



anarchism in Japan

PRE-WAR MOVEMENT

To the Death of Kotoku

DUE TO THE FACT THAT FEUDALISM ended in Japan only 100 years ago, a working class movement did not exist until the beginning of this century, when new social theories were imported from abroad. Before the "Meiji Restoration" there had been occasional peasant revolts similar to those in feudal Europe.

The civil liberties movement in the years after the Meiji Restoration was centred around the Liberal Party. As this party was controlled by politicians who, by coming from the "wrong" feudal clans, had been frozen out of the government, its liberalism disappeared as soon as its leaders found positions in the government.

Chomin Nakae,¹ who studied in France, was greatly influenced by Rousseau—in 1876 he translated *Social Contract*. In his private school, Nakae taught many people who were later to become prominent Anarchists and Socialists. In 1878 two magazines with vague humanistic-socialistic philosophies began publication; they became the main source of information about radical social theories.

In 1882 the Toyo Shakai To (Oriental Socialist Party) was formed, the first group to call itself Socialist. It had no president or headquarters and declared "the government should ultimately be abolished because it is the offspring of evil". It folded a year later under government pressure.

In 1897 the first real labour unions were formed by a group led by Sen Katayama,² then a Christian-Socialist who had attended the founding conference of the Second International.

In 1900 the Diet (Parliament) passed the "Public Peace Police Act". Under the law, any policeman could prohibit a meeting, organizations could be forcibly dissolved, and organizing a strike was illegal. The next decade, when the law was stringently enforced, is referred to as "the Period of Submersion", when the labour movement was "underwater".

In 1901 a Social Democratic Party was formed; the same day it was suppressed by the government. At that time the intricacies of European radical politics were not known in Japan; in fact, Christianity, with its humanitarian theories, had a great influence on the early workers' movement (while Christianity had been legalized in 1873, there was still great social stigma against it, so it was not yet able to sell out for respectability).

In 1902 Sentaro Kemuriyama wrote *Modern Anarchism*, the first book on Anarchism in Japanese. It dealt primarily with Russian terrorists.

In 1903 Heimin-sha (Common People's Association) was established to publish a weekly socialist paper. It had about 10 activists, the most prominent being Shusui Kotoku, at that time something of a Social-



Democrat. Because it was the only group to spread anti-war propaganda at a time when Japan was becoming a world power, it was eventually suppressed as unpatriotic.

In 1905 Heimin-sha split into three groups: Chokugen (Straight Talk) was led by Kotoku and Toshihiko Sakai, later to become a Socialist. The second, Shin Kigen (New Generation), led by Sanshiro Ishikawa, was influenced by Christianity and had a more humanistic outlook. The third, Hikari (Light) was simply a trade unionist group.

In 1905 Kotoku visited the US and made contact with numerous groups and individuals, particularly the IWW. He returned to Japan the next year and announced that he was an Anarchist.

Before Kotoku's return the Nihon Shakai To (Japan Socialist Party) was formed, consisting of almost all radicals. In Heimin Shimbun (Common People's Paper) Kotoku began pushing Anarchist ideas, particularly direct action and anti-parliamentarianism. Hekison Kutsumi, an intellectual, began writing about anarchism. For the first time an Anarchist movement began to develop.

The same year Japanese Anarchists in America formed the Nihon Shakai-Kakumei To (Japanese Social-Revolutionary Party), led by Sakutaro Iwasa.

As the Japanese movement became more "sophisticated" conflicts increased between the various tendencies. In 1907 the JSP split. The Left Socialists, led by Kotoku, published Osaka Heimin Shimbun, the Right Socialists, led by Sakai, published Shakai Shimbun (Social Paper), while the Christian Socialists, led by Ishikawa, formed a small centre group.

As a result of both their own weakness and government repression, the Right Socialists, while advocating parliamentarianism, were unable to participate in elections.

During the "Period of Submersion" the number of labour disputes decreased each year, while the level of violence increased. The exception to this downward trend was 1907, when the army had to be called out to suppress several miners' riots, in particular at the Ashio Copper Mine, where 1,200 miners burned buildings and threw bombs—600 were arrested.

In the first issue of *Revolution*, an English language newspaper published by Japanese Anarchists in California, Iwasa wrote, "Our politics and belief is to overthrow the Capitalist Class, Emperors, Kings, and Presidents." On the basis of this statement an American newspaper accused them of wanting to assassinate President Roosevelt. The Japanese Ambassador reported home that they wanted to kill the Imperial family; the government arrested Kotoku, but soon released him.

On November 3, 1907, the Emperor's birthday, "An Open letter to Mutsuhito, The Emperor of Japan From Anarchist Terrorists" was found on the door of the

Japanese Consulate in San Francisco. Essentially a joke, the letter attacked the Emperor for his part in the war with Russia and warned that he was surrounded by bombers. The government was terrified and immediately rounded up all known Anarchists.

On June 22, 1908, the Tokyo Anarchists went to a jail to meet a comrade who was getting out. On their way from there to a party they held a demonstration. The police, who were looking for an excuse to crack down on the Anarchists, attacked the demonstration; a battle followed, resulting in 14 arrests, including Sakae Osugi, Kanson Arahata, and Suga Kanno. Because the demonstrators carried three red flags with various phrases written on them, this demonstration became known as the Red Flag Incident.

Sakai and Yamakawa, the leaders of the Right Socialists, were arrested in connection with the Red Flag Incident, although they were in no way involved. Kotoku was not arrested as the police wanted to get him on a bigger charge—they were already certain he was planning to kill the Emperor.

Some of the people arrested in the Red Flag Incident carved on a prison wall a poem about beheading the Emperor, creating a new scandal and the extension of everybody's sentences. The whole affair proved to be a blessing in disguise for Osugi and Arahata, as they were still in jail at the time of "The Great Treason Plot" and thus could not be implicated in it.

At a demonstration against the increase in transportation costs, nine militants were arrested. They were acquitted at their trial, but the Supreme Court ordered the decision reversed.

While in prison, Suga Kanno began to think seriously about assassinating the Emperor. After her release she contacted a few others with similar interests, but none of them went beyond speculation, with the exception of Takichi Miyashita, who was captured in the mountains testing some experimental bombs.

On May 25, 1910, the police began arresting people believed involved in "The Great Treason Plot", 24 in all. On January 18, 1911, all were sentenced to death, but the next day 12 sentences were reduced to life imprisonment. On February 24, 1911, Kotoku, Kanno, Miyashita, and nine others were hung and their bodies burned.

Shusui Kotoku

Shusui Kotoku³ was born in 1871, four years after the Meiji Restoration, in an extremely conservative rural area of southern Japan. His father, a Samurai who made an unsuccessful attempt to become a merchant, died when Kotoku was two. Due to poverty and the lack of schools in his area, he was primarily self-educated.

At age 12 Kotoku began publishing a newspaper for his friends; while consisting mostly of neighbourhood news, it included some fairly radical political editorials.



At 15 he organized a small demonstration against a meeting of the ruling political party. He became a follower of the Liberal Party, which was then dropping vague hints about "taking power in one day".

In 1888 Kotoku went to Osaka, where he lived with Chomin Nakae.

In 1893 he got a job translating wire service reports from Europe, from which he learned a great deal about current events in Europe.

In 1896 Kotoku got married, apparently at the instigation of his mother. Complaining that he didn't like a traditional wife, who was more like a servant, he left her two months later. Nakae suggested he look for an educated girl and three years later he married an intellectual.

