

中国無政府主義試論(8)

劉師復

「資料2」についての補足的記述

一九一〇年代になると最早、清朝の継続は不可能になつた。中国の史家は其の遠因をアヘン戦争、甲子戦争（日清戦役）に求めるが直接には義和団事件で、清朝宮廷内部でも西欧排撃を促進する派と隠健派があり、結局は八ヶ国の要求を受入れざるを得なくなり、これがまた国内的には種族革命派を勇気づけ、賠償金の支払いで財政は困難になり、各地で蜂起が相つぐ次第になつた。一九一一年には四川、湖北、湖南、広東で蜂起があつた。原因はこれらの省にまたがる鉄道にかかわるもので、政府は多大の借款を日、英、米、独、仏から借入れ、その支払に税を不当に取りあげたことであつた。更に武昌、広州の蜂起が起き、十月には革命党が決議を政府につきつけた。1、中国を「中華民国」とし、漢、滿、蒙、回、チベット五族の人民国家とする。2、紅、黄、藍、白、黒の五種類の旗を国旗とする。3、満清の皇帝年号を廃止して、宣統三年（一九一一年）を黄帝紀元四千六百九

年とする。4、檄文を草して満清政府に対する蜂起を呼びかける。5、各国の既得利益と特権は尊重する等、がその内容であつた。各地で革命軍の勝利がつづき（第一革命）これに応じるように各種政党も生まれた。例、立憲党は議会政治、全国統一を主張、機関誌「革命党」を出版、他に中華共和促進会、共和建設会、民党進行社、江亢虎の中国社会党、中国仏教協進会、同盟会機関誌「民報」の主編集者であつた章炳麟は同盟会をでて中華民国連合会を作つた。十二月には孫文が米国から上海へ帰り、各派を集合した選挙によつて、十七省の代表中十六票を得て、臨時総統に選ばれた。次いで臨時政府が成立し、清朝時代の欽差大臣であつた袁世凱が水陸各軍の実権を握り、皇帝を退位に追いこみ、曲折を経て大總統になり、一九一二年一月から民国元年に改元された。民国の主導権をめぐる抗争は、大別して立憲派と同盟会派、社会主義諸派、清朝の瓦解による各地の軍・警指導者が形成する軍閥更にそのどちらかを支援する欧米、日本等の思惑がらみの複雑な内戦の時期に突入した。マルクス主義派は生まれていなかった。

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一九一三年、師復が晦鳴録を発刊したのは以上のような政治的、社会的条件の中であつた。晦鳴とは黄凌霜が

一九一七年に創刊した無政府主義誌「実社自由録」の創刊の辞にみえる所から推して、もと次の詩句からとつてゐるようである。「風雨如晦、鷄鳴不已」意味は、風と雨で暗夜のようだが、まだ鷄鳴は聞こえない（夜明けは遠い）。また師復の宣言文によれば「二、三人が相寄つて讀書し、論じあうグループを晦鳴学舎と名づけ、その記録を晦鳴録とする。その存在は宇宙の広大さにくらべて微塵のようである。当世の諸雑誌の林立する中にあえて伍する程のものではない。しかし真理は天地の間に在り、遠近、大小の差はないものだ。とすれば心を澄まして沈潜すれば、見つけれらるであらう。故に二・三人の者では数こそ少いが、正しく真理を基準にして、一つの学説とするのではなく、また一党派の偏見にとらはれず、独立不倚（なにものにも頼らず）われらの良心で是非を判断して、その言説と行動に真理をあらわし、さようにして人びとの心の中でいわんとする所を行うのであれば、これこそ「平民の声」であらう。」

彼は平民の言論であるから平民の機関になるのであつて、現在の悪弊を救済するには、根本的に世界革命をしなければならず、一切の強権を改めて、真理のある新社会を作り、その後、真正の自由な幸福が始まる……と言う。そして綱要として、

共産主義、反軍国主義、工団主義、反宗教主義、反家族主義、素食主義、言語統一（エスペラント語に拠る）万国大同を挙げた。

右の綱要では彼が晦鳴録で取上げる主題の範囲、また運動の目標を明示してゐるのであつて、それは、単に個人的な道德の実行にとまらぬのが判る。しかし読者からの連絡があつたと見え、二号には「師復啓事」として、心社との関係を述べてゐる。

