the daily problems are differed with much argument. Even now we lack a definit attitude besides silly talk or sophistication. But we can not live an idler, so we must act or decide our attitude towards the daily problems whether one will or not. For example, there is a problem of yearly tax in autumn (for rice is cropped in this season,

the translator note). Of course we understand that it is useless, for the land owner exploits it usually without any reason. And yet the present society does not be anarchy. If we are unwilling to pay the rent, the land owner, Nay, the big power of the background will come to face us. The problem is how to solve it. At the present moment there is no other measure but a united power of us. The unity of our comradeship, or the unity of our ideology, not that of interest is needed. It may be true that we are not able to realize the aim by 100%, but the purport is what sort of will is there in the root of this strife. It does not resembl_ at all with that of reformism.
a) To refuse the Farmers' Union
The purpose of the World be Farmers' Union is "to reduce the rent". But they affirm from the beginning that "the land belongs to the land owner", so they dare not to doubt the premise. The land is not the property of its owner. The struggle of Farmers' Union is no less than reformism, which is like those of the village consumer's union or the cooperative union. We must chase out such ambiguious movements from our village.
b) Contradiction of Personal Activity
It is rightious not paying the yearly rent. But the land owners are usually menancing us to pay it. What is to be done? We refuse it to the land owner. Then he may appeal to the authorities. We are face to face him with a collintion. I stab him and am kept in custody, but the problem does not be solved at the least. Furthermore I will be led to go up gallows, thus I will leave from the world. The social problem does not exist for me. (however there is an inevitable case that I must loss my precious life in the course of affairs.)
Criticism ——
Such a personal activity shall be refuted by us like the Farmers' Union in the social revolution.
c) Raise the Farmers' Free Federative League
"Don't pay the rent", thus we are face to face the land owner. We know a contradiction of a personal activity, then we ask for solidarity of comrades and want to build up a districtive free federation. Though the power of our league may be weak, we will be exploited the rent in the long run. But it is owing to unavoidable circumstances. Of course we do not recognize the rent. Simply we know it will be upsetted in the course of repetition of our struggles. We must discern, and expose the care of problem, which has cast the village into the nadir of adversity, and that raise it up to the common problem of the whole inhabitants. That is the fundamental role of the League.
7. Tendency of the Whole Village Movement
As we are suffering in the depths of poverty, while a tenancy dispute increases gradually, which impacts us to accomplish our demand. In spite of achievement of their demands in Tohoku and Kinki districts, the farmers' consumming power decrease, their minds are ruined, while the villages are laid in desolation. That is to say, we are instructed that the daily struggle does not

save us at all, still the partial solution does not emancipate the farmer forever. Indeed, the problem lie in the depths. Without applying to radical reformation, we can not do anything towards the present social system. Besides the land owner vs. the tenant farmer, there is problem for the owner of a small landed farmer. But their slavish sentiments blind them, that is, the Farmers' Union becomes compromised, the cooperative union and the consummer union are flooded with reformism leaving out the farmer's life in the sheer poverty. Thus it will raise them an insurrection, though the previous peasant insurrections were usually nil, for they had no consciousness of their own deeds. The real emancipation shall be carried out with definite aims as we explain in the following;

a) Raise a General Meeting of the Whole Village

From poverty the village inhabitants will raise a voice like "We are at a loss, something will happen, yes, it will surely happen!" Thus they seek for something in such atmosphere of the whole village. It is enclosed with black clouds like problems of tax payment, electric charge, amending of roads, fertilizer, a corruption case of village administration, and that of farmers' association, which will dash towards an issue from their daily lives. So we must, first of all, raise a general meeting of the whole village without waiting for a happening. Of course, in such case, we are surpervised by police, or surrounded with rubbish such as hecklers of socialism, traitors, reactionaries and oppotunists, but we never incline to surrender to them, far from that, we will take an initiative of the general meeting and lead them under our insistence of the whole village movement!

- Of Anti-Political Movement
  To deny parliamental deed; not participate in voting for a village assembly, a prefectual assembly and the national diet. To deny the authorities such as law organ, police, tribunal, prison and administrative office.
- Anti-Military Activities; to refuse the recruit, and institution of Gendarmerie, Realiziation autonomy (auto-gestion of the village). Emphasis on free federation (cooperation of village inhabitants and solidarity among villages). To establish a defence association against the authorities.
- Anti-Capitalist Movement; anti-exploitation (non-payment of tax, farmer's rent, interest and reduction of the debt). Non saling of products (rice, cocoon, vegetables, fuel, live stock, wood etc.). Nigation of exchange (to deny commerce). Nigation of money. Abolition of private property.
- Economic Direct Action; Socialization of products (common property). To establish consumerism (self sufficency). To build up an industrial village (To construct a village industry by urburn workers who have come back to their native village.).
- Of Cultural Movement; To deny bourgeois culture and establish culture for the whole people. To nigate religion (To annihilate shrine, temple and transform them into a public hall). To establish new culture.

8. Necessity of A Secret Activity

(The author emphasizes a secret action against the authorities, which will result in turmoil of the society.)

9. Conclusion

(The author cites the saying of Kropotkin which indicates the role of a revolutionary group.)

Notes;

Yasushi Suzuki (1902-1970) An ideologue of the Village Youth Movement, wrote several articles such as "what is to be done?" "Criticism against Museifu Kyosanto" "Jiji Minyaku Ron" or "A Treat on Autonomy by the people" etc. Latter he became a research worker of Japanese Shintoism.

Akira Miyazaki (1889-1977) Started as an militant activist of the League of Black Yough. Wrote "An Appeal to the peasant" and others. In 1972, he cooperated with other members to publish "Noson Seinen Sha Undo Shi" or "The History of Village Youth Movement during 1930s".