By 1897 the Liberal Party was actively collaborating with the government and becoming reactionary. Kotoku organized Shakai Mondai Kenkyu Kai (Social Problems Study Group) at his newspaper. At about the same time he received a book on Social Democracy from Europe.

Shakai Mondai Kenkyu Kai joined with Christian-Socialists like Katayama to form Shakaishugi Kenkyu Kai (Socialism Study Group) "to study the principles of Socialism and the desirability of applying them to Japan".

A man with vague leftist tendencies hired the members of Shakaishugi Kenkyu Kai to work at a new newspaper, "Banchoho", which soon became the largest newspaper in Japan. Although the paper was a low-brow scandal sheet, the editorials, mostly written by Kotoku, increasingly pushed Socialism in very scholarly language.

The railroad workers, in Japan's first big labour dispute, went on strike in 1897, but without any union organization. When the strike was lost, Kotoku was impressed with the need for unionization and joined in the formation of Rodo Kumiai Keisei Kai.

In 1901 Kotoku wrote a famous editorial under the heading "I am a Socialist and a member of the Socialist Party", his first public proclamation of the fact. At this time there was not actual SP.

Soon after, Kotoku and the leaders of five other groups met to form Shakai-Minshu To (Social-Democratic Party, modelled after the German SDP). Its basic principles were Socialism, Democracy, and Pacifism. It was suppressed within hours by the government, which had been expected, but not in time to prevent several large newspapers from publishing the party's statement of principles.

Pacifism was a particularly important issue, as Japan was entering a militaristic period that ended in the war with Russia. Shakai-Minshu To was the only group to oppose this trend and in public opinion it was considered unpatriotic; the circulation of "Banchoho" fell and Kotoku and Sakai were fired.

Kotoku and Sakai formed a group to publish

Heimin Shimbun (Common People's Paper) as a weekly outright Socialist newspaper. Kotoku wrote an open letter to the Russian SDP suggesting that they work together against the common enemy; later a reply from "Iskra" was printed. On the first anniversary of Heimin Shimbun a translation of the "Communist Manifesto" was published; that issue of the paper was confiscated, Kotoku and Sakai were arrested, and Shakaishugi Kenkyu Kai was forced to disband. In prison Kotoku translated works by Engels and Kropotkin, his first discovery of Anarchist thought.

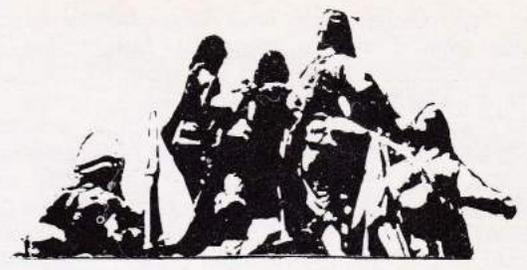
In 1905, after deciding to leave the movement for a while because of bad health, Kotoku went to America. In San Francisco, where there was a branch of Heimin Sha, he was welcomed by the Japanese there as a well-known writer.

Kotoku joined the American SP soon after his arrival and organized an independent Japanese Socialist Party among the Japanese immigrants. He contacted the newly formed IWW, Russian exiles, Anarchists, and other radicals. For the first time he realized how deep the divisions were in the radical movement. When asked what tendency he preferred, he replied, "If I should choose one, I want the more idealistic, more revolutionary, more radical one." According to Iwasa he didn't believe that Socialism and Anarchism were contradictory, but that a Socialist society would come first, followed by an Anarchist one. He was particularly influenced by Kropotkin, whom he contacted by mail, and by the widespread voluntary co-operation he saw after the San Francisco earthquake. In June, 1906, just before returning to Japan, he formed Nihon Shakai-Kakumei To (Japan Social-Revolutionary Party), a more radical group in opposition to the SP he had formed the year before.

While Kotoku was in America the Nihon Shakai To (Japan Socialist Party) was formed, led by Sakai. When Kotoku returned, he announced at a welcome-home party that his ideas had changed; he opposed parliamentary politics as useless for making a real social revolution and instead advocated solidarity of workers, direct action, and the general strike. The JSP immediately split into two groups of almost equal strength; a party principle that stated "this party advocates Socialism by legal means" was changed to "this party's purpose is to create Socialism".

Kotoku re-organized Heimin Shimbun as the organ of the JSP. Although the paper was written daily, only a few issues were allowed by the government. After a while Kotoku gave up on the paper and went to southern Japan.

When the Red Flag Incident took place, Kotoku was still in the South translating *The Conquest of Bread*. Receiving a telegram, he went back to Tokyo, stopping in several places to visit friends. The police believed he was plotting to kill the Emperor and everyone he visited on the way to Tokyo was later arrested as



The Winter of Socialism to WW2

After Kotoku's death, the radical movement entered the "Winter of Socialism", a time when all radical activity was suppressed by the government.

In 1912 Osugi and Arahata began publishing "Kindai Shiso" (Modern Thought), which operated under the pretence of being a literary magazine. The next year the Syndicalism Kenkyu Kai (Syndicalism Study Group) was organized illegally; many of the members of this group later became union leaders. Ishikawa, finding no place for himself in the miniscule, almost exclusively syndicalist, movement, went to Europe and contacted Anarchists there.

In 1912 Yuai Kai (Friendly Love Society) was formed a totally a-political union more or less along t' lines of the American AFL,⁵ its name pretty m. summed up its programme.

In 1914 it was felt that the time had come to build a radical labour movement. "Kindai Shiso" ceased publication and an attempt was made to revive "Heimin Shimbun"; five of the six issues were banned and the next year "Kindai Shiso" was revived. During this period the syndicalist groups gradually grew in strength.

Despite the loss of some militants, including Arahata,⁶ to proto-Communist groups after the Russian Revolution, the syndicalist movement continued to grow and gain influence in the labour movement. In 1918 Hokufu Kai (North Wind Association), a syndicalist printers' study group, led the left wing of the Japanese labour movement. "Rodo Shimbun" (Workers' Paper), written for ordinary workers, was edited by Osugi.

The Anarcho-Syndicalist movement reached its peak in 1919. That year the printers held 16 strikes in Tokyo; they were led by Shinyu Kai (Faithful Friends Society) and Seishin Kai (Society to Advance Truth), the two largest Syndicalist groups. The Syndicalist unions joined Sodomei (the new name of Yuai Kai) and their influence was rapidly sweeping through the previously moderate unions. 35,000 dockyard workers in Kobe occupied their plant for a month to prevent lay-offs.

In 1920 Japan was hit by the post-WWI depression and several large, mostly unsuccessful strikes took place to prevent wage cuts and lay-offs.

Osugi, Noe Ito (his wife, similar to Emma Goldman in both theory and position in the movement), Ken Kondo, and Kyutaro Wada began publishing "Rodo Undo" (Workers' Movement), the first outright Anarcho-Syndicalist paper in Japan.

The first May Day demonstration was held in 1920; it went off without incident because the police didn't realize what was happening until too late. The same year the non-Syndicalist Anarchists, under the leadership of Iwasa, organized themselves into Nihon Shakaiushugisha Renmei (Japan Socialist Federation).

part of the conspiracy (actually he had no plans for anything). Kotoku's arrival at the trial created a dramatic scene worthy of a Hollywood movie: as the news literally buzzed around the courtroom, the proceedings came to a sudden halt and Osugi proudly unfurled the red flags for Kotoku to see.

On June 1, 1910, Kotoku was arrested for plotting to assassinate the Emperor. He was still involved in getting *The Conquest of Bread* published and had no plans for other activity. On February 24, 1911, he was executed with the other 11.