「（一）本誌（晦鳴録）の言論は自分で選び、述べまた投稿は師復の責任で載せてゐる。一号の編集緒言を読まれた方は、心社は個人的道德問題を約定したもので、社会とは交渉がない筈だとするのは誤りである。晦鳴録で社会革命を唱え、世界大同を促進するというのは、社会問題を純粹に研究するのであるとしても個人的道德だけにとどまらない。晦鳴録の趣旨と心社のそれは衝突しない。故に晦鳴録を心社の機関誌とするのである。」

「（二）師復は現在この雑誌の刊行とわれらの思想の伝播に努力して居り、その他の社団、社報とは何の関係もない。ある人が関わりがあると言つてもそれはうそである。」

「（三）師復は去年（一九一二年）同志数人と「心社」を発起し、絶対自由主義を取り、規約、規則のない、また組織をもたず、たゞ一つの良心をもつて集つた。よつて違

WHAT HAPPENED IN PEACE CARAVAN '77

A Message From a Walker

by: Fu Mizuta

I want to tell you about something that happened to me yesterday, as we were walking through the outskirts of this city.

A woman, about 40, came out of her tiny, ramshackle house. She stood and watched, hands clasped before her, as we walkers passed by in front of her house. I ran over to her and handed her a leaflet.

When I did so, her face seemed to crumple, and from her eyes the tears ran down her face like rain. "Arigato...Arigato!" And she folded her hands as if praying...to me!

People...this Peace Caravan of ours...our walking, day after day after day... Was it really...Can we really stand up and say, with an honest heart, that it was all in the cause of peace...?

Can we really say, in all confidence, that what we have done has been a fitting response to the feelings contained for the past 30 years; that woman and many like her who lined the route of our Walk?

Somewhere along the way, our Peace Caravan came under the direction of something called the 'Unification Executive Committee'. But I, while I was walking, could never seem to quite grasp what this 'Executive Committee' meant when they used the word "Unity".

What they seemed to mean was not true spiritual unity but a prefatory kind, a unity of form only:

"Leaflets which have not been authorized by the Executive Committee may not be distributed". I have had leaflets which I was trying to pass out taken away from me...I have even been shoved around bodily...

And what about the case of Lorri who came all the way from America?...Lorri, when she was trying to explain her opposition to the peaceful use of nuclear energy, was forced to give up before she had finished speaking...

The Executive Committee has as good as boycotted the joint meetings arranged by citizen groups in Osaka...

When Gensuikin came to join in the Walk they were forbidden to use a banner opposing the use of atomic energy...

Through their microphones the organizers call out to people "come and join us!", but what happens when people try to join? Just like when you report an accident to the police, they have to give their name, their address, their workplace...if they refused, "Sorry, but you can't join our Peace Caravan". No wonder no-one joined...

Using the Walk to raise money for atomic bomb victims, that's all very fine. But when Gensuikyō, in the name of the Executive Committee, takes charge of all, who knows to what use it is put? There is no accounting...

What has happened to us is that we have all become the puppets of the Executive Committee, and our Peace Caravan no more than a show. And part of the responsibility lies with us, for we have allowed it to happen by not coming to grips with it immediately.

But can we allow the final ignomy whereby this swindle, this fraudulent Peace Caravan will climax in front of this memorial plaque? Can we remain silent?

People...here and now before this memorial plaque, let us think about what a real Peace Caravan should be...Let us think about a unity which is not a mere sham, which is not just the formalistic trappings of unity, let us think about a unity that comes straight from our hearts.

I have explained my objections to you here. I urge everyone here to spend some time to reconsider the so-called "Unity" which Gensuikyō, borrowing the name of the Executive Committee, talks about so much.