Aki Yagi (1895-) Born in Nagano Prefecture, became a woman journalist and participated in the Movement from 1930 to 1932, as an illegal wife of Miyazaki who intended to raid citizen's houses for obtaining the fund. After half and two years' imprisonment she went to Manchuria, then returned (1945), continued the life of low status of the society like a home keeper for mother and child, and sometimes published her writtings. Yagi Akiko Chyosaku Shyu (Writtings of Yagi Akiko) I, II, by J.C.A Publisher, 1978, 1979.

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MUSEIFU KYOSANTO JIKEN

or the Incident of Anarco-Communist Party

One fine day of October, some hikers for nut gathering found a corpse in the bush among Mayasan (Mt. Maya) at the outskierts of Kobe city. It got a bullet on chest with bleeding, half naked, not so much decomposed. While the police had busily searched for a criminal, another affair of robbery occured at a bank, Tokyo Noshyo Ginko (the bank of Tokyo agricultural and commerce). Three gangsters, of which one was waiting with a car, the others intruded in the bank and menanced the manager with a jack knife by demanding money. But a clerk rushed to police, so that a gangster (latter he was asserted Futami) pulled a trigger, but a pistol did not work. He exclaimed wittily, "Oh, it is joking, yes, a joke". Then they left the bank and run away. The metropolitan police connected these two incidentes and chased after them. The body of an unidentified man was disclosed to be Junzo Shibahara, an anarchist activist in Kansai district, killed by a comrade named Toshio Futami on 18th October 1935, on the other hand, two persons, named Aizawa and Futami being examined on bord of a steamer from Tokyo to Shang-hai, but Futami escaped, Aizawa confessed the existence of Anarco-Communist party and a plan of the party with torture. The authorities astonished with the anarchist activity, then arrested about 400 persons related to the Organ of Anarco Communist Party and others. Journalism issued "A tragedy among Mayasan" or "A barbarous Lynching by the anarchist" while an intellectual and a marxian woman critic Kikue Yamakawa commented "it was a blind behavior by gangsters on street." Even an anarchist refuted them with criticism that "Those are no anarchism, nor they are anarchists, but stray dogs chased to a corner." In opposition to such criticism, Taimon Uemura, a member of the party argued, "there appeared a pretended one to behave a true anarchist folded his arms, but the worse is that a qurious anarchist has collaborated with police in secrecy by offering his information as if he is a true anarchist, not having participated in the activity of the party."

Fratricide is not a rare thing in the history of political, social and ideological movement. You can see it a typical one in the affaire of Sergey Nechaief. It has been often committed by the name of self-defence of the organization. In truth, Uemura recorded the case of Shibahara.
[in those days, they (members of the party) asked Shibahara in Kobe, to obtain a pistol for the party in order to be armed. But Hisao Aizawa got a pistol with 100 bullets from another route, so with Futami, they contrived a plan of robbery, and ordered another two comrades Shinichi Inowe and Kazunobu Kobayashi to search a proper spoil in Kobe, soon Futami came down with a weapon.

Whereas he got a news of his secret activity leaking out and alluded it from Junzo Shibahara, for the latter has participated in the party through a recommendation of Inowe and Kobayashi. They consulted together. Inowe replied, "this Shibarara is talkative, he may leak out our secrecy after our deed, so he is dangerous." Futami added, "To defend the party, and keep the party discipline, it is needed to bestow him a severe punishment." (Thus they invited Shibahara for nut gethering to Maya mountain, and they (Futami, Inowe, Kobayashi and Shibahara) drunk sake each other, Futami said seriously.)
"Shibahara! You have leaked out our secret eh?", "No, it is not true." Shibahara replied with earnestness. "Don't tell a lie! If you insist, I will give you a punishment." Then Futami pulled out a pistol from a pocket slowly. Having seen it, Shibahara replied behemently, "So you threaten me with such a thing? I'm an anarchist, too. Betray a comrade? Nonsense. Shoot me, yes, shoot me like an anarchist!" Shibahara put off his coat and naked by standing before Futami. The latter watched him with cold smile. He said "It is no joking, say truth or I'll shoot you." "Oh shoot, shoot me quickly!" Shibahara approached Futami, who did not hestate in a least, and cried out "O'ke, I'll punish you for our three thousand comrades!" Futami pulled a trigger tranquilly, yet it did not work with mere sound of crack. (Futami took a pistol to pieces for about 30 minutes, while Shibahara stood there without taking his run.) Why Shibahara did not run away? Did he want to prove his innocence or resign himself? After having repaired the weapon, Futami aimed at his target and fired one, then another with a terrific noise. Shibahara stood for a while without moving, then kneeled down with bleeding on his naked chest. They came down hurridly the mountain, having covered the corpse in the bush. After that, Futami excused his deed in the court that "I pitied him, but considering the situation of those days, it was inenvitable to defend the party and the organization." or he added "If he run away during the interval of reparing the pistol, I would like to let him go..."]

Lofty ideal is often to come down like this example. There they would have analysed psycologically the personality of a common criminal, but they are apt to spare a crime committed by an ideologist by attributing his failure to the bad situation, inevitability, persecution of the authorities and so on. Considering the conditions in those days, the members of Anarco-Communist Party were pushed with their irritation to their surroundings and influenced with insurrctionism by Lenin, esspecially his work of "the Sate and the Revolution", so that their intention was a product of amalgametion of anarchism and bolchevism. Their aims of the ideal society were the same thing with those of the Village Movement, for their members were partly of those of the latter. Yet their method of realization of the ideal society was differed to some degree. For they recognized a violent revolution, and that they attributed it as a review of anarchist activity. It is

said that "To grasp the political power for us is not to hold it forever like a state socialist, but to resign it. We want to take the political power for the defence of autonomous economical construction throughout the country....Whenever the autonomous economical organization were constructed, we would resign the political power with pleasure....Our party should be a vanguard or a leader for the common people....(of a vocaional revolutionary) the reason of insistence that our party should composed of vocational revolutionaries is as follows, for instance, a generous organizer is naturally attacked by the enemy at the factory. If he ought to have worked for 8, 10, even 12 hours for his living, and then he would spare only the residual time for the party, he could not carry out his duty, for the party business is too abundant. Moreover a generous organizer and his theory should adopt form class experiences, not merely of his own. So that party will give him the cost of living partly or wholly. Thereby we will be able to raise a vocational revolutionary...Under the capitalist system and to fight vis à vis it, we need much fund, without money it is impossible to raise a revolutionary. The fund is our bullet." (refer to the Thesis of Anarco Communist Party)
Thereupon they tried to make a counterfeit money, burglary, a mari complaisant, and fratricide. Indeed, they got small money to consume it for themselves, i.e., the cost of living for two or three leading members.
All of them were prosecuted on 8th May 1936 at Tokyo Regional Tribune as follows;