(成石平四郎)

(古河力作)

(幸徳秋水)

(奥宮健之)

(大石誠之助)

(新村志雄)

(内山嘉彦)

(森近高平)

(新美卯一郎)

(松尾卯一太)

(宮下太吉)

(菅野すが)

In 1920 Osugi made what is considered to be one of his most disastrous mistakes: feeling that it was urgent to make a revolution in Japan, he attempted to form an alliance with the pro-Bolshevik groups (there wasn't a CP yet), that, while still much weaker than the Syndicalists, had the advantage of better international contacts. He attended a Far East Comintern meeting in Shanghai as the Japanese delegate, but was quickly isolated when he began to criticize the Bolsheviks. "Rodo Undo" was re-organized on a co-operative basis with the Communists; the more sectarian Anarchists left the Syndicalist movement, while the paper became extremely disorganized, with every article the subject of intense bickering between the two groups. In 1921 "Rodo Undo" was again re-organized, without the Communists.

Daijiro Furuta began organizing farmers, who were extremely poor and dissatisfied, but lacking class-consciousness and still very conservative, into Kosakunin Sha (Tenants League).

In 1922 the Japan Communist Party was officially established by the "Lecture" wing of the Socialists (the "Peasant-Worker" wing continued as the Socialist Party). The next year the police got hold of a complete membership list and the CP was wiped out. The pre-war CP never had more than 1,000 members.

The first terrorist group, Guillotine Sha, was formed. Its members included Furuta, Tetsu Nakahama, and Kozo Kawai. Aside from Nakahama, who was a sort of Japanese Nechaev, they thought of terrorism as more of a form of revolutionary justice than as a means of destroying the state.

In 1923 Japan was hit by one of the greatest earthquakes in history. The government blamed it on the Koreans, setting off a pogrom in which thousands of Koreans were killed. Taking advantage of the confusion, military police killed Osugi and Ito and threw their bodies into a well. Bokuretsu,⁷ a Chinese Anarchist, and Fumiko Kaneko, his Japanese wife, were arrested and later killed, as were a number of other Syndicalists.

In 1923 the government extended the vote to the working class. As a result, many unions, including some syndicalist, became involved in electoral activity.

"Rodo Undo" continued with Kondo as the editor. Shinyu Kai and Seishin Kai joined to form Tokyo Insatsuko Kumiai (Tokyo Printers Union). Guillotine Sha's first action took place, an unsuccessful attempt to rob a bank.

In 1924 there were several large (by the standards of the time) outright Syndicalist unions, the largest Nihon Insatsuko Renmei (Japan Printers' Federation) with 3,850 members, followed by Kanto Rodo Kumiai Renmei (Kanto [the Tokyo area] Workers' Union) with 1,430 and Chugoku Rodo Kumiai Renmei (Chugoku [the Hiroshima area] Workers' Union Federation) with 1,360. The Syndicalists had been disorganized since the death of Osugi and were growing weaker; they still had about three times the strength of the CP controlled unions.

Ishikawa organized the Japan Fabian Society.

At the end of the year Genjiro Muraki and Kyutaro Wada shot Sgt. Fukuda, the leader of the soldiers that killed Osugi and Ito. After the death of Osugi they had lost faith in Syndicalism and had turned to terrorism for revenge, without hope of changing society.

Guillotine Sha attempted to kill the brother of the man who had actually killed Osugi and Ito (the murderer himself had gone to Manchuria, where the government had given him a good job). Although

they had made some bombs, Guillotine Sha was not very successful in its terrorism. All its members were caught and 20 executed.⁸

After several years of internal wrangling, Sodomei expelled the revolutionary unions in 1925. Sodomei was left with 13,960 members, while the left formed Hyogi Kai with 12,655 members. From then on, both federations split in every direction. Hyogi Kai soon came under the domination of the CP and the non-Communists left; that, combined with intense government repression, quickly reduced it to only a few thousand members.

The first meeting of the CP's Peasant-Labour Party was broken up by Kokuren (Black Youth Federation), recently formed by a number of Kanto groups and unions.

The Japan Fabian Society dissolved, as it had become almost exclusively Anarchist and had little resemblance to Fabianism.

The Japan Peasants' Union, a quite moderate group organized by Christian-Socialists in 1922, grew to 67,000 members in 1926. Its first move into politics was to join with the CP in the formation of the Peasant Labour Party, a disaster that provoked a series of splits.

Nomin Jichi Kai (Peasants' Self-Control League), the most successful of the Syndicalist attempts to organize peasants, was founded in 1925. Led by Kazuo Kato, it had 243 branches and 6,300 members in 1927.

In 1926 Kokuren raided the Ginza, the high-class nightclub and shopping area of Tokyo. That same year it helped in various union struggles.

Kansai (Osaka-Kobe-Kyoto area) Anarchists formed Kuro Hata Renmei (Black Flag Federation). Young Anarchists in Chubu (near Nagoya) formed Chubu Kokuren; Kokuren groups later formed in several other areas.

The Syndicalist unions officially banded together in Jiren (National Free Federation of Workers' Unions). It included 29 unions with a total membership of 55,000.

Jiren and Kokuren conducted a large campaign in 1927 on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Part of Kokuren tried to organize peasants into Noson Undo Remei (Rural Movement Federation), without spectacular success.

In China, a National Labour University was established; Yamaga, Ishikawa, and Iwasa went as lecturers. Jiren sent a delegate to a Comintern sponsored pan-Pacific labour union meeting in China.

Jiren split between Anarchists and Syndicalists in 1928; although the Anarchist faction was by far the larger, it was becoming increasingly isolated from the actual working class struggle. The Syndicalist faction organized itself as Jikyo (Free Federation of Labour Unions Committee), while the Anarchist faction continued as Jiren.

In 1928 the complete works of Kropotkin were translated into Japanese and two years later those of Bakunin.

In 1929 the only legal Anarchist publication, Kokushoku Sensen (Black Front), posed as a literary magazine; only seven issues were allowed to appear. Ishikawa published "Dynamic" underground.

Kansai and Chugoku Kokuren re-organized as Anarchist Seinen Renmei (Anarchist Youth Federation) and published an underground theoretical journal, "Kuro Hata" (Black Flag).

In 1931 Jiren had 11,000 members and Jikyo 2,800. Nomin Jichi Bunka Renmei (Peasants' Self-Control Cultural Federation), a descendant of Nomin Jichi Kai, had 1,000 members.

In 1931 Japan invaded Manchuria. The temporary economic boom created led to increased wages and high employment; the non-political unions grew rapidly.

Jikyo led twenty strikes in 1933 and joined with Jiren and several non-Anarchist groups in the Anti-Fascist Confederation.

In 1934 Museifu-Kyosan To (Anarcho-Communist Party) was formed, led by Tei Uemura; it attempted, with little success, to organize co-operation between workers and peasants. Jikyo and Jiren re-united.

1935: CP dissolves!!! For some time it has been too weak to engage in any activity and finally decided to give up.

In 1937, as the economic effects of war began to hurt, 123,730 workers went on strike (compared to 30,900 the year before); the next year the number fell 18,300. The moderate unions tried to survive by co-operating with the military, but collapsed in 1940 when ordered to join the "Industrial Patriotic Society".

As the country moved toward outright military rule, repression became worse. After Museifu-Kyosan To robbed a bank, all 400 of its militants were arrested. The Jiren unions began to collapse.

In 1936, as the repression grew still worse, 350 Kokuren militants were arrested. A special "Public Order" Law for Anarchists was made, leading to more arrests.