WRI-Japan (Osaka Group) 2-12-2 Asahi-Machi; Abeno-ku, Osaka, Japan

つた考えをもちこむとか、信じる所の少い人が約束に反したとしても心社は干渉しない。世人はそこを察せず、名前があるから、心社の名を冠しているからその者の行いの間違いをすべて心社に帰せしめ、甚だしいのは師復個人を責めるが、それは心社に規約がなく、規則のない団体であることを知らないものである。よって社友個人の行為は問はないだけでなく、発起人、社友、賛成者のすべては、心のうちで社の約定に違反したり、無意識に不道徳の行為をして、心社の趣旨に合わなくなったら自分で関係を絶つべきで、心社の証明は必要でないし、心社そのものがそれで損われることはなく、責任を負うものではない。まして師復個人が代って責任を執るものではない。たと師復個人は例え天の星が消滅しても誓いをあえて破らないであろう。それは肉を食わず、酒を飲まず、アヘンを吸わず、下僕を使わず、轎や人力車に乗らず、婚姻をせず、族姓をとえず、官吏にならず、議員にならず、政党に入らず、陸海軍人にならず、宗教を奉じない、この一二ヶ条である。

この神聖な一二の約定がすべてである。もし他日、師復の心が狂い、病に倒れたとしても、それは師復個人が自らを真理から絶てばよいのであって、社会万人の面罵を浴びるだろうが、心社そのものは少しも損われない。例

をあげると、クロボトキン（最近の無政府党の泰斗）は心変りをして（ロシア革命党の漢奸）となったが、だからと言って日月の運行は変わらないように無政府主義も変りはない。同じく心社の社友は個人名義でどんな事業をしようと、それは個人で責任を負うべきで、心社全体はかわりないのであって、個人のせいで間違いがあるとか、種々の事を心社があげつらうものではない。

ここでは彼の言う絶対自由の内容が述べられ、それは厳格であるが、自由を究極まで押しすすめるとたまたま宗教的な相貌を呈するにしても、彼は仏教やキリスト教に依って、述べている訳ではない。イデオロギーは人間の日常を規制する。人はそれによって、自己の思考と判断を律し、行動するのである。それ故ナポレオンのような人は、イデオロギーを蛇蝎のように嫌い、その不自由さを嘲笑した。彼にとつては人間の情熱と意志が規範であった。それでも全くイデオロギーから遁れ得なかった。彼が帝制を復古したのは、フランスのナショナリズムを体現し、キリスト教会と妥協した所産である。またすべてのイデオロギーはその基礎に人間学（アントロポロジ）を所有している。即ち日常性における身の処し方と人間性についての理解である。マルクスは期待される共產主義者として、世界を説明するのではなく、変革する

TO MEMBERS OF THE TOKYO "LIBERTAIRE" GROUP

(copies to interested comrades)

Near the end of our meeting a couple weeks ago, Mr. Miura asked me to get in touch with you when I came to Tokyo again. In a moment of unthinking mere politeness I said that I would. I would therefore like to clarify my position. In fact when I come to Tokyo again I will not contact you because our one meeting, brief as it was, was enough: I have no interest in your group.

Contrary to your suggestion that while other anarchists perhaps had many of the faults that I criticized, you "Japanese anarchists" were somehow different, I must say that you are unfortunately quite typical, in no way different from anarchists in other countries. You rummage among the corpses of Proudhon, the male-chauvinist ideologue of small cooperative capitalism; of "our Bakunin," the proto-bolshevik; of World War I supporter Kropotkin; of the State-collaborating Spanish C.N.T. (now once again trying to bureaucratically "organize" the struggles of the radical Spanish proletariat); and of various old oriental imitators thereof. You want to construct a mythical history for yourselves because you don't know how to make real history now.

Vaguely aware of your own impotence, you hope that it will go away if you join your individual impotences together. What actually happens is that what little creative energy you do possess is frittered away in the endless discussion and pursuit of such pointless, spectacular projects as a revived "Anarchist Federation."

Like most anarchists, you have developed a truly ludicrous collective unconsciousness as a defense against any challenge to your complacency. Confronted with a practical critique, you "never heard" of it, or "forgot" it, or are "too busy" for it. Only one of you even knew about my letter and the Society of the Spectacle theses in CIRA's Anarchism #4. Are Japanese anarchists' writings so boring that you don't even bother to read each other's publications?