Tei Uemura (37-year) for 6 years' imprisonment
Toshio Futami (34-year) death sentence but latter he was released into imprisonment.
Hisao Aizawa (32-year) for 8 years' imprisonment
Shinichi Inowe (35-year) 12 years' imprisonment
Hajime Kobayashi (30-year) 10 years' imprisonment
with other 14 activists.

The side story tells us that the massacred anarchist, Junzo Shibahara was a member of Jikyo-ha (the Federative Council), while the members of Anarco Communist were those of Jiyu Rengo-ha or the League of Free Fedetation, so that the former was suspected his betrayl from the latter. Anyway it was a drum in the darkness, the avalanche of conversion from anarchism, marxian communism, socialism and even from liberalism was occurred among the intellectuals and militant activists. Japanese militarism fortified its regime to step into the World War second. The Anarchist movement was wiped away at least from the surface of social settings.

THE BLACK FLAG CAME DOWN!

by Izumi Maki
declared in 1950s

About the middle of November 1933, Toshio Futami visited Tei Uemura at 1-chyome, Mabshi, Suginami-ku, Tokyo. This Futami was one of extremists belonged to Kokushoku Seinen Remei or the Black Youth League in those days. Though his father was a colonel, whose strict educational method had provoked him a revolt and joined in a group of bad boys, after he had left his father's home. His fellow was Kuri Kikuoka, a poet. Both of them had happenly have an interest in social problems, then the latter (Kikuoka) helped Sanshiro Ishikawa for the agricultural work and studied anarchism, having joined in Kokushyoku Seinen Renmei, he devieted from anarchism to the right wing thought. While Futami walked on the road of extremism from Kanto Itsupan Rodo Kumiai (the General Union of Labourers at Kanto District), Chyosen Sha or the Group of Challenge, Kosakunin Sha (the Tenant Farmers' Association) to Kokuren as a militant activist. It was his nature that he could not talk a thought for the sake of thought, the real idea should emerge from an action and develop itself. Tei Uemura was a Buddhist and worked as an assistant teacher, but he was tormented with a contradiction between his job and the society, then he resigned the priesthood and studied the prevailed Marxism, which he felt a repugnance with its authoritalianism and then inclined to anarchism.... Uemura acquainted with an anarchist poet, Jun Okamoto, lived at Matsunoki and attended often the meetings of anarchists. For he was fond of writing a poem, he made the acquaintanceship with such anarchist poets, Tozaburo Ono, Kiyoshi Akiyama and became known his name as a militant poet of proletarian poetry. His first collection of poems titled "A Stranger" got a favour in 1932. But Uemura did not be satisfied with his success as a poet, he was absorbed in the cultural movement from the stand of anarchism. In those days there was no unified group for the cultural movement among anarchists. Uemura had cooperated with Okamoto and Akiyama to bruild up a general organization, and their group, Kaiho Bunka Domei or the League of Cultural Emancipation issued the organ of news paper type "Bungaku Tsushin" (the Literal Correspondence), endeavoured to alleviate separation and strifles among anarchists.
At that moment Japanese militarists promoted a plan of invasion into the Chinese continent, while persecution of the government became so terrible as the communist party was on the verge of annihilation, which had been rampant up to that moment.
Since 1925 anarchism had declined as it seemed to have made room for the communist movement, but succeeded in the horizontal linkage by founding the Black Youth League under the slogan of anti-politics and anti-political party. Yet owing to antagonism between the anarchist and the syndicalist, many sympathizers deserted the camp repugnated against the insistence of violence,

which led to the split of Jiren (the Free Federation of Labour Unions) and Jikyo (the Free Federative Council) in 1928. The process of opposition, as we have understood it, pure anarchism versus syndicalism was complex, but it was doubtlessly to accelerate the breakdown of anarchist movement at the same time of expansion and solidification of marxist communism. Activity for unification of the League of Cultural Emancipation was appeared from a reflection of the situation, while the organizations such as the Farmers' Union and the Labour Union went forward to rebuild by keeping away the ideologist group. That is to say, they were about to realize the unity and cooperation with estimation of each other.
When Toshio Futami had visited Uemura after a long while, the latter got anxious to find his own way in this situation. The purport of articles which Uemura had declared abundantly was against a standstill and weakness of the advocators of pure anarchism and that criticism towards the supporters of status quo though they were in the stabilized atmosphere of mass organization tended to the unity. His radical opinion was caused with irritation devoide of vitality to smash the state power.