Tokyo Insatsuko Kumiai joined the Popular Front. With only 250 members, it was the only Anarchist group left. In 1938 it was destroyed and, except for isolated individual activity, the Anarchist movement disappeared.

Sakae Osugi

Sakae Osugi was born in 1885, the son of an army officer. As his family was constantly moving, he never had the sense of community that was important to other Japanese radicals. He was very shy and stammered badly—when shocked or scolded by parents or teachers he was unable to speak at all.

Osugi entered military school at 14. At 16 he was part of a large group suspended for homosexuality. Six months later he was expelled after being badly injured wrestling.

At 17 he went to Tokyo and became a Christian. In 1903, when 18, he visited Heimin-Sha, but didn't become a Socialist until he finished school two years later.

In March 1906 he was arrested for the first time, at a demonstration against raising traffic fees. In September he got married and, soon after, opened an Esperanto school.

In 1907 he was jailed for seven months for publishing Kropotkin's "Appeal to the Young". In January of the next year he went back to jail for three months for making a speech from a roof. In April 1908 he became a student in order to dodge the draft, but was arrested in June during the Red Flag Incident.

Osugi spent three years and four months in jail during a five-year period beginning in 1906. He adopted a policy of learning a new language every time he went to prison; he knew eight when he died. He also studied science and during the "Winter of Socialism" he translated a number of scientific works into Japanese.

Osugi was released from prison in November 1910. For some time it was impossible to engage in any political activity. When he began publishing "Kindai

Shiso" with Arahata he was able to gradually write more openly about social philosophy. Beginning with articles like "Instinct and Creation" and "Inclinations of Modern Science", he progressed to "Amplification of Life" and "Factory of Chains". In "Intellectual Masturbation" he denounced intellectuals, whom he disliked and avoided, for devising nice theories and disputing fine points while doing nothing.

In 1913 Osugi caught TB. In 1914 he met Noe Ito, at that time publishing Seito (Blue Stocking), a women's lib magazine, and married to a well-known follower of Stirner.

During 1915 and 1916 Osugi's love life became extremely complicated, climaxing in his being stabbed by one of his girl friends in November of 1916.⁹ He finally settled down with Noe Ito and had five children.

After he split with the Communists and seeing their disruptive activities, Osugi realized it would be necessary to fight on two "fronts". Before, he had thought all radicals could fight together to build the new society.

In September, 1922, Osugi attended a meeting to unify two unions, one Anarchist and the other CP. At the meeting he gave a famous speech criticizing Trotsky's theories—he appears to have had a much better understanding of the differences among the Bolsheviks than any of the Marxists in Japan or Europe.

In 1922 Osugi got a letter from France announcing an international Anarchist conference. Osugi had heard about Makhno and the Kronstadt revolt and wanted to get some first-hand information, especially from Voline, and so went to France on a false passport, posing as a Chinese.

At a May Day meeting in Paris, Osugi criticized holding a peaceful indoor meeting and urged the crowd to attack some factories. A large number of police immediately raided the hall and busted Osugi before he finished his speech. He was deported back to Japan.

Two months after his return, Osugi, Noe Ito, and a six-year-old nephew were killed on September 16, 1923. Amakasu, the man who actually killed Osugi, was sentenced to 10 years in prison, but was released the next year and given a good job in Manchuria, beyond the reach of any potential assassins. The night before the funeral, the bodies were taken by rightists.

While Osugi was closer to Kropotkin in his social theories, his character and activities were more like Bakunin's. It has been said that he was not a theorist, but a man of instinct. He said that liberty is more than just life and play, free from oppression; but, if you don't want life, you can't get liberty.

In "Creation of Life", published in "Kindai Shiso", Osugi criticized Marxism for exaggerating historical materialism and the inevitability of social evolution, a theory that leads to the suppression of spontaneity and creativity. Reformation of society is possible, but Socialism is not a predetermined fate. Socialists say that our social life creates our individual conscience, but actually it's the other way around; our own individual conscience will create the new social life. The real life of the Social Revolution starts when workers begin to think; revolutionaries should teach the workers to want to learn and help them to develop their intellectual abilities. There is a direction to the movement, but no definite end—the ideals are not future goals, but are always with the movement and progress and change with it. We are not seeking freedom and creativity for the future, but for now.



Anarchism in Japan

Part II

POST-WAR MOVEMENT

Labour Movement

Right after the war, the US Occupation specifically encouraged unionism as a means of breaking up the power of the giant corporations. Within a year almost 4,000,000 workers had joined unions. But when the workers began to run wild and engage in such irresponsible activity as taking control of plants to increase production at a time when management wanted to hold it down to benefit from inflation, the Occupation began to turn against the unions.

Before the Cold War began, the Occupation looked on the Communists as allies and allowed them to gain a dominant position in the labour movement (the CP, on its part, considered the US military an "Army of Liberation"). It has been said that General MacArthur is the founder of the Japanese CP. The CP's labour federation, with 1,500,000 members or 25% of total union membership, reached its peak in 1947; after MacArthur banned a planned General Strike it fell rapidly to 400,000 by 1949 and was later ordered to dissolve. When the Cold War got going, the Occupation tried to import McCarthyism and 12,000 Communists lost their jobs.

To oppose CP influence in the labour movement, the Occupation organized anti-CP unions into Sohyo, with a total membership of 2,760,000. Unfortunately for the military, the Sohyo unions had no intention

of serving anybody's imperialism and quickly allied themselves with the Socialist Party; they jointly adopted the "Four Peace Principles", including absolute neutrality, no military bases in Japan, and no re-armament.

The CP had been doing fairly well as a defender of Democracy when it got the word in 1951 to re-enact the Chinese Revolution; the resulting farce would make a suitable plot for a Keystone Cops movie and virtually destroyed the CP. After about a year it gave up and as soon as it was safe (1955) announced that a Proletarian revolution was impossible until the Bourgeoisie went through the formality of overthrowing the Emperor. Since then the CP has been slowly regaining the ground it lost.

The only really notable post-war industrial dispute took place in 1960 at the Miike mines in Kyushu when the mine bosses announced that 6,000 men would have to "volunteer to retire". A series of strikes led to a lockout, which led to several large battles with company guards and aspiring strike-breakers. One man was killed and 1,750 injured during the lockout-strike, which lasted 282 days and ended in defeat.

In 1965 the SP and Sohyo organized Hansen Seinen-i (Anti-War Youth Committee). It quickly moved away from the SP and by 1967 was participating in demonstrations with the Anti-Communist Zengakuren. Nationally, it is controlled by the Zengakuren sects, but very many non-sect radicals and Anarchists are active in local branches. During the 1969 and 1970 anti-Treaty struggle it was very active; small groups

would barricade themselves in at strategic points in their plants and disrupt production. At its height it could draw about 13,000 workers to demonstrations, but, as a result of its preoccupation with political matters it became isolated from the ordinary workers and is now small and inactive.

Hourly wages rose from an average of US \$0.244 in 1955 to \$0.583 in 1966, which can be compared to

	US	UK	Italy
1955	\$1.86	men 4.74 Shillings	L185
		women 2.78	..
1966	\$2.72	men 9.23	L401
		women 5.30	..

When comparing these figures it should be borne in mind that Tokyo is rated the most expensive city in the world to live in. Unemployment usually runs at about 1%; in fact the workers in highest demand are recent Junior High School graduates, with seven jobs available for each graduate, for the simple reason that they are the lowest paid.