I cannot yet read the Japanese in Libertaire magazine, but the incoherent ramblings in the English sections are pitiful enough. But perhaps that is only the responsibility of the two "editors." Perhaps the rest of you have no role in the magazine. (Or only a subordinate one?) When I thus asked you what other projects you had, some of you spoke vaguely of "support" for the Sanrizuka struggle but were unable to give any concrete details of what this "support" consisted of, or in what long-range strategical perspective you participated in it. Another simply said that he was "a worker," implying apparently that this excused him from doing any other activity because he was too busy. What then is the purpose of his belonging to your group? What in fact is the purpose of your group?

It may be that I have judged you too much on the basis of the two or three people who talked most. It may be that one or two of you are more serious. If so, it is up to you to begin from the critiques you recognize, define your projects (however small but concrete), and act. This is just what it is impossible for you to do in "Libertaire." The collective toleration of endless bullshit neutralized any concrete individual effort in a stew of contradictory, consequenceless "opinions." Your group is nothing but an obstacle to your real possibilities.

Down with the State! Down with mousy anarchism!

Ken Knabb

Ken Knabb (Fujinomiya, 5 November 1977)

Bureau of Public Secrets, P.O. Box 1044, Berkeley, California 94701, U.S.A.

A REPLY TO A SITUATIONIST

I have no reason to excuse myself,
Only say what I want to do
for our mutual understanding.

Dear Ken Knabb

Recently I have been supplied with your comments of our "Libertaire group", which you have collected some impressions from our brief meeting. This time your accusation has accompanied with ramblings in the Japanese, which I think you wanted to circulate them among our friends, for you entitled each of them like "copies to interested comrades" So it is a good chance to explain my position in this issue.

Firstly as you are a visitor, you took a misunderstanding of our "group". On every Tuesday evening we meet together and talk each other what we want to say. Comrade Miura said "when one attends at the meeting, he is a member of Libertaire during the meeting. After that he may be a reader of Le Libertaire, but his personal saying and doing are responsible on him, however he takes over the name of Libertaire. For Le Libertaire has no preamble, plat-form or even regulation to impose on a man. On the other hand, our little magazine displays nothing but ambiguities of anarchism, i.e. various opinions of the anarchists." Then you showed your ignorance or even not try to have a grasp of our basic consensus.

Secondly I am very glad to hear your point-out that we are "in no way different from anarchists in other countries. etc" We live in the Far East, merely to peep through pamphlets, magazines, leaflets and admire the activities of our comrades in the other parts of the world. No anarchist do refute or cast a diatribe toward Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin and Spanish C.N.T. like you except a Marxist, an ultra-nationalist and ahistorical liberalist. At our meeting we showed our efforts to understand what a situationist is, in which way he is going by citing an example of life style of Daniel Cohn-Bendit? Anyway I have realized there is a situationist who is fond of criticizing the anarchist with historical trash, without considering himself what he can do for it.

Thirdly as a co-editor of Le Libertaire, I have always read Japanese anarchists' writings and comment some in our little magazine. So comrade Miura handed me your translation in the English from W. Reich's before your coming, and once I have read your theses in CIRA No.4. But you would not be so irritated as you had no homage or a consent from a Japanese reader? I can't understand such nonsense. You may be surrounded with some friends and heard their critics on the Tokyo Libertaire group, then wanted to inquire "Are the Japanese anarchists' writings so boring that you don't even bother to read each other's publications?" For I know you can speak Japanese fairly well, though you have said you can not read Japanese characters. It is far from a fact. We are so friendly not to bother reading the other so-called anarchist, or when his writing is filled with rubbish of knowledge not contribute to our cause, in such case I keep my silence.

My "in coherent ramblings in the English" may hurt you so much. I hope you will tolerate it. You remember at our separation, you thanked me my simple hospitality and I said "never mind". This time I ask for your "never mind" and again I hope you will not be entangled in trivial trouble. You know "When you are in Rome you must do as a Roman do." It is at least an etiquette over the world. Surely you have done it in the bad manner like some Japanese "anarchists".

Viva Anarchismo!

Yoshiharu Hashimoto
Yoshiharu Hashimoto (20 Nov. 1977)

P.S. You seemed to have said "an anarchist is differed from Marx-Leninist, yet he is also to gather members under the banner of Anarchism. While a situationist is to express his thought and do what he want to do, etc." This sort of spontaneity is a nucleus of anarchism and our free federation should be composed with such nuclei.