Thus they entered in a coffee shop. Uemura lived in the neighborhood of the station of Koenji, his house was in front of a gutter, so they got across to the lively street and sat in a corner of the bright room, Futami opened his mouth. "Of late you have criticized bitterly?" He lighted a cigaret carefully and watched Uemura with a smile playing about his lips. In those days, Uemura was furious with anger to the intellectual, who were inclined themselves to the current with some excuse, and he was indignant at their life way of cowardice. Especially he was angry against the scholar and literary men of communism, who had criticized anarchism and the anarchist as idealism or a peitit bourgeois, while they were gradually deserting the struggle under the pretense of tactful theory. He declared that "now it is the time to raise, but you excuse and rationalize your retreat with a capricious theory. Where are your sayings which you have boastfully chattered? Do it what you have said. Do not talk which you are not able to do." So that Uemura had to reflect himself a little when he was asked by Futami with somewhat cinic smile. "Have I a courage to do it?" As Uemura pondered it on, the words of Futami chased him "You have a responsibility of what you have said then?" Thus Uemura had no intention to shirk his duty, for his opponent hit a vulnerable point. "Of course, I have." He replied so with hesitation, agony and braced himself up. "I'm satisfied to hear that. I know you are a trustworthy man." Futami became talkative and continued, "As you have insisted recently, it is the time we must raise. Doubtlessly we will have a government of totalianism by the militarists soon. Then we will be exterminated completely without more ado. Imprisonment or massacre, we will face to both. Parliament has no strength to obstract it. You know the social democrats have flattered the militarist at the

very first. So we can not sit still. What do you say that we will appeal to our fellows and hold a meeting together in the initiative of you and I?" "I agree you, but how to do it?" "In the beginning, three or four fellows are enough. Having discussed together, we will decide to choose our member." Fear and expectation occured in the mind of Uemura, but he thought of his friends to be selected.
When they were out of the coffee shop again, the blue sky that cut by roofs and spred over the street was over their heads like a stripe, which has reminded him often without remorse, but a memory dear to him. They separated each other by shaking hands before the coffee shop, surely it would be a starting point more than they had expected.

(After 4 or 5 days Futami accompanied with his fellows, Hisao Aizawa and Bon Irie visited Uemura. Then they consulted together and decided the following points.)

1. The situation is menancing. We will have notheing to do with our hesitation. It is no time to instruct and organize the people. So the enemy's power is oppressive to the people with coercion and push them to the war at a stroke. While complain and dissatisfaction of the people have increased with poverty and oppression, whereas it would be raised to an explosion, if we had served ourselves to shake the foundation of power.
2. That we will organize, as soon as possible, a secret association for the deed.
3. That when we had organized a secret association, we would not bother with individual freedom or free federation of the anarchist principles. For in order to defend ourselves and attack the opponent, we will keep the rules of the secret association even with coercion..
   When we reflectr it, it may be a nuance of extremism, but at that moment we were impressed with imminence of the situation.

(The author explained the foundation of secret association of Museifu Kyosanto or the Anarco-Communist Party on Nov. 30 1933 and depicted their decision.)

1. The organization should be a secret association which would take every means by direct action to hinder the way to the war.
2. That we would not bother with anarchist's principles, while our platform and rules will be kept with iron disciplin.
3. But the above mentioned are the rules of our autonomy, not apply to the mass organization.

Having confirmed the fundamental items, we decided the name of the secret association to be Nihon Museifushugisha Renmei or the League of Japanese Anarchists, composed of 5 sections, and appointed each of them.

Political Section	Tei Uemura
Educational Section	An additional post of Uemura

Labour & Agricultural Section	Hisao Aizawa
International Section	An additional post of Aizawa
Organizer Section	Bon Irie
Financial Section	Toshio Futami
Clerk Section	Minoru Terao

Our aim was to choose our comrades among the labour union and the cultural organization in accordance with the rules, and then we wanted to let them under our initiation. There were a lot of comrade even in the declined anarchist camp, who intended to obstruct the war and Fascism in those days. But we did not choose our comrade as he was merely an anarchist, we selected him by considering his nature and conditions. So that our comrades were a few, our organization had not been needful for them yet.

It was January 30 1934 that the name of the League of Japanese Anarco Communists was changed into the Japanese Anarco Communist Party. We had to take a leap by changing of its name. Traditionally the anarchist does not like the name of "party", which I admit there have been the deep experience of anti authoritarianism. We must estimate it above all. But it is a great demerit that we will act without rule because of individual freedom in the capitalist society. That is why we have declared "the party", for instead of activation of individual freedom by 100%, we would die willingly for the cause of revolution and reform the society. We needed "the party" for our practical method.

We had decided to confirm the platform differed to the previous anarchist organization and anarchism on 8 September 1934.

a) Abolition of power politics and the capitalist system
b) Establishment of autonomy for regionalism
c) Abolition of private property
d) To hold production means and land in common
e) Abolition of the wage system
f) Production controll by Worker and Peasant
g) To enjoy culture and education
h) Abolition of an artificial boundary

(The author apologized himself a tactic of the party to pick up a militant activist from the other organization for their purpose, not had any intention to cooperate with them. For they were proud of the vanguard party.)

Outwardly we had presuaded the mass organizations to hoist such slogans as "Anti War", "Anti Capitalism" and "Anti Fascism", while we promoted inwardly what should be done for our new members, in short, it would be a plan of action for the party. We schemed as follows;

1. In order to throw the economical circle into confusion we must issue forged paper money.
2. To accumulate and compensate dynamites buried at the beach of Ubara, Chiba Prefecture, and try an insurrection at Tokyo for

leading the war to a defeat.
3. For these purposes, the party provides for the Military dept., the financial dept., and the special service agency.

The Anarco Communist Party was founded for promotion of the anarchist movement, but having experienced syndicalism, and the tendency of anti-organization, the movement became declined. Then we had sought a centralized organization unprecedented and the party was the first example, which promoted organization outwardly, while it took inwardly the procedure of pure anarchism.

(The author's excuse; At that time I had affirmed as above, and we had founded the party with necessity, but there was an error which we had committed, too. In truth, it was needed the party organization as a vanguard and an initiative for the revolution. But we were also members of Jiren, Jikyo, Kaihobunka relatively and that we had thought to raise our fellow members for the purpose of the party, that were our overestimation and error. I think it is an anti anarchist error that the secret group will lead the legal organization. For the organization will be illegal by an order of a secret group. While activities of the labour union and the cultural group would go forward with autonomy and that their radicalism should be spontaniously grown up. It was our fallacy that we could initiate them to the legal sphere of the movement. The party had no power and it should be out of an aim of the party to lead them. It is my recollection and self criticism as an anarchist and a member of the previous party in the post-war social settings.)