With the amazing increase in Japan's post-war GNP, the workers' Standard of Poverty has increased from the starvation level to near that of European workers. As long as the bosses can afford to pass out 5% and 10% annual wage increases and still, increase profits, the labour movement is going to be emasculated.

There are now 11,481,000 union members, 35% of the work force, organized in 60,754 unions. As the table shows, the vast majority of union members, even when government workers are not counted, are employed by large businesses, while the number employed by the smallest businesses has actually declined by about 190,000 since 1960. The working class is sharply split between the "regular employees" with their fabled job security and fringe benefits and those in small companies who lack even many basic legal rights.

Partly as a result of the spontaneous generation of the post-war unions, more than 95% are limited to one enterprise. With the system of lifetime employment, many workers are reluctant to use tactics or push for demands that could weaken their employer's economic position. While there are a few signs that this system may be weakening, there is nothing unusual about a large corporation limiting itself to hiring exclusively recent graduates. Sohyo has managed to reduce the problem slightly by co-ordinating the wage drives.

Japanese workers tend to have slightly more say in union affairs than those in the West. While policies and programmes originate at the top, the first drafts are sent down the hierarchy for criticism and may be modified somewhat before they become official.

Most union officials are on temporary leave from their companies and return to them after their term of office is up; professional union leaders are usually workers who lost their jobs for union activity. Unfortunately, there is a strong tendency to elect officers from among the "white-collar" workers, the lower levels of which are included in the union, but are on a career escalator that will carry them into management. The unions like the arrangement because they think it gives them friends inside the management, while the bosses, aside from the obvious reasons, like the experience it gives in administration. In the West this system would inevitably produce company unions, but Japanese union leaders (with the exception of those in Domei) tend to be fairly conscientious; Sohyo's leaders are often fairly radical, but are held back by the apathy of the membership.

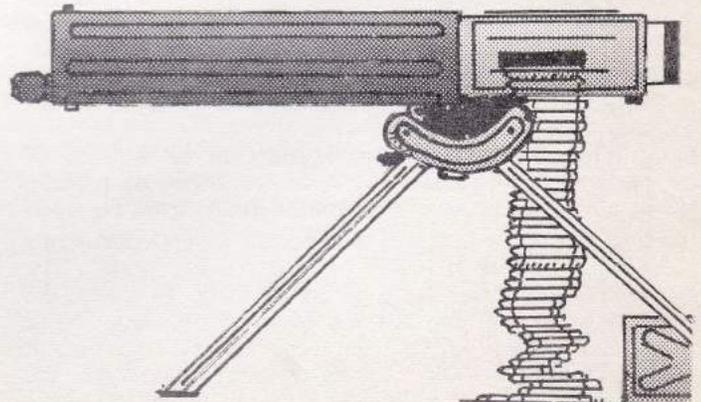
Strikes are used for harassment and to get publicity, not to seriously interfere with production. The most common form of job action is the "scheduled strike", announced at the beginning of negotiations. For example, a railroad union might schedule a three-hour strike to begin at 4 A.M., followed later by a Sunday strike, and then by one during a rush hour. In theory, it could build up to an unlimited strike, something which actually happens every five or ten years. The wage settlements are actually based on the recommendations of a government mediation board. In spite of this, the rate of "days lost" per 1,000 workers is not all that small compared to Western countries, because contracts are renewed annually and, except for Domei, are not usually signed until everybody has gone out on a ceremonial strike or two.

Almost half of Sohyo's 4,282,000 members, who make up 37% of organized labour, are government workers or workers in government-owned corporations without the right to strike. These workers manage to get around the law through slowdowns and reporting sick.

Sohyo leads the annual Spring Struggle, which a minor federation and a number of independent unions join in. By co-ordinating the wage drives, it partially reduces the enterprise unions timidity and fear of hurting their employers' ability to compete. Wage increases generally average out to 10% a year, a good part of which is lost to inflation.

Sohyo is closely allied to the SP and is virtually its only source of support. Sohyo's national leadership, which is the right wing of the unions, supports the left wing of the SP; the membership is basically apathetic. If the SP splits, Sohyo will probably split also, but it is impossible to tell which faction would be larger. The CP, which has no federation of its own, controls two of the larger Sohyo unions and has some influence in several others.

Domei, with 2,060,000 members or 17.7% of total union membership, is the second largest federation. It was formed in 1964 when the revival of the pre-war Sodomei joined with a group that split off from Sohyo. While Domei unions, like Sohyo, prepare an annual list of strike dates, they have the amazing ability to reach an agreement before the first date arrives. Domei is strongest in industries that are rapidly increasing productivity, where the bosses are willing to hand out 10% and 15% annual increases in a time of



EVERY LITTLE BIT HELPS.

prosperity to help undermine the labour movement. Domei bases its requests on "management's ability to pay", but should be credited with at least making its own investigations to determine this figure. Although Domei has taken some steps to keep out the most blatant company unions, it is still common for Domei organizers to show up when some kind of real struggle is taking place to denounce Sohyo and form a second union; the bosses respond with favouritism toward the members of the second union. Domei is closely tied to the Democratic Socialist Party.

Parliamentary Politics

The Liberal-Democrats (47% of the vote and 303 seats in the Diet in the last election) have an absolute stranglehold on the Diet. Controlled by big business, they draw most of their support from rural areas. The product of the union of two parties, they are extremely factionalized. By playing off the factions against each other, Sato was recently re-elected party President (and thus Prime Minister) despite the fact that almost 80% of the people wanted somebody new.

The Japan Socialist Party (21.5%, 91 seats) increased its vote at the rate of about 1% a year during the '50's and early '60's, but has now been losing strength for several years. Their greatest weakness is an inability to form strong local organizations, which forces them to rely on Sohyo to organize things for them. Although they stick to a traditional Marxist interpretation of politics, most of their support comes from "white-collar" workers. They are in the process of splitting between those who hold to an at least theoretical and rhetorical commitment to Marxism and revolution and the outright reformists—the reformists probably have a more practical position, considering the realities of their situation. The right wing, the smaller, will probably break away after the next election and form a new party with the Democratic-Socialists and possibly Komeito.

Komeito (Clean Government Party) (10.9%, 47 seats) is a front for the Sokka Gokkai Buddhist sect. It claims to be left wing but its policies are so vague that no one is really sure.

The Democratic-Socialists (7.7%, 32 seats) broke off from the SP several years ago and is now close to the Liberal-Democrats. It would be unable to survive without the support of Domei.

The Japan Communist Party (5.3%, 14 seats) has gradually increased its voting strength, mostly at the expense of the SP. While waiting for the Bourgeois Revolution, they have built a strong reformist organization; so strongly reformist, in fact, that would probably find it impossible to change their position, should they ever wish to.

While Japan has what appears to be a form of parliamentary democracy, it is not really democratic at all. By the use of massive donations from big business and occasional vote stealing, the Liberal-Democrats have remained in power for over twenty years. The right-wing Socialists hope to be able to unify the opposition, but are not too likely to succeed. None of the political parties seem to have a real commitment to Democracy—the Liberal-Democrats look on the opposition as a meddling nuisance, while the opposition complains about the "tyranny of the majority". Interestingly, the Socialists have occasionally started brawls on the floor of the Diet to prevent a vote from

being taken, which usually results in their being dragged out by the riot police.

In recent local elections the SP and CP have together won several fairly important positions by putting up joint candidates. In these elections the SP has provided the votes, while the CP has gotten them to the polls. There is now widespread speculation that the CP will become the major opposition party, but it's too early to distinguish a real trend.