The Latest Three Affairs in Japan

During these two weeks, from the latter part of September to early October, we were attacked with three big affairs. They were JAL Air Liner Crash (Sep. 27), call off of the convention of Japan Socialist Party (Sep. 26 - 28) and hyjack of JAL Air Liner (Sep. 26 -)ct. 4).

It was miraculous that 43 persons out of 69 passenger and 10 crews aboard were survived.

The three leading right wing diet men of the JSP bolted the party suddenly on Sep 27 sending Convention into chaos. They aimed to establish a new stronghold for the movement of genuin democratic socialism, they said, as they could find no more room for arrangement with the left wing, the Socialist Association, the adamant group of Marxist-Leninist. This is the way of authoritarians who wants any time the hegemony over whole party and there is nothing to choose among communists, socialists and bourgeois in this conventional way of doing.

The hijackers, they were also Marxist-Leninists, the authoritarians, but they have a differece from those of the Socialist Party leaders. It is the fact that they are all young and pure men who risked their life to the belief what they thought themselves to be righteousness. This time they were successful enough but it does neither certify their future success nor prove their monlithic iron discipline under which they were the slave is right. The life of a revolutionary is precarious as if one walks on thin ice. It might sometime happens that today's comrade may look as if a spy tomorrow, within the authoritative organization under the Machiavellism of authoritarian leadership. No one knows.

Anarchism has always been anti-ideological, anti-authoritative. Subjection to a theory as communists to Marxism or the like, implies the slavish subjection to an authority. Anarchism, though it is still imperfect, it has always based upon humanity.

Augustin S. MIURA

哲学者を指定した。(フオイエルバッハに関するテーゼ) 今、師復が個人的道徳をテーゼに立てたとしても、それは彼自身の発意(自発性)に依るのであって、彼が無政府主義の中にみた人間性の在り方だと理解すれば、それは多くの無政府主義者から同意が得られるだろう。あの厳格さは、ストイシズムに共通のもので、師復自身がその為硬直した偏狭な精神の持主であったとの証拠はないのだから、むしろ個人の自律性を高め、その訓練(discipline)のためのものだとして十分に尊重されなければならぬ。更に注目すべき点は、彼が真理の探究を主題にしていることだ。また真理を規準にして、良心で判断して、言論と行動に真理を表わす、それが万人の心中での声なのだから、イコール平民の声だと言う。ここでは人民に負託されて代表する人民の声だとか、知識人として知り得た知識で人民を教育するとか、革命プランを持ちその自覚者だから前衛となり、従って人民の上に立つのは当然とする立場は皆無である。彼にとつて真理は無政府主義であり、当代の現われは無政府共産主義(クロボトキンはその泰斗であった)であったが、例えばクロボトキンが虚無党側から漢奸とされ、また第一欧州大戦の際反ゲルマンの感情により、協商側についたとしても、それはクロボトキンが無政府主義=真理から離脱し

たのであって、叱責されるのはクロボトキンであり、無政府主義は「我輩向前進」(われらは更に前進する)のである。師復はこの立場によつて、伝統主義から免れた、後に述べるが、嘗つて「新世紀」を協同で出していた呉雅暉はその思想は自然的唯物論と言え、無政府主義であった。張継はマラテスターの「無政府主義」の訳者である。しかし後者は後年伝統の中の墨子をみつ、それに無政府主義を重ね、偏向して行つた。呉は「三千年後に無政府主義は実現する」と述べ、張は「今の中国で無政府主義は無理だ」とした。いづれも「民声」誌上で師復から筆誅を加えられている。

お知らせ

年一度の「リベルテルの会」忘年会を左記の通り行います。参加ご希望の方は準備の都合がありますのでハガキで出席を連絡して下さい。

日時 十二月二十四日(土)午後〇時三〇分～三時三〇分
会場 新江戸川公園会館二階
電話 文京区目白台一―九二二

交通 新宿西口→早稲田行バス→終点下車
・国電高田馬場→上野公園行バス→飯田橋又九段下、茅場町行バスでグラウンド坂下、橋下、又九

会費 三、〇〇〇円
・都電飯田橋→小滝橋車庫行バス→早稲田下車
・国電王子又は大塚から早稲田行終点下車
(注)駐車場なし。放歌高吟ダメの由。