Persecution by the gendarme and the police became increased day by day to the left wing thought. It was difficult to hold a meeting even with a few member. Our cause was chased to a corner added with poverty of our daily life, and thus our energy was consummed to support ourselves. At 16th meeting of the central committee on April 1934. Toshio Futami declared, "We can not wait for our anihilation with folded arms. How can we approach to a revolution by spending our energy in daily routin with legal method? It is a life or death struggle. No more right means, and we have already debated what is to be done. To do it we must get the military fund at the first place. I propose this point." Uemura's opinion was that "I agree you its necessity. But if we had not chosen a mean, it would destroy everything, even our purpose with that wrong mean. Further our thought and deed would be subjected to a misunderstanding and a calumination. I don't care of our frustration, but both misunderstanding and calumination will injure our cause of anarchism hereafter. Till now the anarchist has been accused and suffered with a misunderstanding as the something of terrolism or violence, which, I believe, caused by the deed of the Black Youth League, resorted to any means imaginable....."
Futami exclaimed with irritation. "Being misunderstood hereafter? You think our cause will remain for some ten years? The struggle

has already started. So victory or defeat, that is a point. Victory does only mean to erase such misunderstanding. Were we defeated, then we would be accused with culmination whatever we had done. We do not perform a revolution for some future. Now and here we have to smash the state power and its pressure." Thus we had debated the problem for several hours and resulted in separation of the work of special service agent from the order of the party. Then it would do anything serving for the party etc..

(Adopted from "Kurohata wa yabureta, written by Tei Uemura. Nihon Museifu Kyosanto edited by Yoshio Aizawa et al pp.131-148)

Sources;

- *Nippon Museifu Kyosanto, Kaien Shyobo, 1974.*
- *Museifu Shyugi no Jyokyo, Police Guard Recoeds in 1935*
- *Nōson Seinenshya Undoshi, 1972.*
- *Kurohata no motoni, edited by Aki Yamamoto 1974-1977.*
- *Jitsuroku "Nippon Museifu Kyosanto" or the private papers on Anarco Communist, a memorandum by Noriaki Aikyo, 1978.*

Anyway Teimon Uemura (his pen name, Izumi Maki) excused a failure of the Anarco-Communist Party by asserting to a selfish deed of Toshio Futami, the self-appointed chief of Special Service Agent. This Futami dashed to a rock like KAMIKAZE, as he was a son of a colonel, with some followers like Aizawa and Uemura. We can discern their sincerity to a revolution, but their theory, tactis and deed are contrary to the anarchist tradition, and that it is beyond our imagination, when Aizawa and his young followers are boasting of the Anarco-Communist Party as the vanguard and a synthesis between anarchism & marxism in the present situation.. (Refer to Shyakai Kakumeiha no Tanjyo by Shin Rendaiji)

Epilogue

As we have seen the Anarchist Movement in Japan until 1935, and here we have come to summing up, then extrude some instruction from our seniors' experiences. I will give the following 4 propositions.

Proposition 1. Why the Anarchist idea attracted Japanese people?

First of all, anarchism was an idea of the Westerner. Modernization and Industrialization of our society evoked the new idea and life style for the people. So that parallel with the growth of capitalism, urbanization and intellectual maturity, there appeared a discontent, a demand of equality to the status quo., in the cadre of the society. The Meiji Restoration seemed to have responsed towards such an expectation, i. e. a transformation from feudalism to modern civilization. In my view, feudalism means to treat a man & woman like a living stock belonged to a lord, Samurai clan, a land owner and a big merchant, while the modern stands for each one deals with himself and his fellow like himself, not for his own purpose. But Oriental disposition, ethical sensitivity had formally been loyalism, self-sacrifice and patriarchism for the family honour. Verily an individual was nil except a talented man and woman in the Japanese society.

Proposition 2. What Anarchism taught us?

Self standing (individualism) and social consciousness; Doubtlessly, other ideology such as Liberalism, Democratism or religion like Christianity preached the dignity of a human being, while a battle cry for Liberty, Equality and Fraternity had prevailed among the people. But atomism of the member of the society which lead to destruction of the State, then solidarity of each member to form the anarchist society are the essence of anarchism. Furthermore one of Chinese traditions and her political ideal, Taoism, to put it in another way, a virtuous sovereign or a king does not reign at all, while the subject (the people) enjoy tranquillity in idleness, this political neviety rooted deeply in the consciousness of our people.

A rapid progress of industrialization and severe exploitation by the capitalist, the bureaucrat and the state brought forth a repugnance against urbanization and welcomed Kropotkinism with its primitive sensitivity. In this sense, pastoral anarchism, as a critic has usually abused it, had influenced so much on us. While revolutionary anarchism represented from "The conquest of the Bread", "Mutual Aid", "An Appeal to the Young" etc., had been widely read among both worker and intelligentsia during 1920 - 1930. Of course such Japanese versions were banned by the authorities. For example, a professor of Tokyo University, Tatsuo Morito, published his study entitled "Research on Social Idea of Kropotkin" in 1920, which analysed Kropotkin's "The Conquest of Bread", "Fieldes, Factories and Work shops" from a stand of social policy in comparison with Marxian political

economy, thereby he was expelled from university. This instance showed us that freedom of learning was easily smashed by the authorities, and that even philosophical anarchism could not be tolerated in our society before the World War 2nd.

Proposition 3. Why the Anarchist movement in Japan was in decline?

I would like to cite two reasons; the impact of Russian Revolution (1917), and the nature of Japanese intellectuals. It is a well known episode that a worker of iron industry exclaimed to his son, when he heard a news of establishment of Soviet Government in Russia. "Hai, my son, till now I'm sorry for you, as you are a son of a miserable worker. But from now on, there will be a government of the worker, yes, it will be our regime. (Sōda, Oretachi no Tenka da!)