Zengakuren

Zengakuren is basically divided into Minsei (CP controlled) and a large number of "Anti-Communist" or "New Left" sects of varying degrees of authoritarianism. The name is usually used in reference to the Anti-Communists.

Minsei has about 12,000 active members and is the strongest student political organization. Aside from being generally obnoxious, it is known to occasionally try to drive student strikers off campuses when the police have proved too lily-livered to do so.

Zengakuren began splitting about ten years ago. It is virtually impossible to keep track of the Anti-Communists' splits and temporary alliances (a chronological chart looks like a diagram of the insides of a radio), but their basic divisions are Trotskyist (about 8,000 activists), Maoists (1,000), Rosa Luxembourgests (1,500), and "Italian" reform Communists (3,000). Each sect has a non-student "Party" that it belongs to, but only about half of these parties really exist. Aside from the usual Bourgeois enemies, they particularly hate (1) Minsei and (2) each other; many groups attack each other on sight.¹⁰

The inter-sect hatred is quite understandable when one realizes that these groups are essentially Stalinists without a Stalin. Their political theories are very highly developed and leave little room for uncertainties; internal disputes are usually resolved by splitting.

While the sects generally agree on the need to join with the workers, their numbers seem to have a tendency to think of themselves as the main force of the revolution. This may be at least partly caused by the almost total indifference of most people toward leftist activity.¹¹

In October of 1967 most of the sects adopted what were basically Provo tactics of attacking the police and forcing the state to respond with outright repression.

Instead, the government reacted for the most part with extreme tolerance, putting the police in armour and usually limiting them to defensive action. The street-fighting campaign reached its peak in November of '69 and has since dropped off sharply. It appears that the sects have realized that throwing a Molotov cocktail at a cop doesn't convince anyone that he's a bastard and are now looking for new tactics.

On the whole the courts have been quite easy on student rioters. At a recent trial, two defendants who were unquestionably "guilty" of organizing a massive riot in which one person was killed were given 1 and 1½ years in jail, while the other 24 defendants got suspended sentences. As the level of violence increased, the government began moving toward a crackdown, but things quietened down before they reached that point.

The riot to prevent Sato's trip to Washington in November of '69 had about 20,000 participants, mobilized from all parts of Japan. The Tokyo demonstra-

tion of Anti-Communist sects and non-sect radicals against the extension of the Security Treaty with the US in June of '70, at which violence was only a formality (each group fought the police a few minutes and then sat back to watch the others) attracted about 150,000 people. These are the largest demonstrations of their kinds ever held by the sects.

Non-Sect Radicals

Until about 1967 non-sect radicals were few in number and little more than potential recruits for Zengakuren. The growth of student discontent led to struggles for university reform; as the sects, with their preoccupation with national and international politics, were unable to relate to these struggles, the non-sect radicals took the initiative. Non-sect radicals began to organize themselves under the name Zenkyoto (All Campus Joint Struggle Committees); previously lacking in any programmes for action, it looked like they might develop something with Zenkyoto, but the movement collapsed at the end of 1969, partly because lengthy strikes had done little to improve the university situation and partly because a new law gave the government more control over the universities. The situation had become confused in the summer of '69 when several of the sects, with their acute political vision, perceived that the masses wanted Zenkyoto and so joined together and declared themselves National Zenkyoto.

As non-sect radicals are, needless to say, a totally amorphous group, it is difficult to be very exact about them. Unlike radicals in a similar position in the US (and probably Britain), who are generally ignorant of social theories and think all revolutionaries are the same, Japanese non-sect radicals tend to be fairly knowledgeable about left-wing theories, but have a basic aversion to the dogmatism of most groups.

As their numbers fluctuate wildly depending on the issue at hand, it is impossible to estimate how many of them there are.

Beheiren

Beheiren (Citizens Alliance for "Peace in Vietnam") was formed in 1965 at a meeting called by a group of writers to protest the Vietnam war. While it has a National Chairman, there is no real structure; you become a member by declaring yourself one and branches are formed in the same way.

Unlike most organizations, Beheiren has become increasingly radical as it has grown. Although it lacks an official political theory, it has broadened its field of activity and become involved with the problems of Japan itself; it is probably the major non-parliamentary left-wing "citizens group". Makoto Oda, the Chairman, believes in a "whirlpool of humanity" theory; the whirlpool consists of radicals whose activity draws in the citizens surrounding them, eventually leading up to a general strike or similar mass action.

Beheiren has two tendencies: The major one, which is the real Beheiren, is quite libertarian. The second is made up of people from the CP and Zengakuren sects who have come in to capture the organization; they have found that aside from the Chairmanship, which is more or less Oda's personal property, there aren't any positions of power for them to capture. As the activists of the real Beheiren, unlike most non-sect radicals, have developed their own programmes, the

opportunists are isolated and end up as nothing more than their original groups using the name of Beheiren.

Beheiren can usually draw 2,000-5,000 people to a demonstration in Tokyo and occasionally as many as 10,000.

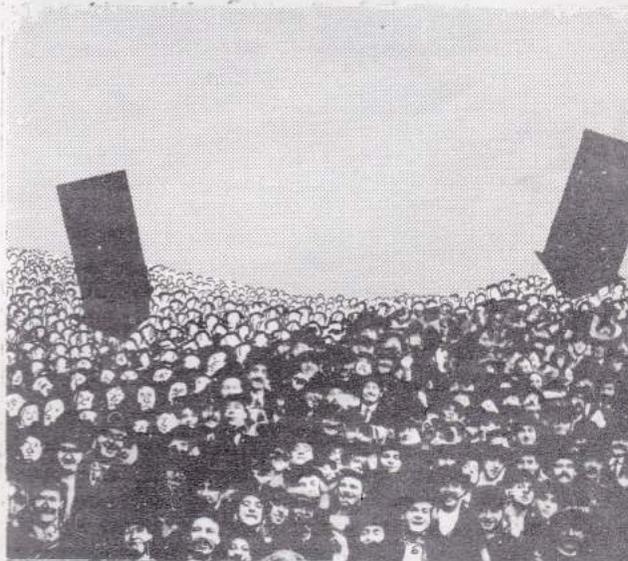
Post-War Anarchist Movement

On May 12, 1946, about 300 people met in Tokyo to form Nihon Anarkisuto Renmei (Japan Anarchist Federation), with Iwasa as Chairman and Kenji Kondo as Secretary. They began publishing "Heimin Shim-bun" weekly.

The federation was unable to attract more than 600 people. This can be attributed to two basic causes: (1) With the social and political environment totally changed overnight, the Anarchists, with the exception of a few attempts by Syndicalists to establish workers' control of production, were unable to come up with practical proposals for action. (2) When Japanese society was reconstructed, there was a place in the plan for Socialists and Communists, while the Anarchists, even if they had been willing to accept the US Army as a patron, were, of course, ignored as anachronistic lunatics.

A dispute among the Tokyo Anarchists, caused by the bad housing situation, led to a split in 1951. The smaller group, the so-called "pure Anarchists" formed the Japan Anarchist Club, led by Iwasa. The Anarchist Club was opposed to all unions; Iwasa looked on unions as bandit groups, only stealing money from the Capitalists—fair enough as far as they go, but not really revolutionary.

In 1956 "Heimin Shim-bun" changed its name to "Kuro Hata" and in 1962, now a monthly, to "Jiyu Rengo" ("Free Federation").



You are both charged with conspiring to cause explosions likely to endanger life or cause serious damage to property.