Unfortunatelly the course did not run as he had expected. The authorities increased a fear of Red fever among the people, while they chased the militant activists like a hair with persectution after persecution. Good initiators of Anarchism like Ōsugi, Noe, a socialist, like Keihichi Hirazawa and others were massacred in the turmoil of Kanto Earthquake (1923). The Marxian Communist Party (founded in 1921), of which leaders were Toshihiko Sakai, Hitoshi Yamakawa, Kanson Arahata, who were comrades of Ōsugi or a bosome friend of Kotoku (the case of Sakai), turned from the revolutionary socialists (SDP) into the marxists due to interdissention with Ōsugi, was also forced to work the underground activities. In truth, Ōsugi had already pointed out "the Soviet showed how the revolution should not be done like that" with citing an example of Kronstadt (1921). But Japanese young generation was attracted to the authoritarian principle (Marxism). In those days, big universities such as Kyoto and Tokyo were permitted to have a research course of political economy or social policy for freedom of learning. Many students had an interest in the lecture of "Das Kapital" instead of liberal thinkers such as Adam Smith, Devid Ricardo, and J. S. Mill. It is also interesting to point out that some Chinese Marxists were also the students at universities in Japan during this period. The Ministery of Education tolerated "dangerous elements" as far as they were engaging in study, but in practice, they were strictly punished. While young philanthropists cried out "the Revolution comes near at hand!" and being provoked to chain at custody or home raided. Most of young anarchists under the age of 35 were not excepted, but isolated in small groups or individuals. Their irritation in lack of a big organization, insufficency of their earning, an erronious notion of personal initiative to be heroism or vengence for social indignation etc. hunted them with insurrectionism. In this point, Sakutaro Iwasa was right to say "they were like a businessman to do a big job." Yet he was wrong to have excluded a syndicalist from the Association of Free Federation on behalf of pure anarchism. The Anarchist movement was indecline because of inner strife between the pure anarchist and the anarcho syndicalist, lack of sufficient orientation, Leninite insurrectionism stressed

with war establishment since 1931.

Proposition 4. Is it possible to revive the Anarchist movement?

It is nonsensical to set such a proposition. Because the anarchist movement had been carried out by unanimous men and women not restricted to the intellectual activities. Historical experiences, which I mean that experiences inherited from the beginning of the history, that is, the time of originateing authority, there had been a sentiment against it. You can see it in the article of Noe Ito's "The Facts of Anarchy". Although it was a simple mutualism, it rooted deeply in the conscience of people. So it is also a universal fact. The modern Anarchists like "the proprietary Proudhonist", "the Collective Bakuninist" and "the Ego centric Stirnerian" had been the sons of 19th century's philosophy and lived in the social settings of their own. When the tide and ebb change, the wind will change, too. Still more the human beings. We must properly estimate our predecesors neither more nor less. For it is the way to get free from any authority. Since 1960s, there have been a rise of students' power, struggles in the campases, an appeal of insurrection to the poor folk, many wanton slaughters among militant youth, then apathy to political situation has continued. Personal endeavour of an anarchist and small groups will go on in the blind alley. A big organiation? No, it is not in the beginning, but it will be a result of our tremendous efforts.

It is the time to put down my pen. But I must clear up my intention why I have compiled the document by making English version. These 10 years, exactly since 1967, I have declared myself an anarchist, for I nourished my intellectural curiosity in the anarchist literature. Of course I came from the low class, and studied English Literature course for two years at a college. My English is bookish one. In 1960s I acquainted with a bomb explosition by young anarchists on news paper. And that I had happenly procured a book "Patern of Anarchy" then understood the address of Freedom Press. I contacted immediately with Freedom Shop and became a subscriber. They informed me the address of J.A.F. in Tokyo. What a qurious encounter it was! Comrade Miura came to see me at a coffee shop in the name of chief member of Overseas Section of J.A.F. Thus I have been interoduced to the old anarchists in Tokyo and Ōsaka districts. Well, it is easy to become an anarchist, rather difficult to be an anarchist for a long time, but it is terrible difficulty to behave as an anarchist. I have managed a small print shop, so I published Japanese version "of Property" by W. Godwin, I remember I borrowed Kegan Paul edition of Godwin from Lilian Wolfe, May peace to her kind soul! then "The Soul of Man under Socialism", "of Anarchism" by N. Walter, "A Tragedy of Women's Emancipation and other essays" by Emma Goldman, etc., now I'm a co-editor of Le Libertaire, which will reach to 10th year on November of this year. Last May my young comrades proposed me to issue "A Short history." I have willingly

accepted it and added some translations. It took me one year, but articles of Liberal and Civil Right Movement, A Chichibu Affair, Nakae's writtings, a part of Kotoku were already published on RADICAL. So the whole material took me at least 5 years. It is my version, not other's. Recently I have read Lin Yu Tang, a well known Chinese author, who made a lot of English writtings, and he declared that "the translator is responsible for the original author, then for English reader." I can not expect an artistic value to my version, but I hope my readers' attention to sincerity of Japanese Anarchists.

I must thank for my indebtness to the following comrades and friends; M. Miura for his information on Ishikawa, Members of the Anarchist club for their information on Seishin Kai or Printers' activities and knowledge on Iwasa, Yuriko Mochizuki for her opinion of Women's Front, Aki Yagi for her activities during the Village Youth Movement, Shinpei Shirai and Hiroshi Mizunuma for their activities of Free Council, Hitomi Enishi for his Anarcho-Syndicalist's career, Kichizo Henmi for his opinion on Guillotine Shya and Japan Anarcho-Communist Party Incident, Eizaburo Ōshima for his publication of various reprinted pamphlets, then Arthur Moyse who has regurally supplied me with English materials.