In 1966 Behan-i (Anti-Vietnam War Direct Action Committee), an Anarchist student group, raided a machine-gun factory, cutting off the power for a while, and later, another war factory in Nagoya. Behan-i fell apart soon afterwards and no similar actions have taken place since.

In January, 1969, the JAF carried out a "deployment in the face of the enemy"; in simple language, it dissolved. This was done on the grounds that the federation wasn't functioning, had developed sectarian tendencies, wasn't producing enough propaganda, and new methods had to be tried to reach non-sect radicals.

At present the number of Anarchist groups in Japan is completely unknown; only a very few groups would actually call themselves Anarchist. Sectarianism, while nothing compared to that of Zengakuren, is still quite bad, even in those groups that have strong theoretical opposition to it—many people are not on speaking terms with individuals of certain other groups. The following descriptions of six groups should give a fair picture of the various tendencies. The information on each group, with the exception of the Anarchist Club, is taken from either articles published by the group or conversations with its members. As the figures for membership and circulation of publications are those provided by the groups themselves, one should allow for ordinary exaggeration.

Jiyu Rengo Sha

Jiyu Rengo Sha (Association for Free Federation) was begun by Kou Mukai in early 1969. It does not consider itself an actual Anarchist organization but says its Anarchist tendency is a natural result of the needs of the present Japanese social situation for an unstructured anti-authoritarian radical movement.

Jiyu Rengo Sha believes that there is an urgent need for joint action by the Japanese left. By joint action they do not mean under centralised leadership of groups like the SP or CP, methods which have already been defeated, but instead through a union, or more accurately a federation, of independent groups that maintain their individual identity. Joint struggles are usually based on the lowest common denominator, both in goals and capabilities for action, of participating groups (such as massive peace parades); instead each individual and group must work in their own place, both socially and geographically, according to their abilities and the needs of their situation.

The Zengakuren sects do not understand what is meant by a union. Inter-sect rivalry is increasing and they are turning to gangster tactics in their disputes; the revolutionary movement is losing many people who have become allergic to the senseless violence of the sects. Each sect believes it alone is the vanguard and demands complete acceptance of all its ideas. Each has the illusion of unifying the left under its domination—they shout "union" but they mean "follow us". They are only able to make temporary allowances for opportunistic reasons.

The first step in building a free federation is to build a communications system among radical groups; Jiyu Rengo Sha's eight-page monthly newspaper has a circulation of 2,000. The newspaper contains very little abstract theory or analysis of great events, but instead specializes in "mini-communication"—information about the progress and difficulties of various small group activities that are ignored by the mass-communi-

cations network. Jiyu Rengo Sha, which looks on itself as an information centre, attempts to use the newspaper to promote mutual aid and to bring together individuals and groups working against the authoritarian movement. The newspaper has no particular staff and readers are expected to write articles; each issue brings in about 100 letters from readers.

The active members of Jiyu Rengo Sha do not usually work together as a group, which they feel would result in their becoming just another sect. Instead they "practice what they preach" and work as individuals or as action groups within their local situation; they are involved in more than 200 groups. About half of the activists are students and work at their universities with other non-sect radicals. The non-students are mainly active in Beheiren and various community groups; only a few are active in the labour movement.

CSL

Jiyu Shakaishugisha Hyogikai (Junbikai) (Council of Free Socialists) generally refers to itself as CSL, from the French translation of its name. It also sometimes goes by the name Jiyu Rengo Ha (Free Federation Faction).

During the Zenkyoto movement, a number of Anarchists at Waseda University were active in the Waseda Anti-War Federation. When the Anti-War Federation began to shrink with the collapse of Zenkyoto in late '69, the Anarchists met with Anarchist students at other Tokyo Universities and organized CSL.

CSL believes that Anarchism is required in the present situation, but not in its traditional form. Traditional Anarchism lacks a real theory of the process of revolution. What is needed are concrete proposals for establishing an effective, practical Anarchism, not just the ideals of freedom and justice. The new movement should work toward the creation of a communal society.

The revolution must be made through workers' and citizens' councils, similar to the French Action Committees, but the idea of a "party revolution" still dominates the Japanese left. CSL would like to operate in a manner similar to the Spanish FAI within an as yet non-existent mass movement similar to the CNT. Libertarians should fight against Stalinism physically and ideologically; they should fight together with the "New Left" but oppose it ideologically.

CSL is particularly interested in learning why former Anarchist movements were defeated and why Marxism became Stalinism. It has been criticized by other Anarchistic groups for Marxist tendencies; officially it is neither Anarchist nor anti-Marxist.

About three-quarters of CSL members are students. They usually work as individuals with non-sect radicals, but gather together at mass demonstrations; as many as 1,000 people have joined with CSL on such occasions.

CSL has published a few issues of "Eikyu Kakumei" ("Permanent Revolution"), which sells 3,500-4,000 copies. Articles generally consist of opinions and positions on various problems; criticism of other groups, particularly "New Left" and non-sect; reports on activities; and theory of revolution, organization, etc. It also publishes a monthly internal Bulletin and occasionally contributes to left-wing magazines.

Mugi Sha

Mugi Sha (Barley Association) derives its name in a

roundabout way from the name "Bakunin". After the JAF broke up, it was formed by some of the older Anarchists, who intended it to be something like a union. After a few months a group of students occupied the office and the original group left. It is fairly close to CSL and shares an office with it.

Mugi Sha, with only 15-20 activists, is trying to develop into something like Freedom Press. It has translated several pamphlets, but is hampered by extreme poverty. It also puts out "Mugi Sha Tsushin" ("News About Mugi Sha"), which contains articles on "politics, art, social problems, and any other problems concerning man".

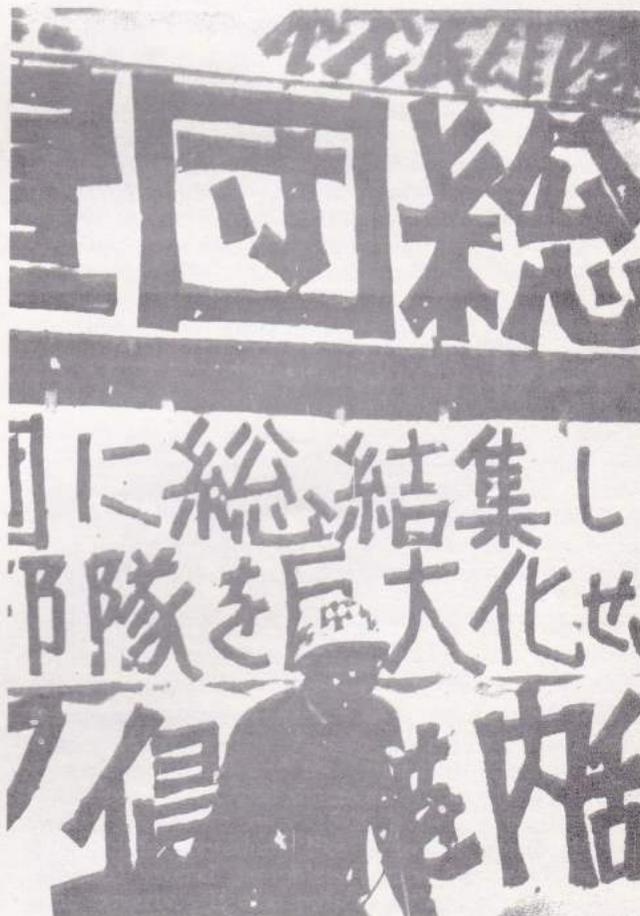
Mugi Sha also organizes study groups that, in addition to studying Anarchism, spend about one-third of their time on Marxism to be able to criticize its defects and to adapt its strong points for use in an Anarchist context.

Japan Anarchist Club

The Anarchist Club is now reduced to about a dozen members, all old, but it has close connections with some groups of young Anarchists. It irregularly publishes 400-500 copies of "Museifushugi Shimbun" ("Anarchist Newspaper").

Thanatos

Thanatos (Greek for "death"), Aka Ono No Kai (Hatchet Society) was founded in the autumn of 1969.



A Zen Gurken meeting.

Its 20-30 members are mostly from Hosei University in Tokyo.

Thanatos follows the economic theory of Kropotkin and otherwise prefers Malatesta, but puts more emphasis on the feeling of Anarchism than the theory.

Thanatos is close to the Anarchist Club, particularly in its rejection of Syndicalism—while Syndicalism is useful as a tactic, unionism alone is not enough. It sees the revolution as taking place through the occupation of factories, armed insurrection, and individual terrorism.

Thanatos is extremely critical of such groups as Jiyu Rengo Sha and CSL, which it thinks are not really Anarchist but only non-sect, for attempting to work with Marxists. Because of the long history of double-dealings and betrayals by Marxists, joint action can easily prove fatal. The Japanese radical Marxists claim to be anti-Stalinist, but in reality are Stalinist themselves.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to build a revolutionary workers movement at this time; the initiative is now with the students and, secondly, the lumpen-proletariat. Thus Thanatos is trying to organize vanguard groups on campuses, at first simply to spread Anarchist propaganda, but later to lead in such Propaganda of the Deed as fighting police and throwing Molotov cocktails, and eventually to form an Anarchist army for both underground and open insurrection.

Thanatos is often accused of being a terrorist organization, but actually, while approving of individual terrorism, it has no intention of starting an organized terrorist campaign. It feels that the internal outrage of individuals cannot and should not be restrained. Its reputation comes partly from the fact that several of its members were involved in the plot of the now defunct Haihan Sha (Rebellion League) to bomb war factories, the CP and Liberal-Democrat headquarters, and other institutions; while making the bombs, they set fire to the apartment, leading to their arrest—at their trial it was discovered that one of the defendants was a police agent; Shida and Haegawa both got two-and-a-half-year sentences and are now going to appeal.

In addition to a monthly internal bulletin, "Nek Dio Nek Majstro", a magazine called "Thanatos" is irregularly published.

Libertaire

An Anarchist Study Group was organized in 1963 to bring young people into the JAF. Finding it difficult to rent a room, it changed its name to Libertaire. After the JAF dissolved, Libertaire continued as an independent organization. Last December it began publishing a 12-page monthly magazine with the same name.

Libertaire has been referred to as "mild anarchist"; it promotes Anarchism through sociology and anthropology, both geographic and historical. Through the magazine they hope to spread Anarchist propaganda and to help form the nucleuses of Anarchist groups in all corners of Japan, which would be the nucleus of a new Japanese society.

Libertaire has a strong Christian influence; the editor, Augustin Miura, is a follower of Ishikawa. Although most of Japanese Christianity now collaborates with authority and Capitalism, in the past, despite government persecution, it taught the Japanese to be without masters besides God. In Europe Christianity had been degraded



Police attempting to stop a demonstration entering the Ginza in 1969.

and compromised with authority, but its origin was anti-authoritarian. To be a Christian in Japan opened the way to Anarchism, because the moral of Christianity was the same as that of Anarchism; the worship of God and materialism is only a philosophical problem.

Libertaire is trying to reduce the gap between old and young Anarchists and feels that it is making some progress.

Libertaire has about 200 subscribers and sells another 400-500 copies of each issue. The contents generally consist of comments and analysis of various events and news (particularly foreign, due to Miura's contacts from when he was International Secretary of the JAF).

- 1 All names have been reversed to European style.
- 2 Katayama is the patron saint of Japanese Marxism, helped to form the CP, and is buried in Moscow.
- 3 Kotoku's name is actually pronounced "Kotok", but under the rules of Japanese grammar, that is impossible.
- 4 Kotoku himself was an atheist; his last work was "An Essay to Blot Out Christ".
- 5 American Federation of Labour.
- 6 In about 1930 he joined Rono, a group whose theories were similar to Trotsky's. The left wing of the post-war SP developed around the remains of Rono.
- 7 The Japanese version of his name.
- 8 Two, however, are still living.
- 9 The girl who stabbed him now happens to be a Socialist member of Parliament.
- 10 In August '70 a member of one group was kidnapped and tortured to death by a rival sect. It should be noted, however, that they apparently hadn't intended to kill him, but wanted to know his sect's plans. What is particularly ironic about it is that both sects are connected to the same party.
- 11 One non-political man told me that the riot police were just the strongest of a group of identical competing sects.

APPENDIX A
Union Membership and Labour Disputes in Japan
Before the End of WW2

Year	Unions		Disputes		
	Number	Members	Number	Participants	
1897			32	3,517	First unions
1898			43	6,293	
1899			15	4,284	
1900			11	2,316	Public Peace Police Act
1901			18	1,948	
1902			8	1,849	
1903			9	1,359	
1904			6	879	War with
1905			19	5,013	Russia
1906			13	2,037	
1907			57	9,855	
1908			13	822	
1909			11	310	
1910			10	2,937	
1911	32		22	2,100	
1912	37		49	5,736	Yuai Kai formed, repression cases
1913	43		47	5,242	
1914	49		50	6,904	
1915	53		64	7,852	
1916	66		108	8,418	
1917	80		389	57,309	
1918	91		417	66,457	
1919	162		497	335,225	
1920	273		282	127,491	Depression begins
1921	300	103,412	246	170,889	
1922	387	137,381	250	85,909	
1923	432	125,551	290	68,814	Great Earthquake Death of Osugi
1924	449	175,454	333	94,047	
1925	490	234,000	293	89,387	
1926	488	284,739	495	127,267	
1927	505	309,493	383	103,350	
1928	501	308,900	393	101,893	
1929	630	330,985	576	172,144	
1930	712	354,312	907	191,834	
1931	818	368,975	998	154,528	Manchurian War
1932	932	377,635	893	123,313	
1933	942	384,277	610	49,423	
1934	965	387,964	626	49,536	
1935	993	408,662	590	37,734	
1936	973	420,589	547	30,734	
1937	837	359,290	628	30,900	Chinese War
1938	731	375,191	262	123,730	
1939	517	365,804	258	18,341	
1940	49	9,455	226	72,835	
1941	11	895	158	32,160	Pacific War
1942	3	111	166	8,562	
1943	3	155	279	9,029	
1944	0	0	216	9,418	
1945	0	0	13	6,627	

Source: Izutaro Suchiro, "History of Japanese Trade Union Movement".

APPENDIX B
Rates of Organization According to the Size of Enterprises Including
Government Workers and Government Owned Corporations

Size of Enterprise	No. of organized workers	% of total union membership	
5,000+	5,267,000	45.4%	
1,000-4,999	2,733,700	23.6%	
500-999	954,900	8.2%	
100-499	1,885,600	16.2%	
30-99	647,500	5.6%	
29 or less	115,800	1.0%	

Private Industry Only			
Size of Enterprise	No. of organized workers	% of total union membership	% of work-force employed (approx.)
1,000+	4,793,400	58.4%	25%
500-999	742,900	9.1%	
100-499	1,439,200	17.6%	15%
30-99	411,200	5.0%	15%
29 or less	60,100	0.7%	45%

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