ILLUSTRATIONS

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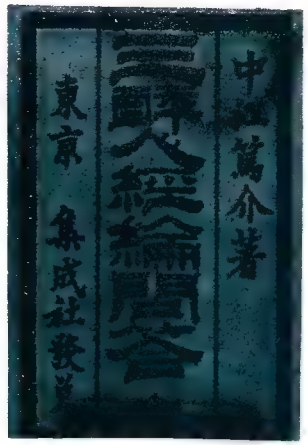

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労働組合期成会鉄工組合本部　東京市日本橋区本石町

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幸徳秋水先
昭和四十四年一月

(成石平四郎)
(古河力作)
(幸徳秋水)
(奥宮健之)
(大石誠之助)
(新村忠雄)
(内山愚童)
(森近運平)
(渐美卯一郎)
(松尾卯一太)
(宮下太吉)
(菅野すが)

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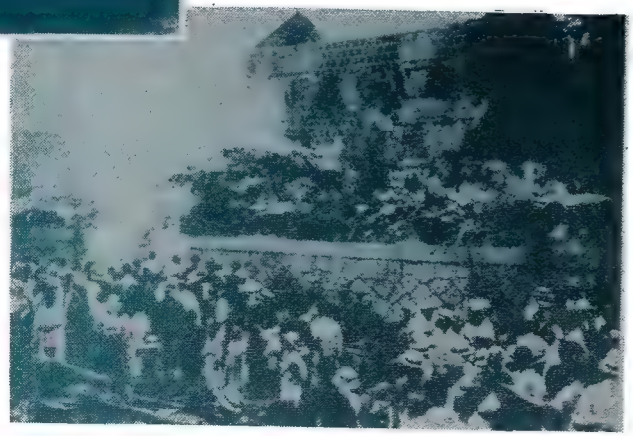

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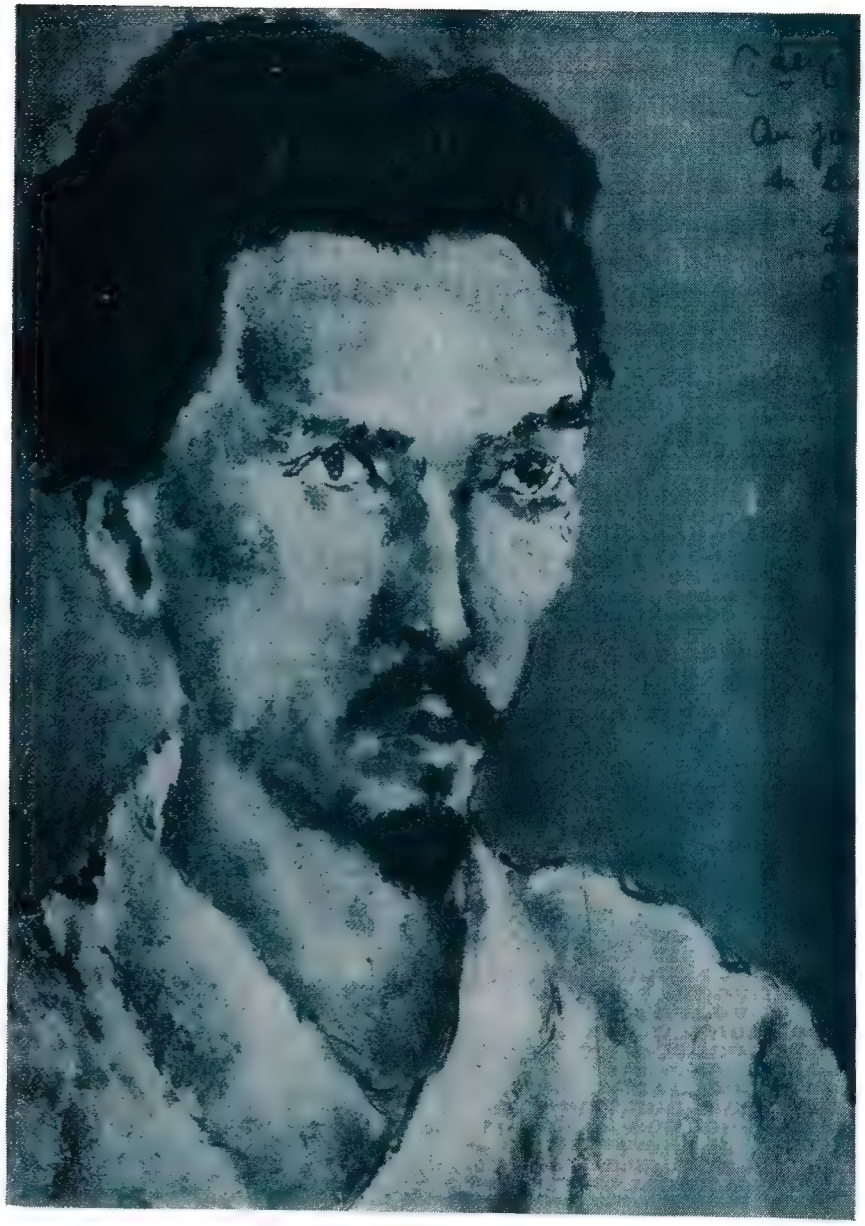

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大阪朝日新聞

全日本の労働團體
六十二團體の代表者を
一堂に集めた總聯合創立大會

開會直に休憩
大會は決裂？
會場の大混亂

警官と亂鬪
主義者の示威的行進
怪しき檢束者を出す

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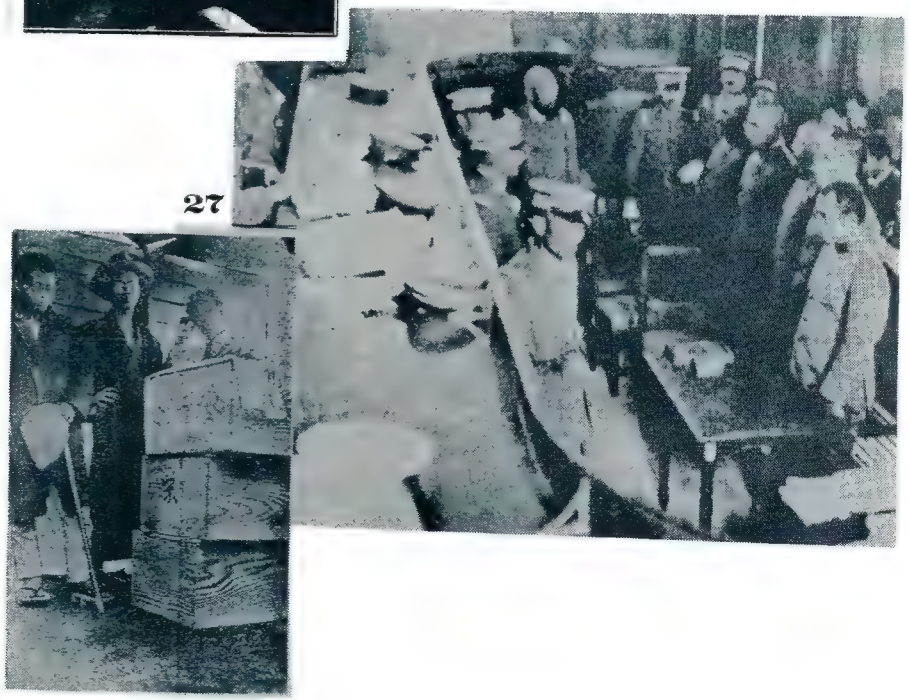

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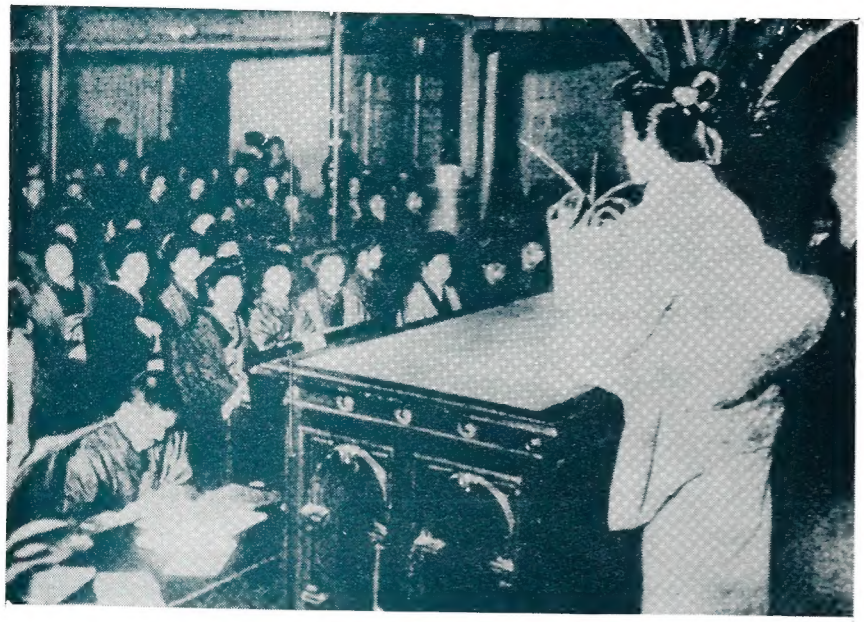

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今古貫通大

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Wat Tyler, 'Asian Anarchism in Western Languages: Japan, China and Korea', in 'The Cienfugos Press Anarchist Review', no.4, pp.108-111.

Except the above, the next would be indicated at best.

Group de recherches sur l'anarchisme d'aujourd'hui (ed.), 'Bibliography de la Litterature Anarchisme au Japon', Tokyo, 1968, 10 p. (no more available).

All of this bibliography was translated into Spanish : 'Valiosa Aportion Bibliografica de los Anarquistas Japonesea', in 'Tierra y Libertad' February 1969, pp.49-53.

I'm going to add the following to W. Tyler's article.

Noe Ito, 'Wilde Blume auf unfreiem Feld. Feminismus und Anarchismus in Japan'. Hg., eingel. u. uebers. v. Akiko Terasaki u. Ilse Lenz, Berlin, 1978, 183 p.

'Japon', tome I. Dictionnaire biographique du mouvement ouvrier international, publie sous la direction de Jean Maitron et Georges Haupt. Ouvrage collectif redige sous la direction de Shobei Shiota. Paris, 1978.

About the Kotoku Affair many articles were appeared on priodicals in the world at that times: for example 'Freedom' December 1911, 'Mother Earth' February 1911, 'L'Humanite' 17 December 1910, or 'Der Anarchismus' 25 February 1911. Probably the only one book on the Affair is Albert Jensen, "Tiranio en Japonio', Norrkoepig, 1911, 40 p.

The first reference was made to anarchism in Japan by Max Nettlau in his 'Bibliographie de l'Anarchie', Paris, 1897, p.209. Nettlau said that 'Vers 1890, la 'Freiheit' publia des renseignments sur un mouvement libertaire qui se dessinait alors au Japon. Un des organes de ce mouvement etait le journal 'Liberty', qui se publiait, en japonais, a San Francisco, Cal.; les nos. 13 et 15 sont dates des 14 et 28 mars 1890'. To my regret I have seen neither 'Freiheit' nor 'Liberty'. If the reader know of them, please let me know.

Some day I'll write an article on next matters, which were

not stated so detailedly in this text, as the appendix to this book. I request your attention to Le Libertaire in which my article will be released.

a) The word 'museifushugi' (namely 'anarchism' in Japanese).

b) Sentaro Kemuriyama, 'The Modern Anarchism' and E. V. Zenker, 'Der Anarchismus'.

c) Introduction of Western socialist thought (e.g. Herbert Spencer, Henry George or Leo Tolstoi) to Japan shortly after the Meiji Restoration.

d) The Paul Eltzbacher Library.

e) Michael Bakunin's Complete Works and his Selected Works in Japan.

f) Peter Kropotkin's Complete Works in Japan.

g) Letters of Kropotkin, Tolstoy, Berkman and the others to Japanese socialists.

h) The Mikado-dominated anarchism in Japan.

i) The 'buraku' (the discriminated caste) emancipation movement by anarchists.

- WAKAYAMA Kenji -